A Rhetorical Criticism of the Speaking of James Abram Garfield, 1876-1880.

Ira Lutts North
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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A Rhetorical Criticism
of the Speaking of
James Abram Garfield
1876-1880

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by
Ira Lutts North
B.A., Abilene Christian College, 1943
M.A., University of Illinois, 1945
March, 1953
MANUSCRIPT THESES

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author is especially indebted to Professor Waldo W. Braden of the Department of Speech, Louisiana State University, for his guidance. He is also indebted to Professors C. M. Wise, G. W. Gray, and C. L. Shaver, all of the Department of Speech, and to Professors E. A. Davis and T. H. Williams of the Department of History, Louisiana State University, for their constructive suggestions and help.

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ABSTRACT

This study is devoted to a rhetorical criticism of the speaking of James Abram Garfield, twentieth President of the United States. Garfield, active in speaking publicly for some thirty years, participated in five areas of American oratory: pulpit, bar, stump, legislative assembly, and political convention. It seemed advisable, in order to avoid a superficial or survey type of analysis, to limit the study to the period of 1876 to 1880, the years during which Garfield was the recognized Republican leader in the House of Representatives.

The principal primary sources available for the study were the Garfield Papers, deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This extensive collection of some two hundred volumes contains Garfield's public utterances, speech outlines, written addresses, manuscript Journal, and personal notes on finance, tariff and the Electoral Commission. The collection also includes hundreds of letters, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and material which Garfield accumulated in preparing his speeches.

The investigation employs the customary rhetorical and historical method. In this study the speaker's background, ideas, and rhetorical philosophy are examined. An analysis is made of methods of speech preparation, of speech arrangement,
of style, of delivery, and finally of over-all effectiveness.

Garfield made a serious study of the art of speaking. He thought the subject of sufficient importance to prepare and deliver a series of lectures on rhetoric. His rhetorical philosophy was primarily classical; and judged by modern standards, it was fundamentally sound. Garfield considered rhetoric a practical art. He did not fall into the error of overemphasizing "techniques."

Garfield read wisely and selectively and possessed ability to grasp quickly the pertinent matter of the printed page. He was thorough and diligent in speech preparation. He relied chiefly on ethical proof and logical proof for his legislative speeches, but he included more emotional proof for his political addresses. Garfield's Journal and his speeches indicate that he considered the matter of arranging material an important factor in successful speech making.

A complete evaluation of Garfield's oral style was not attempted. However, existing texts suggest that Garfield's style in the period of 1876 to 1880 was clear, concise, and more business-like than declamatory. Yet, Garfield's style never achieved the beauty that was the province of Webster, nor did his style show the warm emotional appeal of William Jennings Bryan, or the simplicity and power characteristic of Lincoln. Garfield used language effectively, but he was not a great stylist. If contemporary testimony is correct, he was dynamic and effective in delivery. He possessed a
unique ability to judge the temper of an audience, whether a mob in New York, an assembly in Washington, D. C., a national political convention, or an audience of farmers on the Western Reserve.
INTRODUCTION

Chauncey M. Depew stated that James Abram Garfield was "the most scholarly and best equipped statesman of his time . . . the best debater in the strongest of deliberative bodies, the leader of his party and the Chief Magistrate of fifty millions of people before he was fifty years of age."\(^1\)

William McKinley said of him: "Always strong, he was strongest on his feet, addressing the House, or, from the rostrum, the assembled people."\(^2\) E. V. Smalley expressed this opinion of Garfield: "Taking one campaign with another, and one issue with another, he was, I think, the best stump and platform speaker the Republican party had."\(^3\) John Sherman remarked: "Many of his speeches may be regarded as models of effective eloquence."\(^4\) James G. Blaine thought, "If no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December 1863, to June

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\(^2\)Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 104, 49 Cong., 1 sess., p. 29.

\(^3\)E. V. Smalley, "Characteristics of President Garfield," The Century Magazine, XXIII (December, 1881), 16.

\(^4\)Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 104, 49 Cong., 1 sess., p. 11.
1880, would give a well-connected history . . . of the im-
portant legislation of the seventeen eventful years that
constitute his parliamentary life."5 Allowing for exaggera-
tion or bias, the testimony of these contemporaries indicates
that Garfield was widely known as a speaker in his day. While
he wrote an occasional article for a magazine, he won the at-
tention of the nation through his speeches.

Few speakers in American history participated as actively
and successfully as did James A. Garfield in all of these five
arenas of American oratory: pulpit, bar, stump, legislative
assembly, and political convention. For almost a decade
Garfield was a minister for the Disciples of Christ, and
became for a while one of their leading preachers and de-
baters; he had a steady and successful practice before the
Supreme Court of the United States for over sixteen years;
he was active in every congressional election in his own dis-
trict, except one, and every national campaign, between 1863
and 1880; for seventeen years he spoke frequently in the
United States House of Representatives, winning the leader-
ship of his party in that assembly; and he spoke to Republican
political conventions on both the state and national level.

This dissertation is devoted to a rhetorical criticism
of the speaking of James Abram Garfield, twentieth President
of the United States. In this study the speaker's background

5 James G. Blaine, Political Discussions, Legislative,
Diplomatic, and Popular 1856-1886 (Norwich, Conn.: The Henry
ideas, and rhetorical philosophy are examined. An analysis is given of his method of speech preparation, speech arrangement, style, delivery, and finally an over-all evaluation of his effectiveness as a speaker.

Garfield was active in speaking publicly for some thirty years. It has seemed advisable, in order to avoid a superficial or survey type of presentation, to limit the study to a given period in the orator's life. The period of 1876 to 1880 in which Garfield was the recognized Republican Party leader in the House of Representatives has been chosen. Although Garfield spent some seventeen years in Congress, it was not until James G. Blaine moved to the Senate in 1876 that Garfield became the Republican leader in the lower house. These years (1876-1880) were probably the most dramatic four years of his life, since during this period he set the stage for his ultimate nomination to the Presidency.

During this period Garfield made the following eighteen major speeches:

**AMNESTY**
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876.

**ALMEDA A. BOOTH: HER LIFE AND CHARACTER**
Address delivered at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, June 22, 1876.

**THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT**
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876.

**CONGRESS AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS**
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 16, 1877.
COUNTING THE ELECTORAL VOTE
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877.

PROPOSED REPEAL OF THE RESUMPTION LAW
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, November 16, 1877.

THE NEW SCHEME OF AMERICAN FINANCE
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 6, 1878.

LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION
Address delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, February 12, 1878.

THE ARMY AND THE PUBLIC PEACE
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, May 21, 1878.

THE WOOD TARIFF BILL
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1878.

THE PRESS
Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association at Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878.

HONEST MONEY
Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878.

SUSPENSION AND RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS
Address delivered in Chicago, January 16, 1879.

THE SUGAR TARIFF
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 26, 1879.

REVOLUTION IN CONGRESS
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879.

THE REVIVED DOCTRINE OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879.

OBEEDIENCE TO LAW THE FIRST DUTY OF CONGRESS
Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 17, 1880.
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND PUBLIC OPINION
Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio,
October 11, 1879.

These and other speeches are considered in the present study of Garfield's rhetorical method. All of the speeches, given in the period from 1876-1880 and preserved among the Garfield Papers, were examined in preparation for this rhetorical treatise.

Chief among the primary sources available for the study are the Garfield Papers, deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This extensive collection contains a wealth of material for the student of public address interested in James Abram Garfield. It contains an orderly arrangement of the "Public Utterances" of Garfield from 1852 to 1881. His speech outlines as well as addresses written out in long hand were carefully preserved. The Garfield Papers also contain a manuscript Journal which is complete for the period from 1872-1881, with the exception of a short time in 1880. Among the Garfield Papers also are his notes on finance, tariff, the Electoral Commission, and other subjects. Many of these notes were taken in Garfield's own handwriting. In addition there are pamphlets, newspaper clippings, and other material which he accumulated in preparing his speeches. In this collection there are letters which Garfield received from 1852 to 1881 and also letters which he sent from 1868 to 1881.

In the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress is a second collection, the Hinsdale-Garfield Papers, the correspondence between Burke Aaron Hinsdale and James Abram Garfield from 1862 to 1881. A large portion of this material has been published in the book Garfield-Hinsdale Letters, edited by Mary L. Hinsdale.  

As a result of the demand for biographies of Garfield following his nomination to the Presidency and his assassination, several books appeared. In general, these biographies were neither carefully prepared nor scholarly. However, three biographies, worthy of special mention, are: J. B. Bundy’s *The Life of Gen. James A. Garfield*, Theodore Clark Smith’s *The Life and Letters of Garfield* (in two volumes) and Robert Granville Caldwell’s *James A. Garfield, Party Chieftain*. The first of these books, the official campaign biography, gives important facts concerning Garfield’s early life and is especially important because the author had access to sources no longer available. Theodore Clark Smith’s work, which appeared in 1925, is the most extensive and probably the best of all the Garfield biographies. This work is more favorable to Garfield than the most recent biography written


in 1931 by Robert Granville Caldwell. The last named
book, although well written, does not compare with Smith's
in thoroughness and extensiveness.

As far as the author knew when this study was begun in
1948, no study on Garfield either on the doctoral or master's
level had been done in the field of speech. However, recently
a master's study has been completed at the University of Iowa
which relates to a phase of Garfield's speaking.

Below is a conspectus of the Life of James A. Garfield:

James A. Garfield: A Conspectus

1831 Birth of James Abram Garfield
1848 Canal Experience
1849 Entered Geauga Academy
1849 Taught Rural School
1850 Associated with Disciples of Christ
1850 Entered Western Reserve Eclectic Institute
1853 Instructor at Hiram -- Began Preaching
1854-1856 Williams College
1856-1859 Principal of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute
1858 Marriage to Lucretia Rudolph
1859 Elected to Ohio Senate

10Robert Granville Caldwell, James A. Garfield, Party
Chieftain (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1931).

11Berwyn Francis Collentine, Factors Contributing to
James A. Garfield's Public Speaking Ability (Unpublished
1861  Admitted to the Bar by State Supreme Court
1861-1862  Colonel of the Forty-Second Ohio
1862  Elected to U. S. Congress
1863  Chief of Staff, Army of the Cumberland
1863  Enters Congress at Request of Lincoln
1863  Military Affairs Committee
1863  Reply to Long
1865-1867  Committee on Ways and Means
1866  Campaign and Re-election
1867  Chairman of Military Affairs Committee
1867-1871  Struggle for Financial Leadership
1868  Campaign for Grant
1869  Chairman Committee on Currency and Banking
1871-1875  Chairman of Committee on Appropriations
1872-1874  Credit Mobilier, Salary Grab, and De Golyer Pavement Scandals
1876  Ranking Minority Member of Ways and Means Committee
1876  Reply to Hill
1876  Reply to Lamar
1876-1877  Visiting Statesman and Electoral Commission
1877-1880  Minority Leader
1879  U. S. Senator Elect
1880  Nominated for President
1880  Campaign and Election
1881  Contest with Conkling
1881  July 2, The Tragedy
1881  September 19, Death of James A. Garfield
CHAPTER I
THE SPEAKER'S BACKGROUND

EARLY TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE

Influence of Home and Elementary School. When James A.
Garfield was only eighteen months old, and before the little
Ohio farm on which he lived was either paid for or cleared,
his family was the victim of a tragedy. ¹ His father fought
a forest fire in an effort to save the small crop from des­
truction. The effort was successful, but the elder Garfield
cought cold and at the advice of a doctor "put a blister around
his throat" and choked to death as a result.² Before this
tragedy, the struggle for existence was hard enough, but after­
wards it was even worse. B. A. Hinsdale says, "that fierce
struggle for very life was James A.'s first school."³

Garfield's mother and eleven-year-old Thomas, the oldest
of the four Garfield children, courageously ran the farm and
managed to keep the family together.⁴ It is probably impos­

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¹B. A. Hinsdale, The Life and Character of James A.
(referred to hereafter as Hinsdale, Life and Character)

²J. W. Bundy, The Life of Gen. James A. Garfield (New

³Hinsdale, Life and Character.

⁴Theodore Clarke Smith, The Life and Letters of James
Abram Garfield (New Haven: Yale University Press, c. 1925),
I, 9-10.
played in the early education of the future orator. She was very religious, and the untimely death of her husband probably intensified this zeal. "It is said," remarks George F. Hoar, "there were two things with which his mother was especially familiar, -- the Bible, and the rude ballads of the war of 1812." She read the Bible copiously and interspersed her letters with Biblical sayings. She took the task of molding the life of her children seriously. Bundy says:

The Widow Garfield was a great Bible reader and taught her children to read it. She walked regularly to her "Disciples" meeting-house, three miles away, every Sunday for years, and took the children with her. Later a church was organized in the little school-house on her land. In all ways she impressed religious truth on her children. . . . Anything that approached impurity of life and speech in any degree, was hateful to her beyond expression.

"The dynamic forces that were to take him out of the range of all previous Garfields," Bundy further states, "lay coiled up in the fine, sensitive, religious nature of his mother." Garfield entered school at the age of three. In his first school the pupils sat on split logs in a building that was probably typical of the frontier at that time. The young student received an award at the end of the school year for "being the best reader in his class of little boys." Probably because of the particular promise he had shown at an early age, he was selected as the member of the family that


6Bundy, pp. 13, 5.

7Ibid., p. 7.
must be educated. Garfield studied carefully and mastered thoroughly the few books at his disposal during his elementary school days. He virtually memorized Pike's arithmetic, Webster's spelling book, the English Reader, and Kirkham's grammar, and read with stimulated imagination Robinson Crusoe and other books of the sea. He studied Goodrich's History of the United States so eagerly and conscientiously that he was said to be able to quote it copiously in his later life. He also studied an old copy of Josephus with great care.

The reading in his youthful years of books relating to the sea must have made a deep impression on the mind of the young student. At the age of seventeen he went to Cleveland with the intention of becoming a sailor; but failing to secure such a job, he gained employment on a canal boat and was the driver of the horses on the towpath. He was forced to quit the canal when he became sick with malaria, and on his recovery his mother persuaded him to return to school instead of going to sea. Garfield's love for the sea, his desire to be a sailor, and the frequent use in his speeches of metaphors relating to the ocean indicate that the early reading about the sea made an indelible imprint on him.

Geauga Academy. In March 1849, Garfield, with two of his cousins, entered Geauga Academy, a Free Will Baptist

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9 Smith, I, 25, 27.
institution, located near the center of Chester township. Geauga was one of the larger academies on the Western Reserve. His chief interest in the Academy was forensic activity. On August 28, 1849, he had his first debate of which he records as follows: "Spoke in Zeutelethian Society on the following question: 'Are the causes that tend to strengthen greater than those which tend to dissolve the American Union?" On September 4, he wrote: "Spoke in lyceum on the affirmative of the following question: 'Would the exclusion of foreign articles to encourage home manufacturers conduce to public wealth?" Had a good time."11

Religious subjects were frequently debated at the Geauga Academy. On one occasion Garfield wrote:

I have engaged to support in debate the following proposition; viz., that Christians have no right to participate in human governments. . . . It creates some excitement. Never mind. I love agitation and investigation and glory in defending unpopular truth against popular error. It looks to me like serving two masters to participate in the affairs of government which is point blank opposed to the Christian (as all human ones must necessarily be).12

Among the Garfield Papers there is a report of a society meeting written in pencil and entitled "Geauga Seminary's

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11Quoted in Smith, I, 29-30.

12Ibid., p. 39.
Rhetorical Exercise." It begins: "Wed. Oct. 1850. After the meeting was called to order by the President . . . Palmer spoke on the Aff. in reply to a speech of mine delivered two weeks ago, subject: 'Do the works of nature teach any idea of God?' I replied. Some corrections on gestures." This report also reveals that several students participated in the program. One member gave an "original" on "Live for Something" and another on the subject of "Slavery." Several essays were read on a wide variety of subjects, including: "I Can't," "A Smile," "Human Frailty," "The End of Time," "Education," "Attack on Xerxes' Camp," and "Pitt's Reply to Sir Robert Walpole." Before each one of these titles is the student's name and the word, "Select." The latter is probably an abbreviation for selection. This report was written in pencil over 100 years ago, and some parts of it have faded and are not now legible. It is of interest to the rhetorical critic because it indicates that the literary society at Geauga was active at the time Garfield was a student.

Also at Geauga Academy the future congressional debater had his first experience in original oratory. Of this occasion he wrote: "Mar 23 committed original before 9 then went to the chapel. . . . Confess that my knees trembled a little." Garfield speaks of this occasion later saying,

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14Quoted by Smith, I, 46-47.
"At the close of the spring term I made my first public speech. It was a six minutes' oration at the annual exhibition. My diary shows the anxiety and solicitude through which I passed in its preparation and delivery."

His confidence and enthusiasm for speaking in public grew, and on July 2, 1850 he recorded: "I did better than I expected. The ice is broken. I am no longer a cringing scapegoat, but am resolved to make a mark in the world. I know without exotism that there is some of the slumbering thunder in my soul and it shall come out."16

His experience at Geauga was the beginning of a long and enjoyable connection with literary societies. In future schools, Garfield was destined to take an active part in forensic activities and to win more than an average share of the honors for such participation.

Western Reserve Eclectic Institute. The Western Reserve Eclectic Institute began its first term Wednesday, November 27, 1850. It was established by influential members of the "Disciples of Christ" on the Western Reserve. F. M. Green says:

The Bible was to be taken as the foundation of education, and as a classic taken into the institution. Every student was expected to devote a part of each day in the study of the details of human history as found in the Bible. But it was explicitly stated "that nothing is to be taught in this Seminary

15Letter to Board of Trustees, Geauga Seminary, dated Hiram, O., May 8, 1867. Reminiscences of James A. Garfield, p. 3.

16Smith, I, 46-47
under color of these Biblical lessons, or otherwise, partaking in the least degree of sectarian character. 17

Mary L. Hinsdale, editor of the volume Garfield-Hinsdale Letters, describes the Western Eclectic Institute as a superior academy, established under the sponsorship of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, at the central crossroads of Hiram Township, Portage County. Here a scattered settlement which stemmed from Vermont thickened to a village that had as its chief occupation the housing and boarding of students. Among the rude forefathers who worshipped at the village church might be found those who read their New Testament in Greek and perhaps followed the patriarchs a little way in Hebrew. 18

Garfield entered the Eclectic Institute on August 25, 1851. The number of students attending the school while Garfield was a student is given in the table below and indicates the young debater had an adequate number of fellow-students to furnish an audience for the practice of the art of speaking.

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A regular "Course of Study" given at the Eclectic took three years to complete.

17F. L. Green, Hiram College and Western Reserve Eclectic Institute Fifty Years of History 1850-1900 (Cleveland: The O. S. Hubbell Printing Co., 1901), pp. 25, 52.


19Green, p. 51.
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20 This listing is taken from F. W. Green's *History of Hiram College*, pp. 28-29.
Among the courses listed for the second year that are of special interest to the rhetorical critic is the course on rhetoric, in which Alexander Jamieson's text, *A Grammar of Rhetoric*, was used. It is possible that Garfield took this course while a student. However, the curriculum was flexible and courses were often chosen to suit the particular desire of the individual. Garfield was an advanced student when he entered the Eclectic and soon became a student instructor. It is more probable that he studied Whately's logic, a course given for the more advanced students.

At the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute the literary societies played an important role in Garfield's life. He participated actively in the forensic activities of his literary society, and during vacation wrote: "... soon we'll wake the slumbering echoes of the old Eclectic and make its classic halls resound again with the fiery clashing of debate and forensic declamation." The first society organized at the Eclectic Institute was called "The Eclectic" and James A. Garfield was among its leaders. The society, however, was short-lived, for several members including Garfield, Corydon E. Fuller, and fourteen other students withdrew to form a new

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23 Smith, I, 50.
organization called "The Philomathean." "The most brilliant period," according to Green, "in the history of this society was the winter of 1853-54."

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-minutes lectures, by James A. Garfield, H. W. Everest, O. P. Miller, Phillip Burns, Norman Lunshee, and Amaziah Hull.24

B. A. Hinsdale says of the Philomathean, "The impression made upon my own mind was quite . . . deep. Night after night I climbed the east hill, sometimes in rain and darkness, to hear those wonderful debates and lectures." "I was in school in the winter of 1853-54," comments F. M. Green, "and my enthusiasm over the work of the Philomathean Society was at fever heat."25

The Philomathean did not have a library during Garfield's time; a record book, candlesticks, candles, and two pairs of snuffers were about the extent of the equipment of the society.26 Garfield was enthusiastic about the new organization and a fellow student later testified that he "was always ready for a debate and never failed to perform any part assigned him."27

In the spring of 1853, an emotional crisis occurred in the life of Garfield that caused him to experience a period of deep gloom. During this time he was rather critical of the

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24Green, pp. 60, 61.
25Ibid. p. 61 (see footnote on this page for Green's comment).
26Ibid. p. 62.
27Fuller, p. 35.
literary societies. In a letter to Corydon Fuller dated April 9, 1853 he says:

It is useless for me to tell you the state of the things in the Philomathean Society. There is a good deal of zeal and energy there—so there is in a dromedary. I sat last night as critic and endured the 'had cames,' 'proces,' scowls genuflexions and circumgyrations of the Pennsylvanian the sepulchral tones of the Geographer; the 'iron heel of despotism,' 'Greece and Rome,' 'rock-rubbed mountains,' and everlasting hills' and all the other hackneyed phrases which abound among men of the monkey genus; add to this the mangling grammar, logic and rhetoric and you can perceive the patience necessary to preserve one's temper as well as gravity, and also how much pleasure and benefit I derive from my literary associations. 28

Although there was probably much truth in his comment, the criticism is not typical of Garfield's attitude toward the forensic activities of his time, for as a rule he thoroughly enjoyed participation in the program of the debating and literary societies.

During the winter vacation of 1852, while Garfield was teaching school at Warrensville, he continued his speech development by taking an active part in the Warrensville Literary Club. He wrote:

Well, I quit writing . . . to attend the Warrensville Literary Club, of which I am a member. We had a very good time, considering the "timber." We have resolved ourselves into a senate, and each member represents some State in the Union. I am not only President, but also a representative from South Carolina, to watch the interests of my nullifying constituents. The bill before our senate for next evening is, "That we will assist, financially the Hungarian exiles, Kossuth and his compatriots, from the national treasury." We shall undoubtedly have a warm time. 29

28 Letter to Corydon E. Fuller, dated Hiram, April 9, 1853. Reminiscences of James A. Garfield, p. 76.

Such speech activity was good training for the role Garfield was to play in later years.

The Western Reserve Eclectic Institute placed little emphasis on athletic activities and interscholastic sports. The literary societies, therefore, furnished the chief source of extra-curricular activities and provided an outlet for student energy and a means of entertainment. These societies flourished throughout the time that Garfield was connected with the Eclectic and when the school changed its name to Hiram College in 1867, the first catalogue stated: "This Institution devotes an unusual amount of attention to drill in all kinds of Literary exercises." The training received in the literary society at the Eclectic was to prove valuable when Garfield enrolled in a more advanced institution where the competition was considerably keener.

Another of the opportunities for speech training at the Eclectic was student participation in the commencement program. A student of the Eclectic in the early fifties, describes the first public exercises in which the students participated, as follows:

On the 6th of May, 1851, the first public exercises of the students of the Eclectic were held. They consisted of three divisions, one given in the morning, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. The first two divisions were given in Mr. John Buckingham's orchard almost half a mile north of the Institute building on the North and South center road .... The last division was given in the church at the center. Between the two first divisions a lunch was served on board tables under

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the trees. The teachers and students marched from the building down the north hill and beyond to the scene of the performance... The exercises whose number would terrify a modern audience were extremely crude and show how close to the primitive district school were the first sessions of the Eclectic.31

Here is given a typical commencement exercise of the Institute during the early eighteen fifties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order of Exercises</th>
<th>Forenoon</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ESSAY</td>
<td>The Unseen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza Knowlton, Eagleville</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. ESSAY</td>
<td>China</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth A. Woodward, Lordstown</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. ESSAY</td>
<td>Petra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah Rudolph, Garrettsville</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. ESSAY</td>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merinda A. Stark, Garrettsville</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. ESSAY</td>
<td>Female Poets of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank H. Robinson, Ravenna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. POEM</td>
<td>A Dream of Youth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sylvia Haven, Shalerville</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. ESSAY</td>
<td>Bubbles</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary M. Buckingham, Hiram</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. ESSAY</td>
<td>Bayard Taylor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Atwater, Mantua</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. ESSAY</td>
<td>Gumption</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarah A. Harrison, Painesville</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10. ESSAY</td>
<td>The Eloquence of Ruins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza E. Clapp, Hiram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. DISCUSSION</td>
<td>Has the Bonaparte Family been a Blessing to France?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has the Bonaparte Family been a Blessing to France?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aff. -- H. L. Moore, Mantua</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Neg. -- P. C. Reed, Auburn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31Green, pp. 50-51.
Afternoon

MUSIC

1. LATIN SALUTATORY, - W. W. Hayden, Deerfield
2. ORATION - - - Ruins in Central America
   C. P. Bowler, Auburn
3. ORATION - - - The South and Migration
   O. C. Atwater, Mantua
4. ORATION - - - A Representative Man
   W. H. Turner, Troy

MUSIC

5. ORATION - - - Progress of Mind in America
   H. O. Newcomb, Hiram
6. ORATION - - - Water
   A. Wilcox, Hinckley
7. ORATION - - - The Commercial Equator
   W. L. Hayden, Deerfield
8. ORATION - - - Chivalry
   J. M. Atwater, Mantua

9. COLLOQUY THE JEWESS, (from Ivanhoe)
   Personae Colloqii
   King Richard, O. C. Atwater Rebecca, Delia L. Turner
   Ivanhoe, A. B. Matthews Herald, B. H. Bostwick
   Grand Master, H. H. James 1st Witness, H. Woods
   Sir Albert Malvoisin, J. M. Atwater 2d Witness, S. P. Wolcott
   Sir Brian Guilt, H. H. Mack Higg, (a peasant), P. J. Squier
   Robin Hood, I. W. Ludlow Physician, H. C. White
   Squires and Guards

10. ORATION - - - Unity of Purpose -- with the Valedictory Address
    H. M. James, Troy

MUSIC

The public exhibitions at the annual Eclectic commencement, generally held outdoors, were attended by huge crowds. Those present at the exhibition in 1853 were reported as falling between two thousand and twenty-five hundred. 33

32 Ibid., pp. 81-82.

Allowing for exaggeration in these estimates, the crowds were probably enormous for a small academy located at a crossroads village of only a few houses.

Garfield was active in these exhibitions, and at the close of his first term gave the valedictory oration. For the commencement exercise of June 25, 1852, Garfield, with Corydon E. Fuller and Miss Almeda Booth, was appointed to write a colloquy. Garfield acted the principal part; and, although he gives Miss Booth the credit for writing most of the dialogue, Fuller declares that "many of the finest passages were written by Mr. Garfield." Garfield also was co-author of the colloquy, "Mordecai and Haman," which was presented the following year. He was one of the seven actors in this performance. These exercises provided Garfield opportunity for further speech experience.

Garfield soon became a student instructor at the Eclectic. He wrote in May of 1853: "I have seven, [classes] besides a writing class. They are Arithmetic, Grammar, Algebra, Geometry (or now Trigonometry), Caesar, Greek Reader and Virgil." In November of the same year he reported teaching classes in Arithmetic, Grammar, Geometry, Senior Algebra, History, Greek

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34 Green, p. 96.
35 Fuller, pp. 56, 86.
and Latin. In April of the following year he was better satisfied with his teaching assignment and wrote:

I hear a Virgil class recite at 5 o'clock in the morning, which makes me arise in good season. My other classes are: Grammar, Algebra classes, Geometry, Sallust and Xenophon... This, you see, gives me more mental but less guttural labor than Arithmetic, History, etc., would do.

It is not possible to say how much this teaching experience contributed to his speech training, but his teaching probably contributed considerably to his speaking.

While a student at the Eclectic, Garfield began preaching. He delivered his first sermon on March 27, 1852, to an audience of fourteen in a small community called Freedom. During the winter of 1853-1854, Garfield preached almost every Sunday. He filled pulpit appointments in the surrounding towns throughout his student days, but did not preach often in Hiram, where older and more experienced clergymen filled the pulpit. The experience gained in "appointment preaching" was also valuable speech training. In preaching at different places each Sunday he faced real audience situations, experienced different audience reactions, and had an excellent opportunity to practice speech making. Later he asked many of these same people for their political

39 Smith, I, 54.
40 Fuller, p. 104.
support.

An incident which occurred during Garfield's days at the Eclectic deserves special mention. His classmate, Corydon E. Fuller, relates that a strolling lecturer, Joseph Treat, came to Hiram early in May, 1852, and delivered several lectures in which he attacked the Christian faith and particularly the integrity of the Bible. At the close of each presentation, the lecturer challenged anyone in the audience to answer his arguments. The Eclectic students persuaded a mild mannered professor to accept the challenge, but the professor was unable apparently to cope with the "braggart." The students then prevailed on Garfield to answer Treat. At the close of one of the lectures in which the speaker had denounced Christianity with unusual vigor and asserted the translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek to be entirely inaccurate, Garfield arose to speak. Stating that he had listened attentively, he proceeded to ask Treat what the present participle of the verb to be was in the Greek. After the opponent was unable to answer, Garfield turned to the audience and asked what they thought of a man who criticized the work of scholars when he did not know the first thing a school boy learned in his Greek lesson. After this question Garfield delivered a eulogy on the Bible. Fuller says:

It is impossible for me to give any idea of his speech or of its effect upon his audience. Before he had spoken five minutes he had the sympathy of almost the entire assembly, 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.41

41 Fuller, pp. 52, 53, 54.
Although this incident as later related may have been colored in favor of Garfield, it is significant for at least two reasons: (1) it indicates his eagerness for public discussion; and (2) it probably increased his prestige among his fellow-students, thus providing additional opportunities for leadership in the various school activities.

Two individuals whom Garfield met at the Eclectic deserve special notice. They are Burke A. Hinsdale and Almeda A. Booth. The former had no influence on the early speech training of Garfield, but he later became most influential in Garfield's life. Hinsdale was a pupil in the Eclectic when Garfield was a student instructor. They became intimate friends and corresponded throughout Garfield's life. The large number of letters in the Garfield-Hinsdale correspondence and the frequent mention of Hinsdale in the Garfield Journal for a period of some twenty years bear eloquent testimony to the sincerity and strength of this friendship. In a letter dated April 17, 1876, Garfield writes: "I made a short speech on Saturday last, which I will send you and which I desire your opinion on. It is at sharp antagonism with some of our good men such as Hoar, who it seems to me has made a great mistake."\(^{143}\)

Study of the Garfield Papers indicates that he came more and to appreciate the constructive criticism offered by the younger

\(^{142}\) Most of the letters have been published in the volume already cited, Hinsdale-Garfield Letters.

man who became a professor of history, college president, and
an outstanding educator.

Miss Almeda A. Booth was a fellow-student of Garfield at
the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute. Later, in speaking
of addresses that he had made on various occasions, Garfield
says "the one which comes nearer to my own life than any I
ever made is one of the life of Miss Booth."

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.
I studied with her for two years. She was a teacher at Hiram,
and at the same time was fitting herself for college. When
I went away to Williams she went to Oberlin, where she gradu­
ated in the full college course. Being so much older than I,
she took at once one of those grand womanly interests in me,
and she did more towards the molding of my intellectual life
than any other person, unless it be President Hopkins. I
would say that she and President Hopkins were the two great
minds, outside of books, that helped shape my life. Though
I do not say it there, I will say to you that the history of
my intellectual growth is more fully told in my account of
her life than in anything else.44

Garfield had great respect for Almeda A. Booth; he
said, "In native powers of mind, in thoroughness and breadth
of scholarship, in womanly sweetness of spirit, and in the
quantity and quality of effective, unselfish work done, she
has not been excelled by any American woman."45

44 Edmond Kirke, "My Experience as a Lawyer," in North
American Review, CXLIV (June, 1877), p. 568. (This article con­
tains autobiographical notes given by the late President Garfield
to Edmond Kirke)

45 Burke A. Hinsdale, ed., The Works of James Abram
Garfield (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), II,
318. (referred to hereafter as Works)
On June 22, 1876, he delivered an address at Hiram College in her memory. The following selections from this address, in addition to showing the influence of Miss Booth on Garfield, give an insight into the classical studies he pursued. It is well to bear in mind, that in listing the studies of Miss Booth he is giving also an account of his own classical studies.

I first became acquainted with her qualities as a writer in the spring term of 1852, when Corydon E. Fuller and I were appointed to aid her in writing a colloquy for the public exercises at the close of the school year. . . . My admiration of her knowledge and ability was unbounded. . . . I remember that she and I were members of the class that began Xenophon's Anabasis, in the fall term of 1852. Near the close of that term, I also began to teach in the Eclectic, and thereafter, like her, could only keep up my studies outside of my own teaching hours . . . for nearly two years, she and I studied together, and recited in the same classes, frequently without other associates, till we had nearly completed the classical course. . . . During the summer vacation of 1853 . . . a literary society was formed, in which all took part. During those four weeks, besides taking an active part in the literary exercises of the society, Miss Booth read thoroughly, and for the first time, the Pastoral of Virgil,—that is, the Georgics and Bucolics entire,—and the first six books of Homer's Iliad, accompanied by a thorough drill in the Latin or Greek Grammar at each recitation.

. . . During the fall term of 1853, she read one hundred pages of Herodotus, and about the same amount of Livy. During that term, also, Professors Dunshee and Hull, and Miss Booth and I, met at her room two evenings of each week, to make a joint translation of the Book of Romans. . . . During the winter term of 1853-54, she continued to read Livy, and also read the whole of Demosthenes "On the Crown." The members of the class in Demosthenes were Miss Booth, A. Hull, C. C. Foote, and myself. During the spring term of 1854, she read the Germania and Agricola of Tacitus, and a portion of Hesiod.

The few spare hours which the school work left us were devoted to such pursuits as each preferred; but much study was done in common. I can name twenty or thirty books which will forever be doubly precious to me, because they were read and discussed in company with her. I can still read, between the lines, the memories of her first impression of the page, and her judgment of its merits. She was always ready to aid any friend with her best efforts. When I was in the hurry of preparing for a debate with Mr. Denton, in 1858, she read
not less than eight to ten volumes, and made admirable notes for me on these points which related to the topics of discussion.46

Garfield also pointed out in this address that many students eagerly sought her help in preparing orations and debates, and he described his own association with her for a quarter of a century as "one of the noblest and richest gifts that Heaven has vouchsafed to me."47

It is not possible to estimate the influence Miss Booth had on the speaking of Garfield; yet it is evident that she did play an important part in shaping his intellectual life and thus indirectly at least affected his speech making. She made contributions to Garfield, the orator, by encouraging thoroughness in study habits, in giving added impetus to his intellectual ambitions, and in strengthening his ethical idealism. Such influence, though more abstract than some others, was important in the formative years of the orator.

Williams College. Williams College, located in Williamstown, Massachusetts, was established October 20, 1791. Mark Hopkins was its president from 1836 until 1872, and the high academic standing and the excellent reputation it attained in the nineteenth century was due largely to this outstanding educator.48 When Garfield enrolled at Williams in 1854, the

46Works, II, 305-310.
student body included fifty-three seniors, fifty-one juniors, sixty-nine sophomores, and fifty-eight freshmen. These 231 students came from fourteen states, England, the Sandwich Islands, and South America. 49

Garfield was ready for the Junior Year when he entered. At that time the following courses appearing in the college catalog of 1854-55 were offered:

JUNIOR YEAR

FIRST TERM

Demosthenes on the Crown. (Champlin's)
Olmstead's Natural Philosophy.
Quintilian.
Botany. (Wood's)
Tacitus--Germania and Agricola.
Wayland's Political Economy.
SECOND TERM

Hopkins' Evidences of Revealed Religion.
Robinson's Astronomy.
Chemistry.
Natural Philosophy, completed.
Jackson's Optics.
THIRD TERM

French or German--Optional studies.
Compositions on Philosophical Subjects.

Disputations and Themes alternately by divisions, weekly, during the first and second Terms. Declamations daily through the year.

SENIOR YEAR

FIRST TERM

Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric.
Anatomy and Zoology.
Stewart's Elements of Intellectual Philosophy.
Whately's Logic.
Wayland's Elements of Moral Science.
Story on the Constitution.
SECOND TERM

Faley's Political Philosophy.
Kames' Elements of Criticism.

49 Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Williams College, For the Academical Year 1854-55, (Williamstown, Mass. 1854).
Kames, continued.

THIRD TERM
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.\(^50\)

The courses concerning Demosthenes, Quintilian, Campbell, and Whately are of special interest. Garfield took the course, "Philosophy of Rhetoric" under Dr. John Bascom, professor of rhetoric at Williams from 1855 to 1874 and president of the University of Wisconsin from 1874 until 1887. Bascom was the author of some twenty books, including one entitled "The Philosophy of Rhetoric."\(^51\) His influence on the rhetorical philosophy of Garfield will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Williams College catalog gives the following public programs in which students had opportunity for speech experience.

On the sixth Wednesday evening of the first term, and on the eighth Wednesday evening of the second term, Public Debates are held between disputants elected from the two literary societies which form the Adelphic Union. There is a Public Exhibition of the Junior Class at the close of the second term. The Exhibition of the Adelphic Union occurs on the evening of the third Wednesday in July. On the evening before Commencement, there is a Prize Rhetorical Exhibition, in which speakers elected from the Freshman, Sophomore, and Junior classes compete for one of three prizes.\(^52\)

\(^{50}\)Ibid. pp. 20-21.

\(^{51}\)Memorial Service in Honor of John Bascom at the University of Wisconsin (Wednesday, December 13, 1911). (Booklet in Library of Congress -- Printer not given -- call number LD6119 B 3A5).

\(^{52}\)Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Williams College 1854-55.
Garfield participated in these public exhibitions and other speech activity at Williams. Shortly after arriving at Williamstown he wrote to a friend:

I have visited one of two literary societies, and I have as yet heard no one that I should fear to stand before. They have splendid halls and each of the two have a library of 4000 volumes. . . . I think I can stand pretty well in that respect.  

Garfield chose to join the Philologian Society and he soon became very active in its program.  

On September 12, 1854 he wrote:

I have got fully afloat in the literary department. Two weeks ago I delivered an oration on Chivalry, and when the meeting was dismissed several seniors came to me and wanted me to speak on their side of the debate for next week. So I did and was not altogether sorry. I have never had so good an opportunity to improve in speaking as now. . . . The library furnishes information on almost every subject and a person can prepare himself.

The testimonies of classmates give insight into Garfield's participation in the literary society activities.  

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54 The debating societies played a prominent part in College life during a large part of the nineteenth century. They functioned "with unabated vigor, conducting strenuous parliamentary business sessions, assigning and criticizing compositions, orations, and debates, competing with one another for members and academic honors, amassing large libraries, holding public exhibition, jealously clinging to their independence from faculty interference, and, in general behaving like little republics." David Potter, Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1944), p. 71.


56 These testimonies were given years after the college days at Williams College and are no doubt colored by sentiment. However, in spite of this weakness the testimonies are interesting, and while they are somewhat to be discounted should not be entirely ignored.
a classmate of Garfield, gives the following account:

We belonged to the Philologian society, one of the two great literary societies of the college, and it was at his suggestion that I attended its weekly meetings regularly and almost always took part in the debate. I think he was considered our best debater, although we had several who were very good. . . . The great political questions of the day—the treatment of Kansas, the dangers from the influx of the foreigners, and from the Roman Catholic Church, the constitutionality of Personal Liberty Bills, the Crimean War, and the desirability of an elective judiciary—were eagerly debated in the Philologian, and he invariably took part, except during the period when he was President of the Society. . . . In all these debates I should say he was distinguished for moderation—not always perhaps in expression, but in opinion. His instincts were conservative. I remember distinctly that he was, when he came to college, a fervent supporter of an elective judiciary, but in preparing himself to take part in a debate on that subject, he studied himself over to the opposite side of the question, and began his speech by frankly admitting that he had within a week entirely changed his opinions on the subject.57

Mr. Hill also states that "two members of the Convention at Chicago which nominated him for president were active members of the society. . . ."

S. G. W. Benjamin, who was a freshman at Williams, when Garfield was a senior said:

Garfield's reputation and influence in College, so far as I remember, were chiefly due to forms of ability . . . in line with the successes of his career in after years. Garfield was a clear and forcible rather than elegant writer of prose and verse; he had a logical mind, a powerful way of presenting an argument to an audience, and remarkable quickness of repartee, humor and sarcasm in debate. His massive figure, commanding, self-confident manner, and magnificent bursts of fiery eloquence, won and held the attention of his audience from the moment he opened his lips. All these qualities were in their prime during his senior year, and I question whether he was ever more eloquent or convincing in Congress than he appeared on the college forum, with the faculty of one of the most critical audiences in America to laugh and applaud. . . . He was

57Bundy, pp. 34-35
undoubtedly one of the greatest natural debaters ever seen at Williams College.\(^{58}\)

Silas F. Hubbel, another classmate of Garfield, mentions the great rivalry between the two debating societies and remarks:

Garfield soon took prominence as a debater, and by his ready wit and intimate knowledge of the subject discussed generally won his side of the case. In October, 1855, in the public debate between the two societies held in the college chapel, he was one of the persons elected to represent his society in the debate. The subject for discussion was, "Was the Feudal System Beneficial?" The negative was supported by Garfield, and by his animated, earnest, and convincing arguments, and enthusiastic denunciations of the oppressions of the system, he won the hearty applause of his audience.

At the beginning of the Senior year he was elected President of the Philologian Society by a large majority, and won the admiration of all by his knowledge of parliamentary tactics, and the ease and grace with which he presided over the assembly.\(^{59}\)

Rev. John Tatlock, also a classmate of Garfield declares:

In his Junior year he was engaged in a public debate between representatives of the two literary societies. The speaker who preceded him on the opposite side produced an elaborate illustration from "Don Quixote." Garfield, in reply, raised a laugh against his opponent by comparing him to the knight attacking the windmill. "Or rather," said he, "it would be more appropriate to say that the gentleman resembles the windmill attacking the knight.\(^{60}\)

Mr. Lavalette Wilson, another contemporary at Williams, said:

When questions for discussion arose in the college societies, Garfield would give each of his allies a point to investigate; books and documents from all the libraries would be overhauled, and the mass of facts thus obtained being brought together, Garfield would analyze the whole, assign each of his associates his part, and they would go into the battle to conquer. He was

\(^{58}\) Smith, I, 91-92.

\(^{59}\) Bundy, p. 38.

\(^{60}\) Ibid., p. 37.
always in earnest and persistent in carrying his point, often against apparently insurmountable obstacles, and in college election contests (which are often more intense than national elections) he was always successful.61

It seems that at least three conclusions can be reached from the commendation of these fellow-students: (1) Garfield was obviously very active in the public speaking exercises of the literary society; (2) a wide range of subjects was debated including both current and ancient questions; (3) the fellow students of Garfield considered him thorough in preparation and effective in debate.

It should be pointed out that Garfield served as president of the Philologian society his senior year and no doubt gained valuable experience in parliamentary procedure, public speaking, and possibly practical politics. The president of the Philologian was no mere figurehead, for he was required to act as judge in the debates and to render the decision "according to the merits of the Debate."62 The literary society at Williams College was important in the speech training of the future President of the United States.

At college Garfield was also a member of the "Equitable Fraternity," a non-secret society. Apparently a good deal of rivalry existed between this organization and the six secret societies on the campus. In the Equitable Fraternity Garfield gained further speech experience. He wrote:

61Ibid., p. 39.

62The Constitutions of the Adelphic Union and Philologian Societies of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., 1856. (Published in the form of a pamphlet and is found in the Library of Congress).
There are six secret societies in college, and the anti-secret society, to which I belong, has been making some exertions to counteract their evil influences. They became very indignant and challenged us to a discussion. They chose three champions, and our society three. The principal labor of the discussion comes upon me, and, as the speeches are to be written out in full and published in book form, I am desirous of doing the thing as well as I can. I told them, since they gave the challenge, we had the right of choosing our weapons, so I proposed an oral discussion. They refused, and, on being pushed for the reason of their refusal, they said they had not as good debaters as we, and would prefer to write. So we accepted. I shall visit the Astor Library, New York, and probably the Public Library in Boston, and make researches on the general subject of Secrecy and Secret Organizations. 63

The rivalry between this fraternity and the secret organizations is further indicated in the following quotation taken from a letter which Garfield wrote while at Williams College:

You remember the Logian election. There has been great excitement among the aspirants for office within the last three weeks and a strong Secret-Society coalition was formed to run in their own men to the offices and there is always a great strife for the first Presidency. Last Wednesday evening much to the chagrin of the clique, I was elected to the first Presidency for the coming year by a vote of 46 to 30.64

It is worthy of note that while at Williams College Garfield became a member of the "Mills Theological Society," which was made up of prospective young ministers. Although Garfield disagreed with the members on a religious basis, he was active and reported participating in the debates of that society also.

During his last year in college Garfield served as editor of the Williams Quarterly. He was enthusiastic and earnest


64 Letter to Corydon S. Fuller, dated Williams College, July 17, 1855. Reminiscences of James A. Garfield, p. 197.
in his efforts to succeed at this task. This publication contains some news items of college happenings and discusses some of the campus problems. The main purpose of the Quarterly, apparently, was to give the student an opportunity to write literary articles. Garfield wrote several articles during his editorship, and in a letter to a friend he stated: "You have doubtless received the Quarterly before this time. . . . I had nine-tenths of all the labor of criticising, correcting proof, keeping the books, and carrying on the business correspondence."65

An important feature in the training of the future statesman was the opportunity he had to hear outstanding men speak while at Williams College. He heard Congressman John Z. Goodrich discuss the Kansas-Nebraska struggle. Although uncommitted in politics at the beginning of his college career, Garfield was reported to have said at the close of the congressman's speech, "This subject is entirely new to me. I am going to know all about it."66

The commencement speaker in 1854 was Ralph Waldo Emerson. The young college student from the West was much impressed with Emerson. "I could not sleep," he remarked, "after hearing his thunderstorm of eloquent thoughts."67 Apparently the difference in theological views between Garfield and

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66Bundy, p. 40.
the noted lectures did not keep the former from recognizing
the greatness of Emerson. Garfield also heard Henry Ward
Beecher and said he was much pleased with him. Thus
within a few months he had heard Henry Ward Beecher, Ralph
Waldo Emerson, and Mark Hopkins. Probably few young men of
his day were permitted the privilege of studying so many
outstanding men in such a brief period.

It was the good fortune of Garfield to be associated
with one of the greatest educators of the nineteenth century,
Mark Hopkins, who was destined to play a major role in mold­
ing the future orator and statesman. Garfield was impressed
with the talented educator and after hearing him speak he
recorded in his Journal:

First and most important he impressed 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 certainly is a great
thinker though I should not say a very original one. There
is a symmetry about his mind that is admirable. His manner
and gestures are peculiarly his own, and though they look
well on him, yet they would be awkward for most men. On the
whole I think he is a great man.

Garfield's reverence and admiration grew and during his
senior year he commented:

We are now gathering the ripest fruit of the college course,
and our beloved and powerful President Hopkins is leading us
with a strong hand along paths of thought which my feet have
never before trodden. I hope to save some of the treasures
he is giving us, to use in coming life.

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68Letter to Corydon & Fuller, dated Williams College,

69Quoted by Smith, I, 74.

70Letter to Corydon E. Fuller, dated Williams College,
Garfield, p. 216.
A contemporary, who likewise studied under Hopkins, said:

Toward Williams College he has always entertained a most filial affection, and ever speaks with deep feeling of the benefits which he derived from his two years' residence there, and especially from the instruction and influence of Dr. Hopkins, the President, who during his thirty years' tenure of that office impressed himself as strongly upon the young men under his charge as any college instructor the country has ever seen, and who has old pupils on the Supreme Bench of the United States, in both Houses of Congress, and in other positions of trust and influence throughout the land.\(^\text{71}\)

"It was fortunate," Senator Hoar observes, "that his vigorous youth found itself under the influence of a very great but very simple and sincere character. . . . Dr. Hopkins taught his pupils that lesson in which some of our colleges so sadly fail--reverence for the republican life of which they were to form a part, and for the great history of whose glory they were inheritors."\(^\text{72}\)

The teaching of Hopkins was not only scholarly, but greatly motivated the students. In his classes he used charts and diagrams effectively and was skilled in the use of the Socratic method in the discussions of the classroom.\(^\text{73}\)

The influence of Hopkins on Garfield did not cease with the graduation, for a strong friendship grew between the student and teacher. Later the Williams College President offered timely criticism to the Ohio Congressman. Garfield recorded in his Journal: "I received a letter today from

\(^{71}\text{Bundy, p. 35.}\)

\(^{72}\text{Hoar, pp. 23-24.}\)

Dr. Hopkins speaking in the kindest terms of my amnesty speech and suggesting that I ought not to speak as often as I have formerly done. 74

How much did Mark Hopkins influence the speaking of James A. Garfield? Probably the indirect influence was great for: (1) Mark Hopkins increased Garfield's devotion for the democratic way of life and deepened his appreciation of the American heritage of republican government; (2) Hopkins taught him to think more objectively and reflectively -- this was a valuable contribution to the speech making of the orator; (3) Mark Hopkins gave an added impetus to the ethical and moral concepts instilled in Garfield by his mother and warmly encouraged at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute; (4) Hopkins gave him a broader outlook on life in general and increased his scope of interests; and (5) Mark Hopkins supplied an intellectual stimulus that very likely proved a significant help in Garfield's general speech preparation.

Garfield spoke sincerely when he stated in a letter to Mark Hopkins: "I am sure you do not know how great a gratification it is to me to know that I am kindly remembered by you, whom I so much reverence and to whom I am under so many obligations.75

74 Garfield Journal (February 3, 1876). This manuscript Journal is deposited with the Garfield Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. (referred to hereafter as Journal)

LATER SPEECH EXPERIENCE

President of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute.

When Garfield graduated from Williams College, he returned to the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute to become an instructor of the ancient languages. He soon gained an enviable reputation as preacher, teacher, debater, and in a few months he became the head of the school.

Garfield had opportunity to speak on many occasions while president of the academy on the Western Reserve. He spoke at the opening of each school term and at other important school events. In the summer of 1857 he wrote to a friend:

We have remodeled the government, published rules, published a new catalogue and have now, the fourth week, 250 students (no primary) as orderly as clockwork and all hard at work . . . . I teach seven classes and take entire charge of the school and its correspondence besides. I have the most advanced classes in the school and deliver most of the morning lectures.

The daily chapel assembly was a vital part of the schedule at the Eclectic. These meetings, referred to as the "morning lectures," included a devotional service consisting of Bible reading, singing, prayer, and a lecture. Garfield's predecessor discussed mostly Biblical themes at these lectures, but Garfield changed this procedure and gave speeches on "education, teaching, books, methods of study and reading, physical geography, geology, history, the Bible, morals, current topics and life questions."77

77 Green, pp. 105-106.
During the period of his administration Garfield gave special attention to instruction for teachers by delivering lectures on methods of teaching and school government. He also expressed his views on education in speeches to "Teacher Institutes" on the Western Reserve. He spoke extemporaneously from notes, and some of these outlines are preserved among the Garfield Papers.

While President of the Eclectic, Garfield's "interest and enthusiasm in the work of the societies did not diminish," and the literary societies with his encouragement were reported to be "enthusiastic and successful." Green says the Garfield administration gave attention to elocution and "how to become a good reader." He further comments:

It was held, that "to become a good reader, two things are requisite—first, the power of vocal expression; and second an appreciation of the author's thought. For this reason a part of each recitation will be devoted to vocal gymnastics, and the adaptation of the voice to express the different emotions and passions. Then a close study of the sentiment to be read, will enable the student to read 'with the spirit and the understanding,' instead of merely mouthing the printed words."

The curriculum was broadened during Garfield's administration. Murdoch and Russell's text, Orthophony, or Vocal Culture,
was introduced into the "first year course," Quackenbos' Composition and Rhetoric in the third year course, and Demosthenes' Select Orations were studied the fourth year.

The years that Garfield spent as head of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute were valuable to his development as a speaker, for they afforded new opportunities to improve his skill by delivering the "morning lectures," making speeches at school functions and teacher institutes.

Disciple Preacher and the Denton Debate. Garfield's most active years as a minister for the Disciples of Christ were the five years immediately following his graduation from Williams. In January, 1858 he wrote: "I speak somewhere every Lord's day and have written and delivered lectures this season. Garfield performed marriage ceremonies, officiated at baptismal services, preached funerals and conducted revival meetings. In 1858 he wrote:

I have had the most to do in two or three protracted meetings. One in Hiram, 34 additions; one in Newburg, 20 additions. I have spoken every Sunday, and fulfilled my duties as teacher.


84Green, pp. 129-130. (Murdoch and Russell's Elocution and Quackenbos' Rhetoric remained in the curriculum for many years and may be found in the early catalogues after the Eclectic had become Hiram College in 1867).


86Green, p. 103.
and manager of the school. 87

B. A. Hinsdale was closely associated with Garfield and is qualified to give an account of the latter's preaching experience. He gives the following summary:

For full five years he preached somewhere nearly every Sunday. A number of churches can be named to which he preached "one-half his time" for several years. He appeared occasionally in the pulpits of churches where he had no regular engagements. At the great "yearly meetings" where thousands gathered under the old "Bedford tent" or under the shade, he was a favorite preacher. His sermons live only in the hearts of those who heard them. They were strong in the ethical rather than in the evangelistic 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. 88

It can be concluded on the basis of the evidence just quoted that Garfield had wide experience in pulpit speaking when he entered the United States Congress in 1863. "Indeed," comments F. M. Green, "he did not cease entirely to preach until after his election to Congress in 1863." 89 In the Garfield Papers there are many outlines of sermons he delivered in the eighteen fifties. Following are reproductions of three of these outlines, and each one represents a type of outline used frequently by Garfield in pulpit speaking.


89 Green, p. 103.
Some five heads or commands.
How can it be obeyed? Hard to know.
We make Christ too remote from us.
We will look at him as a friend.
Outer conditions as basis of character.
One good influence only.
Laziness, Nazareth, Cast into trade.
Some of ministry, teachings.
Wrote no system of philosophy or morals.
Compare him with Plato, Soc, Arist.,
in reference to age, study, doubt.
He taught a spiritual Kingdom.
Soul - God - Reconciliation of the two.
Life and claims.
Purity, Perfection, Simplicity, Duty.
Authority, Love, Explanation.
Ephesians 2: 1-5

1. Love
2. Power
3. Sanctification
4. Build
5. Power
6. Eternal estate

Eternal estate — Faith and love.
New state how obtain, if any man be in Christ he is a new creature — How to get it.

Phil. 4: 8.
Bible

2037 - Oct 7th 1854

Genesis - 14th chapter (2. Where or when?)

Pent. = Beginning - The Hebrew נָּעַר, 1. in the beginning.

Circumstances of the World - Ideality

1. To give the real origin, first, last.

2. To give origin to history of Church.

The contents of the book are:

1. Origins of the World (Chap. 1-2)
   - Its agreement with science (Astronomy, Geology, etc.).
   - Ditto with Paradise (Chap. 3-8).

2. History of the World before the flood (Ch. 3-7)
   1. Fall and expulsion from Paradise (Chap. 3).
   2. History of Adam and sons of Noah (Chap. 11).
   3. Wickedness of world and judgment (Chap. 9).

3. General History of Man kind after the Deluge (Chap. 11)
   1. Distribution of the world and sons of Noah, 9-28.
   2. Confusion of tongues (11).

4. Patriarchs - A. Isaac, Isaac, Joseph
   - Birth and incident of Joseph (Chap. 11)

5. Popes of Christ - Adam, Melchisedec
   - Most close with birth of Joseph.

Ans. 784 - Died Moses die on mount.
In December 1858, Garfield had an opportunity to put into practice the principles he had learned in the debating societies and to add to his experience in religious speaking. At that time he debated a free thinker named John Denton. The latter affirmed: "Man, animals and vegetables came into existence by the operation of laws of spontaneous generation and progressive development, and there is no evidence that there was ever any exertion of direct creative power on this planet."\(^{90}\)

Garfield diligently prepared for this debate, and in describing it he said:

I have never been nerved up to such a pitch of mental intensity as previous to and during the discussion . . . . The large hall was densely packed below and above and each session averaged from 700 to 1000 people. 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.\(^{91}\)

The Disciples and other religious people of the locality were apparently highly pleased with Garfield's performance, and one prominent Disciple preacher said of the Denton debate, "If we at Chagrin Falls Church had paid $100 each toward James' education, we should be more than repaid by this debate."\(^{92}\)

The debate with Denton is important for the following reasons: (1) it broadened Garfield's experience in religious speaking; (2) it increased his ethical appeal among the people

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\(^{90}\)Smith, I, 123.

\(^{91}\)Ibid., pp. 124-125.

\(^{92}\)Garfield-Hinsdale Letters, p. 42.
of the Western Reserve; and (3) it helped to stimulate an interest in scientific subjects which Garfield never lost.

After the debate Garfield delivered several speeches at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute and other places on geology and religion, as an outgrowth of his preparation for the Denton debate.93

Early Political and Civil War Speaking. When Garfield returned to Hiram from Williams College, he was a follower of the infant Republican Party, which vigorously opposed the extension of slavery in the territories. Garfield took an active part in politics for the first time in the campaign of 1856. He made good use of the debating experience he had gained in the literary societies. To his friend Fuller he wrote:

In the great political issue of the day I felt myself justified in taking an active part and the moment I was fairly afloat I had more calls to speak than I could respond to. I held three debates, the chief one at Garrettsville. The Democrats challenged me to meet any speaker they might choose in Portage county, for they were not satisfied with their champion (a Warren lawyer) with whom I had debated before. I accepted and they chose the strongest Democrat in the county, the editor of the Portage Sentinel. He had an immense audience and made three speeches each. The Republican papers said he was vanquished and his Democratic friends did not deny it. I have delivered twenty-six lectures before the school and several in the churches, making forty in all.94

In 1859 Garfield permitted his name to be put in nomination

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93 Garfield Papers (Several of the outlines of these speeches are found among the Public Utterances of this period).

as the Republican candidate for state senator. The Denton debate served to extend his reputation. This, added to the fact that he had demonstrated on several occasions his effectiveness in political debate, made him a wise choice for the young Republican Party to nominate for the state senate. Garfield's nomination, according to Wasson, "was brought about by a group of Disciples in Ravenna, the largest town in Portage county."95

Garfield conducted his first campaign for public office vigorously and enthusiastically. He made thirty political speeches, averaging about two hours in length. In stumping the counties he contrasted the parties, showing the advantages of the new party. He apparently enjoyed the campaign, for in a letter to a friend he gives the following summary.

The Democrats and a few envious Republicans made me the center of attack and so papers and stumpers were active in secret and open slander and abuse. I returned the fire with interest. The result was that I had 1,430 majority in the two counties (Summit and Portage), it being 130 more votes than Governor Dennison obtained in the same territory.96

Thus in 1859, at the age of twenty-eight, Garfield was elected to the State Senate. Probably his reputation as an orator enhanced his prestige in the State Legislature, and he was not long in demonstrating his ability.

His first speech in the Ohio Senate was an effort to

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keep a provision in the school laws for libraries, but the measure was defeated. He supported vigorously the Union and Union measures necessary to the war effort. The Ohio legislature passed a joint resolution to invite the legislatures of Tennessee and Kentucky to visit the capitol of Ohio. Garfield, chosen to make the contact went to Louisville, Kentucky, to present the invitation to the legislatures of the two respective states meeting at that time in Louisville. In his speech he was loyal to the Union and at the same time careful not to defend the "fire eaters" who were leaning toward secession. On the 4th of July, 1860, Garfield delivered an oration at Ravenna, Ohio, which was published in pamphlet form. His reputation as an effective speaker was growing and his services as an orator were more and more in demand. In this same summer he addressed a large Republican rally and was very active in the campaign that fall. 97 He delivered some fifty speeches in almost as many communities and attributed the demand for his services as a stump speaker in this election of 1860 to the speech he had made at the State Convention in the summer. He wrote:

I had the good—or bad—fortune to make a speech in State Convention in Columbus, in July, 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. 98

97 For details of Garfield's life during this period see Smith, pp. 147-153.

Until 1859 Garfield had spoken mostly on religious and educational subjects, but with his nomination and election to the State Senate he entered a new phase of his speaking career. Soon after his entry into politics, a momentous event occurred that provided shock forceful enough to cause a break with the past, and to launch him definitely into a political career. This event was the Civil War.

After war was declared, Garfield returned to the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute and continued his teaching and preaching until he received a telegram from Governor Dennison asking him to become a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Union Army.

Garfield officially entered the service on August 21, 1861, as lieutenant colonel at the head of the Forty-second Regiment of Ohio. On September 5 Governor Dennison commissioned him colonel and ordered him to help in raising a regiment. In carrying out this order Garfield used again his experience in public speaking to great advantage. He is reported to have appeared at a dance and, after having made a twenty-minute speech, secured sixty enlistments. He spoke to men of his own district and was successful in his efforts to raise recruits for the Forty-second Ohio Volunteers. Bundy says: "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."

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100 Bundy, p. 54.
Garfield served under General Buell. He successfully carried out an assignment to destroy the threat of the Union forces caused by the invasion of a Confederate force under Humphrey Marshall, took part in the Battle of Shiloh, served as Chief of Staff under Rosecrans, participated in the Battle of Chickamauga, and received a Major-General's commission. His election to the United States Congress in 1863 brought about the resignation of his commission and brought to a close his military career.

It is not possible to say with certainty how much Garfield's army experience influenced him as a speaker; however, it seems reasonable to draw some specific conclusions. It increased his ethical proof in the North; increased his prestige in the United States Congress, especially when speaking concerning military affairs; gave him a broader background for his speeches dealing with post war problems; and provided him with a wealth of illustrative material for later congressional speeches.

Legal Speaking. When Garfield was president of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, he began a private study of law. "I have been for some time," he wrote a friend, "indeed for years—thinking of the law, though my early prejudices were very strong against it. . . . I have been reading law a little from time to time, and should I conclude to practice I could begin without a great deal of delay."101 Below, in Garfield's own words, is the story of rapid advance

in the profession, and his explanation of why some minimized his legal work.

There is a group of people who seem anxious to belittle me as a lawyer. Speaking of my employment in the De Golyer pavement matter, for instance, they say: "Garfield was not employed as a lawyer, because he is not a lawyer." Now the reason of this is, probably, that all professional men are exceedingly jealous of any one who comes up to their profession through any but the regular channels. The regular channel to the law is to study in a lawyer's office, sweep out the office for a year or two, be a clerk for a year or two more, then be pettyfog in a justice's court, and slowly and gradually, after being subordinate to everybody, and the older heads have died off, to feel his way as a practicing lawyer. If after fifteen or twenty years' practice the man gets a case in the United States Supreme Court, and is admitted there, he considers it a red-letter day in his history.

I did not follow that route. I made my study of the law as complete as any one I know of, but I did it in my own room at Hiram, though, to comply with statute, I entered my name formally with Mr. Riddle, at Cleveland. In 1861 I asked a committee of the Ohio Supreme Court to examine me, and I was then admitted to the bar of the State. When the war struck us I was about forming partnership, intending to go regularly into the practice; but I had then never tried or argued a case, and never had any legal experience whatever. 102

Garfield's first case was none other than the famous ex parte Milligan case of 1861 which established the right of the civil courts over civilians. He was invited to assist in this case by Jeremiah Black. Garfield explained that he did not receive any financial remuneration from the noted case, and paid for the printing of his own brief. However, the effort did give him an immediate standing in the United States Supreme Court and brought him additional cases. He remarked that after the famous trial he had from two to seven cases each year before the Supreme Court. 103


103 Ibid., p. 567.
In 1868 Black chose Garfield as the leading counsel for the Alexander Campbell Will Case. Campbell had left a large estate to the children of his second wife. In his later years he had been given to hallucinations. This fact enabled the children by his first wife to contest the will by questioning the competency of the testator. "I spoke," Garfield wrote concerning the case, "six hours and a half . . . . I suppose it may not be immodest for me to say to you that I think I have never done a more creditable piece of intellectual work than on that trial . . . ." Garfield won the case and the will was sustained.

Garfield was associated with Benjamin H. Curtis in an important case concerning the liability of life insurance companies whose policy holders entered the service of the enemy. The time Garfield was able to give to the practice of the law was limited, but there are occasional references throughout his Journal of work done on a brief or of some case in progress in the Supreme Court. For example, his entry for February 28, 1876, included this remark: "I resumed my argument in the Supreme Court and spoke an hour . . . . I was well prepared for this argument but did not satisfy myself as usual."  

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104 Bundy, p. 184.
105 Ibid., p. 182
In discussing the legal background of the speaker, it seems wise to point out the intimate friendship with Jeremiah Black, and the probable influence of the jurist on the young congressman. Black and Garfield were both excellent conversationalists and possessed broad and liberal educations. Garfield recorded in his Journal: "I never meet Judge Black without feeling what power, culture and genius of mind has to overcome all the roughness of partisan feelings, and make a great and delightful friend. I am glad the Judge is elected to the Constitution Convention."107

Although Garfield admired Judge Black very much, he did not hesitate to disagree with him. In his Journal he records this incident:

Called on Judge Black at the Ebbitt House in reference to our note now due on the Virginia farm. Had quite a long talk on the political situation. Judge Black holds that the House has the exclusive right to count the vote, because it is empowered in a certain contingency to elect a President and the necessary incident to that power is the right to count the votes in order to ascertain whether a cause has arisen for the House to elect a President. This assumption is a monstrous subversion of the Constitutional provision for an election by the people; for the House could in every case where there is not an absolute defeat on election by the Electors.108 [not too clear in statement, but verbatim]

When the Electoral Commission was to be appointed to settle the Hayes-Tilden election, Judge Black came to see Garfield and advised him not to sit on the Commission. He advised such action because Garfield had opposed the bill creating the commission as unconstitutional, had committed

107 Journal (1872).
108 Journal (January 10, 1877).
himself in the Sherman report, and his refusal would "avoid a serious collision with the Democratic Party." However, after consultation with Hoar and others, Garfield decided that to withdraw his name would displease his own party. He therefore refused Judge Black's advice. While Judge Black and Garfield were good friends, the latter was by no means controlled by the noted jurist. Garfield's acquaintance and friendship with Judge Black was responsible, at least in part, for the legal speaking of Garfield in the United States Supreme Court, and added to his general speech preparation.

SUMMARY

It has been the purpose of this chapter to give the background of James A. Garfield, with emphasis on his early training and his speech experience. Garfield's father died when James was but eighteen months old, but his mother and older brother courageously ran their small farm on the frontier, and the family was kept together. While it is not possible to say how much Garfield's mother influenced him, it is evident that her firm faith in the bible and her patriotism were instilled in her son at an early age and left their imprint on him. At the age of three Garfield entered school, early showed promise of unusual ability to learn, and was selected by his family as one who must secure an education.

At Geauga Academy, a Free Will Baptist institution,

109Journal (early months of 1877).
Garfield's chief interest was forensic activity. Here he began a long and pleasant association with the literary and debating society, which was popular in the colleges and universities in the eighteen fifties. Garfield soon transferred to the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, which was run by the Disciples of Christ and whose teaching was in harmony with his religious beliefs. Here, as at Geauga Academy, the debating societies played an important role in student life, and Garfield found ample opportunity to continue his debating. He participated actively in the Philomathean Literary Society and "never failed to perform any part assigned him." Garfield also found opportunity for speech experience in the public exhibitions held each year at the commencement. While a student at Hiram, Garfield began preaching and filled various pulpits in the vicinity of Hiram. Garfield also became a student teacher at the Eclectic, and it is possible that his experience in organizing and presenting his lessons to the class furthered to some degree his speech training.

During Garfield's student days at the Eclectic at Hiram, Ohio, he met Burke A. Hinsdale and Almeda A. Booth. The former became a life long friend and correspondent and one of Garfield's most trusted critics. The latter made contributions to Garfield, the orator, by encouraging thoroughness in study habits, giving added impetus to his intellectual ambitions, and strengthening his ethical idealism.

In 1854 Garfield enrolled as a junior at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts. Garfield studied rhetoric under John Bascom and had contact with some of the work of
such significant writers in public address as Demosthenes, Quintilian, Campbell, and Whately. Williams College, like the Eclectic at Hiram, offered Garfield excellent opportunities to continue his speech experience in debating societies and public exhibitions. The testimonies of classmates indicate that Garfield was a leader in the student forensic activities on the Williams College campus. Garfield was an active member of the Philologian Society, the Equitable Fraternity, and the Mills Theological Society, and forensic activity was an important phase of the program of each one of these organizations. During his senior year Garfield served as editor of the Williams Quarterly.

While at Williams College, Garfield had the opportunity of hearing such outstanding men as Henry Ward Beecher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mark Hopkins. The latter probably made substantial contribution to the speaking of Garfield by teaching him to think more objectively and reflectively, adding impetus to the ethical and moral concepts instilled in early life, giving him a broader outlook on life, increasing his scope of interest, and supplying an intellectual stimulus that led to wider reading and study.

After graduation from Williams College, Garfield returned to teach in the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute and soon became its president. As head of the Eclectic, Garfield had unusual opportunity to put into practice the principles of speech making he had acquired in previous study, for he delivered a speech each day in the chapel assembly, made
speeches at school functions, and teacher institutes.

For five years after Garfield's return from Williams-town, he was active in the ministry for the Disciples of Christ. He spoke somewhere almost each Sunday and engaged in a religious debate that brought him increased prestige on the Western Reserve.

Beginning in 1856 Garfield became somewhat active in political oratory, participating for the first time in a national campaign. In 1859 he received the Republican nomination of his district for the State Senate, and after a vigorous campaign was elected by a respectable majority. When the Civil War came, Garfield used his speaking ability to raise troops for his regiment.

Thus when Garfield entered the United States Congress in 1863, he had extensive speech background and already enjoyed an enviable reputation as an effective debater and orator.
CHAPTER II
THE SPEAKER'S VIEWS

The titles of Garfield's speeches made between 1876 and 1880 indicate that he spoke on most of the vital issues of his day. It is the purpose of this chapter to give Garfield's views on these issues. Three of the major political issues that emerged immediately following the Civil War were: reconstruction, high protective tariff, and the currency question. On the first issue Garfield did not speak often, nor did he play an outstanding part in its determination, but he generally favored and voted with the radical Republicans. Garfield spoke quite often on the issues of a high protective tariff and the currency question, as these two problems remained prominent during the years of 1876 to 1880. He also spoke on such questions as amnesty, the Electoral Commission, State sovereignty, fitness of the Democratic Party to govern, righteousness of the Northern cause, the press, and science and education.

TARIFF

Although Garfield believed in a protective tariff, he tried to avoid being an extremist in his earlier years in Congress. He said in a speech:

We have seen that one extreme school of economists would place the price of all manufactured articles in the hands of foreign producers by rendering it impossible for our manufacturers to compete with them; while the other extreme school, by making it impossible for the foreigner to see his competing ware in our market, would give the people no immediate check upon the prices which our
manufacturers might fix for their products. I disagree with both these extremes. I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufacturers can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of trade, and regulate the price as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily we shall, year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade. I am for that free trade which can only be achieved through a reasonable protection.¹

In writing to Hinsdale in 1867 Garfield said:

You know my views on the tariff. I am equally assaulted by the free traders and by the extreme tariff men. There is passion enough in the country to run a steam-engine in every village, and a spirit of proscription which keeps pace with the passion. My own course is chosen and it is quite probable it will throw me out of public life.²

Garfield did become more favorable toward a high protective tariff in his speeches delivered between 1876 and 1880. In a speech delivered in 1878 Garfield strongly defended "the constitutionality of a tariff for the encouragement and protection of manufacturers."³ He declared:

So important, in my view, is the ability of the nation to manufacture all those articles necessary to arm, equip, and clothe our people, that if it could not be secured in any other way I would vote to pay money out of the Federal Treasury to maintain government iron and steel, woolen and cotton mills, at whatever cost. Were we to neglect these great interests and depend upon other nations, in what condition of helplessness should we find ourselves when we were again involved in


²Ibid., p. 77.

war with the very nations on whom we were depending to furnish us these supplies! The system adopted by our fathers is wiser, for it so encourages the great national industries as to make it possible at all times for our people to equip themselves for war, and at the same time so increases their intelligence and skill as to make them better fitted for all the duties of citizenship both in war and in peace. We provide for the common defence by a system which promotes the general welfare.  

In the speech, "The Good Tariff Bill," Garfield relates a conversation with Horace Greeley, which sets forth with further clarity Garfield's views on high protective tariff:

My view of the danger of extreme positions on the questions of tariff rates may be illustrated by a remark made by Horace Greeley in the last conversation I ever had with that distinguished man. Said he, "My criticism of you is, that you are not sufficiently high protective in your views." I replied, "What do you advise?" He said, "If I had my way, if I were king of this country, I would put a duty of $100 a ton on pig-iron, and a proportionate duty on everything else that can be produced in America. The result would be that our people would be obliged to supply their own wants, manufactures would spring up, competition would finally reduce prices, and we should live wholly within ourselves." I replied, that the fatal objection to his theory was that no man is king of this country, with power to make his policy permanent. But as all our policies depend upon popular support, the extreme measure proposed would be at an opposite extreme, and our industries would suffer from violent reactions. For this reason, I believe that we ought to seek that point of stable equilibrium somewhere between a prohibitory tariff, on the one hand, and a tariff that gives no protection, on the other. What is that point of stable equilibrium? In my judgment it is this: a rate so high that foreign producers cannot flood our markets and break down our home manufacturers, to combine and raise the prices,
nor so high as to stimulate an unnatural and unhealthy growth of manufactures."

For all practical purposes, Garfield embraced the more or less orthodox Republican view and thus he became more acceptable to his party. He probably was not an important figure in shaping his party's position on the tariff. On this issue it seems that the party shaped the man rather than that the man shaped the party.

CURRENCY

Garfield's view on the currency question is quite different from his position on the tariff issue. On this question Garfield, possessing genuine convictions, did not waver. He early took a firm stand on the financial question of his day. He said:

"... the only honest basis of value is a currency redeemable in specie at the will of the holder. I am an advocate of paper money, but that paper money must represent what it professes on its face. I do not wish to hold in my hands the printed lies of the government; I want its promise to pay, signed by the high officers of the government, sacredly kept in the exact meaning of the words of the promise."

He wrote Hinsdale: "In reference to finance, I believe that the great remedy for our ills is an early return to specie payments, which can only be effected by the contraction of our paper currency. There is a huge clamor against both and in favor of expansion."

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5 Works, II, 565 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 12, 1876).
6 quoted in Bundy, pp. 60-61 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 16, 1866.)
7 ibid., p. 77.
Garfield made it clear that he did not believe that Congress could increase the prosperity or wealth of the country by issuing paper money that was irredeemable. He said in his speech, "Honest Money," the following:

What is paper money, so called? Is it money? It is a title to money, a deed for money, but it is not money. . . . When you can enlarge your farm by changing the figures in your deeds; when your dairy-maid can make more butter and cheese by watering the milk; when you can have more cloth by decreasing your yardstick one half; when you can sell more tons of merchandise by shortening your pound one half, -- then, and not until then, you can increase the value of your property or labor by decreasing your standard of values.

The financial question with Garfield was a matter of right and wrong and to his position he brought the force of his ethical idealism. In 1878 he wrote to Hinsdale: "Concerning the future, I feel no great certainty. On many accounts I prefer to retire from public life and may do so; but the present struggle for honest money seems to make a very imperative demand on me to stand at my post a little longer." The same year he declared in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall in Boston:

I affirm against all opposers, that the highest and foremost present duty of the American people is to complete the resumption of specie payments, first of all, because the sacred faith of this republic is pledged to resumption; and if it were never so hard to do it, if the burdens were ten times greater than they are, this nation dare not look in the face of men and God and break its plighted word.

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Works, II, 598 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).


Works, II, 599.
The Republican Party came to accept the position on the currency question that Garfield had consistently and zealously advocated. Garfield, as is clearly shown in the following quotation from his biographical notes, was proud of his consistent stand on the currency issue.

In the fall of my return from Europe the Republicans of this State had a miserable platform in favor of paying the bonded debt in greenbacks, and had fought on that issue. I had no sooner got back than my friends said to me, "For the Lord's sake, don't say anything on this subject, because the die is cast—the State is swept into the current."

I was on the point of leaving for Washington, and before I should return my successor would be nominated; therefore it was that my friends told me to be careful of my utterances, for the meeting I rose and gave them a speech for the honest payment of the public debt, according to the letter of the contract, right in the teeth of their platform, and I said to them: "Such as I value your opinion, I denounce this theory which has worked into the party in this State as dishonest, unwise, and unpatriotic; and if I were offered a nomination and election from this district, for my natural life, on that platform, I should spurn it. If you should ever raise the question of re-nominating me, let it be understood that you can have my services only on the ground of the honest payment of the national debt, according to the letter and spirit of the contract."

Thus I took the bull by the horns, . . . I was renominated by acclamation. . . . In all parts of the country I have debated this question, and always in the same tone, never yielding one inch to expediency, but standing up everywhere and always for the honest payment of the public debt.\[1\]

OTHER ISSUES

Amnesty. In 1876 Garfield was much opposed to the granting of amnesty to Jefferson Davis. He believed that other Confederate officers, yet restricted by civil disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment, should be required to

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\[1\]Edmond Kirke, "My Experience as a Lawyer," in North American Review, CXLI (June, 1877), pp. 570-571 (Article contains biographical notes furnished by late President Garfield to Edmond Kirke as material for a book).
appear before a United States court and take the following oath before being granted complete amnesty:

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of a citizen of the United States."12

Regarding the former President of the Confederacy, Garfield declared: "This is the question: In the high court of war did he practise according to its well-known laws, --the laws of nations? Did he, in appealing to war, obey the laws of war? or did he so violate those laws that justice to those who suffered at his hands demands that he be not permitted to come back to his old privileges in the Union."13 Garfield took the view that these questions rightfully answered prohibited the granting of amnesty to Jefferson Davis. He argued that the President of the Confederacy was directly responsible for the alleged atrocities at Andersonville prison when Major-General Winder was in charge of it. Garfield remarked:

There is a group of facts in military history well worth knowing, which will illustrate the point I am discussing. The great Napoleon did some fighting in his time, as did his great antagonist, the Iron Duke. In 1809 was fought the battle of Talavera; in 1811, the battle of Albuera; in 1812, the battle of Salamanca; in 1813, Vittoria; in 1815, the battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, Waterloo, Wavre, and New Orleans; and in 1854 and 1855, the battles of the Crimean war. The number of men

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13 Works, II, 223 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876).
in the English army who were killed in these battles, or
died of wounds received in them, amounted, in the aggregate,
to 12,928. But this Major-General Winder, from April 1864,
to April, 1865, tumbled into the trenches of Andersonville
the dead bodies of 12,644 prisoners, —only 284 less than
all the Englishmen who fell, or died of wounds received, in
the great battles that I have named.14

Garfield said to the Democrats in the House of Representatives:

I join you all in every aspiration that you may express
to stay in this Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its
glory, and to forget the evils and bitternesses of the past;
but do not, for the sake of the three hundred thousand heroic
men who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives,
many of them carrying in their hearts horrible memories of
what they suffered in the prison-pen, —do not ask us to
restore the right to hold power to that man who was the cause
of their suffering, —that man still unshriven, unforgiven,
undefended.15

The man "who was the cause of their suffering, —that man
still unshriven, unforgiven, undefended" was, of course in
the opinion of Garfield, Jefferson Davis.

The Electoral Commission. In 1877 Garfield opposed
the setting up of the Electoral Commission to settle the
disputed Hayes-Tilden Election. He recognized that the
plan had some merit, for he said:

It has some great merits, which I cheerfully recognize.
It is intended to avoid strife in a great and trying crisis
of the nation. It is intended to aid in tiding over a great
present difficulty, possibly a great public danger. It will
doubtless bring a result. And when it has brought a result,
it will leave the person who is declared to be the elect of
the nation with a clearer title, or rather with a more nearly
 undisputed title, than any other new method that has yet been
 suggested.16

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14 Works, II, 231 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, January 12, 1876).

15 Works, II, 245 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, January 12, 1876).

16 Works, II, 408 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, January 23, 1877).
However, Garfield felt that the plan was a dangerous one. He declared: "It would be unbecoming in me, or in any member of this Congress, to oppose this bill on mere technical or trifling grounds." And he contended the Commission should be objected to "for reasons so broad, so weighty," as to overcome all the advantages which he had admitted it possessed. The real question involved in the issue, in the opinion of Garfield, was: "What will be the effect of this measure upon our institutions?"  

Garfield believed that Congress had no right under the Constitution to establish the Electoral Commission and that therefore its creation would be a dangerous precedent. He argued that such an act would mean that Congress had become "the chief actor and umpire" in the counting of the electoral vote when, he contended, it was merely to be a silent witness. Garfield warned that future generations might censure the Congress for establishing such a commission. He said: "Let us hope, Mr. Speaker, that they will not be compelled to add, that, though this act enabled the men of 1877 to escape from temporary troubles, yet it entailed upon their children evils far more serious and far more formidable; that it transmitted to them shattered institutions, and set the good ship of the Union adrift upon an unknown and harborless sea." He said that the future

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generations might say:

The men of 1876, who closed the cycle of the first century of the republic, were men who, when they encountered danger, met it with clear-eyed wisdom and calm courage. As the men of 1776 met the perils of their time without flinching, and through years of sacrifice, suffering, and blood conquered their independence and created a nation, so the men of 1876, after having defended the great inheritance from still greater perils, bravely faced and conquered all the difficulties of their own epoch, and did not entail them upon their children. No threats of civil war, however formidable, could compel them to throw away any safeguard of liberty; the preservation of their institutions was to them an object of greater concern than present ease or temporary prosperity; instead of framing new devices which might endanger the old Constitution, they rejected all doubtful expedients, and, planting their feet upon the solid rock of the Constitution, stood at their posts of duty until the tempest was overpassed, and peace walked hand in hand with liberty, ruled by law.19

In spite of Garfield's opposition to its establishment he was invited to serve on the Electoral Commission. Jeremiah Black advised him not to accept the appointment because Black believed it was inconsistent to accept a position whose creation he had opposed.20 However, influential Republicans urged Garfield to accept a position on the Electoral Commission. In this post, as in others, Garfield proved himself a good party man.

State Sovereignty. In the view of Garfield, the Congress of 1879 had "won the unenviable distinction of making the first attempt, since the death of Calhoun, to revive and put in

19 *Works*, II, 432-433 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).

practice his disorganizing and destructive theory of government. Garfield expresses the following views on the subject of states rights:

I affirm, first, that the Constitution of the United States was not created by the government of the States, but was ordained and established by the only sovereign in this country, —the common superior of both the States and the nation, —the people themselves; secondly, that the United States is a nation, having a government whose powers, as defined and limited by the Constitution, operate upon all the States in their corporate capacity, and upon all the people; thirdly, that by its legislative, executive, and judicial authority, the nation is armed with adequate power to enforce all provisions of the Constitution against all opposition of individuals or of States, at all times and all places within the Union.

Garfield ridiculed the idea that the State is "endowed with supreme inherent sovereignty" because the State could not make war or conclude a peace, could not make a treaty with a foreign power, could not levy imposts or duties on exports and imports, could not coin money, could not regulate commerce, could not commission a single ship, could not emit bills of credit, could not pass any law which would make anything but silver and gold legal tender, and had not a flag of its own. He insisted the rights and authority of both state and national government "were received from the people, --the only source of inherent power," and thus he denied with

21Works, II, 713 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).
22Works, II, 713 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).
23Works, II, 719.
vitor that the source of inherent power residing in the
government of the United States was derived from the States.

Applying his views on "State Sovereignty" to national
elections, he said:

... I remind gentlemen that this is a national House
of Representatives. The people of my Congressional district
have a right to know that a man elected in New York City
is elected honestly and lawfully; for he joins in making
laws for forty-five millions of people. Every citizen of
the United States has an interest and a right in every
election within the republic where national representatives
are chosen.24

Distrust of the Democratic Party. Garfield's fundamental
centrism of the Democratic Party is clearly shown in his
Journal and speeches. He considered the Democratic Party
as a party of "dead issues".

I walk across that Democratic camping-ground as in a
graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the
dead. There lies slavery, a black marble column at the
head of its grave, on which I read: "Died in the flames of
the civil war; loved in its life; lamented in its death;
followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic
party." But dead! And here is a double grave: "Sacred
to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the campaign
of 1860." On the reverse side: "Sacred to the memory of
Dred Scott and the Breckinridge doctrine." Both dead at
the hands of Abraham Lincoln! And here is a monument of
brimstone: "Sacred to the memory of the doctrine that the
war against the Rebellion is a failure: Tilden et Vallandigham
fecerunt, A. D. 1864." Dead on the field of battle; shot to
death by the million guns of the republic. The doctrines of
Secession and of State Sovereignty. Dead. Expired in the
flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confed-
eracy, except that the modern Aeneas, in the person of the
honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia
Mr. Tucker, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears

24 Works, II, 720 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, June 27, 1879).
on his back the Anchises of State sovereignty, and brings it here. All else is dead.25

Garfield frequently asserted that the Democratic Party was the party of rebellion and that it was utterly unfit to "take control of our great nation and its vast and important interests".26 His suspicion of the party was deepened because when it gained control of the House, according to Garfield, one of its first attempts was to "crown Jefferson Davis with full and free amnesty," in spite of and "in disregard of the deep feelings of the Northern people."27 And at the same time, Garfield further affirmed that the Democratic Party opposed "a law to protect the sanctity and safety of the ballot in national elections," which laws in the view of Garfield were made "so that the horrors of the Ku Klux and the White Line should not run riot at the polls."28

Garfield contended that in 1876 the Democratic Party was unworthy to be entrusted with the future interests of the country. "It is," Garfield declared, "unsafe to trust interests of such measureless value in the hands of an organization whose members have never comprehended their

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25 Works, II, 378 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 14, 1876).

26 Works, II, 377 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 14, 1876).

27 Works, II, 383 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 14, 1876).

28 Works, II, 383 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 14, 1876).
epoch, have never been in sympathy with its great movements, who have resisted every step of its progress, and whose principal function has been 'to lie in cold obstruction' across the pathway of the nation."29 His distrust of the opposition party was intensified because it put forth for the President and Vice-President in 1876 men who, in his view, had "in our days of greatest danger, esteemed party above country, and felt not one throb of patriotic ardor for the triumph of the imperilled Union, but from the beginning to the end hated the war, and hated those who carried our eagles to victory."30 "I have never forgotten and have not yet forgiven," Garfield said, "those Democrats of the North whose hearts were not warmed by the grand inspirations of the Union, but who stood back finding fault, always crying disaster, rejoicing at our defeat, never glorying in our victory."31

Garfield's distrust of the Democratic Party was deep and strong. This feeling is often and clearly reflected in his speeches.

**Righteousness of the Northern Cause.** Garfield, like Webster and Lincoln, believed in the greatness and perpetuity

29*Works*, II, 307 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).

30*Works*, II, 307 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).

31*Works*, II, 245 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876).
of the Union. He came to the defense of the Union with his speaking ability and his services as a soldier in the early period of the Civil War. After the war Garfield expressed his belief that the cause for which he fought was "forever right," and the cause of the enemy was "forever wrong."

In both campaign speeches and major addresses he expressed his belief in the righteousness of the Northern cause. For example, in an address in Boston he said:

The Republican party has said, and says to-day, that, forgetting all the animosities of the war, forgetting all its fierceness, it reaches out both hands to the gallant men who fought us, and pledges all fellowship and brotherhood on this sole condition, -- and that condition it will insist upon forever, -- that in the war for the Union we were right, forever right, and that in the war against the Union they were wrong, forever wrong. We never made terms, we will never make terms, with the man who denies the everlasting rightfulness of our cause. To do that would be treason to the dead and dishonor to the living.32

His speech, "The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty," offers another example of Garfield's emphasizing his belief in the complete righteousness of the Northern cause. He said:

... the truth requires me to say, that there is one indispensable ground of agreement on which alone we can stand together, and it is this: the war for the Union was right, everlastingly; the war against the Union was forever wrong. However honest and sincere individuals may have been, Secession was none the less rebellion and treason.33

The Partisan Press. Garfield had a genuine respect for a free press. "The printing-press is, without doubt," he

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32 Works, II, 567-588 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).

33 Works, II, 719 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).
stated, "the most powerful weapon with which man has ever armed himself for the fight against ignorance and oppression." Garfield praised the free press, declaring that "for the sake of society and good government, the press should be free," but he also believed that freedom brought increased responsibility of the press to obtain and print the news, and second to give expression of its own opinions. He said:

I may not express the opinion of the majority, but certainly it is my own, that the first and greatest demand which the public makes of its editors is that they shall obtain and publish the news, --that they shall print a veritable and intelligible record of important current events. Rather than to weaken, neglect, or falsify this, it were better that every other feature of the newspaper should be abandoned.

Garfield believed in a partisan press and expressed contempt for what he called the "Utopian idea of 'independent journalism.'"

Next to its importance as a vehicle of and commentator upon news, the journal should have opinions of its own, and should advocate them. I have no sympathy with the Utopian idea of "independent journalism." It smacks too much of the millennium, and a millennium that comes before its time would be a very profitless and stupid affair. All free governments are party governments; and until the real millennium comes there will be parties in religion, in politics, and in every realm of thought.

Science and Education. Garfield was a friend to science and education during his career in public life. His maiden

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34 Works, II, 575 (Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).
35 Works, II, 579-580 (Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).
36 Works, II, 581-582 (Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).
speech in the Ohio Senate was a plea for school libraries. He thought that liberty could only be safe "when the suffrage is illuminated by education," and he declared that "the life and light of a nation are inseparable."37 "There has been," Senator Hoar reported in his Autobiography of Seventy Years, "no man in public life in my time, except Charles Sumner, who was always so glad to render any service in his power to literature and science."38

Garfield's intense belief in the value of, and his enthusiasm for, education and science is somewhat depicted in his statement:

The scientific spirit has cast out the demons and presented us with Nature, clothed in her right mind and living under the reign of law. It has given us for the sorceries of the alchemist the beautiful laws of chemistry; for the dreams of the astrologer, the sublime truths of astronomy; for the wild visions of cosmology, the monumental records of geology; for the anarchy of diabolism, the laws of God.39

Garfield's views and friendliness toward the fields of education and science gained for him the appreciation and respect of many. In a speech delivered by Col. Garrick Hallery before the Literary Society of Washington, D. C. the following tribute was given Garfield:

He supported with his eloquence and energy the Light-

37 James A. Garfield, College Education (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1867), Speech delivered at Hiram, Ohio in 1867.

38 George A. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), I, 403.

House Board; the Coast and Geologic Survey; the several geologic and geographical surveys and their concentration into the present systematized United States Geologic Survey; the Department of Agriculture; the Fish and Entomological Commissions; the Bureau of Ethnology; the National Museum, and the Smithsonian Institution, of which he was an elected Regent. He was the father of the Bureau of Education, the active advocate for fifteen years of the National Deaf-Mute College, and to my knowledge the most efficient friend of the meteorological division of the Signal Service from its meagre and tentative commencement. As chairman of the Committee on the Census of 1870 he specially showed a full understanding of scientific methods, and a determination that they should be applied in the thorough and accurate collection, not merely of the number of inhabitants, but of all social, political, and physical facts attainable. He saw the aggregation and classification of these facts would bring forth the laws constituting science, and therefore establishing true principles of national legislation.40

SUMMARY

It has been the purpose of this chapter to present Garfield's views on the most important issues of his day. He tried to maintain a more or less middle of the road position on the tariff, but in reality he became more favorable to a high protective tariff during his service in the House. It is probable that he exercised little influence in molding the policy of his party on this issue.

Early in his congressional career Garfield took a firm stand on the currency question, contending that "the only honest basis of value is a currency redeemable in specie at the will of the holder." He advocated a contraction of paper currency and upheld with vigor the resumption of specie payments. The currency question was one of right and wrong with Garfield, and he believed the faith and

40 Ibid., p. 35.
honor of the nation was at stake. On this issue Garfield was consistent and probably exercised considerable influence on the Republican Party position.

A proposal to grant amnesty to Jefferson Davis met with Garfield's prompt disapproval, and he believed other Confederate officers who were still restricted from holding federal offices should be required to take an oath before a United States court. Although Garfield opposed the setting up of the Electoral Commission in 1876, he agreed to serve on it at the request of his party. He denied that the United States government received its sovereignty from the State, declared that both the state and national government derived their sovereignty from the people, and upheld the national election laws.

Garfield possessed a fundamental distrust of the Democratic Party, considered it the party of rebellion, and thought it unfit to rule and unsafe to be trusted. In the view of Garfield the Northern cause in the Civil War was everlastingly right and the war against the Union forever wrong.

While believing in a free press whose foremost duty was to present the news, Garfield also believed a newspaper should have opinions of its own and "take sides" politically. He expressed contempt for what he called the "Utopian idea of 'independent journalism.'" Garfield was a friend to science and education, had great faith in their value to the country, and rightfully received the praise for his support of both in his long service in the House.
CHAPTER III

SPEECH PREPARATION AND PHILOSOPHY

PREPARATION

Reading, conversation, and congressional experience were factors in Garfield's general background of preparation for his speeches. Fortunately, Garfield, like Lincoln, possessed a "wide-awake curiosity which seemed never to be satiated." "A new thing," according to Hinsdale, "however unimportant, always attracted his attention... He had a great desire... to master the lesson, to prove superior to every difficulty... to conquer and surpass himself."¹

Garfield was not only widely read, but possessed the ability to grasp quickly the pertinent information a particular volume had to offer. "He possessed," Blaine remarked, "in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by reading apparently so quick [sic] and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents."²

¹B. A. Hinsdale, President Garfield and Education (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 32.
The Librarian of Congress, Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, said:

Not that he [Garfield] absolutely travelled through more books than some others, but he used a multitude of authors by way of hints, suggestions, or authorities. It was the habit of his mind, apparently very early formed, to generalize, to seek for great leading principles, and to push his investigations of a subject until he had covered all the ground that time permitted, before putting his own ideas into form. To this end he read rapidly, seizing with quick intuition the portions of a book which had anything to his purpose, and throwing aside as quickly those which yielded nothing.3

Conversations with learned men afforded Garfield no doubt an opportunity to broaden his general knowledge from which he could draw information for his speeches. His Journal reveals that he spent time conversing with outstanding men on various subjects. For example, Sunday afternoon of April 7, 1872 he spent the afternoon with Professor Joseph Henry and learned of the famous professor's "discoveries in connection with Morse's Telegraph."4 Again, he reported having "Judge Black and Prof. Newcomb at dinner and discussed, until a late hour, the 'transit of Venus,' and it [sic] value to science."5


Garfield knew the value of conversing with men of ability. Chauncey Depew said:

It was my privilege to talk for hours with General Garfield during his famous trip to the New York Conference in the late canvass, and yet it was not conversation of discussion. He fastened upon me all the powers of inquisitiveness and acquisitiveness, and absorbed all I had learned in twenty years of the politics of this state.6

It is probable that Garfield's years of service on various congressional committees added to his general knowledge. There are instances recorded in his Journal to suggest this. For example: "In Committee heard Saunders of the Agricultural Department and Dr. Thompson of the Columbus Hospital and settled those two subjects in the Sundry Civil Bills..."7

In Summary Garfield broadened and increased his general knowledge by reading wisely and by conversing with learned men, both in private and in connection with his public duties.

Gathering and Analyzing Material. Garfield put into practice his belief that thoroughness of preparation was essential to the orator's success,8 for he often investigated extensively the subjects on which he spoke. For example, he spent much time in securing a broad and thorough understanding of the currency question, which was one of his

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6Chauncey Depew, Address at the memorial Service of James A. Garfield, by the Grand Army of the Republic at Chickerin Hall, New York, September 26, 1881 (Albany: The Press Co. Printer, 1881), p. 71. (This booklet is in the Library of Congress).

7Journal (April 10, 1872).

8See latter part of this chapter for discussion of Garfield's views on preparation.
favorite subjects for speeches. Bundy said:

He began to prepare himself for its intelligent comprehension and discussion, by a course of study and investigation which very few of our statesmen have given to it. He exhausted all the histories of the various experiments of dealing with public debts and of furnishing paper currency that had been made in this country; he followed the investigation back into English history, studying all the text-books; he mastered the French language, so as to be able to read the untranslated French treatises on political economy and the currency, and sought in all directions, from the experience of all countries, whatever light or information could aid him in dealing with the financial situation in which we were left at the close of the war.9

Another example of Garfield's policy of first striving to get a basic understanding of the subject is depicted in his Journal when he was called on to defend the veto message of President Hayes. He recorded:

Called on the President and had a full conference on the subject. He gave me an advance copy of his Veto Message to enable me to prepare for its defense, as I have been appointed for the purpose by the Republican Caucus Committee of the House. Spent the evening in reading up veto literature.

The next day he recorded:

After church read Belford's speech on the history of vetoes from Roman days until now. . . . Spent the evening in reading further on the subject of vetoes and read carefully the President's paper which he gave me yesterday.10

In a letter to Hinsdale, Garfield gives further insight into the thoroughness of his preparation.

I am compelled to look ahead at questions likely to be sprung upon us for action and the fact is I prepare for debate on ten subjects where I actually take part in but one. For example, it seemed certain that the Fitz-John Porter case would be discussed in the House and I devoted the best part of two weeks to a careful re-examination of the old

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material and a study of the new. There is now lying on
the top of my book case a pile of books, reports and
manuscripts 3 feet long by a foot and a half high which
I accumulated and examined for a debate which certainly
will not come off this session and perhaps not at all.
I must stand in the breach to meet whatever question comes.
I am just now in antagonism with my own party on the
legislation in reference to the election law, and here also
I have prepared for two discussions and as yet have not
spoken on either.11

In preparing for a speech Garfield took notes on much
that he read. In the Garfield Papers there is a listing of
the books he read on "Hard Money." Following this list are
some forty pages of notes taken in long hand. There is
evidence to indicate that in gathering material for a given
subject, Garfield was careful to systematize and methodically
preserve what he gathered. Bundy claimed that Garfield's
personal library was called the "largest and most scientifi-
cally arranged" of any member of Congress. His library
was reputed to have large numbers of scrap-books gathered
over many years. These scrap books were said to be so
"perfectly arranged and indexed that their owner," could
readily avail himself of the source material. In addition,
his library possessed "a large box containing sixty-three
different drawers, each properly labelled," in which he
placed "newspaper cuttings, documents, and slips of paper,"
and from which he was able to pull out what he wanted as
easily as an organist could "play on the stops of his instru-
ment."12

11Mary E. Hinsdale, ed., Garfield-Hinsdale Letters
12Bundy, pp. 78-79.
The Garfield Papers indicate that he was not only thorough in gathering material, but that he was methodical in preserving it for ready reference. Four large volumes of Notes in the collection deal entirely with the question of finance: one volume contains newspaper clippings of the day; another is filled with notes and briefs of speeches; a third is composed of pamphlets relating to the subject; and a fourth is made up of notes Garfield had taken in long hand. Another volume among his Papers, labeled "Reply to Kelley," contains Garfield's notes on his opponent's speeches, a collection of newspaper clippings, pamphlets, clippings from the congressional record, letters, circulars, tables, bulletins, financial statements, and statistics. It is quite evident that in the preparation of many of his speeches Garfield accumulated a large amount of selective material, systematized it, and methodically preserved it for future use in speech making.

The collection of statistics is a phase of Garfield's speech preparation worthy of mention here. His special interest in statistics was shown early in his congressional career in committee work on the census. E. V. Smalley reported:

When he was at the head of a committee to prepare a bill for taking the ninth census, he studied the history

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13 Garfield Papers (These volumes are bound and labelled "Notes on Finance," "Reply to Kelley," etc. and are found in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress with the Garfield Papers).
of every census taken in this or any other country about which the Library of Congress afforded information, and then, getting his committee together one hot vacation season, selected a cool room in the basement of the Capitol, and, much to their annoyance, opened what might have been called a school for the study of the science of statistics. What his fellow members had dreaded as a dry and perfunctory affair, he converted into a symposium of instructive research and discussion.14

Garfield's Journal reveals that he also spent a considerable amount of time in the gathering of statistical material for his speeches. On two occasions, he recorded in his Journal,

At half past two o'clock I went to the Treasury Department and spent an hour or two gathering statistics for a speech. . . . Have been at work this evening with an Officer of the Treasury on the same subject.

Soon after reading my mail I sent to the Treasury Department to procure statistics from the Sec'y of the Treasury and from the Director of the Mint, on the question of silver resumption bill and particularly to answer Mr. Hewitt's speech. . . .15

In Garfield's "Campaign Notes" there are many letters from various governmental departments giving statistical information. Among these notes are: letters from the Bureau of Statistics and the Treasury Department, reports of the annual collection of internal revenue in the United States, reports from the collector's office in the 19th Congressional District of Ohio, and various tables of votes from his home

15 Journal (January 19, 1872; March 20, 1876).
It is possible to follow in the speaker's Journal the progress on the preparation of some of his major addresses. This enables the critic to draw further conclusions on speech preparation. Before delivery of his speech on "The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty" on June 27th, 1879, the following references were written in his Journal:

June 3, 1879:

After hearing the boys recitation in the evening, I commenced to study for a speech on the Democratic doctrine of State rights. I read with great interest the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court in the case of . . . versus the State of Ga. in Second Dallas. It is a remarkable exhibition of the nationality of the General Government as opposed to State Sovereignty.

June 4, 1879:

Spent most of the forenoon in examining the speeches that have been made in favor of States rights, at the present session. . . . At home at five o'clock and heard the boys recitation in the Greek Grammar and Analysis, but did not conclude until after dinner. Some callers came in the evening. I did not make much progress in my States rights speech.

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16 Garfield Papers (These notes are bound and entitled "Campaign Notes" -- found in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress). Listed below are the beginnings of two letters which are typical of the many among these notes:

Treasury Department,
Office of Comptroller of the Currency,
Washington August 3, 1871

Sir:

In accordance with your request, I enclose you herewith the report of currency issued to National Banks. . . .

Treasury Department
Office of Comptroller of the Currency,
Washington April 7, 1874

Sir: In accordance with your verbal request I enclose here-with a table. . . .
June 27, 1879:

Spent the morning at my desk in condensing my notes so as to make an hour's speech in half an hour. At half past twelve I got the floor and spoke for half an hour on the doctrine of States Rights as exhibited by the Democracy in the debates of the present session. While I was too much crowded for time, to do full justice to the subject, I think my speech is in a more condensed and effective shape as a campaign document, than it would have been had it been longer. Mr. Brown followed me, but made very few points in direct reply to anything I stated. The two principal points which he mentioned, I replied to in a five minute speech, quoting an important historical record of the first Congress on the subject of an amendment to curtail the powers of Congress over the election of Representatives. Home in the evening. Mr. Brown came in the evening and we sat until an hour after midnight revising the notes of my two speeches. Retired at one o'clock exceedingly weary.

Garfield began his specific preparation for this speech at least three weeks before he delivered it. He studied the opinions of Judges of the Supreme Court and all recent speeches on the subject.

In the winter of 1876 Garfield was invited to deliver an address on "Ancient Ephesus and Recent Discoveries." The speech was delivered at the Disciples' Church and Garfield recorded in his Journal the progress of his preparation. The entries that relate this progress are given below.

January 15, 1876:

Went to the Library and got some books for my lecture on Ephesus which I have been dragooned into promising to make in behalf of the ladies of the Disciple Church.

January 16, 1876:

When the house became quieter at half past two I worked on my lecture on Ephesus until after midnight.
January 17, 1878:

Worked on lecture on Ephesus until noon. . . . In the evening worked on the Ephesus lecture and made some preparations for speaking on the life and character of Senator Morton but feel quite unprepared to do the subject justice. Retired at midnight.

January 20, 1878:

Attended church called on General Schenck on my way home and then spent the remainder of the day in preparing for my lecture on Ephesus. If I had time to work the subject out to my liking, I believe I could make it an interesting one, but without sufficient work I fear it will be dry.

January 21, 1878:

Worked until noon preparing for my lecture on Ephesus. . . . Home early and spent the evening reading on Ephesus.

January 22, 1878:

Came home early to work on my lecture until evening, when Crete, Martha and I attended the lecture of Mr. Waddell at the Disciple Church. . . . Came home and worked until 12.

January 23, 1878:

Worked on lecture until half past two o'clock, when I went to the House. Returned at four and spent the evening in reading on Ephesus. I have accumulated five times as much material as I can use at the lecture.

January 24, 1878:

Worked at my desk until 10 o'clock [sic]. . . . Thence to the Department and saw General Sherman. . . . The General showed me his private journal relating to his journey to Ephesus. Col. Sherman showed me his manuscript on the same trip. . . . spent an hour in the Library consulting some authorities. Home at five o'clock, . . . dictated a large number of letters, then worked on Ephesus Lecture.

January 25, 1878:

Worked on Ephesus until half past ten, when I went to the Capitol. . . . Home at five, and worked on lecture till 7:30 p.m. when I was driven to the Disciple church on Vt. Avenue, and spoke an hour and ten minutes — Fair audience for a stormy night. . . . I should have mentioned that Harry made me a fine map of Ephesus.
The speaker's record of his day to day preparation of this speech indicates the importance of research in his method.

Garfield's Journal offers the critic an excellent insight into his preparation of the memorial address of Almeda A. Booth. Below are excerpts dealing with the address:

May 5, 1876:
I ought to prepare my address on the life of Almeda but feel the greatest disinclination to begin.

May 15, 1876:
Began my preparations for an address on the life and character of Almeda Booth. I hardly know how to do it. Read over the volumes of my Journal covering an early period of my acquaintance with her.

May 17, 1876:
Read in the evening and examined the materials for the life of Miss Booth. It is amazing how little I have been able to learn of her early life before she came to Hiram.

May 19, 1876:
Dictated a few pages for the beginning of the address on Miss Booth. For some reason I find it extremely difficult to do this work. Perhaps the very strength of my interest makes it difficult for me to put her far enough off to get a proper perspective of her life and character. I have never undertaken a composition which appeared so difficult.

May 19, 1876:
Made a little progress on the Booth address. During the day spent some time in the library reading up the life of Margaret Fuller and making notes.

May 20, 1876:
Dictated an hour on the life of Miss Booth . . . In the evening worked on the Booth address. Retired at 11 but could
not sleep and after a half an hour's tossing went to my library and worked until 5 o'clock and still was not sleepy.

May 22, 1676:

Worked on Hiram address until 11 o'clock. . . . Received from Kline a package of Miss Booth's manuscripts. Read them until midnight.

May 23, 1676:

Worked on the Booth address until 12 o'clock a.m. . . . Worked on the Alcida address until half past 11 am at last getting started. I have found it more difficult than anything I have undertaken for a long time.

May 24, 1676:

Worked on the Booth address until half past ten. . . . At three I came home and worked on the Booth address but without much spirit.

May 25, 1676:

Worked on the Booth address until half past ten.

May 26, 1676:

Worked on correspondence and the Booth address until half past ten . . . Worked on the Booth address in the evening.

May 27, 1676:

Worked on the Booth address until near noon and made good progress. I have at last broken through the crust of my work and moving more easily and steadily.

May 26, 1676:

Attended church and in the afternoon made further progress on the Booth address. Brought her history down to her graduation at Oberlin in 1855. I fear I have destroyed its perspective a little by making that portion which relates to her studies too minute and I seem also, to have reached a climax with her graduation.

May 27, 1676:

Worked on the Booth address until 11 o'clock a.m. . . . In the evening worked until a late hour on the Booth address
May 30, 1876:
I did not go out of the house until evening but spent the day on the Booth address. Very nearly completed the story of her life. I have concluded to leave to the last a summary of her character.

May 31, 1876:
Worked on the Booth address a little while in the morning. . . . In the evening worked on the Booth address.

June 1, 1876:
Worked on the Booth address until half past ten. . . . On the evening worked on the Booth address. . . .

June 2, 1876:
Continued work on address. . . in the morning. . . . I came home early and worked on the Booth address. It drags its slow length along but is nearly finished. . . .

June 3, 1876:
Booth address and correspondence in the morning.

June 4, 1876:
I did not attend church but spent nearly the whole day in revising the Booth address throughout. I have finished it all but about two pages of the conclusion. I am thoroughly displeased with it but presume it is because I have worked over it so long.

June 5, 1876:
Worked on correspondence on the Booth address until near 12.

June 20, 1876:
I had revised five hours of my address on Miss Booth . . . we waited nine hours during which time I completed the revision of the address, and wrote a part of the conclusion.

June 21, 1876:
Sat up at Father Rudolph's until a late hour on the Booth address and finished it. It is too long; but I could not well make it shorter.

June 22, 1876:
Attended Commencement Exercises in forenoon. . . and at two commenced reading my address which occupied one hour and a half.
had good attention and I think the address was well received. Resolution of thanks and to print was adopted.

These Journal accounts reveal how carefully Garfield gathered his material, consulting available primary sources such as his own diary and the Booth manuscripts; they indicate that he gave diligent thought to analyzing and organizing his material, and worked with persistence for weeks.

Working the Speech. For the majority of Garfield's speeches only an outline was prepared.17 On occasion he prepared manuscript in which most of the speech was written out, but with some parts given only in outline form. The speech, "Ancient Ephesus and Recent Discoveries," appears in this form, but more often, he only made a brief outline and left the exact wording of the speeches to the inspiration of the occasion. Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, a contemporary and fellow member of the Literary Society of Washington, corroborates this statement.

When he Garfield had examined the field as thoroughly as he was able, he organized his subject in his own mind, and, if the speech was to be in Congress, he seldom wrote more than a few of its leading outlines, leaving the substances, as well as the diction, to the occasion.18

Garfield believed that writing speeches had definite value, as will be noted in the discussion of his rhetorical

17An examination of the speech material in the Garfield papers clearly indicates that this was true of earlier periods of his life as well as the one under consideration in this study.

18A Tribute of Respect., pp. 16-17.
philosophy, and in keeping with this idea he wrote some of his major addresses. His occasional speeches such as the memorial addresses of Joshua R. Giddings, General George Thomas, and Miss Almeda Ann Booth were written out. Some of these speeches were dictated in part at least to his secretary, and his Journal reveals that he spent a fair amount of time revising these manuscripts.

He remarked in 1873: "Stayed at home all day revising and completing the speech as far as I had gone with it." The work of revision constituted a laborious task for Garfield. He wrote his wife:

You know how slow and painful a process my work of revising a speech always is. This time it has been an unusually severe tug. I spent part of Sunday, a large share of yesterday and until two hours past midnight in verifying my facts, revising my notes and reading the proofs. . . . For a time I felt pleased with my speech, and some of its passages surprised me. They seemed not my own but the words of some one who had seen my thoughts more clearly than I had myself.

Summary. Garfield read wisely and selectively and possessed ability to quickly grasp the pertinent matter of a book. He conversed often with outstanding men both in private life and in connection with his public duties in Congress. These were factors in the accumulation of a general fund of information from which Garfield drew freely.

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19 See the Journal accounts of day to day preparation presented earlier in this chapter.

20 Journal (December 29, 1873).

in his speech preparation.

In preparation for speaking on a given subject, Garfield made it a policy to secure a broad basic understanding of his topic. The immense amount of work done in preparation for his speeches on finance is the outstanding example of this technique. In the gathering of material for a specific speech he showed commendable judgement and indefatigable industry. This chapter has revealed that Garfield followed the following procedure in the preparation of the majority of his congressional and campaign speeches: (1) gather material from available sources; (2) classify the material and file it systematically and methodically for present study and possible future use in preparation; (3) digest the material and organize it in his own mind; (4) outline the speech listing at least the major points; (5) depend on the inspiration of the audience and occasion for the exact wording.

This portion of the chapter has also revealed that Garfield did prepare a complete manuscript for a few of his speeches, and particularly the occasional addresses. In such cases the written speech was sometimes dictated in part to his secretary. The work of revision proved a laborious task for Garfield, and often this particular part of his speech preparation continued until a few minutes before the speech was actually delivered.

RHETORICAL PHILOSOPHY

James A. Garfield, like Woodrow Wilson and John Quincy
Adams, made a serious study of rhetoric and knew something of the theory of public address. It is the purpose of this portion of the chapter to explore Garfield's ideas on the subject, giving consideration to his views on preparation, audience adaptation, arrangement, style, and delivery.

Garfield, as was pointed out in chapter I, probably studied Whately's Elements of Logic and Jamieson's Rhetorical Grammar, at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute. At Williams College, Garfield studied rhetoric under John Bascom. It is not possible to say how much Bascom influenced the young student from the Western Reserve, but the treatment of rhetoric in Garfield's lectures and speeches suggest the influence of Bascom's

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"John Bascom was born at Genoa, New York, the son and grandson of clergyman. . . . He graduated in 1819 from his father's college — Williams. The following six years were given to completing his education: he taught, studied law for a year, attended Auburn Theological Seminary, was tutor at Williams, and went to Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in 1855. He then came back to Williams College as Professor of rhetoric and English literature and held that position for nineteen years. From 1874 to 1887 he was president of the University of Wisconsin. . . . Dr. Bascom was the author of twenty books, issued between 1859 and 1901. Thirteen of these were to subjects from fields in which he taught— economics and sociology, literature, and philosophy. The remaining seven deal with religion or with subjects from the field that connects philosophy and theology." This quotation is taken from the booklet: Memorial Service in Honor of John Bascom at the University of Wisconsin (Wednesday afternoon December the thirteenth Nineteen Hundred and Eleven -- Music Hall) This booklet may be found in the Library of Congress. No printer or publisher is given. The call number is: LD6119 B3A5.
views as given in his book, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric.* Bascom, following the faculty psychology of his day, considered the mind in the terms of the intellect, the will, and the emotions. Garfield likewise followed this same departmentalizing of the mind as is clearly indicated in several of his outlines preserved in the *Garfield Papers.*

At Williams College, Garfield had read several writers who are significant in the field of public address; namely, Demosthenes, Quintilian, Whately, and Campbell. Whately and Quintilian are later mentioned by name in some of Garfield's lectures; however, it is highly probable that the other writers also influenced the rhetorical views of James A. Garfield.

Garfield gave sufficient thought to speech making to organize his ideas on rhetorical theory. He referred to the field of speech as "rhetoric," and used the term in its classical sense; he declared that rhetoric concerned "proving to another," and had to do with marshalling arguments. After his graduation from Williams College

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23 John Bascom, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Boston: Potter & Ainsworth, 1865). This book was published a few years after Garfield studied under Bascom. However, it is reasonable to assume that Bascom's ideas on rhetoric were crystallized in the book.


25 See outlines in Public Utterances of 1856-60.

26 See reproductions of outlines of rhetorical lectures in this chapter.
College and his selection as president of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, he considered the subject of sufficient importance to take the time to prepare and deliver four lectures on rhetoric to the entire student body. Although the outlines of these lectures, preserved among the Garfield Papers, are brief and somewhat incomplete, they give some insight into his views on speech making. It can be observed from these outlines that in the first one Garfield introduced the student to the field and gave a history of it; the second lecture discussed the types of oratory; and the third and fourth dealt principally with style. He apparently neglected the canons of disposition and delivery in these lectures. Reproductions of these outlines follow:

| Nat. Sciences | Nat. Phil. 
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<tr>
<td>{Pure Math.}</td>
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<td>{Mechanics}</td>
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<td>{Only}</td>
<td>{Logic}</td>
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<tr>
<td>{Expression}</td>
<td>{Rhetoric}</td>
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All this may be reduced to 2 processes:
1. Illus. Veg. Life - Volcanic fire. I.e. cone, vortex.
2. This latter is in general represented by language.

3. Relation of Rhet. to Logic.
   Log. - Inferring or Supplying ourselves.
   Rhet. - Proving to another.
   Rhet. has a bad name.
   Rhet. - Analyzes the power of a speaker. 
   1. How to control passion.
   2. Marshalling arguments, not finding them.
   3. How to speak - debate etc.
   4. Style - composition etc.

History of Rhetoric.
Rhetoric. Lect. 2. May 27, 57

1. Power of Oration

Two forces in Nature, Wind, Water. Steam combines both these.

Speech & Printed Thought - Oration.

Door of human hearts. Thought.

2. Hill the Citadels to be taken.

Steps to reach it. Favor, understanding Passion.

3. Deliberative Oration.

Art to reach your persuade.

4. Deliberative oratory - Passions.

Clear view of point.

2 ways of answering arguments.

Candid in one front. A. B. Kelly.

Don't answer an arg. Too much.

Anne of France.
Rhetoric 3rd. 30th May 1837.

Writing

1. Is it useful to practice composition now?
   We take the hardest first. Our subjects
   should be of 1. Conversations
   2. Dialogues. Care in object
   Mode of handling - Commonplaces.

Reading for Writing - Originality - Plagia.
Rapidity in Writing. Rich

Disinclination to write

Attention

Good Authors - Adjectives.
Take notes and then write.
Talk out what you write - for oration
Emotions - not in groups - with heart.
Rhetoric. Lect. 4. 1st May 29th 57

Writing continued.

1. Use of good authors in ref. to style. Carefully read & copy.


3. Richness of Eng. depends upon its association.

4. Energy = Perspicuity = Simplicity. Writing down thoughts makes them clearer. 5 mm. equals a letter.


6. Take notes & then write. Speak out sentences for creation.

7. Don't write or study in woods. Write

How to treat a subject. (ball of yarn)
Views on Training the Speaker. What were Garfield's views on the general preparation of an orator? And what were some of his views on specific preparation for speaking? It is the purpose of this section of the chapter to answer these questions.

Early Training. Like Quintillian Garfield believed that the speech training should begin early in life. He held high regard for his own early training and was anxious that his sons have the same type of education. In his Journal he recorded: "In the evening helped the boys on their lessons and declamations." Two years later with his encouragement Garfield's sons organized a debating club in their home called "The United States Debating Club." In an outline of a lecture delivered to district school teachers, Garfield made this statement, "I. Rhetorical Exercises. Have them by all means. Make them early for some by letting them read." The relatively brief outline further indicates Garfield's belief that speech training should begin early.

Garfield also stressed the value of the speaker possessing a broad education. He wrote Hinsdale: "The world talks about self-made men. Every man that is made

27 Journal (October 17, 1876).


29 Garfield Papers (Speech delivered October 7, 1858 at Hiram, the outline found among his Public Utterances of this period."
is self-made. Some men can do it without the aid of a college and some can't with it. However, most all of us need what help institutions of learning can afford."

Garfield fully appreciated the value of Latin and Greek in a liberal arts education. "He who would study our own language profoundly," he pointed out, "must not forget that nearly thirty percent of its words are of Latin origin -- that the study of Latin is the study of Universal Grammar, and renders the acquisition of any modern language an easy task, and is indispensable to the teacher of Language and Literature, and to other professional men."

He considered Greek the "most perfect instrument of thought ever invented by man" and its literature as unequalled "in purity of style and boldness of expression." The value of Greek as a means of intellectual discipline, Garfield considered important. "To take," he stated, "a long and complicated sentence in Greek--to study each word in its meanings, inflections and relations, and to build up in the mind out of these polished materials, a sentence, perfect as a temple, and filled with Greek thought which has dwelt there two thousand years, is almost an act of creation; it calls into activity all the faculties of mind."

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30 Letter to Burke A. Hinsdale, dated August 7, 1957. Garfield-Hinsdale Papers. (These Papers are preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.)

31 Garfield Papers (these quotations regarding Garfield's views on a liberal education are taken from his speech, "College Education," delivered at Hiram, Ohio, June 14, 1867, and are found among his Public Utterances of 1867.)
Although Garfield believed that a liberal arts education should include a thorough knowledge of the classics, he objected to the classical curriculum of his day, because in his judgement it was too narrow. He objected to the proportion of time given to Latin and Greek in the colleges. He said:

I hasten to say that I make no attack upon the study of these noble languages as an important and necessary part of a liberal education. I have no sympathy with that sentiment which would drive them from Academy and College as a part of the dead past that should bury its dead. It is the proportion of work given to them of which I complain.

He contended that it was imperative that the colleges should begin "to teach our young men and women the history and spirit of our government, and their rights and duties as citizens." He deplored the fact that at Harvard the student must apply "years of arduous labor to the history, oratory and poetry of Greece and Rome," but was "not required to cull a single flower from the rich fields of our own Literature."

Garfield summarized his conception of a liberal arts education in the following words:

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 relations of himself, society, nature and art, to God, the Author of them all.⁴²

A study of Garfield's own life indicates that he

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⁴²Ibid.
believed that the orator should read widely and continue to do so after his formal education. His emphasis on wide reading may be seen in his outlined lectures on "Reading" to the students at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute at Hiram, Ohio.

The introduction to one of these lectures contained the following four lines:

Books are friends that never gossip.
Books are our measuring posts.
Books keep us from being proud of our own age.
We should get some knowledge of the author.

He advised the students to "understand words," "notice figures," and "memorize what you like very much." In these lectures he recommended the reading of history, biography, fiction, and poetry, pointing out that such reading provides a "storehouse of illustrations" and cultivates the habit of observation.33

Garfield read widely himself. "I knew Garfield very intimately," stated Senator George F. Hoar, and he "was a man of indefatigable industry and vast information. He seemed constantly possessed by a intelligent curiosity in regards to all subjects."34 When Garfield was a sophomore in college, he had thoroughly read the Pastorals of Virgil, the Germania and Agricola of Tacitus, Demosthenes' On the Crown, six books of Homer's Iliad, Livy, Herodotus, and a

33 Garfield Papers (For the outline of the lectures referred to see Public Utterances of 1856-60.)
Along with early speech training, a liberal arts education, and wide reading, Garfield advocated that the speaker should seriously study the successful orators.

In his lectures on rhetoric, Garfield stressed the value of analyzing the good speaker and striving to determine objectively the causes of his success. This same philosophy is again clearly stated in a speech delivered before the Hesperian Society on Daniel Webster.36

Garfield himself studied the orators of the past, and on one occasion he wrote Hinsdale:

I have lately read Webster's reply to Calhoun's speech which we read together. As a logical & exhaustive argumentative effort it surpasses anything I have ever read. It is far beyond his reply to Hayne. I think he completely annihilates Calhoun's Carolina doctrine. In the Hayne debate, you remember he does but little more than to answer Hayne's citation of the V. & Ky. Resolutions and Madison's Report. Here he goes into the whole thing. You must get it and read it twice.37

And Garfield studied contemporary orators such as: Evarts, Beecher, Ingersoll, Blaine, Disraeli, Gladstone, and Bright.

For example, in a letter to his wife in 1876 he wrote:

Ingersoll has a wonderful power of creating enthusiasm in his audience. I listened to his speech with great interest

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36 Garfield Papers (Manuscript outline of a speech delivered December 28, 1859 before the Hesperian Society of Hiram).

and delight. In many respects he lacks calmness and dignity. Frequently he is lacking in fairness, but he possesses that indefinable quality which is the soul of oratory and which carries a listener captive in spite of himself. I have sometimes caught the same spirit, but he lives in it. It breathes through his commonplace thoughts and finds its way to his hearers by its own mysterious force. I imagine that much of his power is present in speech which is lost by print. I so much want you to hear him and help me solve the mystery of his power.38

He carefully observed the speaking of Disraeli, Gladstone, and Bright when he visited the House of Commons in 1867, and wrote:

Disraeli in a very calm, somewhat halting way goes over the chief points of the Lords' amendments. Puts them very adroitly and in a very conciliatory tone speaks about 20 minutes. Meanwhile Bright has been sitting on the second row and next to the gangway, taking a note now and then, manifesting a little nervousness in the hands and fingers, and occasionally passing his hand over his ample forehead. ... Gladstone rises and opens the debate on the opposition side in an adroit speech of eight minutes, evidently reserving himself for a fuller assault later in the evening. Gladstone is the most un-English speaker I have yet heard and the best.

Of John Bright he said:

With a form like Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, he has a large round face, fine massive head, and straight, almost delicate nose. He has a full round voice, like Gladstone is quite un-English in his style; that is, he speaks right on with but little of that distressful hobbling which marks the mass of parliamentary speakers. I am inclined to think it a piece of snobbery, which they think graceful and delicate. It puts me in misery and almost ruins a good thought.

He commented further on Gladstone: "He spoke nearly an hour, going into the whole question with great clearness and incisive force. He spoke with much more feeling than

38Smith, II, 744"
any other except Bright and as much as he." 39

Thus from Garfield's speeches and his letters it is evident that he believed in the value of studying successful orators of the past and present.

Specific Preparation. Garfield's views on specific preparation for a given speech are now to be considered.

Garfield thought that care should be exercised in the choice of a speech subject. In the third lecture of his series on rhetoric he warned the students against the danger of selecting topics that were "too general," and he gave the title "Education" for an example. Subjects he maintained should not be too abstract and intangible, and the rhetorical student should select them from the following sources: "Drawn from own reading," "Conversations," and "Amusements - customs - objects."

It was necessary, according to Garfield, for the speaker to have his speech purpose well in mind. In other words, the speaker was to make sure that he clearly understood the point he was trying to get across to his audience. 40 Although this seems almost too obvious to be mentioned in a lecture on rhetoric, most speech teachers would probably testify to the necessity of reminding students of its importance. Garfield knew that the speaker could not succeed in

39 Smith, II, 756-757.

40 See the lecture No. 2 in the series at the beginning of the section.
getting his audience to see his point of view unless it was first clear to the orator himself.

Garfield stressed that care should be taken in the selection of a speech subject, the point of view clearly established in the speaker's mind, and then the subject matter of speech thoroughly mastered. A manuscript outline of a speech delivered January 3, 1878, shows that Garfield stressed the importance of "mastery of subject." In his Journal there is also indication of his views on the importance of being thoroughly acquainted with the topic to be discussed. For example, he recorded in his Journal after a meeting of the Electoral Commission that the members of Congress spoke more effectively than the "lawyers in general practice." He attributed this effectiveness to the fact that the members of Congress were more familiar with the questions involved, and had mastered the subject at hand to a greater degree.

Garfield believed that the orator, teacher, lawyer, or statesman would find no substitute for diligence. "Work, work," is the closing admonition of his speech on Daniel Webster. "Give crutches to cripples--," he said to a group of college students, "but go you forth with brave,

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41 Garfield Papers (found in the Public Utterances of 1878 -- speech delivered January 3, 1878 to students at Hiram).

42 Journal (February 8, 1877).

43 Garfield Papers (See manuscript outline of speech delivered December 25, 1859 before the Hesperian Society at Hiram. Found among Public Utterances of 1859.)
true hearts, knowing that fortune dwells in your brain and muscle -- and that labor is the only human symbol of Omnipotence. At another time he said, "Young man, talk of trusting to the spur of the occasion. That trust is vain. Occasions cannot make spurs, young gentlemen. If you expect to wear spurs, you must win them." He added: "Poets may be born, but success is made." Garfield had no patience with the ideas that "luck" was responsible for fame or fortune. He contended that "things don't turn up in this world unless somebody turns them up," and further declared:

Inertia is one of the indispensable laws of matter, and things lie flat where they are until by some intelligent spirit (for nothing but spirit makes motion in this world) they are endowed with activity and life. Do not dream that some good luck is going to happen to you and give you fortune. Luck is an ignis fatuus. You may follow it to ruin, but not to success... A pound of pluck is worth a ton of luck.

These admonitions to young men were not idle talk on the part of Garfield; they came from his heart. They were a

44 Garfield Papers (Garfield's address on "College Education," previously referred to in this chapter).
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.
part of his basic philosophy.

In summary Garfield believed the orator should begin speech training early, and he recommended to the district school teachers of the Western Reserve to have by all means "Rhetorical Exercises." He further thought the speaker needed a good liberal arts education including a sufficient knowledge of Latin and Greek to read the classics in the original. The diligent study of the successful orators in the past and present and the faculty of being well read were also considered important in the general preparation of a speaker.

Regarding more specific preparation Garfield expressed these views: (1) The subject should be chosen with great care; (2) The point of view the speaker wishes to get across to his audience must be perfectly clear in his own mind; (3) The subject matter with which the speech deals should be thoroughly mastered by the orator; and (4) Occasion, luck, and other such factors must not be depended on to take the place of real industrious work in preparation.

Views on Adaptation. The problem of adapting a speech to a particular audience is not discussed in Garfield's series of lectures on rhetoric. However, in his Journal he implies in many places the necessity of such adaptation.

48. He had not only taught, but practiced these admonitions diligently himself. In a letter to William Henry Smith, Rutherford B. Hayes said: "... Garfield is the ideal self-made man. ... Clay and Lincoln got their place by gifts direct from Heaven. But the full man, the trained man, the man equipped for achievement, in short, the man like Garfield, is made by his own perseverance and industry." Charles Richard Williams, The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes (Columbus, Ohio: F. J. Heer Printing Co., 1928), II, 240.
For example, he recorded that a certain speech made in Congress would "not be so popular as many others," but would "reach a higher class of minds." Again, he criticized a speech made by Evarts for its failure to find salient points within the grasp of the popular mind. He said:

At Erie got the N. Y. Tribune and read the speech of Wm. M. Evarts to the business men at Cooper's Institute. It is able; but has the old fault of Evarts -- it is too uniform, has too few salient points for the popular mind to grasp.

He condemned a preacher he heard for failure to adapt his materials to his hearers: "Heard a sermon addressed to children. A dry history of Josiah's godliness utterly unfitted to children's minds." In an entry dated March 9, 1876, he censured a fellow Republican who preceded him in speaking on that occasion because the speaker spent too much time on small points and failed correctly to judge the temperament of the audience.

Garfield himself possessed an unusual ability to analyze quickly an audience situation and immediately take advantage of it. One of Garfield's most famous statements, and one which shows his acute sense of the dramatic, was made in New York just after Lincoln's assassination. A vivid
Just after Lincoln's assassination, Garfield, who happened to be in New York, attended, as one of the speakers, a mass meeting held in Wall street, to consider the fearful situation. Every one was wild with excitement and grief, and the people, almost driven to madness, were determined to wreak vengeance. What followed is best described in the language of an eye-witness:

"By the time the wave of popular indignation had swelled to its crest. [sic] Two men lay bleeding on one of the side streets—one dead, the other 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 pendant from the junction. A dozen men followed its slow motion through the masses, while 'vengeance' was the cry. On the right, suddenly the shout arose 'The World,' 'The World, The office of the World, World,' and a movement of, perhaps, 8000 or 10,000 turning their faces in the direction of that building began to be executed. It was a critical moment. What might come no one could tell did that crowd get in front of the office. The police and military would have availed little or been too late. A telegram had just been read from Washington, 'Seward is dying.' Just then 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 for a moment, a right arm was lifted skyward, and a voice clear and steady, loud and distinct, spoke out: 'Fellow-citizens—Clouds and darkness are round about him. His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the skies. Justice and judgement 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 spot in awe, gazing at the motionless orator, thinking of God and the security of the government in that hour. As the boiling wave subsides and settles to the sea when some strong wind beats it down, so the tumult of the people sank and became still. All took it as a divine omen. It was a triumph of eloquence, inspired by the moment, such as falls to but one man's lot, and that but once in a century. The genius of Webster, Choate, Everett or Seward never reached it. Demosthenes never equalled it. What might have happened had the surging and maddened mob been let loose none can tell. The man for the crisis was on the spot, more potent than Napoleon's guns in Paris, I inquired
what was his name. The answer came in a low whisper, 'It is General Garfield of Ohio.'

Garfield knew the importance of correctly analyzing a specific audience and adapting the speech to it. Probably no single occasion in Garfield's life shows more clearly his realization of the importance of adaptation, as does the Republican National Convention of 1880. Senator George F. Hoar, an eye witness, gives as follows a vivid analysis of the occasion of Garfield's speech nominating John Sherman:

There had been a storm of applause, lasting, I think, twenty-five minutes, at the close of Conkling's nominating speech. It was said there were fifteen thousand persons in the galleries, which came down very near the level of the floor. The scene was of indescribable sublimity. ... I speak of it in this way. I can only compare it in its grandeur and impressiveness to the mighty torrent of Niagara. ... A vast portion of the persons present in the Hall sympathized deeply with the supporters of Grant. Conkling's speech, as he stood almost in the center of the great assembly on a platform just above the heads of the convention, was a masterpiece of splendid oratory. He began:

And when asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply shall be,
He comes from Appomattox,
And its famous apple-tree.

It was pretty difficult for Garfield to follow this speech in the tempest of applause which came after it. There was nothing stimulant or romantic in the plain wisdom of John Sherman. It was like reading a passage from "Poor Richard's Almanac" after one of the lofty chapters of the Psalms of David. Garfield began, quietly:

"I have witnessed the extraordinary scene of this convention with deep solicitude. Nothing touches my heart more quickly than a tribute of honor to a great and noble character. But as I sat in my seat and witnessed this demonstration, this assemblage seemed to me a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and

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53 The Boston Globe, September 27, 1880.
and tossed into spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man; but I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when the sunlight bathes its peaceful surface, then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths.

"Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people... Not in Chicago, in the heat of June, but at the ballot-boxes of the Republic, in the quiet of November, after the silence of deliberate judgement, will this question be settled."

In the convention of 1860, at Chicago, General Grant had the backing of Senator Conkling of New York and other powerful political machines. He had more delegates than any other candidate pledged to him, but not enough to receive the nomination. If the unit rule could be enforced it would assure Grant the nomination. Garfield worked diligently to prevent this, for Senator G. F. Hoar, friendly to the anti-Grant forces was, at Garfield's suggestion, selected as chairman of the committee. Also the anti-Grant forces had control of the committees on credentials and rules. After Garfield nominated Sherman, Conkling, disappointed that the unit rule was not to be enforced, introduced the motion that every delegate be obligated on his honor to support the nominee. Only three delegates, all from West Virginia, opposed this motion. Their opposition kindled the anger of the Senator, and he called for a motion to expel them from the convention. Garfield sensed

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54 George F. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), I, 393-395.
the dramatic situation, and correctly judged the pulse of the delegates. He "hesitated, then came slowly to his feet" and answered the Senator from New York pleading the right of every man to vote his convictions freely. Conkling had over-stepped, and Garfield's appeal to "fair play and to the deep-seated individualism of his audience" was greeted with a "wild storm of applause that now broke out. . . for the first time genuine and spontaneous . . ." Even Conkling recognized the success Garfield had won and wrote a note while Garfield was yet speaking and said: "I congratulate you on being the dark horse."55

Senator Hoar said of Garfield's speech in the convention: "One of the greatest oratoric triumphs I have ever witnessed . . ."56 This victory, which no doubt was a major factor in his ultimate nomination, must be attributed in part to Garfield's belief in, and his unique capacity for, audience analysis and adaptation.

Views on Arrangement. Garfield's views on the arrangement of a speech were somewhat flexible. There is no indication that he ever advocated a set number of parts for the speech, e. g. introduction, proposition, body, and conclusion. Instead he laid the emphasis on a logically ordered and properly proportioned discourse. The numerous outlines in the Garfield Papers also bear testimony to the accuracy of

55 Ibid. p. 393.
56 Ibid.
this analysis, for no particular pattern of arrangement can be found. However, the points in the outlines were orderly and generally well proportioned. Garfield made the following comment on a lecture of Burke Hinsdale. "In the evening read Burke's lecture on the Eastern Question. It was very able but disproportioned. The Turkish discussion is too minute in proportion to his treatment of the Russian Question."57

Garfield closed the series of lectures on rhetoric to his students by emphasizing "How to Treat a Subject," and used an illustration of a "ball of yarn." The outline indicates that he probably drew the analogy that if a subject was treated properly it would unravel before its hearers as smoothly and logically as the ball of twine unravels. This view was asserted in his Journal when he recorded: "D. D. Field spoke one hour and a quarter... His speech was Sophomore and far below the level of the occasion. He commenced at the wrong end of the case by narrating the action of the Judges of Election in Baker Co. in throwing out the Darbyville and Johnsonville polls."58

Views on Style. In the lectures on rhetoric to his students Garfield gives considerable time to the discussion of style. In the third lecture he considered the following topics: "Commonplaces," "Originality," and "Plagiarism." The reading of good authors was recommended to the students

57Journal (January 2, 1878).
58Journal (February 2, 1877).
as a means of improving style, and Garfield urged the young speaker to "talk out" what he wrote.

The fourth lecture in the series, (given in the beginning of this section) deals almost entirely with style. The student was urged to make a diligent study of the English language as it represented the "machinery of thought." Also the young speakers were asked to study the comparative strength of words and to remember that "richness of language depends upon its association." Garfield gave prominence to perspicuity and said that writing down the thought aided clarity. The quality of energy was also stressed in the fourth lecture and the students were reminded to use words that are "specific rather than general."

Further insight into Garfield's views on style may be gained from his Journal, speeches, letters, and comments on contemporary orators. Garfield believed that clarity and force were essential to good style, and he placed little emphasis on elegance. He thought it better for the orator to strive for terseness, conciseness, and clarity than for beauty. He wrote Hinsdale:

I am glad that you are on the track of condensed, terse expression. I have been seeking for that more than for elegance. The power of making a clear, compendious statement of a case is the most valuable one. Lincoln was sometimes a model in that direction. See particularly his letter to Greeley on the slavery policy. But I think there is a great question lying behind style and which controls it. It is the power to think definitely and get a strong vivid picture before the mind of what one thinks, to analyze it so far as to remove all extraneous and unnecessary materials and then plainly express the
very essence of the thought. This will of itself give
the basis of a good style. 59

There are, however, other statements which corroborate
his preference for a clear, terse, and concise style, with
little emphasis on elegance. For example, in another
letter to Hinsdale he had complimented Lincoln's simple
and condensed style. 60 And in "Elements of Success in
Public Life," a speech delivered at Hiram, Garfield had
this point in the outline: "2. Sparing of speech & then
terse and to the point." 61

In his Journal Garfield commented on many of the
speeches delivered before the Electoral Commission in
1877. These comments revealed that he complimented the
speeches he heard whose style was, in his judgement,
characterized by good taste. He spoke of the clarity of
style in the speeches delivered by Tucker, 62 Evarts, 63
Strong, 64 and O'Connor. 65

In a memorial address honoring an elderly preacher
Garfield analyzed briefly the public speaking of the deceased clergyman. He spoke of the following qualities of style which he had admired in this preacher’s speaking:

(1) The good judgement used "in the selection of choice and appropriate words;" (2) His constructed and perspicuous sentences; and (3) the refreshing contrast offered to "the obscure style . . . of many public speakers." 

On occasion Garfield criticized these stylistic qualities: bad taste, verbosity, and extravagance of expression. In his Journal he spoke of the lack of good taste in a speech he had heard before the Electoral Commission. He criticized Senator Conkling's speeches in the Senate because he thought they were verbose. "Went to the Senate," he wrote in his Journal, "and heard the second installment of Conkling's speech. Many words and sonorous in which his ideas were badly stilled." And the day before he recorded:

Went to the Senate and listened to Sherman's speech against the bill and then for about two hours to Conkling's in its favor . . . I was surprised at the mass of words in proportion to the ideas they contained.

In a letter to Hinsdale, Garfield criticized the style of Judge Jeremiah Black, when the noted jurist's feelings

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67 Journal (February 7, 1877).

68 Journal (January 24, 1877).

69 Journal (January 23, 1877).
were highly aroused. He complained that at such times there was a tone of extravagance in Black's speeches and the rhetoric "too luscious."\(^70\)

**Views on Delivery.** In his lectures on rhetoric Garfield gave little or no attention to delivery.\(^71\) However, this topic might well have been discussed in the lectures since the outlines are too brief and incomplete to indicate what he did not do. While it is quite evident that Garfield gave much less stress to the canon of delivery than to others, some of his views may be surmised.

Garfield believed that the speaker must not be carried beyond reason by his emotions. In his *Journal* Garfield complimented the speech of Mr. Evarts delivered before the Electoral Commission, because the orator was "all the while in possession of himself."\(^72\) On the same day that Evarts spoke, Garfield found fault with Judge Campbell, because the speaker lost control of his emotions to such an extent as to mar the effectiveness of his speech.\(^73\)

Garfield himself was probably never "beside himself" while making a speech. "The difference," commented Chief-Justice Drake, "between him and many other orators was that he was always a thinking man." The Chief-Justice further stated:

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\(^71\)See outlines in the beginning of this section.

\(^72\)*Journal* (February 15, 1877).

\(^73\)See outlines in the beginning of this section.
His loftiest efforts never took him where he was not sustained by "the power of thought—the magic of the mind." He therefore ventured to no height where he would lose his head. Thought was, indeed, a distinguishing characteristic of his oratory on all occasions, great or small.74

Garfield knew the importance of complete sincerity in delivery. He believed the orator should present only those arguments in keeping with his genuine convictions. Garfield criticized a lawyer who spoke before the Electoral Commission because his speech did not seem sincere to him. "I was impressed with the belief," he recorded, "that Carpenter was a man who had been so accustomed to speak on any side to which his interest inclined him that he has lost his convictions and therefore he uses whatever arguments will suit his case for the moment." Garfield added: "This is a great calamity to happen to any man. . . ."75

Affectation and artificiality in delivery were apparently quick to meet with his censure. He found fault with the speech of D. D. Field before the Electoral Commission, because there was "a certain air of affectation in his manner" which detracted "from the impressiveness of his speech, an effort to be exquisite."76 He recommended that "the more a man loses himself in his work the better for the work." Even though Garfield disliked the manner of delivery, he was still able to see the strength of what was said. It is evident even

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74 A Tribute of Respect, pp. 41-42.
75 Journal (February 14, 1877).
76 Journal (February 2, 1877).
in his *Journal* accounts which are critical of delivery that the "what was said" was given more emphasis than the "how it was said."

At one o'clock went to the Senate and listened to Senator Conkling's speech which took three hours for delivery. It was a very strong and complete presentation of our views and entirely in accord with the position I took in my first speech. The Senator's self-consciousness is always apparent and I think it marred the effectiveness of his speech. He spoke from notes without reading and when he completed the sheet of notes he tore it up into small bits and threw them on the floor-taking some time to do it. He also held considerable sotto voce conference with those around him. These little touches of self-consciousness detract from the effectiveness of his speaking. The more a man loses himself in his work the better for the work. But notwithstanding these minor defects his speech was very powerful and valuable. There were some extraordinarily strong passages.77

Garfield considered correct pronunciation of some importance in delivery, for in briefly analyzing the admirable qualities in the public speaking of an elderly preacher, he complimented his "remarkably distinct and correct" pronunciation.78 A contemporary relates this incident, which suggests Garfield's interest in correct pronunciation:

He had a great love for linguistic knowledge, and would often make a half-game and half-study with his children of telling the meanings of words, or detecting errors in pronunciation. Dropping in at his house, one morning in the campaign summer of 1880, just as breakfast was over, I found the family lingering at the table while the General read from a little dictionary of words frequently mispronounced. He would spell the word, and then ask each in turn what the correct pronunciation should be. The elders were about as

77 *Journal* (April 24, 1879).
78 Garfield, *Discourse Occasioned by Death of Eld.* John T. Smith, p. 11.
apt to make the mistakes as the children, and a great deal of lively chat and merriment, and not a little instruction, resulted from the exercise. This he kept up every morning after breakfast until the book was exhausted. At another time he read the definitions of words, and the others endeavored to hit upon the exact words defined—not so easy a task as one would imagine at first thought. This was an exercise in which the children greatly delighted. When they came near the right word, the father would say, "Now you are getting warm;" and when they were wide of the mark, he would say "Cold," or "Very Cold."79

Conclusions. It has been the purpose of the last section of this chapter to answer the question: What were the tenets of Garfield's rhetorical theory?

Garfield considered it important for an orator to start his speech training early and secure a sound liberal arts education, wide reading experience, and a familiarity with the successful orators of the past and present. In the preparation of a specific speech he recommended a careful selection of the subject, a clear understanding of the speech purpose, and a thorough mastery of subject matter.

In his Journal Garfield implies that he considered it important to adapt a speech to the particular audience and occasion. He gave no set number of divisions for a speech, but he did believe it should begin at the best psychological place. The points also should be arranged logical and proportionate. Garfield considered clarity and force of more importance than beauty in style, and criticized language characterized by bad taste, verbosity, and extravagance of expression. While Garfield gave little emphasis to delivery

in his lectures or by direct statement, his comments on contemporary orators imply: (1) that he was critical of affectation and artificiality; (2) that he believed the orator must be sincere and "all the while in possession of himself"; and (3) that the orator should give heed to pronunciation that it might be distinct and correct.

Of the ancient canons of rhetoric, inventio was probably the most important in the thinking of Garfield. In the opinion of the writer, elocutio was second, and dispositio third, with pronunciatio fourth. Probably the key word in the rhetorical philosophy of James A. Garfield was "work." His rhetorical philosophy was definitely classical in tone. He was probably greatly influenced by the writings of Bascom, Quintilian, Whately, and Campbell. He knew he came in contact with the views of these men at Williams College.

In the rhetorical philosophy of Garfield, it is evident that rhetoric was not considered a fine, but a practical art. He did not think of the field itself as having a body of knowledge all its own, but rather as a useful art to convey effectively and persuasively the facts and arguments drawn from many branches of learning. It is probable that he thought of it as an indispensable art in a democracy, since he advocated that students in public schools should "by all means" require some training in the valuable art -- and that such training should begin early in the student's school career.

Fortunately the speaker did not fall into the error of
overemphasizing "techniques," a practice which was prevalent among the so-called elocutionists of his day. In fact, one may criticize him for underemphasizing delivery. Also, his views on arrangement may be criticized because he did not urge any consistent plan for outlining a speech or recommend any specific number of speech divisions. However, such short-comings viewed in the light of his total rhetorical concepts seem relatively minor. The evidence in this chapter, considered in the light of modern day teaching in the field of speech warrants the conclusion that the rhetorical philosophy of James A. Garfield was basically sound.
CHAPTER IV
FORMS OF SUPPORT

Aristotle defined rhetoric "as the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of Persuasion."1 He listed the speaker's ethos (character), his ability to arouse successfully the emotions of the hearers, and his use of argumentation, as the means of persuasion.2 This ancient classification, generally referred to as ethical, emotional, and logical proof, is the basic pattern for the development of this chapter.

ETHICAL PROOF

Aristotle sets forth intelligence, character, and good will as the important elements of ethical proof.3 Confidence in the ethos of the speaker, according to him "should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man."4 While rhetoricians today agree that the speech itself should create confidence in the speaker's character, they recognize that previous reputation is also important. Thonssen and Baird, for example, point out that the attitude of the audience toward

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2 Ibid., p. 8.
3 Ibid., p. 92.
4 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
the speaker induced by their previous knowledge of him and of his activities, cannot be separated entirely from the speech itself. Another element in ethical proof, not given by Aristotle, but considered of some importance in modern times, is the matter of appearance. "Personal appearance," Winans points out, is no doubt an element in impressiveness, and Ralph Waldo Emerson remarks in his essay on Eloquence, "Perhaps it is the lowest of the qualities of an orator, but it is, on so many occasions, of chief importance -- a certain robust and radiant physical health." Garfield's ethical proof is herein discussed under the following headings: (1) personal appearance, (2) reputation, (3) intelligence, (4) character, and (5) good will.

**Personal Appearance.** A man may become an effective, or even a great speaker, without possessing a tall, strong, and well proportioned body; but, as Winans points out, if one does possess excellent physical features, it is definitely an advantage. Garfield possessed this advantage. He was six feet tall, weighted 220 pounds, had broad shoulders, and "a robust muscular

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7Quoted in Winans, p. 391.

8*ibid.*, p. 391.
Elijah Cutter, contemporary and schoolmate, said:

"He had a robust physique and an open countenance. There was no stint in his make-up, and no style, no assumed gentility..." Another contemporary spoke of "the magnetism of his personal presence."

The following quotation from a religious paper, published in New York, gave an interesting contemporary view of Garfield's personal appearance.

And now, if we were to sum up in one word the impression which he makes upon us, it would be that of his thorough manliness. He is every inch a man. There is something manly in his very physique. Tall in person, broad chested and strong limbed he has the figure of an athlete. His head is large, and the expression of his face one of mingled intelligence and kindliness. He has an open countenance - one in which we can detect no lines of craft and cunning but which shows a frank and open nature that scorns guile, trickery, and deceit. If there be anything in physiognomy--if we can read the mind in the face--we should say: This is a true, brave, honest man..."

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11A Tribute of Respect from the Literary Society of Washington to its Late President James Abram Garfield, Proceedings of a meeting of the society held Nov. 19, 1881. (Pamphlet in the Library of Congress, was published in Washington, D. C., 1882).

12B. A. Hinsdale, Life and Character of James A. Garfield (Pamphlet prepared by B. A. Hinsdale, President of Hiram College, published in 1880, no publisher given, copy in the Library of Congress. Hinsdale gives the above quotation from the June 17, 1880 issue of the Evangelist, a religious paper published in New York). The reports that Garfield was unusually strong and robust in physical health is partially corroborated by the hardships he was able to endure in many of his vigorous campaigns. See Garfield Journal (September, October, 1876). The Garfield Journal is found in the Garfield Papers, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. It is referred to hereafter as Journal.
The evidence indicates that the personal appearance of Garfield enhanced his ethical proof.

Reputation. In 1876 when Garfield arose to speak on the floor of the House of Representatives or on the popular platform, it may be safely assumed that his audience had previous knowledge of his person and his activities. They probably knew that he had been born in poverty, had worked his way through college, and within a few years of graduation had become a school president, state senator, major-general in the United States Army, and United States Congressman. Garfield also enjoyed in 1876 the reputation of being one of the outstanding orators in the Republican Party. He had served on several of the most important committees of the House, and due to his prestige was considered the logical successor to James G. Blaine as the chief spokesman of the Republican Party in the House when the latter moved to the Senate.

Garfield also had a reputation of being a well educated and scholarly man. "It was a common remark," Mark Hopkins declared,

at the time of his inauguration, and has been since—I heard it from a judge of the Supreme Court—that no President except John Quincy Adams had been equally equipped in scholarship and statesmanship. He was president of the Literary Society of Washington. If a rare book was absent from the congressional library Mr. Spofford [Congressional Librarian] was the one to say that either Mr. Sumner or Mr. Garfield must have it.13

In addition, Garfield apparently had the reputation of being a speaker who had something to say. "He was never unprepared,"

commented Banks, "never tedious, always began with his subject and took his seat when he had finished." This phase of his reputation is also reflected in the following comment from The Nation, occasioned by Garfield's nomination to the Senate.

"General Garfield is one of the few Republican statesmen of the day who is a real orator, and whose speeches one cannot easily sketch before he delivers them--that is, he is not a party hack, and has personal opinions and utters them . . . ." 15

Another matter which is worthy of mention is that Garfield enjoyed prestige among many people as a very religious man. The following quotation from The American Christian Review of June 22, 1880, depicts the heights of this phase of his reputation in some religious circles.

We are glad to record the fact that, besides being a statesman of acknowledged ability, his private life has been pure, and that his Christian character is without a stain. If the Democratic party shall nominate a man for the same exalted position, bearing as clean a record in morals and sobriety as that of Garfield, the Nation may well have cause to rejoice. We have known . . . . him as an humble Christian, unpretentious in his profession, magnanimous and liberal hearted, honest, faithful, and philanthropic, with a head and heart ready to serve in the humblest cause of humanity. The last time we were in Washington City we found him teaching a Bible class in the Sunday school of a very obscure church. We have spoken these few words in praise . . . ./ of Garfield/ as a Christian citizen, and not as a politician . . . . It does not belong to the character of the Review to speak of his politics or his political creed. 16

15 The Nation, January 8, 1880.
16 Quoted by B. A. Hinckdale, Life and Character of James A. Garfield. (Pamphlet referred to in footnote 12 of this chapter).
Such a reputation in nineteenth century America was a profitable asset for an orator.

There is one question concerning Garfield's reputation that should be considered by the critic. It is this: What effect did the scandals with which Garfield's name was connected have on his reputation or ethical proof? The following paragraphs are not intended to establish Garfield's guilt or innocence in these scandals, nor to give an elaborate discussion of these charges, but only to answer the question of what effect the scandals had on his ethical appeal.

The criticism against Garfield in the eighteen-seventies centered around these four factors: his part in the ex parte Milligan case of 1864, the Credit Mobilier affair, the "Salary Grab," and the De Gollyer pavement scandal. After testifying before a congressional committee investigating the Credit Mobilier scandal, Garfield confided in his Journal:

I am too proud to confess to any but my own intimate friends how deeply this whole matter has grieved me. While I did nothing in regard to it that can be constructed into any act of impropriety (much less of corruption), I have still said from the start that the show of the cursed thing would cling to my name for many years. I believe that my statement was regarded as clear and conclusive.

Garfield's prophecy that the Credit Mobilier affair would cling to his name for many years was to prove correct, but his belief that the testimony before the committee was conclusive proved

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17 For an explanation of the historical background to the scandals see Smith, II.

18 *Journal* (January 14, 1873).
wrong. He was forced to carry the fight to the people and answer in detail not only the Credit Mobilier charge, but the other three also. These scandals made it necessary for Garfield to fight on the platform for his political life.

It may not be possible to say to what extent these scandals damaged the ethical appeal of the Ohio congressman, but some observations can be made and from them a reasonable conclusion drawn. In 1872, before these scandals broke, Garfield was elected to Congress in his district by a majority of eleven thousand. However, at the next election, after the scandals were known, his majority was reduced to less than three thousand. Of course, 1874 was a year of panic and the Republican Party lost control of the House. Hence Garfield's relatively poor showing in his district can not be blamed entirely on the scandals. Garfield did soon regain his former standing in the Ohio 19th District, and he again carried it by vast majorities in 1876 and 1878.

The fact that Garfield was never defeated in his home district, was sent to the United States Senate, and later elected to the Presidency of the United States constitutes proof that he won the battle to maintain his ethical standing among the people. And the facts also warrant the conclusion that the scandals, while doubtless affecting adversely his reputation with some people, did not significantly impair his ethical appeal. It might be added, incidentally, that the fact that he regained, or maintained the confidence of the people in view of these scandals is corroboration of the
contemporary testimony that Garfield was an outstanding speaker.

**Intelligence.** Garfield made use of ethical appeal in persuasion by having his speeches reveal him as a man of intelligence. There are four ways in which he accomplished the task of presenting himself through his speeches as a man of intelligence.

First, he established the impression of his sagacity by the manner in which he handled speech materials. The Almeda A. Booth address is an example. Garfield had a wealth of material for this address, as is clearly shown in his diary account of the preparation of the speech.\(^1^9\) He sifted this material and presented it in careful arrangement, making skillful use of the first hand information he had recorded years before in his *Journal*. He kept the speech marching toward the goal, refrained from using extraneous matter, and maintained unity and coherence in development. One cannot study the speech without noting that the skillful handling of the speech materials suggests the intellectual integrity and sagacity of the speaker.

Probably no other speeches illustrate this point quite so well as those dealing in the complicated questions of finance. For example, Garfield dealt in his speech, "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law,"\(^2^0\) with an enormous amount of facts and

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\(^1^9\) *Journal* (See May 5 to June 22 of 1876).

figures. Regardless of how much one might disagree with the views presented, one cannot charge that Garfield's ideas or statistics were handled vaguely or unskillfully. He possessed a remarkable ability to marshall, order and clearly present statistics, and thereby proved himself a man of intelligence.

Second, his speeches revealed thoroughness of preparation on the part of the speaker and broad familiarity with the issues of the day. Garfield on occasion directly suggested the completeness of his preparation. For example, in speaking on the appointment of an Electoral Commission, he referred to the Constitutional Convention and said: "I have many times, and recently very carefully, gone through all the records that are left to us of that great transaction." 21 Thus he intimated to his audience that he was able to discuss intelligently the opinion of the fathers of the Constitution on how the executive should be chosen. 22 Following are other examples:

I have taken the pains to examine the Constitutions of all the States of the Union. . . . In thirty of the thirty-seven States, the act of opening the votes and counting and declaring them is definitely and absolutely described in their Constitutions as an executive act. 23

I make this last statement without fear of contradiction, because I have carefully examined the list of illustrious names

21Works, II, 412.
22Ibid.
23Ibid., II, 424 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).
and the records that they have left behind them.\(^\text{24}\)

I will say to the gentlemen from Missouri, that, not only years ago, but again recently, I have gone through the reports. \(^\text{25}\)

I have read the report in full and there is not a word in it that attributes any part of the distress to the resumption act of 1819. \(^\text{26}\)

The issues suggested in the titles of the eighteen speeches basic to this study reveal that Garfield spoke on all of the major political issues of his day. His stump speeches revealed great familiarity with the questions of political significance before the American people in the late eighteen seventies. These questions include: amnesty, election laws, resumption, tariff, the Electoral Commission, national banks, States rights, and Union troops at the polls. Acquaintance with these current issues and thoroughness of preparation promoted in his audience increased respect for his intelligence.

Third, Garfield behaved with tact and moderation when he spoke, and thus demonstrated himself to be a man of intelligence. Several of his speeches as cited here illustrate this point.

The speech on "Amnesty" is an example of his use of tact. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution had imposed civil disabilities on some of the citizens who had participated in the war, and naturally any discussion involving the recent conflict

\(^{24}\) Works, II, 491-492 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, November 16, 1877).

\(^{25}\) Works, II, 494.

\(^{26}\) Works, II, 501.
was likely to become a passionate and bitter one. In this
speech Garfield said:

Let me say in the outset that, so far as I am personally con-
cerned, I have never voted against any proposition to grant
amnesty to any human being who has asked for it at the bar of
the House. Furthermore, I appeal to gentlemen on the other
side who have been with me in this hall many years, whether
at any time they have found me truculent in spirit, unkind
in tone or feeling, toward those who fought against us in the
late war.27

Again the conclusion of the speech reiterates the note of
tact and moderation he had sounded in the beginning.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I close as I began. Toward those
men who gallantly fought us on the field, I cherish the kind-
est feeling. I feel a sincere reverence for the soldierly
qualities they displayed on many a well-fought battle-field.
I hope the day will come when their swords and ours will be
crossed over many a doorway of our children, who will remember
with pride the glory of their ancestors. The high qualities
displayed in that conflict now belong to the whole nation.28

The speech was definitely a political speech in which Garfield
waved "the bloody shirt," but it was free from vituperation and
personal invective. Thus, by deporting himself with tact and
moderation of tone, Garfield suggested to his auditors that he
was a man of intelligence.

Fourth, Garfield helped to establish the impression of
sagacity by displaying a sense of good taste. Judging from the
evidence available, Garfield was a talkative, genial, good-
natured extrovert. Yet, there was a native dignity and a keen
sense of propriety very definitely reflected in his speeches.

27 Works, II, 222 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, January 12, 1876).

28 Works, II, 353 (Speech delivered in the House of
Representatives, August 4, 1876).
One searches in vain to find examples, stories, or illustrations in the Garfield speeches that exhibit a sense of poor taste. On the other hand, there are incidents which denote his sense of propriety.

For example, Garfield refrained from discussing controversial matters when he spoke on non-political occasions. On February 17, 1879, he spoke briefly in the House on the resolution expressing the House's sorrow for the death of Gustave Schleicher. Garfield stated: "I would say nothing that has even the appearance of controversy on this occasion."29 This same sense of decorum is also observed in his brief speeches, "Henry H. Starkweather," "John Winthrop and Samuel Adams," "Lincoln and Emancipation," and "Joseph Henry."30

In summary, Garfield helped to create the impression that he was a man of intelligence in his speeches by: (1) handling his speech materials in a skillful manner; (2) revealing a thoroughness of preparation and breadth of familiarity with the issues of his day; (3) acting with diplomacy and moderation; and (4) displaying a sense of decorum and propriety.

Character. The second component of ethical proof listed by Aristotle is character. The question that is of interest here is: How did the speeches of Garfield focus attention

29 Works, II, 635 (Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 17, 1879).

30 Works, II, 286, 388, 535, 627. (Each one of these speeches delivered in the House of Representatives - the dates in the order listed are February 24, 1876, December 19, 1876, February 12, 1878, and January 16, 1879).
upon the uprightness of his character? The method of direct statement in which he claimed to be a man of character was exceptional in his speeches between 1876 and 1880, for he generally focused attention on the probity of his character by more indirect means.

The device by which he directed attention to honesty of character was the association of himself and his cause with the noble, the elevated, and the good. It is evident, for example, in the Faneuil Hall speech that Garfield associated himself and those who agreed with him on the matter of finance with the loyal and patriotic citizens of the country.

The patriotic citizens of this republic enlisted for the whole war,—enlisted to serve till all its acts should end; they enlisted for the war of arms, for the war of reconstruction, for the war of diplomacy; and they will not desert, or be mustered out, until the war of finance is fully settled in harmony with the honor of the nation and the highest and best interests of the American people.31

Later in this speech he said:

Thus, far, fellow-citizens, we have gone on in honor; but we remember one unfulfilled pledge. We remember that every note of the United States that circulates as money is a promise to pay in the coin of the Constitution. We remember that every note carries on its face the pledge of the nation's honor. We seek to keep the pledge and redeem the promise. All the finance of the period is summed up in the present overmastering duty to resume specie payments and keep the promise.32

Garfield thus associated himself and his cause with the honor, integrity, and faith of the nation. In his "Proposed Repeal

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31 Works, II, 587 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).
32 Works, II, 593-594.
of the Resumption Law,33

"The New Scheme of American Finance,"34

and "Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments,"35

which are all major speeches dealing with the financial questions, he aligned his position with the honor and faith of the United States. When discussing the same questions in his campaign speeches between 1876 and 1880 he used the same technique.

In the speech opposing the appointment of an Electoral Commission in 1876, Garfield answered the threat of a civil war and took a stand with what he pictured the worthy and courageous answer to the threat.

We have been told to-day, in this chamber, that there is danger of civil war if the bill does not pass. I am amazed at the folly which could use such a suggestion as an argument in favor of this or any measure. The Senate at Rome never deliberated a moment after the flag which floated on the Janiculum was hauled down. That flag was the sign that no enemy of Rome, breathing hot threats of war, had entered the sacred precincts of the city; and when it was struck, the Senate sat no longer. The reply to war is not words, but swords. When you tell me that civil war is threatened by any party or State in this republic, you have given me a supreme reason why an American Congress should refuse, with unutterable scorn, to listen to those who threaten, or to do any act whatever under the coercion of threats by any power on the earth. With all my soul I despise your threat of civil war, come it from what quarter or what party it may. Brave men, certainly a brave nation, will do nothing under such compulsion. We are intrusted with the work of obeying and

33 Works, II, 490-509 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, November 16, 1877).

34 Works, II, 510-528 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 6, 1878).

35 Works, II, 609-626 (Speech delivered at Chicago, January 2, 1879).
defending the Constitution. I will not be deterred from obeying it, because somebody threatens to destroy it. I dismiss all that class of motives as unworthy of Americans. On this occasion, as on all others, let us seek only that which is worthy of ourselves and of our great country.36

In "The Wood Tariff Bill," Garfield aligned himself on the side of unselfishness and broadmindedness by declaring that he had no sympathy with those who approached the question of a tariff "from the standpoint of their own local, selfish interest." He declared:

When a man comes to me and says, "Put a prohibitory duty on the foreign article which competes with my product, that I may get rich more rapidly," he does not excite my sympathy, but repels me; and when another says, "Give no protection to the manufacturing industries, for I am not a manufacturer and do not care to have them sustained," I say that he too is equally mercenary and unpatriotic. . . . If we were to act in this spirit of narrow isolation we should be unfit for the national positions we occupy.

Too much of our tariff discussion has been warped by narrow and sectional considerations.37

Such statements in his speeches as "No worthy man fears the truth,"38 and "I have been trying to get at the truth as well as I might,"39 indicate that the speaker was anxious for his audience to place him in the ranks of truth and virtue.

A second manner in which Garfield in his speeches enhanced

36 Works, II, 409 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).

37 Works, II, 562-563 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1878).

38 Works, II, 583 (Speech delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).

39 Works, II, 605 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).
his ethical appeal was the association of his opponent with
the dishonorable and the unvirtuous. For example, in the
address, "Obedience to Law the First Duty of Congress," he
linked his opponents with the dishonorable.

. . . a Representative, speaking for the Democratic party in
this House, . . . rises in his place and declares that the
Democratic party will not execute that law nor permit it be
obeyed. \footnote{Works, II, 725-726 (Speech delivered in the House
of Representatives, March 17, 1860).} We, who are the sworn law-makers of the nation, and ought to be
examples of respect for and obediences to the law . . . we
are now invited to become conspicuous leaders in the viola-
tion of the law. My colleague announces this purpose to
break the law, and invites Congress to follow him in his
assault upon it.\footnote{Works, II, 727.}

Later in the speech he said:

Where the law speaks in mandatory terms to everybody else
and then to me, I should deem it cowardly and dishonorable
if I skulked behind my legislative privilege for the pur-
pose of disobeying and breaking the supreme law of the
land.\footnote{Works, II, 727.}

He thus connected his opponents with the dishonor associated
with disrespect for law and order.

The conclusion of Garfield's speech, "Honest Money,"
serves as another example of this technique. "We believe,"
he declared, "the hearts of true Americans everywhere will
respond to the right, when they know the right." He then
added:

But to the disturbers of law, to those who would break the
peace of this republic, to those who would convert it into
a huge anarchy, we say the true men of this Union, who put
down rebellion in one place, will put rebellion down in

\footnote{Works, II, 725-726 (Speech delivered in the House
of Representatives, March 17, 1860).}

\footnote{Works, II, 727.}
In this way, he associated those who opposed "honest money" with breakers of the peace, anarchy, and rebellion.

A third factor in the Garfield speeches which reveals the speaker as a man of character was his sincerity. There are various statements in his addresses which indicate complete sincerity. For example, in his speech, "Revolution in Congress," he declared: "... no view I have ever taken has entered more deeply and more seriously into my conviction than this ..." 43 Garfield's conclusion to a speech occasioned by the presentation to Congress of the Carpenter painting on the Emancipation Proclamation, is another example of the sincerity and earnestness which characterized many of his statements.

With reverence and patriotic love, the artist accomplished his work; with patriotic love and reverent faith, the donor presents it to the nation. In the spirit of both, let the reunited nation receive it and cherish it forever.44

In the speech opposing the creation of the Electoral Commission, Garfield skillfully indicated his sincerity.

It would be unbecoming ... to oppose this bill on mere technical or trifling grounds .... I do not wish to diminish the stature of my antagonist; I do not wish to undervalue the points of strength in a measure before I question its propriety.45

42 Works, II, 608 (Address delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).
43 Works, II, 658 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879).
44 Works, II, 542 (Address delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives, February 12, 1878).
45 Works, II, 410 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).
The statement was well chosen to put the speaker in a favorable light with his audience and to represent himself as a man sincerely seeking the right, with no desire to quibble over technicalities or to gain a victory over his opponent for the sake of seeing him suffer defeat. In essence he said to his audience, "I am sincere in opposing this bill and shall be honorable and fair in my opposition."

E. V. Smalley, a contemporary of Garfield, said: "But whether discoursing to vast outdoor audiences, . . . or explaining to the House details of an appropriation bill, the real source of his power as an orator was his sincere . . . nature, which forced people to like him and respect him. He believed what he said, and therefore he made others believe."

In summary, Garfield's speeches focus attention on the uprightness of his character by (1) the association of himself and his cause with the noble and the good, (2) the association of his opponent's position with the dishonorable and the unvirtuous, and (3) the impression of genuine sincerity. The evidence indicates that the technique most used is the one first named above. This factor is noted in almost every speech considered in this study.

The last component of ethical proof enumerated by Aristotle is good will. Garfield revealed his good will towards listeners by respect, courtesy, and fairness.

E. V. Smalley said that Garfield "approached his audiences

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46E. V. Smalley, "Characteristics of President Garfield," The Century Magazine, XXIII (December, 1881), 172.
neither in a way of mock deference nor of superiority, but as if he were one of them come to talk with them on terms of intellectual equality." The impression gained from a careful reading of the Garfield speeches corroborates this contemporary statement, for Garfield never talked down to his audience. This is true regardless of whether he was speaking on the floor of the House of Representatives or in some rural community on the Western Reserve. The attitude of "My dear people, you are very fortunate to be able to have me enlighten your ignorance," was wholly lacking in his speeches. Apparently Garfield never mistook "slowness for stupidity, or small schooling for ignorance." His auditors were treated as equals and addressed as men and women of intelligence worthy of the speaker's best. In the opening statement of the speech, "The appointment of Special Deputy Marshals," Garfield put this attitude into words when he said: "We are equals here, each having rights equal to every other, and nobody having any authority to bind any but himself."

Garfield also revealed his good will by his courtesy to opponents and to the audience in general. He was able to strike a balance between flattery and too little praise of those who disagreed with him. For example, in the speech in

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47 Ibid.

48 Winans, p. 397.

49 Works, II, 733 (Speech given in the House of Representatives March 19, 1880).
which he opposed the appointment of the Electoral Commission, he remarked: "Now I would treat this bill with all respect, for I do most sincerely respect the men who made it." In Garfield's reply to L. Q. C. Lamar, he spoke of "the philosophical and patriotic mind and heart of the gentlemen from Mississippi." He complimented his opponent in his speech on the "Counting the Electoral Vote."

Mr. Speaker, I have trespassed too long upon the indulgence of the House; but I cannot withhold from the gentleman from Massachusetts the tribute of my admiration for the earnestness and eloquence with which he closed his defence of this measure.

This characteristic respect and courtesy for those who differed with him caught the attention of an outstanding educator, who heard Garfield speak on various occasions.

Andrew D. White in his autobiography said:

One thing which struck me was his judicially fair and even kindly estimates of men who differed from him. Very rarely did he speak harshly or sharply of any one, differing in this greatly from Mr. Conkling, who in all his conversations, and especially in one at the same house not long before, seemed to consider men who differed from him as enemies of the human race.

Coupled with courtesy toward his audience and toward

50 Works, II, 429.
51 Works, II, 373 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).
52 Works, II, 432 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).
those who differed with him was the impression in Garfield's speeches that he desired to be fair. For example, he said on one occasion, "That I may not misrepresent an antagonist, I read, from a speech made in the House of Representatives on the 26th of February last, what is perhaps the clearest and most intelligible statement that has been made of the new 'American System of Finance.'" And again in "Revolution in Congress," he said: "... and in order that I may do exact justice, I read from the speech of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky." 55

In his speech before the House on March, 1878, he said, "I am embarrassed now, as I was also in November, by the fact that the gentleman himself is not here; for I dislike to refer to a member in his absence." 56 Thus, the impression fostered that the speaker desired to be fair and just constituted an important aspect of his ethical proof, for it aided and promoted understanding and good will on the part of his audience.

EMOTIONAL PROOF

Aristotle points out that "persuasion is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the

54 Works, II, 595 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).

55 Works, II, 659 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 27, 1879).

56 Works, II, 511 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 6, 1878).
away of pain or joy, and liking or hatred." Garfield's reliance upon emotional proof is particularly evident in four of the eighteen speeches basic to this study, and in his "stump" speeches from 1876 to 1880. In these speeches we find the emotional appeal of the oratory of "the era of the bloody shirt."

The various scandals in the Grant administration, climaxcd in the spring of 1876 with the dismissal of W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, after a charge of bribery, made the chances of a Republican victory in the Presidential election look bad. The Republican orators found it expedient to divert attention from the current ills by going back beyond the scandals of the Administration and arousing the memories of the late war. Thus began "the era of the bloody shirt," in which orators made a strong emotional appeal to the voters by awakening feelings that many no doubt had hoped were gone and forgotten forever. No attempt is here made to divide the "bloody shirt" oratory into appeals to patriotism, hatred, pride, and revenge. It is believed that this would be dividing the indivisible and would prove artificial, superficial, and arbitrary. For arousing the memories of the Civil War involved a complexity of emotions. Sectional bitterness, hatred, prejudice, pride, patriotism, vengeance, and doubtless other emotions were tied up with the stirring and tragic events of the Civil War, and the oratory of the "bloody shirt"

57 Aristotle, p. 9.
probably aroused them all.

The student of rhetoric cannot but read these appeals with regret, for he knows well that the deep emotions they stirred were to out-live the campaigns, and the old wounds of sectional bitterness were not to heal in the lifetime of the orators. It might be noted that the bloody shirt strategy in this period was effective from the partisan political viewpoint as the election results of 1881 eloquently testify. Garfield's speech, "Amnesty," delivered in January of 1876, very definitely belongs to the era of the bloody shirt. He described in detail the suffering of the Union prisoners at Andersonville and carefully placed the blame on Jefferson Davis. He concluded the speech:

I join you all in every aspiration that you Democrats may express to stay in this Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and bitternesses of the past; but do not for the sake of the three hundred thousand heroic men who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, many of them carrying in their hearts horrible memories of what they suffered in the prison-pen,--do not ask us to restore the right to hold power to that man who was the cause of their suffering,--that man still unshriven, unforgiven, undefended.58

Thus Garfield appealed to emotions deep-seated in the Northern heart by stirring memories that many had hoped were long since forgotten. According to a historian of the period this speech was widely publicized and proved to be an effective campaign document.59

58 Works, II, 245 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876).

In August of 1876, L. Q. C. Lamar made a speech in Congress in which he very ably pleaded for honest government. He discussed briefly the scandals of the Grant Administration, but especially considered the state governments of the Reconstruction Period. Garfield answered this address with a speech entitled "The Democratic Party and the Government." He went back beyond the last decade of scandal discussed by the eloquent congressman from Mississippi and recalled for his audience the period of the Civil War, an era no doubt nearer the heart of the Northern voters and one on which they had deeper feelings. For example he said:

You [the South] thought us cold, slow, lethargic; and in some respects we are. There are some differences between us that spring from origin and influences of climate,—differences not unlike the description of the poet,—

"Bright and fierce and fickle is the South,
And dark and true and tender is the North,"—
differences that kept us from a good understanding.

You thought that our coldness, our slowness, indicated a lack of spirit and of patriotism, and you were encouraged in that belief by most of the Northern Democracy; . . . .

Why, in 1864, when we were almost at the culminating point of the war, their Vallandighams and Tildens (and both of these men were on the committee of resolutions) uttered the declaration, as the voice of the Democracy, that the war to preserve the Union was a failure, and that hostilities should cease. They asked us to sound the recall on our bugles, to call our conquering armies back from the contest, and trust to their machinations to save their party at the expense of a broken and ruined country. Brave soldiers of the lost cause, did you not, even in that hour of peril, in your hearts loathe them with supreme scorn? But for their treachery at Chicago in 1864 the war might have ended, and a hundred thousand precious lives been saved.60

60 Works, II, 376, 377 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).
Garfield used comparison and analogy in his reply to Lamar to heighten the effect of his emotional appeal. The following passage is an example. It should be kept in mind that the speaker was striving to persuade his audience (in reality the voters) that the Democratic Party must not be returned to power in the coming election.

I walk across that Democratic camping-ground as in a graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read: "Died in the flames of the civil war; loved in its life; lamented in its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party." But dead! And here is a double grave: "Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the campaign of 1860." On the reverse side: "Sacred to the memory of Dred Scott and the Breckinridge doctrine." Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln! And here is a monument of brimstone: "Sacred to the memory of the doctrine that war against the Rebellion is a failure: Tilden et Vallandigham fecerunt, A. D. 1864." Dead on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the republic. The doctrines of Secession and of State Sovereignty. Dead. Expired in the flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Aeneas, in the person of the honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back. All else is dead.61

Anyone acquainted with the history of the period knows that such words as "slavery," "squatter sovereignty," "Vallandigham," and "Appomattox," were highly charged with emotion.

Garfield closed his reply to Lamar with a ringing appeal for the rejection of the Democratic Party.

It is most unsafe of all to trust that organization, Democratic Party when, for the first time since the war, it puts forward for the first and second place of honor and command men who, in our days of greatest danger, esteemed party above country, and felt not one throb of patriotic ardor for the triumph of the imperilled Union, but from

61 Works, II, 378.
the beginning to the end hated the war, and hated those who carried our eagles to victory. No, no gentlemen; our enlightened and patriotic people will not follow such leaders in their rearward march. Their myriad faces are turned the other way; and along their serried lines still rings the cheering cry, "Forward, till our great work is fully and worthily done!" 62

Garfield thus went back beyond the current decade. He admitted that the Republican Party had "made many mistakes," "stumbled and blundered," "suffered from the corruptions incident to the period following a great war," 63 but he painted his party as that of the Union, liberty, and freedom, and the Democratic Party as that of rebellion. And for the accomplishment of this task he depended largely on emotional proof.

Garfield again "waved the bloody shirt" in his speech on "Revolution in Congress." The Democratic majority in the House of Representatives had attached a rider to a major appropriations bill which would repeal certain parts of the "Revised Statutes" that they found particularly obnoxious. President Hayes vetoed the bill because of the rider, and the House refused to pass the appropriations bill without it. It was necessary for the President to call a special session of Congress in 1879. Garfield took full advantage of the situation to advance the cause of the Republican Party. He accused the Democrats of attempting to destroy the government

62 Works, II, 387.
63 Works, II, 381.
by withholding funds, and this he called "Revolution in Congress." In this speech he drew a comparison, (packed with emotion) between the Democratic Party in 1861 and 1879. Of the Democratic Party in 1861 he said:

Then the Democratic party said to the Republicans, "If you elect the man of your choice President of the United States we will shoot your government to death;" but the people of this country, refusing to be coerced by threats or violence, voted as they pleased, and lawfully elected Abraham Lincoln President. Then your leaders, though holding a majority in the other branch of Congress, were heroic enough to withdraw from their seats and fling down the gage of mortal battle. We called it rebellion; but we recognized it as courageous and manly to avow your purpose, take all the risks, and fight in out in the open field. Notwithstanding your utmost efforts to destroy it, the government was saved.

He then turned to the Democratic Party of 1879:

To-day, after eighteen years of defeat, the book of your domination is again open, and your first act awakes every unhappy memory, and threatens to destroy the confidence which your professions of patriotism inspired. You turned down a leaf of the history that recorded your last act of power in 1861, and you have now signaled your return to power by beginning a second chapter at the same page; not this time by an heroic act that declares war on the battlefield; but you say, if all the legislative powers of the government do not consent to let you tear certain laws out of the statute-book, put there by the will of the people, if you cannot coerce an independent branch of this government, not that you will shoot our government to death, as you tried to do before, but that you will starve the government to death.

Garfield concluded the contrast by affirming: "Between death on the field and death by starvation, I do not know that the American people will see any great difference." Later in the speech he continued the contrast of the Democratic Party of 1861 and that of 1879. He declared that perhaps the party

Works, II, 668-669 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879).
in 1861 could have killed the government by refusing it
supplies unless an appropriations bill was approved with a
rider affirming the right of secession. However, he asserted:

... even in the madness of that hour the leaders of rebellion
did not think it worthy their manhood to put their fight on
that dishonorable ground. They planted themselves on the
higher plane of battle, and fought it out to defeat. Now, by
a method which the wildest Secessionist scorned to adopt, it
is proposed to make this new assault upon the life of the
república.\footnote{Works, II, 671.}

Thus the Republican leader in the House, as in his reply to
Lamar, depended on the strategy of arousing the emotions of
the voters.

"The Democratic Party and Public Opinion," the fourth
address of the eighteen basic to this study in which emotional
proof is particularly prominent, was delivered in Cleveland,
October 11, 1879. In this major political address Garfield
eloquenty presented the Democratic Party as the champion of
dead issues such as slavery and secession. He also contended
that the party had changed its position on nearly all of the
major issues, and that the Democrats told the people to vote
first against and then for many of the questions of importance.
Garfield again reached the emotions of his hearers by the
route of the bloody shirt.

Just before an election in Ohio, any time during the
war, a great victory over the Rebellion hurt the Democratic
party in this State; and Democrats walked about our street
looking down their noses in sadness and gloom, recognizing
that their ballots would be fewer on election day, because of
the success of our arms; and if our soldiers were overwhelmed
in battle,—if five thousand of your children were slaughtered
on the field by the enemies of the republic,—the Democrats in Ohio walked more confidently to the polls on election day, and said, "Didn't I tell you so?" There is something wrong with a party about which these things can be truthfully said; and you know that they are the truth.68

Garfield explained why the Republican vote had fallen off in the South.

The Rebel army, without uniforms, organized itself as Democratic clubs in Mississippi, and, armed with the shotguns and rifles, surrounded the houses of Republican voters, with the muzzles of their guns at their heads, in the night, and said, "You come out and vote, if you dare; we will kill you when you come."67

He declared that many of the Democratic members of the House "were not created Congressmen by virtue of law, but by virtue of murder, assassination, riot, intimidation," and he added, "on the dead body of American Liberty they stand and make laws for you and me."68 He assured his audience that Ohio would not be captured for rebel brigadiers.69

These examples from "The Democratic Party and Public Opinion," clearly show that he depended on the same type of emotional appeal as in the three previous speeches described. The records in the Garfield Papers indicate also that most of his campaign speeches during this period (especially in 1876) were predominantly emotional, and followed the strategy of reviving the memories of the late war.

66Works, II, 759 (Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, October 11, 1879).
67Works, II, 763.
68Works, II, 764.
69Works, II, 767.
Analogy as a device to heighten emotional effect also appeared in these campaign speeches. One can well imagine the emotional impact that the following analogy had on a typical audience on the Western Reserve in 1876. Garfield said:

Gentlemen, the difference between a war and a prize fight is just this: two prize fighters walk into the ring and pummel each other, until the one or the other breaks down, bruised and hammered, and when that is over they get up and shake hands. They never had anything against each other; there was no principle involved; it was merely a matter of brute force, to see which one could pound the hardest. They might well shake hands then, for they have gotten through. Do you mean to say that our war was merely a brutal prize fight; that we went into it to see who could pound the hardest, and that all we had to do when the war was over was to shake hands? Oh, no! If so, I should be ashamed of the war and ashamed of every man that took part in it, as I would of a prize fight. But, gentlemen, the war was a war of ideas, and the battle we fought was the battle of force, merely to clear away the obstacles, that we might reach the grand ideas of liberty and gather in the harvest and fruits of our sowing.70

As another example, in the 1876 campaign, Garfield compared the government to a ship and the Democratic Party to pirates who tried to scuttle the boat by way of secession and war. "The pirates," he said," . . . were put down in the ship's prison by the valiant crew." However, Garfield contended after the pirates were free they stood on the deck and begged to take over the helm of the ship. He concluded the analogy by assuring his audience that the same officer would "still tread her quarter deck and guide her yet, that carries her safely through danger."71 The officer who saved the ship of

70 Garfield Papers (Public Utterances of 1875-77).
71 Ibid.
state, according to Garfield, was the Republican Party. Such analogies were obviously included to revive the memories of the past and put the Republican Party in a favorable light before the voters.

Burke Hinsdale criticized Garfield for his use of emotional appeal, but the congressman tried to justify himself. He wrote:

Now since we are making mutual confessions and criticisms, let me say in regard to your own mind that I think your quiet life in a peaceful and law-abiding community, and your just dislike of the men who are willing to keep up sectional strife, have led you to underestimate the prevalence of the wicked spirit of the Democratic party, especially the Southern wing of it. Their pernicious treatment of the President, their still worse treatment of the negroes, their persistent efforts to praise the "lost cause"—and prophesy its ultimate success, their every day talk since they obtained control of both Houses, are forced upon our attention here constantly; and you mistake our resistance to them for an attempt on our part to re-awaken dead issues. I think you are unconsciously being too influenced by the Nation. You are a much stronger man than Godkin, and very much better able to judge of American questions than he is.72

Garfield not only tried to justify his use of the emotional appeal to Hinsdale, but also to some of the audiences to which he spoke. The speech delivered on October 31, 1876, is a case in point.

They tell me I am waving the bloody shirt, but I am not to be intimidated by mere words. They must not make it bloody if I am not to wave it. Every Union soldier that was killed in battle, wore a bloody shirt, and it became his winding sheet and we will not now permit the people that caused all this, that put blood on the shirt, to sink it into derision. So long as they continue to kill free men in the South because they vote the Republican ticket, so long will I cry "murder" to the guilty.73

73Garfield Papers (Speech Oct. 31, 1876 found in Public Utterances of 1875-77).
It is true that Garfield's major use of emotional proof in the period under consideration consisted of reviving the memories and the emotions of the Civil War, but other appeals less vigorous and obvious were used. For example, Garfield appealed to the strong individualism within the people of the Western Reserve. In a Fourth of July oration in 1877 he spoke of the freedom of the press, education, and religion, and his outline contained this point: "4. We may be religious, but we are not religious of compulsion." Such an appeal doubtless was welcomed by his audiences in the West.

Garfield also appealed to the traditional conservatism of the American people. As will be pointed out under the discussion of logical proof, he frequently quoted from "the fathers" of the Constitution and often contended that a certain position should be supported because it agreed with the wisdom and action of "the fathers." Such evidence, while primarily logical, did have an emotional connotation. The American people loved the Constitution and revered the fathers of it, and the very mention of their names was likely to have caused a favorable emotional reaction. Garfield argued frequently that the "status quo" must be maintained because the fathers contended for it, and such an appeal was at least to a degree emotional.

Garfield Papers (Public Utterances 1876-77).
LOGICAL PROOF

Although Garfield relied heavily on emotional proof at times, logical proof played a more important role in the majority of the eighteen speeches basic to this study. This is not surprising when one considers the fact that several of the eighteen speeches were delivered during debate in the House of Representatives. Garfield's logical proof, that is, his evidence and argument or reasoning, is now to be considered.

Evidence. In the speeches considered basic to this study Garfield made extensive use of testimony or authority. His speech, "Amnesty," is an example of an address in which testimony was relied on as evidence. His purpose in this speech was to prove that Jefferson Davis was responsible for the alleged atrocities at Andersonville prison; and therefore, Davis should not be granted the privilege of holding office in the United States government. This speech was in reality a reply to Senator Hill of Georgia, who had delivered a well prepared speech contending that prisoners were not deliberately mistreated by the Confederate government and had pleaded that sectional strife not be stirred by reviving the old issue of alleged prison atrocities. Garfield made a conscious effort to quote "such authorities as the gentleman from Georgia" recognized. He quoted testimony from D. T. Chandler, a lieutenant-colonel of the Confederate army, Jefferson Davis, and Alexander Stephens. Garfield's audience could easily verify the testimony he gave because he was careful to make the source clear.

75 Works, II, 226.
For example, of the quotation from D. T. Chandler he said: "This report was offered in evidence in the Wirz trial, and Colonel Chandler was himself a witness at that trial, and swears that the report is genuine." Such statements left the impression with the audience that the speaker was presenting genuine and trustworthy evidence.

Again in "Congress and Presidential Elections," Garfield declared that "the ablest and earliest expounders of the Constitution" confirmed his position, and then he quoted the testimony of "Charles Pinckney, one of the foremost members of the Convention that framed the Constitution." This selection of authority was typical of Garfield's wisdom in his reliance on testimony. The phrase, "one of the foremost members of the Convention that framed the Constitution," illustrates a technique occasionally found in Garfield's mention of an authority, that is, a comment asserting the trustworthiness or suggesting the justification of the use of the expert.

In "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law" Garfield quoted from Victor Bonnét, Martineau's "History of the Peace," Tooke's "History of Prices," and Daniel Webster; in "The New Scheme of American Finance" he appealed to such authorities

76 Works, II, 226.
77 Works, II, 397.
78 Works, II, 418, 498.
as Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury Chase, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; in "The Wood Tariff Bill," he referred to Madison and Calhoun; in "The Army and the Public Peace" he used General Sherman as an authority; in "Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payment" he used testimony of eminent foreigners; in "The Sugar Tariff" he gave the testimony of noted men of science on how to determine the grade of export sugar. A mere listing of these testimonies suggests, and an examination confirms, that Garfield's choice of authorities was appropriate and indicated common sense, wisdom, and discretion on the part of the orator. These authorities were recognized as experts in their various fields, and Garfield knew they were acceptable to his audience.

Statistical evidence is prominent also in the Garfield speeches, as even a casual examination of his major addresses would show. Garfield contended:

Statistical science is indispensable to modern statesmanship. In legislation as in physical science, it is beginning to be understood that we can control terrestrial forces only by obeying their laws. The legislator must formulate in his statutes not only the National will, but also those great laws of social life revealed by statistics.^[79]

A careful study of the major speeches considered in this study revealed that Garfield used this type of evidence predominantly in his speeches relating to finance and the tariff.

Garfield reduced statistics, as a general rule, to round numbers as the following quotation from the speech "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law" shows:

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Let us now consider the conduct of France during and since the German war. In July, 1870, the month before the war began, the Bank of France had outstanding $251,000,000 of paper circulation, and held in its vaults $229,000,000 of coin. When the war broke out, they were compelled immediately to issue more paper, and to make it a legal tender. In their necessity they took pattern of us, and issued paper until, on the 19th of November, 1873, there was outstanding $602,000,000 of paper issued by the Bank of France, while the coin in the bank was reduced to $146,000,000. But the moment their great war was over and their territory freed from the enemy, the French did what I commend to the gentleman from Pennsylvania,—they reduced it almost $100,000,000, and increased the coin reserve $120,000,000. By the year 1876 they had pushed into circulation $200,000,000 of coin, and retired nearly all their small notes. They are at this moment within fifty days of resumption of specie payments. Under their law, fifty days from to-day France will again come into the illustrious line of nations that maintain a sound currency. I commend to the eloquent gentleman from Pennsylvania the example of France.

It is worthy of note that on some occasions Garfield declared in so many words that his presentation of numbers was in round numbers. For example, "The aggregate volume of real and personal property in the United States in 1850," he said in an address on finance, "was, in round numbers, $7,135,000,000." And in his speech on the tariff he mentioned: "First, as a source of revenue for the support of the government, we are receiving about $37,000,000 in coin per annum. . . ."

The presentation of statistics in a form familiar to his

80 Works, II, 497-498.
81 Works, II, 514.
82 Works, II, 638.
listeners was another characteristic of Garfield's handling of this particular type of evidence. In other words, he spoke in terms of pounds, dollars, percentage, and other terms familiar to his audience. Gray and Braden point out that the policy of employing terminology familiar to the audience in the use of statistics is advisable. The same authors also call attention to the fact that "statistics are frequently more effective and more meaningful if examples are interspersed among the statistical data." Gerfield recognized the merit of such a practice, for he followed this policy. The speech on "The Sugar Tariff" was replete with statistics from beginning to end, and yet the monotony was broken by occasional illustrations which demonstrated the significance of figures given.

Garfield was able to make his audience understand what was behind the statistics. In other words, he more or less dramatized his figures. An example of this ability is illustrated in the following quotation taken from his speech on "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law."

There were in the United States, on the 1st of November, 1876, 4,475 savings banks and private banks of deposit; and their deposits amounted to $1,377,000,000. . . . The great

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84 Ibid., p. 289.
85 Works, II, 637-654.
mass of the depositors are men and women of small means. . . .

Gentlemen assail the bondholders of the country as the rich men who oppress the poor. Do they know how vast an amount of the public securities are held by poor people? I took occasion a few years since to ask the officers of a bank in one of the counties of my district,—a rural district,—to show me the number of holders, and the amounts held, of United States bonds, on which his bank collected the interest. The total amount was $116,000. And how many people held those bonds? One hundred and ninety-six. Of these just eight men held from $15,000 to $20,000 each; the other one hundred and eighty-eight ranged from $50 up to $2,500. I found in that list fifteen orphan children and sixty widows, who had a little money left them from their fathers' or husbands' estates, and who had made the nation their guardian. And I found one hundred and twenty-one laborers, mechanics, ministers, who had put their small means in the hands of the United States that it might be safe. And they were the "bloated bondholders" against whom so much eloquence is fulminated in this House.86

The illustration of the rural bank in his home district, with the giving of the number of orphans, mechanics, ministers, and laborers made his listeners understand more clearly what was back of the figures, because it pointed out that those who supported the savings banks were the "average folks" like themselves.

It is possible that Garfield did over-work this type of evidence in his speeches regarding finance and tariff. At least the reader of the speech becomes a little weary of so many figures in one address. However, it is also recognized that the reader of today is not as interested in the figures as were the auditors who listened to them at the time the issues with which they dealt were paramount in the minds of the people.

86 Works, II, 503.
Now to be considered is Garfield's choice of examples, which served as further basis for his arguments. His examples were generally pertinent and served his purpose well. Several references are given here to substantiate this statement and to illustrate his reliance on example as evidence.

In speaking before the Ohio Editorial Association in Cleveland, Garfield contended that "No worthy man fears the truth." However, he reminded his audience that "wrongs are sometimes committed in a month that years cannot wholly set right." As evidence to support this contention he set forth the following example:

During our late war, General McDowell, one of the noblest and most accomplished soldiers of the Union, was most unjustly assaulted by a group of war correspondents, who represented him to the country as incompetent, drunken, and perhaps disloyal. It was circumstantially stated that on one occasion he was so drunk that he nearly fell from his horse. As a consequence, he rested for a long time under this cloud of cruel and unjust suspicion. He is almost the only adult man I ever knew, of whom it can be said with truth that he never tasted spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, or tobacco and yet several millions of his countrymen were made to believe, and perhaps many of them still believe, that he lost the battle of Bull Run in consequence of intoxication. The fame of a worthy public man ought to be cherished as a part of the nation's possessions; yet the noblest and best citizens who have served the country in the highest capacities have won their honors and performed their duties amidst showers of obloquy. 87

In opposing the appointment of the Electoral Commission of 1876, Garfield contended that frauds in elections had been prevalent before, but Congress did not go "behind the declared majority of the votes of a State for Electors" and inquire how

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87 Works, II, 583-584.
the majority was obtained. He used as a basis for the argument the following example:

Such an inquiry as that never has been attempted, but not because there were no frauds. What careful student of American history does not know that, in the year 1844, Henry Clay was robbed of the electoral vote of this same State of Louisiana, and that, by the most shameless and outrageous fraud and violence, it was delivered over to James K. Polk? I refer, of course, to the Plaquemines frauds.88

Hypothetical examples are also found in the Garfield speeches. In "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law," we have a case in point.

Suppose that a farmer in one of your Eastern States sells his farm for $10,000. He wants to remove to the Great West. He gets ten greenbacks of the denomination of $1,000 each. This is easy to carry; he can put it in his vest pocket. Do you think, as a matter of convenience, he will go to the Assistant Treasurer in New York and get for those greenbacks forty pounds' weight of gold coin to carry in his pockets, or, if the silver dollar should be restored, six hundred and forty pounds of silver? No, gentlemen; the moment your greenback is equal to gold, it is better than gold, for it is more convenient; and it will remain in circulation until the business of the country demands its withdrawal.89

These examples and others in the Garfield speeches serve to demonstrate several important characteristics that are typical of this type of evidence in his addresses. First, Garfield used examples that really illustrated the point he was trying to make. Thonssen and Baird suggest that examples must do this and "failing that, they lose their logical right to a place in discourse."90 A second characteristic is that his examples fitted smoothly and logically into the context

88 Works, II, 399.
89 Works, II, 509.
90 Thonssen and Baird, p. 345.
of the speech. Third, they were sufficiently long to be clearly understood and yet not filled with so much detail as to be boring. Fourth, he did not "over-use" this type of evidence. In other words, he did not overwhelm his audience with examples, as he sometimes was inclined to do with statistics. Fifth, generally, when examples appeared there were other types of evidence in the speech, which the examples often served to illustrate and amplify.

Argument. What of Garfield's use of argument? This phase of his logical proof is now to be considered in the light of the speeches he made during the period (1876-1880).

Garfield relied heavily on argument from specific instance in his political addresses. "The Democratic Party and the Government," which was a reply to L. Q. C. Lamar, is an example. As has been already pointed out, Lamar delivered a speech in which he attacked corruption in government, eloquently pleaded for honesty in government administration, and for a return of the Democratic Party to power. Garfield contended that the Democratic Party must not be entrusted with the national administration, because it was the party of rebellion and had not accepted the results of the war. To establish his contention Garfield reasoned from specific instance. Garfield presented expressions from a Southern newspaper, an ex-Governor of Mississippi, a Southern clergyman, a former Confederate cabinet officer, and a Democratic Senator from New York. He concluded from this collection of instances that the Democratic Party, in general, and the Southern wing
in particular, had not accepted the results of the war, and therefore the Democrats ought not be elected by the voters to take over the administration of the federal government.

The speech increased the speaker's influence and prestige in his own party. However, viewed from the standpoint of clear thinking, the argument was weak. In the first place, the number of instances was too few to justify Garfield's general conclusion. In the second place, it is doubtful whether instances cited were representative. To illustrate: Garfield gave a quotation from a Rev. Taylor Martin, of Charlotte, North Carolina, in which the preacher was reported as claiming that the "lost cause" was to triumph eventually and that at a "not far distant day" there would be "stars and bars" floating proudly over our sunny South." At the conclusion of the quotation, a Mr. Yeates interrupted from the floor of the House:

With the consent of the gentleman from Ohio, I want to state that I have seen under the signature of the gentleman from whom he has just quoted a statement denying in toto every word of what has just been read; and a number of gentlemen who heard the speech certify that the quotation is false in every particular. . . . There is no doubt of the correctness of my statement.\textsuperscript{91}

Garfield accepted the correction and said: "Let the extract and the denial stand together."\textsuperscript{92} This incident suggests that the selection of instances in the speech may have well been chosen on partisan bias, but not objectively. However,

\textsuperscript{91} Works, II, 372.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
Garfield's conclusions were probably made to stick in the mind of many voters, even if they were drawn from insufficient evidence to satisfy the logician.

Garfield also relied on the same type of reasoning in his political addresses to prove that the Republican Party was not guilty of the charge of corruption. For example, he cited this instance:

In an official letter to the Senate, under date of June 19, 1876, the Secretary of the Treasury copies from his records the aggregate losses by defalcations and the loss per thousand dollars, in each period of four years since 1834, in all the departments and bureaus of the government.

From January 1, 1834, to July 1, 1861, the total disbursements of the government were $1,369,977,502.52; the total defalcations were $12,361,722.91; or a loss of $9.02 to $1,000. From July 1, 1861, to July 1, 1875, the total disbursements were $12,566,392,569.53; the total defalcations were $9,905,205.37; or a loss of twenty-six cents to the $1,000. In the latter period the disbursements were nearly ten times as great as in former, and the defalcations one third less.93

Garfield answered his opponent's plea for civil service reform by contending that the Democratic Party was insincere in asking for it. He supported his contention by argument from specific instance.

They came in with the cry of Civil Service Reform on their lips. There were 150 officers or employes around the House of Representatives. They struck as with a broom to sweep everybody out; and at last when they were sweeping out the crippled and wounded soldiers, and there stands one of them, and just before the blow struck him public attention was called to it and they were ashamed to sweep all of them out, and they left a half a dozen as a mere specimen so as to say that they did not clean out the very last Union soldier. Fifty-seven Union soldiers employed around the House of Representatives were turned out, neck and heels, not because they were not faithful officers, but because they were Republicans, and in their places over forty rebel officers and soldiers were put in to do their

93 Works, II, 385.
work, and the kind of men they put in you know too well. The
Clerk of the Committee on Ways and Means, who is entrusted
with the vast secrets of taxation, was a member of the lobby,
a cotton claim agent. Such a man was entrusted with the
secrets and confidence of that committee—a man who but a
short time before had named his child after the assassin of
Abraham Lincoln! They took a clerk who had been there for
twenty-five years, who had been there under a Democratic
administration, and turned him out to put in a new man that
was himself turned out because he was found to be a speculat-
ing claim agent.94

Garfield was fond of analogy and often appropriated this
type of argument in his memorial and political addresses.
Strong, and some obviously weak, comparisons appear in his
speeches, as following examples show. In "The Democratic
Party and the Government," Garfield declared:

Suppose, gentlemen of the South, you had won the victory
in the war; that you had captured Washington and Gettysburg,
Philadelphia and New York; and we of the North, defeated and
conquered, had lain prostrate at your feet? Do you believe
that by this time you would be ready and willing to intrust
to us—our Garrisons, our Phillipses, our Wades, and the
great array of those who were the leaders of our thought—
to intrust to us the fruits of your victory, the enforcement
of your doctrines of State sovereignty and the work of extend-
ing the domain of slavery? Do you think so? And if not, will
you not pardon us when we tell you that we are not quite ready
to trust the precious results of the nation's victory in your
hands?95

It is quite probable that this supposed or hypothetical
comparison met with much favor in Republican Party circles,
but its weaknesses are glaring to the unbiased examiner. In
the first place, it was predicated on a generalization that,
to say the least, was questionable. This generalization was

94. Garfield Papers (Speech delivered in the campaign of
1876, found in Public Utterances of 1875-77).
95. Works, II, 375.
that the Republican Party was synonymous with the North, and that therefore, if the Democratic Party won the election of 1876, it meant turning the national administration over to the South. Another weakness was the assumption that the Democrats running for office in 1876 were the extremists for secession, slavery, and state sovereignty that Garrison, Phillips, and Wade were for abolition.

In his further efforts to prove that the Democratic Party should not be returned to power, Garfield compared it to the Tories in the days of the Revolution.

And how was it in our own country, when our fathers had triumphed in the war of the Revolution? When the victory was won, did they open their arms to the Loyalists, as they called themselves, or Tories, as our fathers called them? Did they invite them back? Not one. They confiscated their lands. The States passed decrees that no Tory should live on our soil. . . . Now I do not refer to this as an example which we ought to follow. O, no. We live in a milder era, in an age softened by the more genial influence of Christian civilization. Witness the sixty-one men who fought against us in the late war, and who are now sitting in this and the other chamber of Congress. . . . Only please do not say that you are just now especially fitted to rule the republic, and to be the apostles of liberty and of blessing to the colored race.96

Garfield made it clear that he did not advocate the expulsion of Democrats from the soil of the United States, but he definitely suggested that it would be out of order to return them to power, just as it would have been unwise for the fathers to bring back the Tories to power. He said: "Now, Mr. Chairman, notwithstanding all the fearful corruption of his time described by John Adams, our fathers never thought it necessary to call the Tories back to take charge of their newly

96 *Works*, II, 380.
gained liberties."97 Probably most students would agree today that there were significant differences between the Tories of 1776 and the Democrats of 1876, and that therein lies the weakness of this analogy.

Garfield was skillful in using analogies which placed the Republican candidate in a good light, and the Democratic candidate in the opposite position. A portion of his campaign speech delivered September 23, 1876, illustrates this point. It was given, of course, in the bitter campaign preceding the election of Rutherford B. Hayes.

Why, almost the very day that Tilden was writing at Chicago, with Vallandigham at his elbow, in a committee room, that your war was a failure, what was Rutherford B. Hayes doing? Let me tell you. Why, up in Winchester town, in the Shenango valley, there was a battle raging. It had raged a long time, until the night was coming on, and finally, it was told that the Twenty-third Ohio must storm a certain point, or else the day was lost. His men charged and rushed on until at last the line stopped. There was a broad, deep, stagnant marsh lying in front; beyond that marsh the rebel battery was planted, and Rutherford B. Hayes, without a moment's hesitation, plunged his horse into the heart of the marsh, and when he was two-thirds of the way through the horse mired. General Hayes leaped from the saddle, left his horse miring, scrambled and swam to the other shore, across the marsh, and turning back to his brigade he called aloud. "Will you leave your General here alone? Come on!" And at the sound of his voice the men leaped and bounded and flew until they gained the further side, and with him at their head, under the fire of shot and shell, with hail raining around him and his regiment, they clambered the heights and captured the guns, and took the citadel and saved the day. And now our line of battle stretches from Maine to California this fall. They have gained the day in Maine; ... Ohio is called to make her charge, and Rutherford B. Hayes to lead us yet. He walks forward as he did that day in the Valley of Shenandoah, to lead us over the marshes and pits that the Democratic party have dug; and he will lead us up the heights and capture their citadel and carry the day as he carried it

97 Works, II, 387-387.
when Sheridan came, and the battle was won. Garfield argued that since Hayes was successful in the military realm, he would also be successful in the political. Probably his audience never asked themselves the question: Are there significant differences between political and military battle? Or, does success in a military encounter insure success in a political one? And it is further probable that the highly dramatic analogy gained votes for the speaker's party.

There are analogies in the Garfield speeches that are sound and meet the tests of validity. For example, Garfield drew a comparison between the life of Margaret Fuller and Miss Almeda A. Booth in his memorial address on the latter. After presenting the comparison, he concluded:

Highly as I appreciate the character of Margaret Fuller, greatly as I admire her remarkable abilities, I do not hesitate to say, that in no four years of her life did her achievements, brilliant as they were, equal the work accomplished by Miss Booth during the four years that followed her coming to Hiram.

The analogy was sound and fair, for it was built on facts that could be verified and was carefully supported by other evidence in the speech.

In "Obedience to Law the First Duty of Congress," we have another example of Garfield's ability to choose appropriate and valid analogies. He argued that congressmen must obey

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98 *Garfield Papers* (Found in Public Utterances of 1875-77).
99 *Works*, II, 304.
the laws they make whether the individual member of Congress liked or disliked them.

Mr. Chairman, by far the most formidable danger that threatens the republic to-day is the spirit of law-breaking which shows itself in many turbulent and alarming manifestations. The people of the Pacific Coast, after two years of wrestling with Communism in the city of San Francisco, have finally grappled with this lawless spirit, and the leader of it was yesterday sentenced to penal servitude as a violator of the law. But what can we say to Dennis Kearney and his associates, if to-day we announce ourselves the foremost law-breakers of the country, and set an example for all the turbulent and vicious elements of disorder to follow? 100

Garfield's aptness in the selection of his analogies is illustrated clearly in one of his campaign speeches in which he attempted to exonerate himself from the responsibility of a law which raised the salaries of congressmen. The incident was known as "The Salary Grab," and criticism against it was intense. Garfield was chairman of the Appropriations Committee at the time the unpopular measure was attached as a rider to one of the bills from his committee. Because of the resentment aroused by the measure, it was imperative that Garfield clear himself in the eyes of his constituents. He employed the following analogy:

I did all in my power to prevent that provision being added to the bill. I voted against it eighteen times. I spoke against it, but by a very large vote in the House, and still larger vote in the Senate, the salary clause was put upon the bill. I was captain of the ship, and this objectionable freight had been put upon my deck. I had tried to keep it off. What should I do? Burn the ship? Sink her? Or, having washed my hands of the responsibility for that part of her cargo I had tried to keep off, navigate

100 "Works," II, 728-729.
her into port, and let those who had put this freight on be responsible for it?101

There were many differences between a ship and the Appropriations Committee in the United States House of Representatives; and yet taking into consideration the historical background, the explanation preceding the analogy, and all the argument that followed, the critic is justified in concluding the speaker was wise in using this comparison. It fitted logically into the context, sounded reasonable, and was right to the point. Garfield was re-elected to Congress, and the unpopular measure was repealed.

Garfield resorted to some analogies which are more akin to political propaganda than argument. For example, a clipping in the Garfield Papers for September 23, 1876, revealed that Garfield made a speech in which he compared the Democratic Party to an iceberg which had had originally much purity and good within its bulk. However, according to Garfield, it

... had under the warmth of the sun constantly been losing all that make it fair to look upon. The purity of the Democratic conglomeration had been absorbed by the Republican party and now very little remained in the great chaotic mass of rubbish and nastiness of incongruities and inconsistencies, and it was only

101 Garfield Papers (Found in the Public Utterances of 1872-1874).
held together because frozen together.  

In Garfield's argumentative speeches his causal inferences were often characterized by over-simplification. For example, in his speeches on finance, in which he argued against the repeal of the resumption law, he denied that the resumption act in England caused financial distress, or that it would cause a depression in America. He argued that depression in America (EFFECT) sprang from "overtrading, speculation, and undue expansion of instruments of credit;" (CAUSE) therefore, he maintained, it was a mistake to say that the resumption of specie payments would bring depression.

Again Garfield reasoned that the high prices of 1862-1870 (EFFECT) were a result of war (CAUSE) and that the

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Garfield Papers (Found among the Public Utterances of 1875-77). Following is another of the same type of analogy, and it is also found in the Public Utterances of 1875-77:

I remember a story in French history that might be remembered with profit for a moment here. After Napoleon had been finally driven into exile and the great allied sovereigns had gathered their armies in Paris to bring back to the throne the old Bourbon, that spirit of reaction and despotism with rare flashing jewels, blazing pomp and ceremony, they were escorting the weak, wicked Bourbon to put the bauble crown upon his head, and there stood leaning against a pillar an old soldier of the Court of Napoleon who wore above his heart the iron cross, the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and one of the courtiers standing near him, not knowing who he was, exclaimed, "Oh, is not this a grand pageant? Can you imagine a greater pageant than this?" Said the old soldier, with a flash of his eye, "Yes, if the five hundred thousand dead comrades of mine who fought to prevent this thing were here, I could see a grander pageant." And fellow citizens, if the time should come when on the fourth of March next, Tilden and Hendricks should be led up in triumphal procession to Capitol Hill and stand where Lincoln stood to take the Presidential office and enter upon its duties, the pageant of the Democratic party, with its Confederate friends gathered there, I should feel that to be a grander pageant that would bring back our five hundred thousand dead heroes who fought to prevent this. . . .
issuing of greenback currency incident to the war was not the factor (CAUSE) that brought about the high prices (EFFECT).

He further argued that since the war (CAUSE) was over and the country was back to a more normal state, it was but inevitable that prices should go down (EFFECT). Garfield explained:

To our foreign and domestic markets was added the war market. War cat like a grim monster, swallowing up the accumulated wealth of the country. More than a million men were taken out of the ranks of producers and added to the ranks of consumers, and prices went up... 103

The reasoning had merit and doubtless possessed a ring of reasonableness and soundness to many of his auditors. Yet Garfield had over-simplified the case; for while the war had caused high prices, it did not necessarily follow that a business recession must come shortly after the war. There might have been other factors such as an expanded economy, greater production of civilian goods, or government subsidies that could have operated to prevent unusual decline of prices.

It was, of course, impossible to draw absolute conclusions about the causes of such complex problems as war and depression, and over-simplification was probably to be expected.

Garfield likewise over-simplified the case on the issue of corruption in government. He implied that the corruption in government (EFFECT) was in reality incident to the war (CAUSE). 104 Obviously there might well have been causes other than war, such as inefficiency, graft, and bribery, to explain

103 Works, II, 505.
104 Works, II, 381.
the scandals in the national and state government.

In the bitter debate in the House over an appropriations bill, Garfield used causal inference with unusual skill. The Democrats, then the majority party in the House, had attached a rider to the bill that would prevent money from being spent to enforce election laws obnoxious to them. President Hayes vetoed the bill because of the rider, and the Democratic majority in the House refused to pass it. Therefore, in 1879 the President called a special session of Congress. Garfield argued that the majority party's refusal to pass the appropriation bill (CAUSE) would end in the ultimate destruction of the Government by starvation (EFFECT). He made the argument emphatic and declared the Democrats had sought destruction of the government at one time by rebellion, but currently sought its ruin by starvation. The Republican floor leader won the fight, for the majority party finally voted the appropriation bill without a rider, and Garfield repeated his causal inferences in the campaign of the next year.

Garfield in his argumentative speeches reasoned deductively from broad and commonly accepted generalizations. For example, in Garfield's speeches on finance there was a basic premise that ran through the addresses. This premise was that every individual should keep his pledges, but it was even more imperative that a nation should maintain its faith and honor by diligently keeping promises. His reasoning might be stated in syllogistic form as follows:
Major Premise: It is imperative that men and nations keep their promises in order to maintain faith and honor.

Minor Premise: The resumption of specie payments was promised by this country.

Conclusion: Therefore the resumption of specie payments is necessary to the maintenance of the faith and honor of our country.

The question of the resumption of specie payments was not one of expediency with Garfield. He considered the issue a matter of right and wrong, and brought to the discussions the force of his own ethical idealism. In most cases Garfield assumed the generalization that a nation must keep its promises, and he gave his time to the effort of establishing his contention that the resumption of specie payments was essential to the fulfillment of a definite promise. The conclusion of his speeches was that the United States must have resumption of specie payments to keep its integrity. Garfield was justified in assuming his major premise, for it was a broad principle drawn from a generally accepted standard of conduct.

He had little occasion to argue through the formal syllogism, and sometimes his major premises were only given by implication. For example, in the special session of Congress in 1879, Garfield argued from a premise which was implied and assumed to be true. It was that any effort to destroy the government of the United States was an evil and revolutionary move. He tried to prove the minor premise, namely, that the Democratic Party was trying to destroy the government by
starvation (withholding appropriations). The conclusion obviously inferred was that the Democratic Party was attempting an evil and revolutionary movement.

In some of Garfield's political speeches of the period he reasoned from the broad generalization that any political party which had not adopted the results of the late war was unfit to take over the reins of the government. His reasoning, reduced to a formal syllogism, was this:

Major Premise: Any party which has not accepted the results of the late war is not to be entrusted with the administration of the United States Government.

Minor Premise: The Democratic Party has not accepted the results of the war.

Conclusion: Therefore the Democratic Party should not be entrusted with the administration of the United States Government.

It is probable that the popular and often partisan audience did not scrutinize his arguments closely, and that the emotional factor involved in many of his generalizations made them more acceptable to the usual audience.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter has been to analyze the supporting material in the Garfield speeches of 1876 to 1880. The Aristotelian classification of ethical, emotional, and logical proof has served as the basic pattern for the examination.
Ethical Proof. Garfield's ethical proof was considered in the light of five factors: (1) personal appearance, (2) reputation, (3) intelligence, (4) character, and (5) good will. The following findings are set forth in this chapter: (1) contemporary evidence indicates that personal appearance did increase Garfield's ethical proof; (2) his reputation as a school president, state senator, major-general in the United States Army, and United States congressman, and his prestige in religious and educational circles were significant in his ethical proof; (3) he revealed himself as a man of intelligence in his speeches by handling his speech materials in a sagacious manner, by showing a broad familiarity with the issues of the day, and by thoroughly preparing his speeches on them, by acting with tact, and by displaying a sense of good taste; (4) he focused attention on the probity of his character, primarily by the association of himself and his cause with the noble and honorable, but he also accomplished this task by placing his opponents with the unvirtuous, and making a conscious effort to leave the impression of his own sincerity.

Emotional Proof. Emotional proof was predominant in four of the eighteen major addresses considered basic to this study, and in many of the campaign speeches. Where this type of proof was used, it generally meant the vigorous "waving of the bloody shirt." In other words, Garfield went back to the period of the Civil War and brought up memories that aroused deep emotions.
Sectional bitterness, hatred, pride, patriotism, revenge, and doubtless other emotions were tied up with the tragic events of the war, and the oratory of the "era of the bloody shirt" probably aroused them all to a degree.

Outside of the energetic appeals made in "waving the bloody shirt," emotional proof played a minor role in the speeches examined in this study.

**Logical Proof.** In the Garfield speeches authority and statistics appeared as evidence frequently. Example was used somewhat less. Garfield showed wisdom and discretion in the selection of testimony, in that he chose authorities who were experts and who had a high degree of acceptability with the audience. He believed that statistical science was indispensable to "modern statesmanship." The accuracy of Garfield's statistics, which were accumulated with great care, was practically never challenged by his colleagues in the House. He selected examples for evidence which were clear, to the point, and really illustrative.

This study reveals that Garfield relied especially on argument from "specific instance" in his campaign speeches or other highly partisan addresses. Some of his examples were not representative and in some cases not in sufficient number to warrant his conclusions. The emotional factor in many of these arguments doubtless made them more acceptable to the average listener.

This chapter also reveals that argument from analogy
appeared extensively in the Garfield occasional speeches. Skill, adroitness, and originality are shown in some of the figurative and literal analogies; others are mere political propaganda. Garfield was adept in selecting analogies to illustrate and amplify the proposition he was striving to establish. His causal reasoning was often characterized by over-simplification, for Garfield sometimes failed to realize that the specific effect might justly be attributed to causes other than the ones he emphasized. His deductive reasoning was usually from broad major premises so generally accepted as to make it unnecessary to prove them. He therefore concentrated on proving his minor premise in order to justify the desired conclusion. The formal syllogism was not found in the speeches considered in this study.

In those addresses predominantly partisan and calculated especially to get votes, Garfield relied heavily on emotional proof, but when this was not the case, logical proof was more prevalent.
CHAPTER V
ARRANGEMENT

Modern writers on rhetorical theory have almost universally ascribed to dispositio or arrangement a place of primary importance in the art of speech making. Ancient writers emphasized the importance of good organization in effective speaking by giving it second place among the five canons of rhetoric.¹

Entries in Garfield's Journal indicate that he sought careful arrangement of his speech material. "Spent the forenoon," he recorded on one occasion, "in arranging the order of points in my speech. . . ."² Again he remarked: "Worked on my speech until noon. Had not a little difficulty in determining the proper perspective of the parts."³ The following entry concerns his arrangement of the memorial address on Miss Almeda A. Booth:

... in the afternoon made further progress on the Booth address. Brought her history down to her graduation at

²Garfield Journal (November 16, 1877). This manuscript Journal is deposited with the Garfield Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. It is referred to hereafter as Journal.
³Journal (January 25, 1877).
Oberlin in 1855. I fear I have destroyed its perspective a little by making that portion which relates to her studies to ¼ minute and I seem also, to have reached a climax with her graduation.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to discuss Garfield's method of organizing his addresses. The subject will be discussed under the headings of introduction, discussion, and conclusion.

INTRODUCTION

Garfield took particular care in preparing the beginning of his speeches and often revised his introductory material. At times he had great difficulty in securing an introduction that he felt was adequate for a particular speech, and on occasion he tried as many as six different introductions before finally selecting the one to be used. For example, in preparing a major speech he recorded in his Journal:

Wrote the introduction to the Chicago speech. I do not know how it is, but the few introductory pages of an address always give me great trouble. I know of no man who works as slowly as I do on some things, while on others I work with great rapidity. I try a half dozen introductions before I satisfy myself.

At another time he recorded:

... late in the P. M. commenced dictating the speech. It is surprising how difficult for me to begin a speech. If I get the first paragraph started to suit me I feel that a

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4 Journal (May 28, 1876).


6 Journal (December 21, 1878).
prime difficulty is got over. After much struggle and halting, made a fair start.7

It is difficult to generalize regarding the introductions to Garfield's speeches, because the beginnings vary widely from one to another depending on the particular audience, occasion, and type of speech. However, it is possible to point out that in most of the speeches of the period from 1876 to 1880 the introductions are brief, to the point, and well adapted to the occasion for which the speech was prepared. Garfield evidently believed the speaker should launch into the main current of the issues to be discussed as soon as possible. His introductions served to promote good will and to put the speaker in a favorable light.

In the eighteen speeches basic to this study, the types of introductions which Garfield used may be classified as follows: (1) reference to a previous speaker, (2) analogy, (3) personal reference, (4) apology, (5) anecdote, and (6) an abrupt exordium.

**Reference to a previous speaker.** Quite frequently Garfield introduced a speech with a reference to a previous speaker. In fact this technique was used in five of the major addresses of the period. There are two characteristics of such references: (1) they were generally complimentary to opponents or colleagues, and (2) such references were a bid for good will.

7 _Journal_ (August 22, 1878).
In August of 1876, L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi made a speech on the floor of the House in which he made an appeal to both North and South for support of the Democratic Party. Garfield was chosen by the Republican leaders to answer Lamar. He introduced his reply by saying that he regretted that the speech of the gentleman from Mississippi had not as yet appeared in the Record, but he considered Lamar's propositions so clearly and so ably stated that it would be his own fault if he failed to "understand the general scope and purpose of his speech." He added:

In the outset, I desire for myself, and for a majority at least of those for whom I speak, to express my gratitude to the gentleman for all that portion of his speech which had for its object the removal of the prejudices and unkindly feelings that have arisen among citizens of the republic in consequence of the late war. Whatever faults the speech may have, its author expresses an earnest desire to make progress in the direction of a better understanding between the North and the South; and in that it meets my most hearty concurrence and approval. 8

The introduction of "The Wood Tariff Bill" made reference to a previous speaker who had spoken in favor of the tariff bill under consideration. "A few days ago," Garfield said, "the distinguished gentleman from Virginia who now occupies the chair [Mr. J. R. Tucker] made a speech of rare ability and power..." 9 With this complimentary reference to his


9 Works, II, 551 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 4, 1878).
opponent he launched into the speech and told why he opposed the position of Mr. Tucker.

"The Army and the Public Peace" began also with a brief reference to previous speeches on the subject.

Mr. Chairman, -- I have listened with great interest to the discussion of this subject, and especially to the speech of the gentleman from New York [Mr. Hewitt] who opened the discussion. In many points of his speech I concur; but there is one main point in the bill upon which I differ from him and from the majority of the Committee on Appropriations. It is the question of the strength of the army which we ought to maintain.10

This technique was also used in a major political address at Cleveland. "The distinguished gentlemen who have preceded me," Garfield began, "have covered the ground so completely and so admirably that I have a very easy task."11 In the introduction of his eulogy of Joseph Henry, Garfield referred to the "fathers of science" who had just honored the occasion with their eloquence.

So completely have they covered the ground, so fully have they sketched the great life which we celebrate, that nothing is left but to linger a moment over the tributes they have offered, and select here and there a special excellence to carry away as a lasting memorial.12

By a "reference to the previous speaker" he demonstrated his good will to opponents, helped adapt his remarks to the

10 Works, II, 544 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, May 21, 1878).

11 Works, II, 753 (Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, October 11, 1879).

12 Works, II, 627 (Speech delivered at the memorial meeting held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, January 12, 1879).
occasion, and gave the impression that he desired to be kind
and gracious toward those with whom he disagreed.

Analogy. Garfield was fond of analogy, and skilled in
its use. He introduced almost one third of his major addresses
of the period with an analogy. As a rule these comparisons
were well chosen and calculated to secure a more favorable
hearing for his particular point of view. His speech, "Pro-
posed Repeal of the Resumption Law," delivered in the House
of Representatives, is an example.

That man makes a vital mistake who judges of truth in rela-
tion to financial affairs from the changing phases of public
opinion. He might as well stand on the shore of the Bay of
Fundy, and from the ebb and flow of a single tide attempt to
determine the general level of the sea, as to stand on this
floor and from the current of opinion in any one debate judge
of the general level of the public mind. It is only when long
spaces along the shore of the sea are taken into account, that
the grand level is found from which all heights and depths are
measured. And it is only when long periods of time are con-
sidered, that we find at last that level of public opinion
which we call the general judgment of mankind. From the tur-
bulent ebb and flow of the public opinion of to-day I appeal
to the settled judgement of mankind on the subject-matter of
this debate. 13

The introduction of his speech on "Suspension and Resump-
tion of Specie Payments," is another example of his use of
analogy. He compared the years of 1861 and 1879 to opposite
shores "of that turbulent sea, whose storms so seriously
threatened with shipwreck the prosperity, the honor, and the
life of the nation." With resumption of specie payments, he
declared, the Republic lands safely on the "shore of this new
year, [1872] bringing with it union and liberty, honor and

13 Works, II, 491 (Speech delivered in the House of Rep-
resentatives, November 16, 1877.)
peace. It is worthy of note that Garfield's occasional and political speeches were also sometimes introduced with an analogy.

In his speech at the 1880 National Republican Convention, at which he nominated John Sherman for President, Garfield used analogy in the introduction. The problem facing Garfield was a formidable one, for his speech followed an eloquent address by Roscoe Conkling nominating General Grant for the Presidency. A prolonged enthusiastic demonstration in favor of the Civil War hero had just proceeded Garfield's speech. He needed an introduction that would prepare his audience for the more calm and deliberate speech he would

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14 Works, II, 610 (Address delivered in Chicago, January 2, 1879).

15 Early in Garfield's public life, in a fourth of July oration, he drew the following analogy to introduce his speech:

Fellow Citizens: When the old Roman patriots and statesmen had nearly finished their earthly course, and it was seen that, living, they could no longer serve their country, their children fashioned their images in wax and laid them away in their spacious halls. When these fathers had long been slumbering in the grave--year by year, on the sacred and joyful occasions of national and family anniversaries, their children brought forth these cherished images of their revered ancestors, gazed fondly on the semblance of their features, remembered their heroic deeds, their lofty patriotism and incorruptible virtues, and were thus themselves inspired with nobler heroism and a purer love for their country. So we, on this birthday anniversary of our nation, bring forth--not the waxen images of our fathers, but hallowed recollections of

"Patriots who made the pageantry of kings 
Like shadows seem, and the unsubstantial things, 
Whose guiltless glory mocks oblivion's rust, 
Imperishable, for their cause was just."

Garfield Papers (Public Utterances of 1860).
make in favor of John Sherman, who had none of the color and prestige that naturally accompanied the name of the victorious war leader. Garfield declared that the convention seemed to be "a human ocean in tempest," and reminded his audience that "when the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, . . . then the astronomer and surveyor take the level from which they measure all terrestrial heights and depths." He continued the analogy:

Gentlemen of the Convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of our people. When your enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find below the storm and passion that calm level of public opinion from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured and by which their final action will be determined.16

Garfield probably never met a more challenging speaking situation than that which confronted him at the National Republican Convention in 1880. The fact that he was later nominated for President by this convention is suggestive of the success with which he spoke. The chairman of the Convention, Senator Hoar, referred to the Garfield speech as one of the greatest oratorical triumphs he had ever witnessed.17 It is obvious to the critic that carefully reads this speech that the most outstanding feature is the skillful and effective way the speech is introduced. Garfield's years of practice in giving unusual care and concern to his introductions proved its merit in that Republican Convention.

16 Works, II, 777 (Speech delivered in the Republican National Convention at Chicago, June 5, 1880).

17 George F. Hoar, Autobiography of Seventy Years (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), I, 393.
Personal Reference. In two of the major speeches of this period, and also in some of his campaign orations, Garfield employed personal reference in his speech introduction. Generally in such beginnings he established common ground with his audience, and in the case of his political addresses, he made a bid for good will and support. In the memorial address of Almeda A. Booth, delivered at Hiram College, Garfield identified himself with his audience by personal reference.

Mr. President, — You have called me to a duty at once most sad and most sacred. At every step of my preparation for its performance, I have encountered troops of thronging memories, that swept across the field of the last twenty-five years of my life, and so filled my heart with the lights and shadows of their joy and sorrow, that I have hardly been able to marshal them into order, or give them coherent voice. I have lived over again the life of this place. I have seen again the groups of young and joyous students ascending these green slopes, dwelling for a time on this peaceful height in happy and workful companionship, and then, with firmer step and with more serious and thoughtful faces, marching away to their posts in the battle of life. And still nearer and clearer have come back the memories of that smaller band of friends, the leaders and guides of those who encamped on this training-ground. On my journey to this assembly it has seemed that they, too, were coming, and that here I should once more meet and greet them. And I have not yet been able to realize that Almeda Booth will not be with us.18

In an acceptance speech, delivered on the occasion of his eighth consecutive congressional nomination from the 19th District in Ohio, Garfield opened with a personal reference. "I should do great injustice to my own sensibilities and to your friendship," he began, "if I did not recognize, with all the strength of my power to recognize, not only your kindness but the faithfulness of your friendship in nominating me,

18 Works, II, 290 (Address delivered at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, June 22, 1876).
this eighth time, to be your representative in Congress." Garfield referred to the historical fact that the Ohio 19th Congressional District had sent only three different men to represent it in Congress for a period of fifty-four years, and he expressed his gratitude for the praise and his respect for the criticism of the citizens that lived in his home District. The expression of gratitude in this introduction made a strong bid for the continued good will and support.

Apology. In some instances, in fact in two of the eighteen speeches basic to this study, Garfield began his speech with a skillful apology. The address "Counting the Electoral Vote" is a case in point.

Mr. Speaker, — Nothing but the gravity of this subject would induce me to make a speech in my present condition of voice. But I must attempt it, and trust that the kindness of the House will enable me to be heard. Speaking later in the House on "The Sugar Tariff" he introduced his address with an apology concerning his physical condition and asked "the forbearance and attention of the House." The introduction to Garfield's brief eulogy on John Winthrop and Samuel Adams also contained an apology.

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19 Garfield Papers (Public Utterances of 1875-77).

20 *Works*, II, 408 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).

21 *Works*, II, 637 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 26, 1879).

22 *Works*, II, 388 (Delivered in House of Representatives, December 19, 1876).
While he used apology infrequently, it appears often enough to deserve mention. The apology in each case seems to be sincere, brief, and undoubtedly the speaker felt, entirely justifiable. It is probable that he considered the apologies a mark of courtesy and respect for his audience, which would not detract from the total effect of the speech.

**Exordium ex abrupto.** In two of the major speeches of the period, both delivered in the House of Representatives, Garfield went immediately into the subject matter of his address and omitted any introductory remarks. "Congress and Presidential Elections," delivered in the House in 1877, is an example: "Mr. Speaker, -- The strength of the case presented by the committee is found in the words of the report which I am about to read."\(^{23}\) Thus, he launched immediately into the merits of the question. This method, sometimes referred to as *exordium ex abrupto*, was also used in the speech "Obedience to Law the First Duty of Congress."\(^{24}\)

The policy of omitting preliminary remarks and going immediately into the discussion of the subject at hand was appropriate in these cases, for the House was familiar with the background of the issues, and plunging immediately into the subject might have been more effective in gaining attention than a more orthodox introduction.

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\(^{23}\) *Works*, II, 393.

\(^{24}\) *Works*, II, 724.
Summary. It is evident from the remarks found in Garfield's Journal that he considered the introduction of a speech of prime importance. He often found it difficult to prepare an introduction, and sometimes tried half a dozen before finding one that met his approval.

Reference to a previous speaker, analogy, personal reference, apology, anecdote, and an abrupt exordium were the types of introductions used in the speeches basic to this study. A decided preference was shown for the first two types mentioned. Garfield possessed commendable ability to adapt his introductions to a particular speech situation, and by effective speech beginnings, establish common ground with his audience, place himself in a favorable light, and bid for good will and support.

SPEECH PROPOSITION

Garfield had a passion for interrogation and sometimes stated his propositions in the form of a question. For example, he spoke in the early part of 1877 in opposition to the appointment of the "Electoral Commission" and stated his proposition by question form. He said: "In my view, then, the foremost question is this: What will be the effect of this measure upon our institutions?"25

"Suspension and Resumption of Specie Payments" is an example of the proposition stated in the form of a question

25Works, II, 410 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 25, 1877).
and answer. It is one of the most concise and clear cut state-
ments of proposition to be found in Garfield's speeches of this   
period (1876-80). He said:

Will resumption be maintained? Believing that, in the long  
run, the matured and deliberated judgement of this nation is  
honest and intelligent, I answer, Yes, it will be maintained;  
and for two reasons. First, because national honesty, good   
government, and the prosperity of all our people demand it;  
and second, because we are able to maintain it. The defence  
of these positions will be the theme of this address. 

However, it was not Garfield's general practice to state in  
direct words such "will be the theme of this address."

While Garfield sometimes gave the statement of the speech  
proposition in one sentence, he more often stated it in a  
more or less "thesis paragraph." The speech "Congress and    
Presidential Election" is an example. Here Garfield quoted  
two clauses of the Constitution and affirmed that only within  
the limitations of these statements might the national legis-
lature go behind the election of Presidential electors by the  
states. It is necessary to read the rather lengthy para-
graph in order to get the substance of the speech proposition. 

On still other occasions Garfield did not state his pur-
pose in direct terms, but by inference. "The Democratic Party  
and Public Opinion," a political address delivered in Cleve-
land, Ohio, is an example. It is evident that Garfield's  
IMPLIED proposition in this speech was that the voters of

26 Works, II, 611 (Address delivered in Chicago,   
January 2, 1879).

27 Works, II, 394-95 (Speech delivered in the House of Represe

   ntatives, January 16, 1877).
Ohio should, by all means, support the Republican Party in the approaching election. When the proposition is not stated directly in a Garfield speech, it is implied sufficiently strong to be clear to the auditor. Garfield's audiences knew what he was driving at, and this is a significant factor in his speaking.

As a general rule, the statement of the speech proposition Garfield gave near the beginning of the speech. For example, in "The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty," the proposition immediately followed the brief introduction. It was, that "the majority in this Congress have adopted . . . extreme and dangerous opinions on . . . the subject of State sovereignty . . . [and] have pushed that doctrine much further than most of their predecessors ever went before, except during the period immediately preceding the late war."29 The proposition of Garfield's speech, "Revolution in Congress," was also stated after the introduction and given in a concise statement. He said: " . . . I affirm that the consequence of the programme just adopted, if persisted in, will be nothing less than the total subversion of this government."30

28Works, II, 753-772 (Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, October 11, 1879).

29Works, II, 709 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).

30Works, II, 658 (Speech made in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879).
While Garfield generally placed his proposition near the beginning of the speech, it did not always immediately follow the introduction. The speech, "The Democratic Party and the Government," is an example. This address was a reply to a speech delivered by L. Q. C. Lamar, in which the gentleman from Mississippi contended that the Democratic Party ought to be placed in control of the government through the election of a Democratic President and Vice-President. Garfield gave a review of his opponent's speech and then presented his own proposition in these words: "I shall attempt to show that the good he [Lamar] seeks cannot at this time be secured by the ascendancy of the Democratic party."31

Garfield's speech entitled "Amnesty" is also a representative example of presenting the proposition after a brief narration of circumstances. In this particular case Mr. S. J. Randall had introduced a bill to remove all the restrictions imposed on the Confederate leaders by the Fourteenth Amendment. Garfield briefly reviewed the course of debate on the bill and then stated his proposition. The speech was a defense of the contention that the confederates who were granted amnesty be required to take an oath before a United States court, and that Jefferson Davis be excluded altogether.32

On occasion Garfield did delay in stating the speech

31 Works, II, 356 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).

32 Works, II, 221 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876).
proposition until he had been speaking for some time. In his Faneuil Hall address, "Honest Money," the speech proposition was stated nearer the end than the beginning of the address. He gave an exposition of the financial issues of the campaign and examined the positions of the opposition, and then, in emphatic tones, stated his own proposition. "I affirm against all opposers, that the highest and foremost present duty of the American people is to complete the resumption of specie payments. . . . ."

There was good reason for Garfield's delay in announcing his proposition to the audience in Faneuil Hall. The interruption by hecklers indicates that some of the audience were hostile. If the speaker had announced his proposition in the beginning, he might well have reared a wall of prejudice in the minds of some of his auditors.

Garfield's speech delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association in Cleveland is another example of delaying the presentation of the speech proposition. Following a historical sketch of the struggle of a free press, Garfield stated the real purpose of his speech when he said: "... the press should be free . . . . But freedom brings with it increased responsibility." He then discussed that responsibility. It is highly probable that among this audience there were several

33 Works, II, 599 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).

34 Works, II, 579 (Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).
who were hostile to Garfield politically, if not personally. This technique of delaying the giving of a proposition in speaking to a hostile audience is recognized by rhetoricians as having merit. 35

Summary. The following conclusions may now be drawn regarding Garfield's statement of the speech proposition. (1) He usually stated the proposition in a "thesis paragraph," but sometimes it was given in a single sentence, in question form, or by implication. (2) Garfield generally stated the proposition near the beginning of his speech, the notable exceptions being his addresses on "Honest Money" and "The Press," which were delivered before an audience that was at least partially hostile. (3) He frequently gave a brief narration of circumstances before stating his proposition. (4) Regardless of where or how Garfield's speech proposition was given, it was always made clear to the audience—they knew where the speaker was going. And it might justly be added that when he was through, whether the listeners agreed with the speaker or not, they knew where he had been.

DEVELOPMENT

Garfield employed the topical or logical basis of division for all the major speeches in this period (1876-1880) except two. The type of speech determined the particular pattern of division. Of course, in his argumentative speeches delivered

on the floor of the House in which Garfield spoke on either the affirmative or negative side of a proposition, he organized his speech by logical order. In his eulogistic speeches delivered in the House he favored topical rather than chronological development, and on the stump he was also partial to the topical order. The topical order was used for almost all of his occasional addresses. However, Garfield did use the logical order in developing some of his major campaign speeches. This is true in regard to his important speeches on finance.

**Chronological.** Garfield developed his memorial address on Almeda A. Booth in chronological order. He traced her achievements from her youth until her death, and then closed with an elaboration of what she had left posterity "as a legacy and a lesson." This type of address naturally lends itself to chronological order, and such development is common in speeches of a eulogistic nature.

Also in a speech before the Historical Society of Geauga County, Garfield made extensive use of this pattern of partition in both the main heads and sub-heads. The main heads of the speech were:

- **First** — The Romantic Period of Discovery on this Continent.
- **Second** — The Struggle for National Dominion.
- **Third** — The War of the Revolution, and its Relation to the West.
- **Fourth** — Organization and Settlement of the Western Reserve.

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36 *Works*, II, 291 (Address delivered at Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio, June 22, 1876).

37 *Garfield Papers* (Public Utterances 1872-74).
"Ancient Ephesus and Recent Discoveries," offers another example of this type of arrangement, for here Garfield traced the history of the city of Ephesus through ancient times and then gave the recent discoveries year by year from 1863 to 1874.38 This same order appears in Garfield's inaugural address, the development being from past to present to future.39 In his speech, "The Press," he developed his theme from past to present, tracing the history of the struggle for a free press and presenting what is required of it in modern times.40

On occasion Garfield developed the sub-heads of a given speech in chronological order even though the main heads were organized on some other basis of division. His reply to Lamar as a case in point illustrates this practice. Although the divisions of this speech are not clearly marked by "sign posts," they may be discerned by a careful reading. The proposition Garfield was laboring to establish was that the Democratic Party should not be entrusted with the National administration in 1876. His main headings in the speech were stated in the form of questions; the first was: "I ask him [Lamar] if the Democratic party have adopted the results of the war?" In striving to prove that the opposition could not

38 Garfield Papers (Speech delivered in Washington, D. C., May 25, 1878).

39 Garfield Papers (Delivered on the East Portico of the Capitol, March 4, 1881).

40 Works, II, 575 (Address delivered before the Ohio Editorial Association, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11, 1878).
rightfully answer in the affirmative, he traced the history of slavery chronologically and its connection with the Democratic Party. He brought the issue down to the present and in so doing claimed to have proven that the majority party in the House had not yet accepted the results of the abolition of slavery. The next main head was, "What has the Democratic party done to merit that great trust?" [Return to power by election of Tilden?] The sub-heads of this question were developed by stating the position of the opposition party in 1860, 1864, 1868, 1872, and 1876.

Logical Order. Logical order is more prevalent than any other pattern of partition in the major speeches of this period (1876-1880). Since the majority of Garfield’s important speeches in the years considered in this study were argumentative orations delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives, this fact is not surprising.

The development of some of Garfield’s speeches from the standpoint of logical order is complex while that of others is exceedingly simple. His Faneuil Hall speech, "Honest Money," is an example of the former, and the brief skeleton outline given here indicates its general structure.

I. History of the Question

II. The resumption of specie payments is demanded by every interest of business in this country, for

41 Works, II, 353-387 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).
A. The allegation that resumption of specie payment will help the rich and hurt the poor is not true, for

1. In times of inflation the wages of the laborer are the last things to go up.
2. In times of deflation the laborer's wages are the first to come down.
3. The poor man, having only his labor to sell, cannot wait for the market to get better, as can the rich.

B. In the present stage of the controversy, resumption does not mean the destruction, but the betterment, of our greenback currency, for

1. It means that the laboring man's dollar shall be made the best dollar in the world.
2. It means the dollar will measure all foreign trade, and will be as good as the dollar across the water.

III. It would be a mistake to abolish the national banks and issue greenbacks to take the place of their notes, for

A. To do so would be a violation of the pledge, promise, and faith of this nation that it would never increase the greenbacks above $400,000,000.

B. Now the national bank notes, pay a good round share of the taxes to the state and the nation.

C. The national bank notes, as they now stand, are the only part of our financial machinery that gears the supply of currency to the laws of supply and demand.

D. If you abolish the national banking system, you leave us a mere group of brokers' shops, --nothing more than that.

IV. Resumption has now so nearly come that it would be a crime to stop it, for

A. Whatever evils anybody has prophesied as coming from resumption, whatever hardships resumption was expected to bring, having been endured already; the agony is, in fact, over.
B. The honor of the country demands its completion.\footnote{Works, II, 586-608 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).}

Garfield's speech, "The Army and the Public Peace," is an example of a much simpler arrangement, as the outline below clearly indicates.

I. Background of the Question.

II. We need at all times a relatively large standing army, for

A. We need it to keep alive the knowledge and practice of military science.

B. We need an army for the protection of our great border, for

1. Our northern line runs from ocean to ocean.
2. Our southern border, though shorter, is in greater need of military protection.
3. We have now a possession that extends almost to the shores of Asia \footnote{Works, II, 514-550 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, May 21, 1878).} (Referring to Alaska).

C. We need an army to maintain peace within our own borders in cases of emergency.\footnote{Works, II, 586-608 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1878).}

Garfield also used the logical method of arrangement in some of his campaign speeches. The manuscript outline in the \textit{Garfield Papers} of a speech delivered at Lancaster, Ohio, illustrates this point. The outline is not a formal brief, but it is evident that the order is logical. In this manuscript Garfield first gave the proposition in the form of the question: "Is the Democratic Party fit to be trusted with power?"
then developed in logical order his negative answer to the proposition as the following verbatim copy of his outline illustrates.

I. It has ceased to be a party of Ideas -- for 20 years - It only opposes.

1. It opposed ever great and beneficient measure for the defence of the Union -- many favored secession -- Pendleton 1861.
   
   (a) E. G. Nat. Supremacy over Secession.
   (b) Abolition of slavery 13th Amdt.
   (c) Civil Rights 14th Amdt.
   (e) Suffrage 15th Amdt.

2. It is reactionary.
   In 1868 declared the 3 amendments void - In 1872 approved them.

3. Financially unsound.
   
   1. Resisted Greenbacks. See Pendleton 1862 - Now the best Currency we ever had-
   2. In 1861 Hard money -- Now soft
   3. The作了 disturb the public faith by seeking Greenbacks - & issuing enough to depreciate the Currency.
   4. Now they oppose resumption

In the Garfield Papers there are a few speech notes in Garfield's handwriting which are labeled "brief." In such cases the notes are far from composing a formal brief, but they do indicate the argumentative nature of the speech and the logical order of arrangement. A reproduction of one of these "briefs" is given on the following page.

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Garfield Papers (Speech delivered at Lancaster, Ohio, September 25, 1877). Following the last point (No. 4 under No. 3) is a four page manuscript with notes to support the contention "Now they oppose resumption." The outline is only seven pages in long hand and the space given to the last point is indicative of Garfield's special interest in the question of finance.
**Topical Order.** Garfield did not show a preference for this method of arrangement in his speeches on the floor of the House, although he did use the topical order in organizing some of his congressional speeches.

"The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty" is an example of such arrangement. There were two major topics discussed in the speech, namely: the position of the Democratic members of the House on State Sovereignty, and the position of the Republican Party. Under the first topic he listed seven points in the Democratic position, and under the second major division he gave the basic "counter-propositions" believed by the Republicans. The development and arrangement of this speech is less complex than most of Garfield's congressional addresses. It is also likely that Garfield arranged these topics in the order that he thought best to win most effectively popular support for the Republican Party.

The development of Garfield's speeches delivered in the House of Representatives was affected to a degree by the questions propounded from the floor. For example, in the "Sugar Tariff" speech Garfield was interrupted thirteen times by questions. Apparently these interruptions had no bearing upon the arrangement of the major divisions, but they affected the development of the sub-divisions.

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45 *Works*, II, 709-720 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).

46 *Works*, II, 637-654 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 26, 1879).
Campaign Speeches. The bases of division in Garfield's political speeches were generally topical. "The Democratic Party and Public Opinion," delivered before an estimated audience of ten to fifteen thousand,⁴⁷ is a typical example. Three major topics are discussed. First, the Democratic Party is a party of dead issues; second, it is to the best interest of prosperity to elect a Republican ticket; third, it is to the best interest of liberty to elect the Republican representatives.

In a political speech delivered at Warren, Ohio, Garfield replied to the criticism and attacks on his official character, which included four main charges that had been hurled against him. They were: (1) his part in the ex parte Milligan case; (2) the Credit Mobilier affair; (3) the "salary grab," and (4) the De Golyer Pavement incident. At the conclusion of the discussion on each topic he would ask if there were any questions on that particular topic. During his discussion of the "salary grab," one listener said: "Give us some of the De Golyer matter." However, Garfield showed sound judgment by replying: "We will take each particular thing at the proper time and place." It was only after the audience had heard a thorough explanation of each point and had an opportunity to ask any question they desired about it that a new topic was considered.⁴⁸ The wisdom of a close adherence to

⁴⁷ Works, II, 753-772 (Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, October 11, 1879; crowd estimated given by Garfield, p. 761.)
⁴⁸ Garfield Papers (Speech delivered at Warren, Ohio, September 19, 1874).
his over-all topical arrangement is obvious to the critic who reads the speech.

Several outlines of campaign speeches in the Garfield Papers illustrate topical development, and reproductions of three of these more or less typical outlines are given here. The first reproduction given is an outline of a campaign speech delivered at New Britain, Connecticut. This is one of the more orthodox and orderly outlines and contains an enumeration of nine points. The second reproduction is an outline of Garfield's Madison, Wisconsin, speech and is also developed topically, but is more unorthodox in form and is much fuller than the other two. The third reproduction given is of an outline of a campaign speech made in Lewiston, Maine, and is typical of the more meager outlines in the Garfield collection. It is also arranged topically, but is lacking in clarity and bears the marks of a hastily and not too carefully arranged speech. These reproductions also illustrate that Garfield had no consistent form for outlining his topically developed speeches.
Introduction

New Conn. and Old.
The Common Union

The "self-evident truths" of the Declaration.

Where did the fathers get it?

It was an American Growth.

Foundation of all our prosperity and glory.

By their relation to all political parties,

Attitude of Rep. And Dem. Parties

1. The Union Assailed by Secession and War
   The pol. and mil. attitude of the two parties.

2. Slavery - a crime and a menace to the Union.
   Mil. and pol. attitude of the two parties.
   13th Amendment.

3. Reconstruction of overthrown rebel governments.
   14th and 15th Amendments.

4. The pledges and fronts of the Gospel
   a. The Sacrament of the Holy Ghost
   b. The basis of business - sound currency.

C. Tariff and American Industry.

d. Transportation - Rivers and Harbors.
5. The financed under Republican Rule:

a. The public credit up with Rep. down
   with the New-Grants Election 1869.
   Deft increased $400,000,000 under Grant.

b. Expenses 12,900,000 in 1868
   287 — — 1874
   Appropriations reduced last camp 27 mills.

c. Reduction of taxes
   Since 1866 — $300,000,000.
   Int. Rev. returned to States, District, Can.

6. Congress valiantly resisted jobs.
   Until work of last election —

   Duty laws. Dept. 35th, Audit. 607 Commissioner

8. Reaction 1874 — Signs of
   Returning Republican —
   66 Reps in House vs 25 Nat. (5)
   Eaton in Senate —

9. Elect Gen. Hawley to reinforce
   The Union Plank —
Wisconsin Rep. Platform of 1854 had for its central object: "To restore the administration of the Government to the control of free principles."

This recognized an opportunity for the first fundamental doctrine: The equal right of all to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—

This was the aim of the fathers, not to be realized at once—but it to be labored for till reached.

It shone in full glory of promise in the Declaration of Independence.

It reappeared in the Declaration of Independence as the highest state of the State of the Union. The Articles of Confederation in the full liberty of man, of freedom of speech in the Constitution of 1789—and the Ordinance of 1787—have the Ordinance of 1787—

The Ordinance of July 13, 1787, which emancipated & dedicated to freedom all the national territory—

Its principles were enforced and advanced by the progressive Republican party, which came into being early in the century, & lasted until the close of J. Q. Adams administration—
That party—
1. Intended the slave trade and
abolished the slave trade a priori.
2. In many states slavery was
enlarged the franchise without dis-
ficulties.
3. Though it could not make all
men equal in talent, but it
 gave all men an equal
chance to cultivate the talents
God had given them by
establishing free schools
which were the mark of the
Early Republican party.
4. It could not make all
equal in wealth, but it aided
them, by equalizing inheri-
tance, improving for them
the granting exemption from exca-
tion, the necessaries of life.

The conservatives, in alliance with
slavery, wished to break down the
progressive party of liberty
and finally make the Democratic
party the defender of privilege in
caste and slavery. In States
rights, 2 sessions, discussion
referred 2
It consolidated the national go-
into a compact or united pro-
guard of slavery.
It violated the Ordinance of
liberty of 1787.
In 1804—broke its new con-
promises—1820—
said.
Conquered the whole public
force of the govt into slave
hands—compelled every
Citizen to be a hunter of slave.

While Texas to make Mexico
the West Indies, to all the
US. Territory—The home of
hunting grounds of the slave.
If it had continued in power, later.
the marriage of all our bondage
would have been permanently and
inexorably degraded.

Against these vested mono-
entharded behind a generation
aborted built bulwarks of corrupt
and privilege—
The New Republican party took the
field a century ago.
It was a revival of all Republican
The renaissance of Liberty—
The new Rep. Party planted itself on the immortal truths of the Declaration of Equal Rights before the law and upon the Nationality of freedom under the Constitution.

Its first National Convention was held on the old Independence Ground at Philadelphia.

Andrew, 1st President, was a man whose years of obscurity had been illuminated by the Star That Shone on the Great Declaration.

It has resumed & pushed far forward the work of the first Rep. Party—

1. Homestead to Every Man—
2. Freedom—
3. Equal Civil Rights—
4. Ballot Box—

II. Finance

Went in 1857—$34,492,000
In 1861—$87,750,000
New note—$38,000,000
Order For Lower Tax Apr 6, 1849.

Last Year - The Crop of Maine
Greenbacks last year was
DOWN with Resumption
UP with Debt Money -
Bath now dead -

This Year -
1. The first shall issue all the paper
2. The National Banks shall be
3. Unlimited Silver

DOWN with the money power
UP with Creditors -

1. Unconstitutional
Patriot - Supreme Court -
Against all philosophy & experience

2. Our only popular local supply
Self regulating
Tradable - Greenback, not -

3. Drive out Gold - degrade Standard. Make us Athletic
A bonus & bullion miners -
Occasional Speeches. Garfield was also partial to the topical order in arranging his occasional speeches. His brief eulogy on Oliver P. Morton is an example, for here he listed what he considered the leading characteristics of Morton's life and gave a brief discussion of each topic. These were: "He was a great organizer. . . . His force of will was most masterful. . . . He possessed an intellect of remarkable clearness and force. . . . Senator Morton was a partisan, a strong partisan. . . ."

The number of topics included in occasional speeches varied. Sometimes as many as nine main points entered into the development. As an example, Garfield's outline for an address on "Public Life" is given below.

I. Prevailing opinion that public life & men are full of Evil -
II. Public Life in the U. S. peculiar -- not a profession as in Europe.
III. New members -- If the rule of rotation were universal wise legislation would be almost impossible.
IV. Prejudice against foreign influence -
V. Party a necessity in free government -- though it has evils - Our best public men have been partisans.
VI. Public life has drifted from the state to nation -- Causes to be regretted on some accounts.
VII. Evils of Public Life.
VIII. The Social Forces in politics - Personal sympathy - Peters & the old woman in the Gallery -
IX. Elements of success in Pub. Life.

49 Works, II, 529-532 (Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 18, 1878).
50 Garfield Papers (Speech delivered at Hiram College in 1878, found among Public Utterances of 1878).
Fondness of Enumeration. Garfield seldom enumerated the major points of his speeches; however, he was fond of using such "sign posts" within the development of the main heads of the speech. "The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty" speech is an example of this practice. In summarizing the Democratic statements on "State Sovereignty," which had been made in the forty-sixth congress he said:

First, there are no national elections; second, the United States has no voters; third, the States have the exclusive right to control all elections of members of Congress; fourth, the Senators and Representatives in Congress are State officers, or, as they have been called during the present session, "ambassadors" or "agents" of the State; fifth, the United States has no authority to keep the peace anywhere within a State, and in fact, has no peace to keep; sixth, the United States is not a nation endowed with sovereign power, but is a confederacy of States; seventh, the States are sovereignties possessing inherent supreme power... 

Summary. Chronological. The chronological pattern of partition appears in two of eighteen speeches basic to this study and in other addresses of minor importance. Garfield occasionally developed the sub-heads in chronological order even though the main heads were partitioned on another basis.

Logical. Garfield showed a decided preference for logical order in arranging his congressional speeches, and the organization of some of these speeches was complex while the organization of others was simple. Occasionally, he applied the term "brief" to an outline, but did not make a formal brief for the speeches considered in this study.

51 Works, II, 711 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).
Topical Order. It seems plausible to draw the following conclusions regarding the topical basis of division in the Garfield speeches of the period: (1) this type of arrangement is prevalent in his stump speeches and occasional addresses; (2) the topics were probably often arranged in the order that Garfield thought best to answer his opponents and win support for the Republican Party; (3) the interruptions from the floor of the House during the delivery of his topically arranged speeches did not affect the over-all arrangement of the speech; (4) there is no consistent form of outlining in his topically arranged speeches. Some of them were orderly; a few were very full; others were exceedingly brief; and (5) apparently Garfield did not make it a practice to enumerate his major points but was fond of using "sign posts" within the development of major topics.

CONCLUSIONS

Aristotle says:

The Epilogue is made up of four elements. (1) You must render the audience well-disposed to yourself, and ill-disposed to your opponent; (2) you must magnify and depreciate /make whatever favors your case seem more important and whatever favors his case seem less/; (3) you must put the audience into the right state of emotion; and (4) you must refresh their memories.52

This Aristotelian classification is the basis of the analysis

here made of Garfield's speech conclusions. 53

No conclusions are found in many of the manuscript outlines in the Garfield Papers, as most of them abruptly end with the listing of the last major topic. However, the actual texts show that in no one of the eighteen speeches basic to this study did Garfield omit a conclusion. Moreover, it may easily be seen that they were "neither so sudden and abrupt as to induce the hearer to say, 'I did not know he was going to leave off,' nor again so long as to excite impatience." 54 It is possible that Garfield's failure to include a conclusion on many of his outlines may indicate that this part of the speech was not considered as vital as the introduction. At least, there is no indication in the Garfield Journal that he gave the same care and attention to the conclusion that he tendered to the introduction of the speech.

**Personal Element in the Conclusion.** This technique appears occasionally in his speech conclusions. He said for example in the epilogue of his speech, "The New Scheme of American Finance":

Mr. Chairman, I beg the pardon of the committee for delaying the appropriation bill by this speech, and I


especially regret the necessity which compelled me to make it.55

Garfield probably felt that such a personal reference in his conclusion would tend to create good will toward him and the cause for which he spoke. In his Faneuil Hall speech in Boston he also concluded his address with a personal word. He said: "Thanking you for the attention with which you have honored me, I bid you good night."56

Again, when a large group of friends serenaded Garfield at his home in Washington, on the occasion of his election to the Senate, he addressed the crowd. The personal element in the conclusion was prominent.

I ask your indulgence, your continued kindness in aid of my efforts, I demand for myself only independence to do the best I know how, in my own way. [Great applause] I thank you all, from a full heart, for this great demonstration -- this splendid compliment. If my house were as large as my heart, I would ask you all in; but the house fails me, and I bid you all good-night.57

Restatement. In eight of the eighteen speeches considered in this study, Garfield made a restatement of purpose in the conclusion. In his reply to Lamar he labored to establish the proposition that the Democratic Party should not be entrusted to run the Federal government. His conclusion contained a

55 Works, II, 528 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 6, 1878).
56 Works, II, 608 (Speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, September 10, 1876).
57 Garfield Papers (Clipping from the Washington World and found in the Public Utterances of 1880).
restatement of the central theme of the address in a rather lengthy paragraph.

I will close by calling your attention again to the great problem before us. Over this vast horizon of interests, North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrongdoing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, or you hoped for and lost, is the grand, onward movement of the republic, to perpetuate its glory, to save liberty alive, to preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles, until they shall have crystallized into the form of enduring law, and become inwrought into the life and the habits of our people. And until these great results are accomplished, it is not safe to take one step backward. It is still more unsafe to trust interest of such measureless value in the hands of an organization whose members have never comprehended their epoch, have never been in sympathy with its great movements, who have resisted every step of its progress, and whose principal function has been "to lie in cold obstruction" across the pathway of the nation. It is most unsafe to trust that organization, when, for the first time since the war, it puts forward for the first and second place of honor and command men who, in our days of greatest danger, esteemed party above country, and felt not one throb of patriotic ardor for the triumph of the imperilled union, but from the beginning to the end hated the war, and hated those who carried our eagles to victory. No, no, gentlemen; our enlightened and patriotic people will not follow such leaders in their rearward march. Their myriad faces are turned the other way; and along their serried lines still rings the cheering cry, "Forward, till our great work is fully and worthily done!"

"The Army and the Public Peace" is another example of this technique in conclusion. However, there is less amplification in this conclusion than the one just referred to in the above paragraph. Garfield had spoken against the effort to cut the size of the army under the number of twenty-five thousand. He concluded:

\[58\] Works, II, 387 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, August 4, 1876).
I therefore say boldly . . . against all comers I am for the reign of law in this republic and for an army large enough to make it sure.

I trust, Mr. Chairman, that the gentleman from New York-- . . . will consent to an amendment to fix the number of the army for the coming year at twenty-five thousand men, where it now is, and let the bill be recommitted, so that his committee may reconstruct it in harmony with the amendment.\(^{59}\)

The conclusion of the speech, "The Sugar Tariff," is one of the best examples of a complete restatement of the speech purpose. Garfield had argued against a change in the sugar tariff rates or laws, and in harmony with a request from the Treasury Department, had pleaded for the adoption of more accurate means of determining the different grades of sugar than the current law then provided.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I do not want Congress to tinker with the tariff at this time. That was attempted last year, and in the remarks I made on that occasion I denounced the sugar clause of the bill then introduced, because, while there was a reduction of the rate on most Northern interest, the rate on sugar was increased considerable, even up to seventy per cent. I say, therefore, let us not undertake to change the tariff rates in this closing week of the session. But when the Administration tells us that four or five millions of revenue are being lost, let us provide the means they want to protect the government against undervaluation and loss.\(^{60}\)

The conclusion of "Revolution in Congress" was fifty-one lines long, and was an amplification of the central thought of the speech.\(^{61}\) This is one of the longest conclusions of this particular type \(\text{restatement}\).

\(^{59}\)Works, II, 550 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, May 21, 1878).

\(^{60}\)Works, II, 654 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 26, 1879).

\(^{61}\)Works, II, 677-678 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 29, 1879).
"The Revived Doctrine of State Sovereignty" speech contained a shorter restatement as its conclusion, and Garfield added as a final statement this prediction that the bill against which he had just spoken would fail.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this bill is about to be launched upon its stormy passage. It goes not into unknown waters; for its fellows have been wrecked in the same sea. Its short, disastrous, and, I may add, ignoble voyage, is likely to be straight to the bottom.62

These examples indicate that the restatement technique was prevalent in the conclusions of the Garfield speeches, and in general served to further clarify, amplify, and emphasize the speech purpose.

Appeal. Garfield frequently closed his speeches with an emotional appeal. The conclusion of his speech on "Amnesty" is an example.

... to those most noble men, Democrats and Republicans, who together fought for the Union, I commend all the lessons of charity that the wisest and most beneficent men have taught. I join you all in every aspiration that you may express to stay in this Union, to heal its wounds, to increase its glory, and to forget the evils and bitternesses of the past; but do not, for the sake of the three hundred thousand heroic men who, maimed and bruised, drag out their weary lives, many of them carrying in their hearts horrible memories of what they suffered in the prison-pen, -- do not ask us to restore the right to hold power to that man who was the cause of their suffering, -- that man still unshriven, unforgiven, undefended.63

The man referred to as "still unshriven, unforgiven, undefended," was Jefferson Davis. This type of emotional appeal because of

62 Works, II, 720 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, June 27, 1879).

63 Works, II, 245 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 12, 1876).
the memories it aroused of the Civil War was doubtless effective with the average Northern audience to which Garfield spoke.

"Obedience to Law the First Duty of Congress" contained in the conclusion a direct appeal to colleagues to vote against the pending bill.

... I therefore appeal to gentlemen on the other side to prevent a disaster which their party leaders are preparing, not for themselves alone, but for our common country. I hope before this day is over we may see such a vote in this chamber upon this bill as will put an end to this miserable business, and cast out of these halls the dregs of that unfortunate and crazy extra session.64

Garfield on occasion concluded his speech with an appeal to patriotism. For example, his speech, "Discovery and Ownership of the Northwestern Territory, and Settlement of the Western Reserve," closed with an appeal to maintain forever "the ancient faith of our fathers in the sanctity of the Home, the intelligence of the School and the faithfulness of the Church," and declared "The glory of our country can never be dimmed while these three lights are kept shining with an undimmed lustre."65 "Congress and Presidential Elections," a congressional speech, was also closed with a patriotic appeal.

Now, gentlemen, in the name of our country, as you revere the glories of its great past, and would preserve all that is worthiest in the possibilities of its great future, I beg you to pause before you commit this fatal assault upon whatever

64 Works, II, 730 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, March 17, 1880).

65 Garfield Papers (An address delivered at Burton, before the Historical Society of Geauga County, Ohio, September 16, 1873).
there may be of sovereignty in the thirty-eight States of the Union. 66

An appeal for all out support of the Republican Party frequently concluded Garfield's political speeches. "The Democratic Party and Public Opinion" is an example.

Gentlemen, we are closing this memorable campaign. We have got our enemies on the run everywhere; and all you need to do in this noble old city, this capital of the Western Reserve, is to follow them up and finish the campaign by showing the Rebellion under once more. We stand on an isthmus. This year and next is the narrow isthmus between us and perpetual victory. If you can win now, and win in 1880, then the very stars in their courses will fight for us. The census will do the work, and will give us thirty more free men of the North in our Congress that will make up for the rebellion of the South. Stand in your places, men of Ohio! Fight this battle, win this victory, and then one more puts you in safety forever! 67

His campaign speech at Athens, Ohio, concluded with this urgent appeal speech for Republican solidarity and united effort:

In spite of failures and mistakes the Republican party deserves the confidence of the country, and it confidently appeals to the good people of Ohio for their continued support. It is ready to enter upon the discussion of the issues. It calls upon all its friends to lay aside personal differences, to forget all jealousies, and remembering that this is a State campaign, to give our best efforts to the election of our ticket. 68

These examples indicate that Garfield frequently used the technique of closing his speeches with appeal. Sometimes the

66 Works, II, 403 (Speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 16, 1877).

67 Works, II, 772 (Speech delivered in Cleveland, Ohio, October 11, 1879).

68 Garfield Papers (Speech delivered in Athens, Ohio, in 1877).
Appeal was simple and direct; at other times it was charged with the emotion of the "bloody shirt" oratory or directed to the patriotism of his listeners. At times Garfield closed a political speech with an urgent appeal for party loyalty and victory.

It is worthy of note that Garfield on occasion made an appeal in his conclusions through analogy, challenge, and declaration of personal intention. However, these techniques occur so seldom in the speeches basic to this study that an extensive analysis of them is unwarranted here.

In summary, it has been revealed that Garfield used to an advantage three of the four elements of the epilogue given by Aristotle. "Restatement" and "Appeal" were found extensively in Garfield's conclusions, and occasionally there appeared the "Personal Element in Conclusion." The technique of summaries in the speech conclusion did not appear in the speeches considered in this period.

SUMMARY

Garfield's Journal makes it evident that he considered the matter of arranging material an important factor in successful

69 Garfield's speech delivered in the House of Representatives against the appointment of the "Electoral Commission" concluded with an analogy, in which Garfield portrayed the danger of appointing the Commission. (See Works, II, 433). Two of the eighteen speeches basic to this study closed with an implied challenge, they were the speeches, "The Press," and "Honest Money" (See Works, II, 585, 608). "The Florida Returns" and "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law" both contain a declaration of Garfield's intention. (See Works, II, 448, 509).
speech making. This study reveals that his speeches were arranged with intelligence and care.

**Introductions:** Garfield found the preparation of a speech introduction a difficult task, and many times tried a half dozen beginnings before satisfying himself. Reference to a previous speaker and analogy were found quite frequently in the introductions of the speeches of this period; personal reference, apology, and anecdote appeared less often. On occasion Garfield launched immediately into the discussion in speeches given during congressional debate.

**Speech propositions:** Garfield sometimes proposed the speech proposition in the form of a question, question and answer, or a single sentence; but more often it was presented in a thesis paragraph. He generally stated his speech proposition near the beginning of his speech immediately following his introduction or after a brief narration of circumstances pertinent to the debate or occasion. However, on speaking to a hostile or partially hostile audience, he did on occasion delay the giving of his speech proposition.

**Development:** In all but two of the eighteen major speeches of this period, Garfield employed either the topical or logical basis of division. His memorial address on Almeda A. Booth and his address on "The Press" were chronological in their over-all development, and in some cases a chronological order was used in developing sub-heads even though the main heads were organized by some other basis of division.
Garfield employed logical order in the arrangement of both political and legislative speeches. He did not make formal briefs for these speeches, but on occasion referred to an outline as a "brief". Some of the speeches arranged by this partition are rather complex and others simple.

The topical arrangement is predominant in Garfield's stump speeches of the period. He also preferred this type of order over the chronological in his eulogistic speeches on the floor of the House. The major points in his topically arranged speeches vary, sometimes running as high as nine main heads, and there is no consistent pattern of outlining employed in organizing them.

Conclusions: The evidence in this study indicates that Garfield did not give the same care and attention to the conclusions of his speeches that he did to the introductions. He used the personal element in his conclusions to an advantage in several addresses, but more frequently he concluded with a restatement of his speech proposition or an appeal. It is concluded in this study that he was effective in all three of these types of conclusion because: (1) his personal references seemed entirely sincere; (2) his restatements served to clarify, amplify, and emphasize; (3) his appeals were forceful and vivid; and (4) each conclusion was well adapted to the particular type of speech and occasion on which it was used. In his legislative speeches, he was partial to the conclusion containing a restatement, and in his political and occasional addresses he favored the conclusion with an emotional appeal. The technique of summarizing does not appear in the conclusions of speeches considered in this study.
CHAPTER VI

STYLE AND DELIVERY

STYLE

The first portion of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the obvious characteristics of Garfield's style, which at least reveal his oral preferences. A complete or exhaustive evaluation of Garfield's oral style is impossible because of his policy of editing the speech texts, a practice referred to many times in his Journal. For example:

June 10, 1878:

Worked on the revision of my tariff speech as much as I could until nine o'clock.

June 11, 1878:

Rose came soon after breakfast and we continued work on the revision of the Tariff speech. . . . In the evening Rose and I completed the revision of the Tariff speech.

June 12, 1878:

Tariff speech appeared in the Record this morning in fair shape.

January 26, 1877:

At twelve o'clock went to the House when [sic] I received the notes of my speech from the Reporter. . . . In the evening Rose and I worked on the revision of my speech until 11 o'clock.

February 11, 1879:

Spent the evening until midnight revising the notes of my speech.
February 18, 1879:
Revised the notes of my speech on Mr. Schleicher.

February 1, 1879:
... finished the revision of my address on Prof. Henry.

March 17, 1880:
At home in the evening and revised the notes of the speech.

April 23, 1880:
Home in the evening and revised the notes of my speech.

In the opinion of Theodore Clark Smith, Garfield became, as he grew older, more and more fastidious over the revision of his speeches published in the Congressional Record. Garfield's Journal indicates the correctness of this opinion, for his comments show that he became more and more concerned with the revisions. For example in 1877, he said:

In the evening Rose and I commenced work on revising my notes, and continued it until two o'clock in the morning. I find myself very hard to satisfy in matter of literary taste and I presume such minute criticism while it makes a speech more correct loses something of the freshness and vigor of the style.

In spite of the time spent on this speech, Garfield was not yet satisfied with it, for two days later he remarked:

My speech appeared in the Record this morning, but it was not satisfactorily printed and needed much revision. Spent the morning in revising my speech and at 11 o'clock went to ... arrange for its printing in pamphlet form.

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3 Journal (January, 1877).
Garfield probably was correct when he said that his revision took some of the freshness and vigor from his style. "Often his best friends," commented General Keifer, "appealed to him not to correct the notes of his speeches lest in his desire to conform his language to the highest standards of refined rhetoric and purest diction, he would leave them shorn of some portion of their power."

An examination of the speeches of the period reveals that Garfield frequently used such stylistic devices as:

1) interrogation, 2) figures of speech, and 3) Biblical allusion.

Interrogation. Questions of two kinds appear with regularity and frequency in the Garfield speeches: (1) A direct question, with an answer, and (2) the rhetorical question. Garfield often introduced a point by phrasing it in question form and then answering the interrogation. This technique was intended to increase the clarity and force of his contention. In his speech, "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law," Garfield introduced points in the following manner:

What happened to cause a departure from this general level of public opinion? Every man knows the history. War, the imperious necessities of war, . . . .

. . . only twelve years have passed, and what do we find? We find a group of theorists and doctrinaires. . . .

Now what are the obstacles to resumption in accordance with the law we have passed? The first great obstacle stated by . . .

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4 Quoted in Smith, II, 707.
How is it in England? Statistics which no man will gainsay show. . . .

What was the result? In those six days $157,000,000 was received. . . .

Who is Sir Archibald Alison? No man who fills an important place in English literary history has less credit on questions of finance than he. Let me give a specimen of Sir Archibald's financial wisdom. . . .

Does that prove that distress was produced by the resumption act? The fact is, that the great speculation in the apparent prosperity of 1825 was the beginning and the cause. . . .

The savings banks, . . . lend it to whom? Not to the laboring poor. . . .

And how many men do you think have done that in the United States? I do not know the number for the whole country, but I do know this. . . .

What is done with the assets of these companies, amounting to $145,000,000? They are loaned out. Here again. . . .

Suppose you undo the work of resuming specie payments that Congress has attempted, what will result? You will depreciate. . . .

It is true there was a kind of prosperity in the days of high prices; but do not gentlemen know that war prices cannot be kept up forever? Nothing but the extraordinary calamities of war can. . . .

Now, is that a great contraction? Why, gentlemen, when . . . .

I notice that gentlemen do not move to strike out the first section of the resumption act. Why? Two years ago. . . .

Do you think, as a matter of convenience, he will go to the Assistant Treasurer in New York and get for those greenbacks forty pounds' weight of gold coin to carry in his pockets, or, if the silver dollar should be restored six hundred and forty pounds of silver? No, gentlemen; the moment. . . .

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Approximately the same number of examples may be cited from the speeches "The Democratic Party and the Government," and "Honest Money." Instances are found, but less frequent, in all the major addresses of the period. These examples indicate that such questions were simple, straightforward, and clear. Garfield knew that men were mistaken who thought "a certain grand-looking obscurity" showed "vast learning, or great originality, or immense profundity." By the use of the direct question, he kept the "auditors aroused and mentally alert," thus interrogation became "an important aid to vividness."

The rhetorical question, which appears frequently in the Garfield speeches, was inserted to add impressiveness and animation to his style. Listed below are a few representative examples:

Who shall estimate the effect of those latent forces in the spirit of a new-born child, which may date back centuries, and find their origin in the unwritten history of remote ancestors, --forces, the germs of which enveloped in the solemn mystery of life, have been transmitted silently from generation to generation, and never perish?

With such parentage and such opportunities, who can wonder that, by the time he reached the meridian of his life, he was a man

6*Works*, II, 353.
7*Works*, II, 586.
of immense erudition, and had honored every great office in
the gift of his country?

From this it appears that the great statesmen who lived in the
early days of the republic, and acted under the fresh and imme-
diate inspirations of the Constitution, disclaimed any authority
on the part of Congress even to listen to a petition which had
for its object to dispute or draw into question the votes of a
State for Electors. What more weighty or conclusive authority
against the position assumed by our Judiciary Committee to-day
can be conceived?

Will any one say that it is un-republican for a State to require
its Legislature to protect its voters against "bribery and
tumult" at elections?

But does the gentleman not know that the traditions and habits
of France in regard to the use of money are as unlike those of
England and the United States as those of any two nations of
the world can be?

Does a country that transacts its business in that way need as
much currency afloat among the people as a country like France,
without banks, without savings institutions, and whose people
keep their money in hoards?

Besides serving as a source of public revenue, what intelligent
man fails to see that the metals are the basis of all the
machinery, tools, and implements of every industry?

Now, gentlemen, if, for the purpose of making eternal slavery
the lot of an American, you could send your marshals, summon
your posse, and use the armed force of the United States, with
what face or grace can you tell us that this government cannot
lawfully employ the same marshals, with their armed posse of
citizens, to maintain the purity of our own elections and keep
the peace at our own polls?10

These "loaded questions" called the listeners' attention
"more forcibly to some important point," because they made a
personal appeal to each auditor, either to agree to what was
urged, "or frame a reasonable objection." The technique further
increased the impressiveness of Garfield's style because it quite

often carried "an air of triumphant defiance" to an opponent to refute the argument if he could. \(^{11}\)

In summary, both the direct and rhetorical question appears often in the Garfield speeches. The direct interrogation became both an aid to clarity and vividness. The rhetorical question carried with it a skillful implication that the opponent was surely unable to answer satisfactorily, and therefore increased the impressiveness of the style.

**Figures of Speech.** Garfield quite frequently used metaphor, simile, figurative analogy, and epigram.

**Metaphor.** Of the figures of speech just referred to, metaphor was found most frequently in his speeches of this period (1876-1880). In his speech against the resolution to bring four Louisiana electors to Washington for questioning, he said:

> A violation of the fundamental law is the open door by which anarchy enters; and I warn this House that, if they pass this resolution, they are about to open a new and wide door, and beckon the fiend to enter. \(^{12}\)

He declared in the conclusion of the speech:

> ... sixteen years ago, in the name of State sovereignty, it was declared that a certain portion of our people would never submit to an election that declared Abraham Lincoln President; and now, in the defiance of all State rights, it is proposed that these great communities--these thirty-eight sisters that you call sovereign, though I do not--shall be chained to the wheels of this Congressional chariot, and dragged in fetters to the national Capitol as vassals of the imperial will of--

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\(^{12}\) *Works*, II, 399.
What?—a party in the House of Representatives. . . . 13

In the speech opposing the creation of the Electoral Commission, Garfield declared that the fathers of Constitution had made sure that the President of the United States should "be born, not of a dynasty, but of the will of a free people regulated by law." 14 And in the same speech he accused Congress, whom he claimed was to be merely a witness in counting the electoral vote, of striving to become "the chief actor" in the scene. 15 "If this section becomes a law," he warned, "every close State will hereafter grow a luxurious crop of contests, and unload their noxious harvest in the national Capitol." 16

In the brief speech, "Lincoln and Emancipation," Garfield declared that the emancipator read the few books available to him in early life "with the divine hunger of genius." 17 Garfield spoke of the truth as "the spear-point" 18 of Lincoln's logic, and in praising the picture of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, he said:

13 Works, II, 403.
14 Works, II, 411.
15 Works, II, 419.
16 Works, II, 423.
17 Works, II, 537.
18 Works, II, 538.
Without this painting, the scene could not even now be reproduced. The room has been remodelled; its furniture is gone; and Death has been sitting in that council, calling the roll of its members in quick succession.\footnote{Works, II, 542.}

The list given below is taken from the eighteen speeches basic to this study:

It should be borne in mind that revenue is the lifeblood of a government, circulating through every part of its organization, and giving force and vitality to every function.

It (Wood Tariff Bill) is not simply a stalking-horse upon which gentlemen can leap to show their horsemanship in debate; it is not an innocent pay-figure upon which gentlemen may spread the gaudy ware of their rhetoric without harm.

The two thousand national banks are all harnessed to the car of resumption, and when we resume they must resume.

In the complex and delicately adjusted relations of modern society, confidence in promises lawfully made is the life-blood of trade and commerce. It is the vital air which labor breathes. It is the light which shines on the pathway of prosperity.

It (claim that there was not enough currency) was the drunkard's cry for more rum to steady his nerves, already shattered by drink.

Our theory of law is free consent. That is the granite foundation of our whole superstructure.

Gentlemen, you have it in your power to kill this government; you have it in your power by withholding these two bills, to smite the nerve-centres of our Constitution with the paralysis of death.

But you shall not coerce any independent branch of this government even by the threat of starvation.

If gentlemen find any pleasure in setting up a man of straw and knocking him down again, they have enjoyed themselves.
The goddess of justice, so far as persons are concerned, is blind; but so far as the objects and essence of justice are concerned, she sees the whole world. 20

The aptness of these figures added animation to his style and served to strengthen the speaker's ideas. An examination of the figures of speech in the addresses of 1876 to 1880 indicates that Garfield used metaphors more for clarity and vividness than for elegance or beauty. There is no apparent effort in the Garfield speeches to achieve beauty at the expense of force or clarity. However, his metaphors did on occasion add grace and charm to his ideas. 21

Garfield was fond of metaphors concerning the sea. He particularly loved the sea all of his life and at one time had planned to be a sailor. In a campaign speech at Athens, Ohio, August 25, 1877, in discussing the currency question, he declared:

But the nation, once afloat upon that uncertain sea, drifted on and on until expansion of credits, inflation of prices, vast and crazy speculation -- all the inevitable results of a depreciated currency brought on the crisis of 1873 and the ruin that followed it. 22

He included such figures in campaign speeches, congressional speeches, and letters. 23 Again in a campaign speech at Flint,

20 Works, II, 555, 570, 602, 611, 617, 664, 671, 673, 693.

21 See for example the metaphors used about Lincoln and referred to in a previous paragraph.

22 Garfield Papers (Public Utterances of 1875-77). The Papers are deposited in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

23 This genuine fondness for figures of speech relating to the sea is found in the huge collection of letters in the Garfield Papers. For example, he wrote David A. Wells, April 9, 1877: "The great sea of the late campaign has kept us apart; but we must not let its tempest break our cable or interrupt the old circuit of friendship."
Michigan, delivered October 21, 1878, he said: "Now then we say that in this fight for honest money we will climb to the masthead, and on the very top we will nail our flag; and if go down we must, the flag shall take the wave last." 24

Similar metaphors are found in almost all of his major speeches (1876-1880) and further illustrate Garfield's use of language.

We are mariners, treading the lonely shore in search of our surviving comrades and the fragments of our good ship, wrecked by the tempest.

Let us hope, Mr. Speaker, that they will not be compelled to add, that though this act enabled the men of 1877 to escape from temporary troubles, yet it entailed upon their children evils far more serious and perils far more formidable; that it transmitted to them shattered institutions, and set the good ship of the Union adrift upon an unknown and harborless sea.

The agony is almost over; and if we now give up the struggle, we lose all that has been gained and commit the country once more to the boisterous ocean, with all its perils and uncertainties.

... any measure that takes back the promise, that gives up what we have gained, that sets us afloat on the wild waves from which we have so nearly escaped, I will oppose to the utmost, confidently trusting to the future for the vindication of my judgment.

Congress should not have compelled the new and aspiring industries of peace to put to sea in a crazy craft which was all sail and no anchor.

Though that bill, with its revolutionary menace, passed both houses, it was wrecked upon the rock of the Constitution, and went down, leaving not a spar afloat on the face of the political waters.

This violent measure was also passed by the solid Democratic vote of both houses; but, like its predecessor, it ran

24 Garfield Papers. (Public Utterances of 1878).
upon the rock of the Constitution, and sank to the bottom, and only bubbles mark the spot where it went down.\textsuperscript{25}

In summary, Garfield employed metaphor more frequently than any other figure of speech. Garfield was especially fond of metaphors relating to the sea. His metaphors seemed to be well chosen, appropriate, and consistent, and were probably chosen with the view in mind of clarity and vividness rather than elegance or beauty. He avoided incongruous or distorted figures and overuse of figurative language.

Simile. "Similes," according to Aristotle, "are useful in prose as well as in verse, but must be sparingly used, for they are poetical."\textsuperscript{26} Garfield "sparingly used" simile. In his reply to Lamar he said:

It will not do, Mr. Chairman, to speak of the gigantic revolution through which we have lately passed as a thing to be adjusted and settled by a change of administration. It was cyclical, epochal, century-wide, and to be studied in its broad and grand perspective. . . . In such a revolution men are like insects, that fret and toss in the storm, but are swept onward by the resistless movements of elements beyond their control.\textsuperscript{27}

By comparing men to insects in the storm Garfield added vividness to the idea that the revolution was brought about by many factors over which men had at times little control.

Garfield by the use of simile added strength and animation to a specific idea in his speech "Proposed Repeal of the

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Works}, II, 290-91, 432, 505, 509, 615, 697, 698.


\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Works}, II, 360.
Resumption Law." He was contending that the high prices of 1862 to 1870 were caused by the increased demands of the war. He said: "War sat like a grim monster, swallowing up the accumulated wealth of the country." In speaking of Lincoln, Garfield employed this simile: "That truth (the liberty and equality of all men) runs, like a thread of gold, through the whole web of his political life." The country is compared to a swimmer in Garfield's speech, "Honest Money." He said: "After all we have suffered, we are now like a bold and sturdy swimmer almost ashore . . . the republic is just within a stroke of the land." These examples show that Garfield's similes like his metaphors were appropriate, and consistent with good taste. Similes appeared much less often than metaphors in the Garfield speeches.

Figurative Analogy. Argument from analogy has already been discussed in an earlier chapter, and it was pointed out that Garfield employed analogies frequently. This section discusses his use of figurative analogy as a stylistic device. Garfield was skilled in making his analogies promote both clarity and impressiveness of his ideas. The reply to Lamar contained an example.

Mr. Chairman, after the facts I have cited, am I not warranted in raising a grave doubt whether the transformation

28 Works, II, 505.
29 Works, II, 538, 604.
has occurred at all except in a few patriotic and philosophic minds? The light gleams first on the mountain peaks; but shadows and darkness linger in the valley. It is the valley masses of those lately in rebellion that the light of this beautiful philosophy, which I honor, has not penetrated. Is it not safer to withhold from them the custody and supreme control of the precious treasures of the republic until the midday sun of liberty, justice, and equal laws shall shine upon them with unclouded ray?  

Again in the speech "Revolution in Congress," Garfield skillfully compared the army to a human being. He charged that the Democrats in Congress were trying to starve the army by withholding supplies. "I grant that," he said, "if supplies are refused to the army, it must perish of inanition; it becomes a skeleton; but its anatomy was created by general law, and it would remain a skeleton, your monument of starvation."  

This analogy added vigor to the speaker's idea, because it not only let the audience know how he thought about it, but also how he felt about it.

"Counting the Electoral Vote" was a speech in which Garfield opposed the appointment of the Electoral Commission to settle the disputed Hayes-Tilden election. He compared the election of a president to a pyramid consisting of three great blocks. The broad base he considered the selection of the electors by the States. The second block is his symbolic

30 Works, II, 374.
31 Works, II, 675.
pyramid was "the opening and counting of the votes of the college." The analogy helped to clarify his point and his reference to it showed the audience how he felt about the congressional proposal to create an Electoral Commission. He said:

Congress having a simple part to play in reference to the little block that crowns the pyramid, proposes to reach down through all the others and supervise the whole from apex to base; or rather, it proposes to over turn the whole pyramid and place it upon its apex, so that it shall rest, not upon the broad base of the people's will, but upon the uncertain and despotic will of Congress.33

Epigram. "The Epigram," Brigance points out, "is a powerful attention-catcher. It mints an old idea into a new form. It is novel. It is interesting. And, since it must perforce be terse, it is easy to remember."34 Garfield was skilled in the use of epigrams, yet he apparently realized that "like all strong seasoning, the epigram must be used in a small quantum; overuse spoils the flavor."35

The most often quoted utterance of Garfield is probably his definition of a university -- "a student on one end of a log and Mark Hopkins on the other." This epigrammatical saying "has become the standard, almost the commonplace, illustration

33Works, II, 417-419.
34Brigance, p. 246.
Garfield possessed unusual ability to clothe a thought in a terse, pointed, and striking manner. The following epigrammatic statements were made in a speech delivered to college students:

Poets may be born, but success is made.

Occasions cannot make spurs, young gentlemen. If you expect to wear spurs you must win them.

Luck is an ignis fatuus. You may follow it to ruin, but not to success.

A pound of pluck is worth a ton of luck.

Young gentlemen, let not poverty stand as an obstacle in your way. Poverty is uncomfortable, as I can testify; but nine times out of ten the best thing that can happen to a young man is to be tossed overboard, and compelled to sink or swim for himself. In all my acquaintance, I have never known one to be drowned who was worth the saving.

I feel a profounder reverence for a boy than for a man. I never meet a ragged boy of the street without feeling that I may owe him a salute, for I know not what possibilities may be buttoned up under his shabby coat. 37


37 Garfield Papers ("Elements of Success," an address delivered before the Consolidated Business College, Washington, D. C.; a copy is among the Public Utterances.) A booklet entitled "Maxims of James Abram Garfield. General, Patriotic, Political," published in 1880, is found among the Garfield Papers. It contains dozens of sayings from the Garfield Speeches, many of them epigrammatic. Here are a few examples in this booklet:

"There is a fellowship among the Virtues by which one great, generous passion stimulates another." "NOTHING is more uncertain than the result of any one throw; few things more certain than the result of many throws." "IF the power to do hard work is not Talent, it is the best possible substitute." "OCCASION may be the bugle-call that summons an army to battle, but the blast of a bugle can never make Soldiers or win Victories." "THINGS don't turn up in this world until somebody turns them up." "IT is one of the precious mysteries of Sorrow that it finds solace in unselfish Thought." "Every character is the joint product of Nature and Nurture."
"The Wood Tariff Bill" contained this remark: "We provide for the common defence by a system which promotes the general welfare." Bundy said of this statement: "... it is the most epigrammatic statement of the American system of Protection, as understood by Garfield, which has ever been made in Congress."

While Garfield possessed the ability to phrase terse, pointed statements, which contributed to the force of his style, it should be pointed out that most of his epigrammatic statements are found in occasional addresses, and few among his congressional speeches.

Biblical Allusions. "Often an idea," Gray and Braden point out, "which might require several words or sentences to present, and even then might be flat and uninteresting, may be made more impressive by the use of an appropriate allusion to something already known, toward which certain attitudes have been built up." Garfield promoted the impressiveness of his style by doing exactly what is suggested in the above quotation. Although such allusions were on occasion literary, it was the Biblical allusion used most often. In fact, the instances of legendary and literary allusions appear so seldom that they were not thought typical enough to consider in this discussion.

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38 Works, II, 563.
40 Gray, and Braden, p. 444.
It is not surprising that Biblical allusions appeared in the speeches of the former minister who had been familiar with the Bible practically all of his life. In his memorial address on Almeda A. Booth, Garfield said: "After their return from Oberlin she paid more attention to the mint, anise, and cumin [sic] or life." This was an allusion to the statement of Jesus in Matthew 23:23. It was appropriate and added impressiveness to the point that Miss Booth dressed with utmost plainness in her early life, showed little concern for mere external show, and gave her time to "the more enduring ornaments of mind and heart."  

In a speech "College Education," he made the following Biblical allusions:  
Now it will not be denied, that from the day that the child's foot first presses the green turf, till the day when, an old man, he is ready to be laid under it—there is not an hour in which he does not need to know a thousand things in relation to his body, "what he shall eat, what he shall drink, and wherewithal he shall be clothed."  
We silence its sweet clamor, by cramming its hungry mind with words, words,--empty, meaningless words. It asks bread, and we give it a stone. It is to me a perpetual wonder that any child's love of knowledge survives the outrages of the schoolhouse.  
It would be foreign from my present purpose, to consider further the subject of primary education—but it is worthy your profoundest thought, for "out of it are the issues of life."  

These allusions were to passages found in Matthew 6:31; Matthew 7:9; and Proverbs 4:23. The quotations are taken from a speech, "College Education," delivered to the literary societies at Hiram, Ohio, on June 14, 1867. The speech is found in the Garfield Papers.  

Works, II, 317.

Works, II, 317.
"Here is certainly a new thing under the sun," declared Garfield concerning the powers of the proposed Electoral Commission, in his speech on that subject. This, of course, was an allusion to the statement of Solomon in Ecclesiastes 1:9, in which the Old Testament sage declared there is nothing new under the sun. Again in "Proposed Repeal of the Resumption Law" Garfield made use of a Biblical allusion to strengthen his ideas.

There are many among these who believe that some time in the future we can resume specie payments, but who believe it impossible to-day or in 1879, or if possible, inexpedient. They hold that from such an attempt evils will arise to the country greater than the benefits; and therefore they join in seeking the repeal of the act of 1875. I have no doubt they regret to throw their influence with those men who do not believe in resuming at all. To these I say, Before the final vote is taken, let us reason together.45

The phrase, "let us reason together," is an allusion to the statement in Isaiah 1:18 (Come, let us reason together, saith the Lord). Other examples might be cited, but these are sufficient to illustrate that Garfield did by the stylistic device of allusion promote the impressiveness of his style.

What can be said of Garfield's oral style? It is not possible to give a complete evaluation of Garfield's oral use of language because texts were edited. In his early years Garfield's style was characterized by ornateness and a sort of sermonizing or declamatory effect. The following remarks

44 Works, II, 428.
45 Works, II, 493.
made on July 2, 1850, serve as an example:

The dawn of this day causes the beating of many hearts. The teams are continually pouring in from all parts of the state. The deep thunder is heard in the dim distance and the dark clouds, pregnant with rain are floating lazily along the cerulean. The loud thunder again bursts and the big drops of rain are hurled from the shivered bolt. The brows of the students contract as they fear for the fate of the exhibition. But the showers went round. Our friends arrived. People collected. The stage was prepared.46

Several writers have commented on the obvious change that took place in the style of Garfield over a period of years. Mr. Spofford, the congressional librarian, said: "His early style, before he acquired that refined taste which comes from familiarity with the classic models, and especially from the Greek, was somewhat crude and declamatory."47 Caldwell noted that Garfield was soon to abandon much of the ornateness of style and "superfluous rhetoric" of his early speaking and to attain greater directness and simplicity.48

Garfield deliberately worked for a style that was terse and condensed. In a letter to his friend, Burke Hinsdale, he spoke of efforts in this direction:

46 Quoted in Smith, I, 46.

47 A Tribute of Respect from the Literary Society of Washington to its late President James Abram Garfield. Proceedings of a meeting of the Society held November 18, 1881. (Washington: Published in Washington, D. C., 1882), p. 20. (Referred to hereafter as A Tribute of Respect)

48 Caldwell, p. 146.
I am glad that you are on the track of condensed, terse expression. I have been seeking for that more than for elegance. The power of making a clear, compendious statement of a case is a most valuable one. Lincoln was sometimes a model in that direction. See particularly his letter to Greeley on the slavery policy. But I think there is a great question lying behind style and which controls it. It is the power to think definitely and get a strong vivid picture before the mind of what one thinks, to analyze it so far as to remove all extraneous and unnecessary materials and then plainly express the very essence of the thought. This will of itself give the basis of a good style. 49

His speeches during the period under consideration in this study indicate that Garfield did achieve this stylistic goal. Smith observed that "Garfield's oratorical style attained, in the last dozen years of his Congressional service, a dignity and restraint and a simplicity of structure and diction that marked maturity." 50 The same author claims that Garfield achieved in his last years "unsurpassed conciseness." 51 John Sherman stressed this same quality when he said: "He often expressed in a single sharp sentence or phrase the whole argument that silenced his opponent." 52

DELIVERY

Early in life Garfield made a practice of occasionally writing a speech out in full, and he continued this procedure


50 Smith, II, 705.

51 Ibid., p. 706.

52 Senate Miscellaneous Documents No. 104, 49 Cong., 1 sess., p. 8.
throughout his life. He delivered these manuscript speeches in one of two ways: by reading, or from memory. Apparently he often read his occasional addresses such as eulogies, or commencement speeches. He reports the following concerning his eulogy of Miss Booth:

Attended Commencement Exercises in forenoon . . . and at two commenced reading my address which occupied one hour and a half. Had good attention and I think the address was well received. Resolution of thanks and to print were adopted.53

In June, 1876, Garfield read an hour and twenty-five minute address entitled "A Century of Progress," at Williams College. In a letter to B. A. Hinsdale in 1877 he referred to the reading of another speech. "Tomorrow," he wrote, "I am going to Ravenna to read my new lecture in the evening: shall be home the next morning." 54

Garfield also gave some speeches from memory. A correspondent of the Chicago Tribune reports:

I have at various times had quite fair opportunity to study the methods of Gen. James A. Garfield, the present leader of the House of Representatives upon the Republican side. . . .

His speech at the Arlington celebration, which was quite widely published, was put in writing,—the last words being written, as he himself expressed it, "just two minutes before starting" for the place where it was to be delivered. He doubled the paper up and put it in his pocket, intending to read it. When he saw the audience he had to address,—composed as it was of the President and Cabinet, and a vast

53 Journal (June 22, 1876).

popular assemblage, he remarked to his wife . . .: "I haven't the courage to read this speech;" and accordingly he spoke without notes, and no one knew that he had a line of manuscript. A shorthand reporter took the speech, and, after writing it out, sent the manuscript around for revision. Mrs. Garfield took the manuscript which the reporter prepared and read it aloud while the General held his own manuscript in his hand. To the surprise of both, it was found, when the reading was finished, that the reporter had only two words different from that of the General's own manuscript, and these were considered improvements, and left standing. 55

The same reporter, in speaking of the address in Chicago on "The Press," says, "he followed the manuscript copy so closely that, although the speech was taken in shorthand, his own manuscript was given to the newspaper to set up and print." 56

Garfield had early in life mastered the art of memorizing; as a boy of fourteen he so thoroughly memorized much of Goodrich's History of the United States that later he could "quote freely its statistics of the American and British losses in most of the battles recorded." According to Bundy "a so-called poetical 'History of the United States,' by a fellow named Eggleston, was committed to memory." 57

The Hon. C. H. Hill, a schoolmate of Garfield's, reports:

Tennyson was then and has ever been since one of his favorite authors, and I remember, too, when Hiawatha was

55 Clipping from the Chicago Tribune, July 31, 1878, found in Garfield Papers.

56 Ibid.

57 Bundy, pp. 13-14.
Garfield's ability to memorize must have made an impression on this fellow student who recalled it after twenty-four years.

Dr. Charles W. Hoffman related that in one of the meetings of the Literary Society of Washington, D.C., Dr. C. C. Cox had read a scholarly paper on the Latin hymns of the church. In commenting on the paper Garfield quoted from memory and in Latin O Domine Deus, the prayer of Mary, Queen of Scots. When Dr. Hoffman complimented Garfield in private on his "continued fondness for the classics and his vivid memory of them," Garfield answered that "he had not seen the lines he had repeated for twenty years." This aptness in memory no doubt was a valuable asset to the orator.

The reading of a speech from manuscript was by far the least used mode of delivery in the Garfield speeches. Garfield favored the extemporaneous speech in every period of his speaking career. It was the customary type of speech among the Disciples of Christ ministers, and Garfield followed this general practice when he was a preacher.

58 A letter dated June 23, 1860, quoted in Bundy, p. 34.
59 A Tribute of Respect, p. 47.
60 This is very evident upon examining the many sermon outlines in the Garfield Papers. It is only occasionally that a written sermon is found. For the general practice of Disciple preachers see Ira North, Rhetorical Method of Alexander Campbell (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Illinois, 1945).
lectures that Garfield delivered at the Western Reserve Ec-
lectic Institute when he was president, were delivered also
from notes. 61

In the period under consideration the same preference for
extempore speaking is seen. Almost all of Garfield's speeches
in Congress were extemporaneous, an action which was a neces-
sity because there was insufficient time to write a speech.
For example, Garfield stated in regard to his reply to Hill:

... I replied to Hill in a speech on which I laid out only
four or five hours work yet if I am to judge from the res-
ponse which came to me in more than one hundred letters since
its delivery and from the opinions of the people around me
I have made more reputation and directed the attention of the
country to myself more than in all the financial work I have
done. Now of course I regard my financial work as better
intellectual work than this. 62

There are two other probable reasons why Garfield did not
make it a practice to write out his congressional speeches.
In the first place it was not always possible to predict the
turn of the debate. Again Garfield had the privilege of re-
vising his utterances before they appeared in the Congressional
Record. This privilege gave him an opportunity to verify facts,
and if necessary make corrections. Thus it was more practical
to be prepared on a given topic, but not to be tied to a manu-
script or extensive outline that might not meet the particular

61 F. M. Green, Hiram College and Western Institutes
Fifty Years of History 1850-1900 (Cleveland: The O. S.
Hubbell Printing Co., 1901), p. 106. In the Garfield Papers
there are several outlines of Garfield's morning lectures.
Most of them are brief.

62 Quoted in Smith, I, 596.
situation.

Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, the Congressional Librarian who was well acquainted with Garfield, stresses Garfield's extensive use of the extempore delivery on the floor of the House.

When he had examined the field as thoroughly as he was able, he organized his subject in his own mind, and, if the speech was to be in Congress, he seldom wrote more than a few of its leading outlines, leaving the substances, as well as the diction, to the occasion.63

Garfield held this same preference in delivering his campaign speeches, "What Garfield really liked, after all," comments Theodore Clark Smith, "was the untrammeled extempore speech, either in the give and take debate in the House or on the stump."64

The general impression gained from an examination of the Garfield Papers supports Smith's statement; the Papers contain many typical outlines of campaign speeches. Often outlines of campaign addresses were made on the hotel stationery of the city where he delivered the speech. For example, the speech delivered at a mass meeting sponsored by the Republican State Convention in session at Madison, Wisconsin, July 23, 1879, was extemporaneous. It is probable that this particular outline, written on the stationery of the Park Hotel, in Madison, was made only a few days or hours

63A Tribute of Respect, pp. 16-17.
64Smith, II, 709.
before the speech. Probably he had previously made several similar speeches already in the campaign. The practice of making the outline a short while before the particular address does emphasize the extemporaneous nature of these speeches. In both congressional and campaign speeches Garfield showed a decided preference for extemporaneous speaking. If the contemporary testimony is accurate, it is safe to assert that Garfield was vigorous, active, and dynamic in his delivery. E. V. Smalley, a contemporary, said:

His manner in his speeches was first engaging by reason of its frankness and moderation, and afterward impressive by its earnestness and vigor. At the climax of a speech he gathered up all the forces of statement and logic he had been marshaling, and hurled them upon his listeners with tremendous force. His eyes dilated, his form seemed to expand, his voice took on a sort of explosive quality, his language gained the height of simple and massive eloquence, and his gesture became so energetic and forcible that he seemed, at times, to be beating down opposition with sledge-hammer blows, throwing his arguments forward like solid shot from a cannon.65

Other evidence points out that Garfield was energetic and enthusiastic in his delivery. After his reply to Lamar in 1876, he related he was greatly exhausted by the effort, and his clothes were "drenched in perspiration."66 A fellow member of the Washington Literary Society spoke of the "electric energy with which he marched through a subject."67

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65 E. V. Smalley, "Characteristics of President Garfield," The Century Magazine, XXIII (December, 1881), 172.
66 Quoted in Smith, I, 605.
67 A Tribute of Respect, p. 17.
After a speech on the floor of the House, Garfield wrote in his journal, "I used to much voice, and too much muscular force as usual. I found myself a good deal exhausted." 68

The testimony of J. W. Keifer in his address before the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, gives further insight into Garfield's bodily action during his speaking.

Garfield was by nature left-handed and sometimes, when he rose to speak, he at first seemed awkward. This all disappeared as his genius flashed out in his fervid, masterly treatment of his subject. He then appeared an oratorical giant -- a superb human machine in action, delightful to behold. His gestures were mostly with his open uplifted left hand and made emphatic by striking it down, sometimes clenched, into his open upturned right hand. 69

In his patriotic addresses, according to Mr. Ainsworth R. Spofford, Garfield's "sledge hammer blows of his powerful left arm (almost his only gesture) enforced his utterances." 70

No evidence has been discovered in the preparation of this study indicating that Garfield ever mimicked another speaker. "No man should trade off himself for another," he wrote to Hinsdale, "however excellent that other may be." 71

Garfield possessed a strong, clear, and pleasant voice. "He had," according to General J. W. Keifer, "a magnificent

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68 Journal (November 16, 1877)
69 Quoted in Smith, p. 704.
70 A Tribute of Respect, p. 21.
voice, resonant, well modulated, full, under complete control; capable on occasions of great vehemence yet always pleasant to the ear. 72 F. M. Green, a fellow student, who knew Garfield well, spoke of the latter's "deep rich voice." 73 E. V. Smalley described it as "a strong, far-reaching voice, pitched in the middle key." 74 Dr. J. P. Robison, a lay preacher for the Disciples of Christ, told Garfield when he was but a young man that he had Webster's brain and "lung power and muscle to support it." 75

After a campaign speech on September 15, 1877, Garfield wrote his family:

I spoke in the public square where a platform had been erected, facing the wind and near the roar of wagons in the street. Just across the street behind me three carpenters were furiously hammering on roof boards to protect a new building from a storm of rain and wind that seemed to be threatened. Under these charming circumstances I tried for an hour and a half to make 5000 people hear me, and though I succeeded it left me soaked with perspiration and choked with hoarseness. 76

In his Journal Garfield told of speaking in the cold air at Twin Lakes, Ohio, for almost two hours to an enthusiastic audience estimated at 3,000. 77 Again he recorded: "At half

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72 Quoted in Smith, pp. 704-705.
73 Green, p. 98.
74 Smalley, loc. cit., p. 172.
75 Bundy, p. 225.
76 Quoted in Smith, II, 711-712.
77 Journal (September 27, 1876).
past one p.m. address meeting of about 3000 people in
the open air, at West Farmington. On another occasion he
wrote: "I used too much voice; but I felt was necessary because about 500 people were in the adjoining room &
hall unable to get into the hall."79

During the strenuous speaking schedule of a campaign,
Garfield often complained of hoarseness. His Journal con-
tains such references as: "I am very hoarse and apprehensive
of my unfitness to speak. . . ."80 " . . . suffering from a
sore throat."81 "I spoke about two hours, very successfully,
though hoarsely."82 This hoarseness of which he complained,
seldom, if ever, prevented him from speaking. While prepar-
ing a speech on the Electoral Count in 1877 he wrote on
Tuesday: "I am very anxious to speak with satisfaction to
myself, but greatly fear the state of my voice." On Wednes-
day: "Oh! for a voice. I have never wanted one so much."
However, on Thursday he recorded that he spoke for an hour
and a quarter and "with more ease than usual." He added
that he,

78 Journal (October 2, 1876).
79 Journal (September 9, 1876).
80 Journal (September 8, 1878).
81 Journal (March 14, 1876).
82 Journal (October 6, 1876).
never had the attention of the House better nor followed the logic of a case more closely. On the whole I am better pleased with the speech than with any one I have ever made. It will not be so popular as many others I have made, but will I think reach a higher class of minds. 83

General J. W. Keifer said:

As a public debater, Garfield excelled. It was his singular good fortune to think and come up to his supreme intellectual strength on his feet, under the excitement of public speech, rather than with his pen when in his seat. 84

Andrew D. White, in his autobiography gave the following account of one of Garfield's campaign speeches, at Ithaca, New York, which suggests Garfield's effectiveness.

Of all the thousands of political speeches I have heard it was the most effective. It was eloquent, but it was more than that; it was honestly argumentative; there was no sophistry of any sort; every subject was taken up fairly and every point dealt with thoroughly. One could see the supports of the Greenback Party vanishing as he went on. His manner was the very opposite of Mr. Conkling's; it was kindly, hearty, as of neighbor with neighbor --indeed every person present, even if greenbacker or demagogue, must have said within himself, "This man is a friend arguing with friends; he makes me his friend and . . . speaks to me as such." Never was a speech more successful. It carried the entire audience and left in that region hardly a shred of the greenback theory.

. . . I have often alluded to this result as an answer to those who say that speaking produces no real effect on the convictions of men regarding party matters. . . . The meeting ended, he asked me, "How did you like my speech?" I answered, "Garfield, I have known you too long and think too highly of you to flatter you; but I will simply say what I would say under oath: It was the best speech I ever heard." This utterance of mine was deliberate, expressing my conviction and he was evidently pleased with it. 85

83 Journal (January 23-25, 1877).
84 Smith, II, 704 (quoted from Keifer's Memorial Address, in Society of Army of Cumberland, 1885, p. 129).
SUMMARY

The discussion of Garfield's delivery has been of necessity limited in scope, because the speaker lived nearly three quarters of a century ago. However, contemporary testimony gives a degree of insight into the speaker's delivery.

It has been found that Garfield had a definite preference for extemporaneous speaking and used this method in delivering most of his addresses. He did, however, make it a practice throughout his life to prepare occasionally a speech in manuscript form. On such occasions he either read or memorized the manuscript. He possessed a good memory, a faculty of great value to an orator.

Garfield was energetic and enthusiastic in his delivery and gave generously of his physical strength and vitality to the presentation of a speech. His face was responsive, and he gestured emphatically with his left hand. His voice was described as deep, full, rich, resonant, well modulated, under perfect control, capable of great force, and pleasant to listen to. These facts suggest that Garfield was dynamic and effective in delivery.

Garfield's style in the eighteen speeches considered in this study is marked by an over-all clarity. That is, Garfield made his ideas and arguments so clear that the listener easily followed them as they unfolded in the speech. Even though a person might disagree with the argument, he seldom could plead that he did not understand it.
Garfield's style, in the period under consideration, was free from the faults of verbosity, ornateness, personal invective or vituperation. He did not use humor and refrained from illustrations calculated to entertain. Garfield's oral style in this period (1876-1880) was clear, concise, and more business like than declamatory. It was marked by apt metaphors, similes, Biblical allusions, and effective use of interrogation, and on occasion reached heights of vividness and impressiveness. Yet, Garfield never achieved the beauty of style that was the province of Webster, nor did his style show the warm emotional appeal of William Jennings Bryan, or the simplicity and power so characteristic of Lincoln. Perhaps these are the reasons that none of his speeches have attained lasting fame.
CHAPTER VII
RECAPITULATION

This study has dealt principally with the speaking of James A. Garfield while he was Republican Party leader in the House. When Garfield entered the United States House of Representatives in 1863, he had behind him a wealth of speech experience and training. This background, with its balance of theory learned from the study of Demosthenes, Quintilian, Whately and Campbell, and the abundance of practical experience in the literary and debating societies, the pulpit, the stump, and educational speaking, is not to be underestimated in accounting for Garfield's rise to prominence in the Congress. Few congressmen in American history have entered the House of Representatives at the age of thirty-one with such a strong background in speech. When Garfield entered the House, he had already proved himself an effective debater, a powerful preacher, a promising lecturer, and a strong campaigner.

On those issues on which he possessed deep feelings and convictions, such as the financial questions, distrust of the Democratic Party, the American Union, and the value of education, Garfield spoke effectively and influenced many to accept his views. On the issue of the tariff he was unable to bring to his speeches the same ethical and moral
force that is seen in other speeches, and it is not surprising
that his influence on this issue and the issue of reconstruc-
tion was probably minor. Garfield was a religious man with
a strong faith in what he believed to be truth, and when an
issue with him was a clear cut matter of right and wrong, he
did his most effective speaking.

Garfield knew something of the art of rhetoric and
thought the field of sufficient importance to prepare a
series of lectures on this subject, which he presented to
the student body at Hiram. Garfield's rhetorical philosophy
was classical in tone and judged by modern standards was
fundamentally sound. It is clear that Garfield viewed rhetoric
as a practical art, and further, he did not fall into the error
of overemphasizing techniques, a common fault among the elo-
cutionists of his day. If Garfield is to be censured for his
lack of emphasis on delivery in his lectures and comments on
rhetoric, he is to be commended for the prominent place he
gave the ancient canon of invention and for his complete in-
sistence that nothing would take the place of honest and
diligent work. He stressed the fact that there were no short
cuts to successful speech making.

Garfield possessed a sound liberal arts education and
achieved the reputation of being a scholarly and indefatig-
able worker. On his written speeches he worked, as a rule,
carefully and at length. In the preparation of his extempora-
neous speeches, he followed the wise procedure of first
acquiring a broad and thorough background. He read widely and frequently gathered information from his conversations with learned men. The habit of thorough preparation helped to create his reputation of being able to get and to hold the "ear of the House."

The ethical appeal in the Garfield speeches was significant. His speeches presented him as a man of intelligence, good will, and fair play. His reputation and appearance enhanced his ethical appeal, but Garfield did not depend on previous reputation to present him in a favorable light in lieu of the speech. The evidence presented in this study warrants the conclusion that Garfield did win the battle to maintain his ethical appeal in spite of the scandals with which his name was associated. While the rhetorical critic must recognize that the scandals did affect his reputation adversely with some of his audiences, yet the facts show that Garfield was strong in personal appeal and successfully aligned himself and his cause with the righteous and the good. Time and again he brought the force of his moral idealism to the defence of the proposition he was trying to establish.

Garfield was skillful and adroit in his use of ethical appeal.

In the period under consideration in this study Garfield made abundant use of emotional proof in his campaign speeches. This study seems to indicate that such appeal consisted largely of those emotionalisms in vogue during the "era of the bloody shirt." Due to the sectional bitterness and ill feeling such
oratory aroused, it is not possible for the rhetorical critic to commend or sanction the "bloody shirt" appeal. It may be asking too much to have expected a strong partisan like Garfield to have risen above the "bloody shirt" technique. Garfield's use of emotional appeal constitutes a shortcoming in his oratory, for there is a shortage of the high type of emotional appeal found in the great speeches of Lincoln and Webster, and the technique of arousing memories of the late war is found too often.

Garfield was skilled in gathering and presenting evidence. He had a remarkable capacity for sifting a large mass of statistics and giving them a clear and meaningful presentation. He was judicious in the selection of testimony, for he chose authorities that had a high degree of creditability with his audience. Garfield showed originality and astuteness in the selection of many of his analogies; the comparisons fitted logically into the context of his speeches, and many times they drove home his point with great force. The main weakness in Garfield's logical proof was his reasoning from specific instance in which he often drew broad conclusions from too few examples. His causal reasoning was sometimes characterized by over-simplification. However, Garfield's logical proof, viewed from the over-all standpoint, was strong. He presented an abundance of facts in his speeches, and he did so logically and clearly.

Garfield did not divide his speeches into any set number
of parts, such as introduction, body, and conclusion. The number of main points in his addresses varied. He gave much thought and care to the beginning of a speech and, on occasion, prepared several introductions for an address before finding one that met his approval. His speech introductions verify the claim in his Journal of careful work and planning on this phase of the speech. Garfield knew the importance of a beginning that was well planned and well adapted to the particular address and occasion.

Garfield always had the purpose of the speech well fixed in his own mind and he stated it with clarity. He gave the speech proposition in the following forms: question and answer, concise statement, implication, and thesis paragraph. However, more often he presented it in the latter form. To have the purpose of the speech well in mind was a part of his rhetorical theory, and it was seldom that he delayed very long in making the proposition known to his audience. The type of speech determined the particular pattern of division he used in developing an address. Garfield preferred to end his speeches with an appeal or a re-statement of the speech purpose. The evidence in this study indicates that the conclusions of his speeches were not tendered as much care and thought as the introduction.

It is not possible to give a definitive evaluation of Garfield's oral style since we know he edited many of his speech texts after the addresses were delivered. This study
suggests that probably Garfield was able to achieve a style that was concise, terse, and clear. He consciously strove for conciseness and clarity rather than beauty or elegance. He did apparently use language effectively. His speeches were enriched with appropriate figures of speech, and his skillful use of interrogation added force and clarity to his style. It is to Garfield's credit that he was able to avoid verbosity and ornateness in his speeches of the period considered in this study.

While Garfield occasionally wrote a complete speech manuscript to be read or memorized, he most frequently used the extemporaneous mode of delivery. If the contemporary evidence is reliable, then it may be concluded that Garfield was enthusiastic, dynamic, and effective in delivery. His voice was strong and pleasing; he was handsome in appearance, and he gestured forcefully. Garfield "threw himself" enthusiastically into the delivery of a speech and on occasion complained of being greatly exhausted at the conclusion of the address.

What of Garfield's place in the history of American public address? Garfield was very human, and therefore had faults. He was eager for the approval of others. His Journal indicates that his pride sometimes caused him to keep silent when he should have talked; he was a strong partisan; and on occasion his judgment of men was poor. His oratory of the
period was probably weak in emotional proof, and his style apparently never reached extraordinary heights of simplicity and beauty. Yet James Abram Garfield was a man of intelligence, dynamic personality, and cultivated ability. Born in obscurity and poverty, he developed his talent in public address through his indefatigable industry. It was through his ability in public speaking that he gained the attention of his fellow citizens on the Western Reserve. It was his effective religious debating that played an important part in increasing his prestige and ultimately securing for him the nomination to the state legislature. Through his speeches he won the attention of the nation and arose to the leadership of his party in the House. Again his oratorical triumph at the National Republican Convention of 1880 placed him in a favorable light before his fellow delegates and materially influenced his ultimate selection as the candidate. Garfield possessed a unique ability to judge the temper of an audience, whether a mob in New York, an assembly in Washington, a national political convention, or an audience of farmers on the Western Reserve.

James Abram Garfield was certainly a man of the "spoken word." He was admirably equipped for the oratory of his time; for this was an age when the orator, without the aid of a loud speaker, addressed audiences numbering into the thousands, and the campaigner was without modern comforts in travel or the aid of radio or television. The significance of his speech
Making should not be overlooked in accounting for Garfield's successful rise to a prominent place of leadership in his party and in his country.
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Approved:

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