1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: James A. Garfield Home ("Lawnfield") (Updated Documentation)

Other Name/Site Number: James A. Garfield National Historic Site
Mentor Farm

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 8095 Mentor Avenue Not for publication:

City/Town: Mentor Vicinity:

State: Ohio County: Lake Code: 089 Zip Code: 44060

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private (furnishings): ___	Building(s): X
Public-Local: ___	District: ___
Public-State: ___	Site: ___
Public-Federal: X	Structure: ___
	Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
5	2 buildings
1	___ sites
1	1 structures
___	7 objects
7	10 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 5

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

DRAFT

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub:	Single Dwelling
Current:	Recreation and Culture	Sub:	Museum

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Queen Anne

MATERIALS:
Foundation: Stone, Brick
Walls: Wood, Stone
Roof: Wood
Other: Brick

Summary

The James A. Garfield Home, also known as "Lawnfield," is located in Mentor, Ohio, 20 miles east of Cleveland. It was the home of James A. Garfield from 1877 to 1881, the site of his successful 1880 front-porch presidential campaign, and a repository for papers and mementoes from his career after his 1881 death. The Garfield family maintained ownership of the property for six decades following Garfield's death. Beginning in 1885, the family introduced many features of a country estate, including a decorative windmill, a carriage house, and curving carriageways, to the farm. The years from 1885 to the 1930s when the property was used by Garfield's widow, Lucretia, and her children constitute the country estate period of the property. Lawnfield remained the property of Lucretia Garfield until her death in 1918, when it passed to her five children. In 1936, the children donated the main house, campaign office, and .779 acres to the Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS). The WRHS then established a Lake County chapter, which is now known as the Lake County Historical Society (LCHS), to operate the property as a museum. On December 28, 1980, Congress designated portions of the property the James A. Garfield National Historic Site (NHS).[1] The NHS embraces 7.82 acres of the original 157-acre Garfield farm and includes the main house, the campaign office, a section of the historic lane used by visitors during the 1880 campaign, a well house/windmill, a carriage house/gasholder, a tenant house, a chicken house, a granary, a horse barn, and a foundation ruin likely dating to 1893. Portions of the expansive lawns that gave rise to the name Lawnfield also remain as do specimen trees planted early in the twentieth century during the property's period as a country estate. The National Park Service (NPS) owns the site and its buildings, while the furnishings of the main house and campaign office belong to the WRHS and are on loan to the NPS.

Prior Designations

The 1980 congressional authorization of the NHS had the effect of automatically listing the site on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). Prior to this authorization, in 1964, when the main house and campaign office were operated by the LCHS, the James A. Garfield Home, "Lawnfield," was designated a National Historic Landmark (NHL). At that time, a three-page National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings form for the James A. Garfield Home, "Lawnfield," was prepared, documenting the property under the theme of political and military affairs, 1865-1912. The form identified the main house, the campaign office, and the historic lane.

An NRHP nomination, meant to cover both the NHL and the NHS, was prepared in 1983. This nomination identified 1876-1881 as relevant for the National Register period of significance and specified military as the area of significance. It defined a boundary that enclosed 4.877 acres. The nomination touches on Garfield's congressional career and describes his 1880 campaign, but does not sufficiently develop a case for the property's national significance. The nomination focuses on the main house and also identifies the campaign office and "a replica of the type [of] log cabin in which the President was born."[2] The cabin is no longer on the property. The nomination does not identify the tenant house and objects on the property.

This updated NHL nomination and a companion NRHP nomination have been prepared to expand upon the existing documentation and clearly state the case for the property's national significance. The new NHL boundary embraces 5.2 acres of the 7.82-acre NHS. This portion of the property is directly associated with James Garfield's period of residence, his 1880 presidential campaign, and Lucretia's Garfield's precedent-

[1] Title XII of P.L. 96-607, Dec. 28, 1980.

[2] Described in the nomination as a replica, the cabin was originally built in Holmes County, Ohio, before 1862, and later dismantled and reassembled as an attraction at the 1936 Great Lakes Exhibition in Cleveland. From there it went to Lawnfield, where it was maintained as an interpretive exhibit for a number of years. "Garfield's Still Around," *Akron Beacon Journal*, Feb. 1, 1975; "Lawnfield: Memorial to James A. Garfield, 20th President of the United States," site bulletin, Lake County Chapter of the WRHS, 1962.

setting preservation of her husband's papers and mementoes of his career at Lawnfield. The boundary encompasses extant areas of lawn that gave rise to the name Lawnfield. Excluded from the boundary are visitor access features and a maintenance area, which are not associated with the significance of the site and postdate the period of significance.. The contributing resources within the NHL boundary retain a very high degree of integrity, with the exception of the historic lane, where integrity has been somewhat compromised, as described more fully below.

The NHL period of significance is 1876 to 1886. It commences with the personally and politically important decision by the Garfields to purchase a working farm and ends with the completion of a library and archival room (Memorial Room) devoted to James A. Garfield's career and his papers.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Location and Setting

The NHL property is located on Mentor Avenue (US 20), a busy four-lane highway running east from Cleveland. In 1876, James A. Garfield and his wife Lucretia purchased a farm in an area made up of glacial lake deposits with soils of loamy sand intermixed with glacial gravel. A low ridge running diagonally across the long, narrow farm property about 2,000 feet north of Mentor Avenue marked an ancient shoreline of Lake Erie. Present on the farm were fields, pastures, orchards, woodlots, and a marshy area. The tracks of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad ran through the farm about three-fifths of a mile north of the main house. Land use in the area was mostly small farms with "open fields, simple farmsteads, and ancillary agricultural structures."[3] By 1900, the area had become a favorite location for the country estates of wealthy Cleveland residents. Lucretia Garfield participated in this trend by enlarging the main house and erecting a prominent four-story well house/windmill and a stylish carriage house. Around 1900, elements of a comprehensive landscape plan embracing Lawnfield and properties adjacent to it on the east and west were introduced.[4] Following World War II, the area developed as a bedroom community for Cleveland. Residential subdivisions now surround the NHS on the south, west, and north. Directly to the east is Faith Lutheran Church, a modernist edifice with a high-pitched front gable roof. Just east of the church is a much-altered 1830s house that once formed the centerpiece of an estate known as Eastlawn**.** Most of the houses in the immediate area are ranch-style houses on fairly large lots. Mentor Avenue has considerable commercial development a few blocks west of the historic site, including the Great Lakes Mall. The historic center of the town (now city) of Mentor is located three-fifths of a mile to the east.

The NHL is an irregular parcel extending approximately 850 feet north to south and 350 feet east to west at its widest. The main house fronts on Mentor Avenue and is set back approximately 60 feet from the avenue. Just northeast of the main house is the campaign office. Arrayed behind the main house on the NHS are the well house/windmill, carriage house/gas holder, tenant house, chicken coop, granary, and horse barn. The historic lane runs north-south, beginning near the main house and ending at the north property line of the NHS. Nearly all of the acreage once devoted to farm fields and woodlots is north of the boundary of the NHS and no longer has a rural character. Access to the NHS is via a modern driveway along the eastern property line.

[3] National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: Lawnfield, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Ohio* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, February 1994) (hereinafter *CLR*), 17

[4] *CLR*, 16-17, 30-34.

Landscape

The landscape of the Garfields' Mentor farm changed considerably over time. Most dramatically, the size of the property has been substantially reduced. Today's NHS embraces 7.82 acres of the farm's original 157 acres and the NHL embraces 5.2 acres. In the 1870s, the great majority of the farm's acreage was occupied by woodlots and farm fields, which began approximately 750 feet north of the main house on a property about one mile deep. The farm included a one-acre parcel on the south side of Mentor Avenue containing a small frame tenant house.[5] James and Lucretia Garfield made a number of changes from 1876 to 1880, enlarging the main house, having outbuildings moved away from it, and planting orchards and gardens. Following Garfield's death, Lucretia and her children enlarged the main house, moved utilitarian buildings, and gave the southern portion of the property the appearance of a country estate. Beginning in 1908, they gradually began to sell off portions of the farm. The farm was still producing some fruit, grain, fodder, and dairy products at that time.

In 1893, Lucretia's son James Garfield purchased the Alvord property just west of Lawnfield and built his own estate, known as Hollycroft. In 1900**,** Caroline Robinson Mason, mother-in-law of Lucretia's son Harry Garfield, bought an 1830s Greek Revival house adjacent on the east, enlarged it, and named the estate Eastlawn. This house, much altered over the years, remains, approximately 200 feet east of the NHS. The families in 1900 retained Pittsburgh landscape architect J. Wilkinson Elliott to create a comprehensive landscape plan for the three properties. Many of his suggestions were carried out, notably the laying out of curving drives to connect each residence to the carriage house and the erection of quarry-faced stone piers marking the carriage and pedestrian entrances to the properties from Mentor Avenue.[6] When the WRHS and the LCHS assumed responsibility for the site in the 1930s, they largely maintained site buildings and vegetation as they were received but made changes to site circulation to accommodate visitors.

During James Garfield's lifetime, access to the property was from a drive off Mentor Avenue just west of the house. This drive proceeded north to the farm fields and woodlots on the northern portion of the property and formed the lane used by visitors during the 1880 campaign. When elements of landscape architect Elliott's plan were introduced circa 1900, the entrance drive was moved to a location along the western edge of the Lawnfield property. The stone piers that marked this entry drive now flank the driveway of a private residence just west of the NHS. Ancillary carriage drives diverged from this main entry drive giving access to Lawnfield, Hollycroft, and the 1893 carriage barn. Between 1944 and 1950, the WRHS placed a driveway west of the Lawnfield main house that gave access to a parking area located northwest of the main house. In the 1990s NPS restoration, this drive and the parking area were obliterated and a new driveway along the eastern edge of the NHS was established. The NPS then re-established the original route of the historic lane from the main house to the carriage barn.[7]

Certain spatial relationships have remained constant through these changes. The main house and campaign office bear the same relationship to Mentor Avenue that they did in 1880. Additionally, the main house, campaign office, and north-south running historic lane maintain their historic relationship, allowing visitors to easily imagine the 1880 campaign activity.[8] Other spatial relationships within the NHS largely reflect the country estate period (1885-1930s) when the well house/windmill and carriage house were added and the horse barn and granary were moved to their current locations at the back (north end) of the NHS.

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[5] The crops planted by the Dickey family are not known. The NPS cultural landscape report concluded that orchards "unquestionably" were present when the Garfields purchased the property. *CLR*, 20. It is likely that grain crops such as wheat, oats, barley, corn, buckwheat, and rye were grown as well as grasses for producing hay. *CLR*, 21.

[6] *CLR*, 19, 27-29, 37-42.

[7] *CLR*, 45.

[8] The *CLR* concluded that "the 'historic lane,' as it moved north toward the relocated barn area, is undoubtedly in its original alignment." *CLR*, 34-35.

No trees dating to James A. Garfield's period of residence (1877-1881) exist on the property. A large silver maple in the back yard of a private residence just north of the NHS boundary likely was planted before 1881. This tree aligns with two sugar maples and a black walnut within the NHS planted between 1885 and 1918 along the western edge of the historic lane north of the tenant house. Other trees planted before Lucretia Garfield's death are a large sycamore near the west property line, a sugar maple and red oak south of the carriage house, and a weeping European beech east of the main house.[9] The presence of trees from the country estate period and the likelihood that some of these replaced earlier trees in the same locations add to the landmark's integrity.

Views from the property to the surrounding area are substantially different than during the period of significance. Where the Garfields would have looked out on an agricultural landscape in the 1870s, today a visitor sees a suburban landscape. During the country estate period, views within the property changed as an apple orchard was established between the main house and the carriage barn and trees and shrubs were planted in accordance with Elliott's landscape design. During the later decades of Garfield family ownership and during administration by the WRHS, some gardens were maintained, while volunteer trees took root on portions of the property. The 1994 NPS Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) determined 1886 to 1899 as the period for treatment of the site's landscape. The NPS has maintained existing trees and removed diseased and hazardous trees, often replacing them in kind. A picket fence similar to the one depicted in 1880 photographs has been erected along Mentor Avenue. The NPS has planted screening vegetation on the west, north, and east sides of the NHS and has established an orchard north of the tenant house as an interpretive feature.[10]

Five buildings, one structure, and one site of the NHS were present during the period of significance and contribute to the national significance of the NHL: the main house, campaign office, tenant house, horse barn, granary, historic lane, and the overall site which includes the lawn. The horse barn and the granary were moved to their present location in June 1893. Foundation remnants behind the horse barn most likely postdate the NHL period of significance.[11] Some small auxiliary structures—a privy, a coalhouse, an ice house, and a playhouse made from an old streetcar—are no longer present. To represent the exterior setting and views that crowds participating in Garfield's 1880 front-porch campaign experienced, the NHL boundary includes an expanse of lawn. Within that expanse are one building and one structure that postdate the period of significance and have been classified as noncontributing.

Description of Contributing Resources

Main house (building), HS-1, NPS LCS 070187: This is a large three-story house, with a complex, roughly L-shaped footprint. The east-west running façade of the house fronting on Mentor Avenue is 62 feet wide and the depth, including all projections, is 84 feet. The house was remodeled twice by the Garfield family, expanded by Lucretia Garfield, and restored in the 1990s by the NPS.

The original farm house on the site was constructed by James Dickey in 1831 or 1832. When James and Lucretia Garfield purchased the property in 1876, the house had nine rooms.[12] The family made several improvements the following year, replacing the roof shingles, improving the plumbing, and plastering and painting the interior. In 1880, the Garfields hired Cleveland contractor William Judd to raise the roof to provide a full second floor and make a number of other exterior and interior changes. This expansion and remodeling

[9] *CLR*, 39.
[10] *CLR*, 4.
[11] *CLR*, 32.
[12] Rough-hewn joists in the basement are the only visible evidence of the original 1830s house.

established the basic Queen Anne style appearance of the house with a high-pitched roof, contrasting building materials, and scrollwork in the gable ends. In 1885, Lucretia Garfield hired Cleveland architect Forrest A. Coburn (1848-1897) to construct a library wing at the rear of the house and remodel several interior spaces. The addition, completed in 1886, is quarry-faced sandstone with Queen Anne style gable end and dormer finishes, oriel windows, and porte cochere. Today, the house has been restored by the NPS to its 1885-1904 appearance.[13]

In both the 1880 main block and the 1885-1886 addition, the wooden siding is painted gray, trim is painted a darker gray, and window sash is painted red. The roof is complex, with the main block featuring a side gable roof, broken by an off-center cross gable facing Mentor Avenue and hipped section on the right. A north-south running gable roof connects the main block to the library addition, which has an east-west running gable roof. Roof shingles are red, and there are seven brick chimneys with corbelled courses just below the cap.

The foundation of the 1880 main block is rubble stone to grade and brick above grade. The exterior cladding is clapboards. Windows on the first and second stories of this portion of the house are mostly rectangular with 2/2 sash and louvered shutters. Windows on the third floor are predominantly 1/1. Decorative scrollwork adorns the west- and south-facing gable ends and the two south-facing gabled dormers. A full-façade front porch, reconstructed by the NPS to duplicate the 1880 porch, is carried on slender, square-profile, clustered posts, with brackets under the eaves. A partial porch on the east front, also reconstructed by the NPS, features paired turned posts and a frieze of spindles.

The 1885-1886 library wing addition was sited at the back of the existing building and is not conspicuous from Mentor Avenue. Its main decorative features are on the east and north elevations, where they would be appreciated by the family rather than passersby. The foundation of the addition is brick. A two-story section of quarry-faced sandstone on the east and north corresponds to the library portion of the addition, while the portion housing servants' bedrooms and service spaces is clapboarded. The sandstone east elevation has 1/2 and 2/2 windows at the first story. At the left of the second story on this side is a curved projecting bay carried on brackets with five narrow 1/1 windows; to the right are three fixed pane windows. The gable end at the third story has three decorative 28/1 windows and is clad in shingles and clapboards arranged in panels. The north front is clad with sandstone on the left and clapboards on the right. An entrance on the left of this side originally gave access to storage areas, while one on the right led to the kitchen. At the second story left on this side is a rectangular projecting bay with five narrow 1/1 windows. To the right are three arched openings corresponding to the Memorial Room; two are 1/1 windows, while that in the middle is a blind arch. The clapboarded portion has two 2/2 windows at the second story. Above the bay at the third story is a gabled dormer with a fenced balcony. Above the three arched openings at the third story is a gable end with four 2/2 windows. The 1885-1886 building campaign also added a front-gabled wooden port cochere on turned posts that projects to the northwest from the left rear of the 1880 block.[14]

The main entrance to the house is on the left side of the Mentor Avenue façade. A square foyer gives onto an entry hall, with a bedroom to the left that was used by James and Lucretia in the summer and later converted to a smoking room. A staircase on the left side of the entry hall was the primary access to the second floor prior to the 1885-1886 addition. The first opening from the entry hall on the right leads to a parlor, which was the family's main living space before the 1885-1886 remodeling. The second opening leads to a large reception hall that was created from the former kitchen in the 1885-1886 expansion of the house. In the left rear corner of the reception hall is a prominent staircase added in 1885-1886 to provide access to the library and Memorial Room

[13] Paul Newman, *Lawnfield Historic Structure Report, James A. Garfield National Historic Site* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, 1991), 7, 16-19.
[14] Ibid., 42.

on the second floor. The 1885-1886 work featured extensive use of blond oak woodwork with foliate carving in the Richardsonian Romanesque manner in the reception hall and stair hall. To the east of the reception hall is the dining room, which has a triple window with art glass by Tiffany Studios in a shallow bay that was added in 1885-1886. To the east of the parlor is a bedroom and small parlor used by Garfield's mother, Eliza Ballou Garfield, who lived in the house from 1877 until her death in 1888.

On the second floor in the 1880 portion are four bedrooms and the office or "snuggery" used by James Garfield.[15] The bedroom at the center front was the couple's winter bedroom and Lucretia's bedroom in her widowhood. At the west end is a room that in 1880 was two smaller bedrooms; later the partition wall was removed to form the current space, which was daughter Mollie Garfield's bedroom. The east side of the second floor in 1880 contained two small bedrooms and a sewing room. As part of the 1885-1886 remodeling, one bedroom was converted to a bathroom and the sewing room repurposed as a bedroom, which was used by Zebulon Rudolph, Lucretia's father, until his death in 1897. The bathroom was later reduced in size and the southeast bedroom enlarged. In the 1885-1886 work, the north-south running hallway was extended to the landing giving onto the new library.[16]

The 1885-1886 addition and remodeling added a new kitchen, laundry, water closet, and storage area to the first floor behind the new reception hall. No historic photographs documenting interior finishes in these areas have been found, and the areas are now used by the NPS for exhibits. The staircase leading from the reception hall to the library and Memorial Room provides an impressive progression to the centerpiece of the 1885-1886 addition: Lucretia Garfield's shrine to her assassinated husband. A short, north-south running first flight leads to a landing running behind the reception hall fireplace, while a second flight at 90 degrees is dominated by an 1862 portrait of the president in his Civil War uniform. The second floor landing leads into the L-plan library, which has a coffered ceiling created by boxed oak beams 12 feet overhead. This room is virtually unaltered from its 1886 appearance. The room has blond, white oak woodwork with foliate carving. Open-fronted bookcases with Garfield's books form the lower portion of the walls, with prints hung on the red-painted walls above. In the bend of the L is a prominent hearth, with a red brick fireplace surround, decorative oak woodwork, and a mirror. Behind the fireplace is the fireproof Memorial Room that once contained the records of James Garfield's career. The NPS has reconstructed the plain wood shelving in this vault, which has its original heavy steel doors, painted on their outsides with scenes of Lawnfield. Also in the addition are two bedrooms and a bath for servants accessed through a door just west of the library entry.[17]

The third or attic story of the house contains two rooms in the 1880 core of the house and three rooms in the 1885-1886 addition. The spaces over the 1880 core were used as storage from 1877 to 1881, and later as office and administrative space by the LCHS. The three rooms added in 1885-1886 were used as overflow bedrooms and later by Joseph Rudolph, Lucretia's brother. Notable on this floor is a metal water tank that held water pumped from the well house/windmill after its completion in 1886.

Approximately 80 percent of the furnishings in the main house are original to the Garfield family; a significant number were used by James Garfield. Lucretia Garfield left her husband's office, or snuggery, on the second floor largely unchanged after his death. It today contains the desk, desk chair, and reading chair that he used. A number of the prints on the wall are original. The 1862 portrait of Garfield in his US Army general's uniform on the landing outside the library entrance and his swords are original. Nearly all of the fixtures and furnishings

[15] Of British origin, the term snuggery describes "a cosy [sic] or comfortable room, especially one of small size, into which a person retires for seclusion or quiet." J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., vol. XV (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press), 885.

[16] Ronald W. Johnson, *Historic Resource Study: James A. Garfield National Historic Site* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, 1984), 115.

[17] Newman, 81; Johnson, 130.

in the library are original. They include Garfield's congressional desk and a number of prints of literary and political figures that were important to Garfield, among them Alfred Lord Tennyson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Napoleon Bonaparte, and Williams College president Mark Hopkins (1802-1887).[18] The original books in the library represent Garfield's wide-ranging interests and include an 1859 edition of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, Ernest Renan's *Life of Jesus*, the collected works of Edmund Burke, John Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, and many works of literature by Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Emerson, Thomas Carlyle, and the like.[19]

The main house is virtually unchanged from its appearance following Lucretia Garfield's 1885-1886 remodeling and expansion. The second-floor snuggery where Garfield held private conversations and the reconstructed front porch fully represent his groundbreaking 1880 front-porch presidential campaign. The library containing mementoes from Garfield's career and the vault that once held his papers fully convey the significance of Lucretia Garfield's unprecedented preservation of a president's papers and legacy.

Campaign office (building). HS-2, NPS LCS 070188. The campaign office is a 20-by-15-foot, one-room, wood-frame building with a side-gable roof and a small shed-roofed porch centered on its façade. The foundation is brick and the cladding is clapboards. One 6/6 double-hung window is located on each side of the entry and in each gable end. The back (north) elevation has a pair of narrow 1/1 double-hung windows. The roof cladding is wood shingles and there is a corbelled brick chimney centered on the ridgeline. Matching the color scheme of the main house, the campaign office is painted gray, with dark gray trim and red window sash; the wood roof shingles are painted red. Enclosed bookcases line the north wall on the interior. James Garfield converted this simple outbuilding to a library after he purchased the Dickey Farm in 1876. Garfield himself helped to install new floor boards in the building. The building may have been moved at that time and was certainly moved no more than 30 feet north when the library wing was added in 1885-1886. In the 1990s, the NPS created a new brick foundation, installed new wood roof shingles, reconstructed the porch, and reconstructed bookshelves in the southwest corner of the interior. This building was the nerve center of the 1880 campaign, with a telegraph station giving the candidate ready access to party organizations and key leaders across the country. Here Garfield awaited returns on the night of November 2, 1880, finally closing the office at 3 am on the third.[20] The building is interpreted as it appeared in 1880.

The campaign office retains a very high degree of integrity, appearing much as it did in the 1880 campaign. Although the building was moved a short distance in 1885-1886, it bears the same relationship to the main house that it did in 1880. Most of the materials are original, with the porch having been reconstructed by the NPS based on period photographs. The presence of original furnishings—the cast iron stove, some of the built-in bookcases, an armchair, a cross-legged table, and Garfield's own books—add significantly to the integrity.[21]

Historic lane (structure). HS-10, LCS 070195. The historic lane is the southernmost portion of the historic north-to-south-running route for wheeled vehicles and pedestrians that ran through the long, narrow farm. From the rear property line of the NHS the lane today runs 690 feet to the back of the main house, 785 feet to a point parallel to the front porch, and 833 feet to the sidewalk along Mentor Avenue. Throughout the period that Lawnfield was a working farm, the lane provided the primary means of access from the property's southern

[18] Not to be confused with the Mark Hopkins (1813-1878) of transcontinental railroad and San Francisco hotel fame.

[19] Van Dijk, Pace, Westlake & Partners, David A. Hanks & Associates, and Nina Gray, *Historic Furnishings Report: Lawnfield, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Mentor, Ohio,* vol. 1 (Harper's Ferry: NPS Harper's Ferry Center, 1993), 47-48, 204-250.

[20] Harry James Brown and Frederick D. Williams, eds., *The Diary of James A. Garfield,* vol. 3 & 4 (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1973, 1981) (hereinafter *Diary*), Apr. 26, 1877, vol. 3, 476; Nov. 2, 1880, vol. 4, 480; National Park Service, *Historic Structures Report: Outbuildings, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Ohio* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, Sept. 1996) (hereinafter *HSR: Outbuildings*), 5-17.

[21] Van Dijk, et al., vol. 2, 10.

residential portion to the agricultural portion to the north. After Garfield became the Republican presidential candidate in June 1880, the lane was used by visiting delegations debarking from trains about three-fifths of a mile north of the main house. The lane's location has consistently been delimited by structures on the property. Until 1893, a barn complex lay just west of the lane a short distance behind the main house. In the 1880s and 1890s, the erection of a tenant house west of the lane and the carriage barn, chicken house and relocated horse barn east of the lane reinforced its location. Prior to the country estate period, the lane likely was 15 to 20 feet wide and its edges were not clearly marked. During the country estate period, the southern portion of the lane was bounded by berms planted with hedges. A black walnut and two sugar maples planted along the western edge of the lane north of the carriage house in this period survive, as does a large silver maple in line with them just north of the NHS property line. With the buildings mentioned previously, these trees clearly delineate the route of the historic lane. The building of a driveway and parking lot after 1939 by the WRHS obscured portions of the lane between the main house and the tenant house. The NPS reestablished the historic route in this area in 2003. To accommodate increased visitor traffic, the NPS paved a 10-foot-wide swath of the lane with asphalt paving material tinted to resemble the soil of the area.[22]

The changes to the lane over time and its recent paving detract somewhat from its integrity. It is abundantly clear from historic photographs and the location of buildings and trees that, on a property that never exceeded 800 feet in width, the lane has remained in the same location and has always been the primary means of access from the area of the main house to the northern reaches of the farm. The historic lane is highly significant as the route used by visitors during Garfield's precedent-setting 1880 presidential campaign. Although integrity of materials and setting has been compromised, the lane retains enough integrity of location, feeling, and association to qualify as a contributing resource.

Horse barn (building). HS-5, LCS 07091. This is a 36-by-26-foot, side-gabled post and beam building, built at James Garfield's direction in 1877. It has a stone foundation, board and batten siding, and a wood-shingle roof. There is sliding double door on the south (entry) elevation. Windows are 6/6 double-hung sash, except for the west elevation, which has five fixed-pane windows. A cupola is centered on the ridgeline. The building is painted gray with darker gray shutters. This building served as the Garfields' carriage barn until 1893, when a new carriage barn was built, and the old barn was moved to its present location farther back on the property. The NPS did emergency repairs on the building in 1991 and restored the exterior in 2001. The 2001 work involved reconstructing the historic cupola and removing nonhistoric windows and replacing them with windows that matched the historic fenestration. The first floor is used for storage and the second floor has found an adaptive reuse as a meeting room.[23] Having experienced limited in-kind replacement of deteriorated material and minor reconstruction, the horse barn has substantial integrity.

Granary (building) HS-7, LCS 070193. This is a 10-by-24-foot, front-gable, one-and-one-half story, post and beam building with a board and batten exterior. It is carried on isolated concrete piers. There is a door on the north at the first floor and a door above that to the hayloft. The building has a single, fixed-pane window in the south gable. The building is painted gray. In the interior, an open staircase on the east wall leads to the hayloft. Physical evidence strongly indicates that the building was on the farm when the Garfields purchased it in 1876. The building was moved to its present location in 1893. It has been interpreted as a granary, although the character of the flooring indicates that it could not have supported large amounts of grain. For most of its history, the building was used for storage. The LCHS in 1978 converted the interior to a classroom for use by school groups. The WRHS performed emergency repairs in 1991. The NPS in 2003 removed nonhistoric windows, replaced wood elements in kind as needed, and installed a wood shingle roof similar to the historic

[22] *CLR*, 32; NPS List of Classified Structures Single Entry Report, Historic Lane.
[23] *HSR: Outbuildings*, 60-62.

roof. The building currently is used for maintenance storage.[24] The building retains a high degree of integrity and represents the site's dual character as a working farm and country estate.

Tenant house (building). HS-4, LCS 070190. This is a two-story, 25-by-36-foot, wood frame building erected in 1885 as a dwelling for a farmhand and his wife. It replaced a dilapidated tenant house located on the south side of Mentor Avenue that Lucretia Garfield sold in 1885; the new owner removed the building from the farm.[25] The extant tenant house has a front-facing gable roof with an intersecting side gable roof to the left. There is a single-story, shed-roofed wing on the west. The foundation is brick, the major cladding material is clapboard, and there are shingles in the gable ends. Fenestration is varied and includes diamond sash, casement windows, and 16/1 double-hung sash. The clapboards are painted red while the trim and gable ends are white. The tenant house has been modified in minor ways over the years. The original wood shingle roof at some point was replaced with asphalt roll but has been restored to wood shingles by the NPS. Eleanor Garfield, the widow of one of James and Lucretia's grandchildren, owned the house between 1952 and 1984. Mrs. Garfield enclosed the small recessed porch on the southeast and installed several windows salvaged from the house at Hollycroft after it burned. The NPS repaired the house in 1988, removing a nonhistoric addition on the north side. In 2001, the NPS restored the exterior and rehabilitated the interior as offices for the site's staff. The interior staircase and room arrangement on the second floor are original. The distinctive massing of the house, its clapboard and shingle exterior, and second-floor windows are original. The house's Queen Anne style shingled gable ends and decorative multipane windows relate it stylistically to the library addition, completed at the same period.[26] The tenant house was part of the 1885-1886 construction campaign undertaken by Lucretia Garfield and retains a high degree of integrity.

Overall landscape which includes the expanse of lawns surrounding the main house (site).

On three sides of the main house, portions of the wide expanse of lawn that inspired journalists in 1880 to name the property Lawnfield remain. The lawns are less extensive than during the period of significance because the NHS is narrower than the historic farm property. The presence of the lawn, looking much as it did in 1880, greatly assists modern visitors in imagining the campaign events of that year.

Noncontributing Resources

Well house/windmill (structure). HS-6, NPS LCS 070192. Constructed in 1894 and postdating the period of significance, the well house has an original 20-by-20-foot stone first story, surmounted by three reconstructed stories. The foundation is of stone, with battered, quarry-faced sandstone walls rising to the 13-foot level. Each side of the stone base has a low-slung arch, with half-moon windows in the west, north, and east elevations and a door in the south elevation. There is a stringcourse setting off the truncated top (fourth) story. The cladding of the frame portions is shingles. There are paired 4/4 double-hung windows on the second and third stories; the fourth story has three diamond pane windows on each elevation. The structure has a hipped, wood-shingle roof with bevels where the sides meet. A windmill sits atop the roof. The wooden portions are painted a cream shade with dark gray trim.

Carriage house/gasholder (building). HS-3, LCS 070189. This is an L-shaped building, measuring 80 by 75 feet at its greatest extent, with elements characteristic of the Queen Anne style. The NPS has rehabilitated the interior for the site's visitor center. The carriage house, erected in 1893, overlapped and incorporated a portion

[24] *HSR: Outbuildings,* 89-94.
[25] Johnson, 131,
[26] *HSR: Outbuildings,* 40-47.

of the existing gasholder structure, constructed when natural gas was discovered on the property.[27] The gasholder portion has a half-hexagon eastern elevation, a sandstone foundation, and rough-cut sandstone walls. The roofing is sheet metal over boards. The original cylindrical brick gas tank and metal cap are present in the interior. The carriage house has two gabled sections running north-south and east-west. At their joining is a southwest-facing gambrel-roofed section. The second story of this portion projects out, forming an entry porch carried on four Doric columns resting on stone piers. The foundation is sandstone, the first story cladding is clapboards, and there are shingles in the gambrel gable end. Windows on the south elevation are 6/6 double-hung; those on the west elevation are 9-pane awning sash. The former carriage entrance under the porch has been converted to a glass, double-door entry to the visitor center. The three eyebrow dormers were reconstructed by the NPS in its 2001 rehabilitation. The diamond-paned windows in the gable end are original.[28] The building is painted gray. The building postdates the period of significance.

Chicken coop (building) and foundations of hen house. HS-8, NPS LCS 070194. This is a 10-by-14-foot wood frame structure with a front-facing gambrel roof and a separate visor roof over the entry. It has a concrete block foundation and a concrete slab floor. The foundations of a demolished brooder hen house extend 92 feet on the east side of the coop. The sheathing of the coop is clapboards with shingles in the gable ends. Single fixed-pane windows flank the west-facing entrance, and there is a four-pane fixed window on the south elevation. The chicken coop was erected in 1893; its gambrel roof and shingle cladding relate it architecturally to the carriage house. The structure is painted light gray. The WRHS accomplished emergency repairs in 1991. The NPS restoration, completed in 2003, involved removing a nonhistoric door on the north side, installing windows that matched historic windows, replacing wooden members in kind as needed, and recreating the wood shingle roof.[29] The structure postdates the NHL period of significance.

Foundation remains (non-contributing feature of the overall site). HS-18, LCS 070203. Located behind the horse barn at the rear of the NHS are the remains of a brick and rubble stone foundation. The foundation proceeds north from the northwest corner of the horse barn to a point just beyond the NHS boundary, then makes a 90 degree turn to the east, running east to another 90 degree turn to the south. Much of the foundation is buried, but its location has been verified through shovel tests. Visible at the surface is an L-shaped portion measuring 17 feet by 23 feet at the northeast corner. Site plans from 1900 and 1924 show a building in this location considerably larger than the extant horse barn, which may have been formed by combining the horse barn with another barn and sheds to form a barn complex. The foundation remains in all likelihood were part of this former barn complex.[30] If future investigations indicate that the foundations date to the NHL period of significance, an amendment to this nomination should be prepared.

Masonry piers (two objects). HS-14, LCS 070199. This is one pair of five or possibly six pairs of stone piers erected circa 1900 that defined entryways into the three adjacent family properties. Three sets of piers lie just west of the NHS on private property, and another set, marking an entrance to the Eastlawn estate, lies approximately 470 feet east of the NHS on private property. The pair within the site measure approximately 2 by 2 feet in profile, are 3.5 feet high, and are constructed of sandstone blocks with beveled capstones.[31]

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[27] It has been speculated that the gasholder was built at the same time as the library addition (1885-1886). The masonry in the gasholder, however, differs from that in the library. The library has square-cut, quarry-faced ashlar in irregular courses, while the gasholder has rough-cut ashlar in undulating courses.

[28] Robert C. Mack and van Kijk, Pace, Westlake Partners, *Historic Structure Report: Carriage House, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Ohio* (Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, July 1993), 10, 21, 24.

[29] *HSR: Outbuildings*, 98-104.

[30] *HSR: Outbuildings*, 62; Jeffrey J. Richner, field notes, James A. Garfield National Historic Site, July 31, 2000, NPS Midwest Archeological Center..

[31] *CLR*, 43.

Postdating the NHL period of significance, the piers are associated with the country estate period of the property.

Hitching post (object). HS-12, LCS 70197. This is a grooved sandstone post about 3 feet 8 inches in diameter with an iron ring set into the top. It was moved to its present location northwest of the main house in 2001. The post aids in the interpretation of the NHS but does not contribute to the NHL significance.

Gas lamp (object). This is a nonhistoric feature in a period style erected in 2013 and located northwest of the main house. Two gas lamps were known to have been on the property in 1885; this reproduction fixture helps interpret the latter history of the property but does not contribute to the NHL significance.

Carriage mounting step (object). HS-13, LCS 070198. This is a 2-foot-square brush-hammered granite block moved to its present location west of the carriage house by the NPS in 2001. It aids in the interpretation of the NHS but does not contribute to the NHL significance.

Watering trough (object). HS-11, LCS 070196. Dating to the early twentieth century estate period, this is a 9-by-3-foot granite trough set on square piers. The east side has been repaired with cement. The NPS moved the trough to a location west of the carriage house for interpretive purposes.[32]

Concrete hitching post (object). HS – Hitch, LCS 337058. This is an approximately 18-inch diameter concrete ball cast to resemble stone, with an iron ring set into its top. . It aids in the interpretation of the NHS but does not contribute to the NHL's significance.

Information potential

Archeological investigations at the NHS have revealed the likely locations of some demolished or moved structures, notably an ice house that stood a few feet from the campaign office. Excavations have uncovered the builder's trench surrounding the main house and shed considerable light on the building history of the carriage house/gasholder. Other archeological work has provided some hints concerning the configuration of the barn complex and other ancillary agricultural structures before many of these were moved or demolished circa 1893, but much remains to be learned. Archeology has the potential to uncover additional information on the network of walks and carriage roads installed circa 1900 as part of Elliott's comprehensive landscape plan. Recovered artifacts connected to the Garfield family include sherds from a set of china and a clay Kaspar figurine probably dating to the 1870s or 1880s. A handful of prehistoric artifacts have been discovered on the NHS. These include a Late Woodland (1000 to 1600 CE) Madison projectile point. To date, archeological investigations have not produced information touching upon the NHL significance. Additional archeological investigations within the NHL, however, are likely to reveal further information about agricultural activities and daily life on the Mentor Farm.[33]

Overall Integrity

The main house, campaign office, tenant house, and associated lawn possess a very high degree of integrity and convincingly convey the national significance of the property. Integrity of setting is somewhat compromised by

[32] NPS List of Classified Structures Single Entry Report, Watering Trough.

[33] Archeologist Vergil E. Noble to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, Aug. 3, 1990; Alfred M. Lee, *Locational Reconnaissance at the James A. Garfield National Historic Site, Mentor, Lake County, Ohio* (Lincoln: NPS Midwest Archeological Center, 1994), 13, 24.

the fact that the NHL contains just 5.2 acres of the original 157-acre Garfield farm. Views from within the NHL also have changed because the property is now surrounded by post-World War II suburban development.

The library and Memorial Room are virtually unchanged from their 1886 appearance. The fireproof vault that once held Garfield's papers is intact, albeit with reconstructed shelving. These spaces outstandingly convey the significance of Lucretia Garfield's efforts to collect, organize, and safeguard her husband's papers, library of books, and mementoes. The presence within the house of 80 percent of its original, Garfield-period furnishing adds substantially to the overall integrity of the house.

The campaign office, which was the nerve center of Garfield's 1880 race, has experienced little change. The NPS has reconstructed the building's porch and replaced some fabric in kind. The presence of the building's original cast-iron stove, some furniture, and a portion of the original shelving adds to its integrity.

The historic lane, used by visiting delegations in 1880, is clearly delineated by the line of trees flanking it on the west and by structures erected between 1876 and 1886. The lane remained unpaved or only gravel-covered during the period of significance. The NPS has paved it in order to accommodate thousands of visitors annually but has tinted the paving material to resemble soils in the area. The lane today reads as a pedestrian transportation route and clearly conveys its significant role in the 1880 campaign. The integrity of the historic lane is somewhat lessened because the NHL contains only the southernmost 833 feet of a feature that historically was longer. The presence of mature trees delineating the lane and the unchanged relationship of the lane to historic buildings on site clearly establish its historic alignment and allow a visitor to link the lane to its historic use in the 1880 campaign.

The expanses of lawn on the west, north, and east of the main house and nearby campaign office contribute substantially to the integrity of the NHL property. This green space inspired newspaper reporters to name Garfield's home Lawnfield.

The tenant house, erected during the same building campaign as the library addition and linked to it stylistically, has substantial integrity.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A X B X C X D X
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A__ B X C__ D__ E__ F__ G
NHL Criteria:	1 and 2
NHL Criteria Exceptions:	2
NHL Theme(s):	IV. Shaping the Political Landscape 2. governmental institutions
Areas of Significance:	Politics/Government, Military
Period(s) of Significance:	1876-1886
Significant Dates:	1880, 1885
Significant Person(s):	James A. Garfield; Lucretia Rudolph Garfield
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	William Judd (1880); Forrest A. Coburn (1885)
Historic Contexts:	*The Presidents of the United States: Historic Places Commemorating the Chief Executives of the United States* (1976) *Presidential Sites: An Inventory of Historic Buildings, Sites, and Memorials Associated with Former Presidents of the United States* (Special Study) VII. Political and Military Affairs, 1865-1939 B. The Republican Era, 1877-1900

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary of Significance

The James Garfield Home is located in Mentor, Ohio, 20 miles east of Cleveland on Mentor Avenue (US 20). It possesses significance under NHL criteria 1 and 2 as the home of James A. Garfield, 20th president of the United States, and as the site chosen by his widow Lucretia and her children to safeguard his papers and mementoes of his career. The NHL is significant under criterion 1 as the site of an important innovation in American presidential politics. It is significant under criterion 2 as the extant property most closely associated with two nationally important individuals, James A. and Lucretia Garfield. After service as a major general in the American Civil War, James Garfield had a distinguished 17-year career in the United States House of Representatives, serving his last two terms while residing at Lawnfield. He conducted a ground-breaking front-porch presidential campaign from this property. The property embodied his successful career, his veneration of the values of rural living, and the possibilities for advancement in the United States. In addition, between 1881 and 1886, Lucretia Garfield created one of the first comprehensive collections of presidential papers and souvenirs and built a library and fireproof archival room (Memorial Room) to house them.

The period of significance begins in 1876, the year James and Lucretia Garfield decided to purchase the Mentor farm. The family resided much of the year in their Washington, D.C., home and could have continued to rent houses for summers and holidays spent in Ohio. The decision to purchase and operate a farm represented a conscious choice to put down more permanent roots and give the couple's children the benefit of working and playing on a farm. The decision also had political significance because Portage County, where they had long resided, had recently been removed from Garfield's congressional district. The Mentor Farm was in Lake County, a long-standing part of his district. Immediately upon purchasing, the couple began to make improvements to the property, which were carried out under their supervision over the winter of 1876-1877. Thus, the decision to buy the farm and the hard work of bringing it up to date were as important as the actual occupancy, which began in spring 1877. The period of significance concludes in 1886, when the library wing was completed. Lucretia's careful curation of her husband's papers and legacy were an early precedent for today's system of presidential libraries.

The NHL boundary embraces 5.2 acres of the 7.82-acre National Historic Site (NHS). This boundary includes the important resources connected with the 1880 Presidential campaign as well as the library and archival space devoted to the legacy of James A. Garfield. These resources are the main house, campaign office, and historic lane, as well as surrounding expanses of lawn. It was the expansive nature of the grounds that prompted newspaper reporters in 1880 to call the farm Lawnfield. Many visitors that year noted the openness of the grounds. Although the size of the property is now reduced, the remaining lawns provide an important associative link to the 1880 events. Also included is the 1885 tenant house, part of Lucretia's 1885-1886 improvements. Criteria Exception 2 (a building or structure that has been moved from its original location) also applies as the horse barn and granary were moved to their present location in 1893 when the current carriage barn was constructed. Excluded from the NHL are eastern portions of the NHS that have been substantially altered with maintenance and visitor service features: the modern access drive, parking lot, comfort station, and maintenance area. The excluded acreage lacks integrity to the 1876-1886 period of significance. Nothing indicates that activities connected with the 1880 campaign or Lucretia's 1885-1886 improvements occurred on the excluded acreage. Archeological investigations were performed before the installation of the parking lot, entry drive, and maintenance building. These investigations did not reveal any remains of inhabited buildings. It is unlikely that future archeological investigations of the excluded acreage will reveal information touching on the NHL significance.

The applicable NHL theme is Shaping the Political Landscape. Garfield's career in the US House, his path-breaking front-porch campaign, and his wife Lucretia's preservation of his papers are nationally significant aspects of the political history of the United States.

Life and Significance of James A. Garfield

Childhood

The last president born in a log cabin, James Abram Garfield had a truly hardscrabble upbringing. The future president was born November 19, 1831, in Orange Township, Ohio, to Abram and Eliza Ballou Garfield, both natives of Oswego County, New York. The log cabin does not survive, and the site of the Garfield farm now lies in the suburb of Moreland Hills, some 15 miles east-southeast of Cleveland.[34] James's parents sought opportunity in the Western Reserve of Ohio, the promising northeastern portion of the state originally claimed by the state of Connecticut and later ceded to the United States. Abram Garfield farmed, hired out as a laborer, and secured a contract to build a section of the Ohio and Erie Canal, on which he lost money.[35]

In May 1833, Abram Garfield fell sick, probably with pneumonia, and died, leaving Eliza a widow at age thirty-one with four children to raise. Mehitabel was eleven; Thomas, ten; Mary, eight; and James, just eighteen months.[36] Eliza was a strong-willed and resourceful woman, determined to keep her family together on the recently purchased farm. The farm was self-sufficient in many respects, and Eliza traded clothing that she sewed for items like shoes that she could not make. Thomas instantly became the man of the house, taking on much of the farm labor and soon hiring out at twenty-five cents a day. Eliza instilled a love of learning and a deep spiritual sense in her children. She and her husband had become committed members of the Disciples of Christ shortly before Abram's death, and this religious background had a profound influence on the future president.[37]

A Virginia minister, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), founded a religious movement, generally known as the Disciples of Christ or the Campbellites. He began as an ordained Baptist minister, but became dissatisfied with the petty sectarian fights among the established Protestant sects. Campbell emphasized a faithful reliance on the words of the Bible and a common-sense, unemotional approach to worship and evangelism. He did away with elaborate doctrines and formal articles of faith, insisting only on a sincere acceptance of Christ as a personal savior. Partly because of prejudice from the more established denominations, the Disciples drew close together, forming a warm, tightly knit community with its own schools and colleges. Eliza remained a devout adherent throughout her life, walking with her family to church each Sunday as the children grew to adulthood.[38]

By his own account, James Garfield experienced a happy and somewhat undirected childhood. He was an infant at the time of his father's death and had only minor farm chores until he was ten or eleven years old. Early on, James displayed significant intellectual ability; family tradition maintains that he was reading the Bible at the age of three. Eliza doted on him and made sure he attended school whenever one was in session nearby. She also knew hundreds of songs and poems, and the Garfield house was filled with music. As he entered his teens, James worked cutting wood and tending cattle to help support his family. A voracious and wide-ranging reader,

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[34] An Ohio historical marker, a life-size statue of Garfield as a young man, and a replica log cabin grace the birthplace site.

[35] Allan Peskin, *Garfield: A Biography* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978), 5-7; Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925; Archon Books, 1968), 3-6. Pagination is identical in the 1925 and 1968 editions of Smith.

[36] A fifth child, James Ballou Garfield, had died in 1829, at two years of age. Smith, 5.

[37] Peskin, *Garfield*, 8; Smith, 9-11.

[38] Peskin, *Garfield*, 6-7; Smith, 32-33.

James was also a restless and adventuresome boy. He grew weary of an endless succession of physically demanding odd jobs, and at seventeen, decided to go to sea. Unable to get work on a Great Lakes sailing ship in Cleveland, in August 1848 he settled for a job tending the mules on a canal towpath. Garfield's career as a canal boy lasted less than two months, but was widely celebrated during his 1880 presidential campaign and brief presidency.[39] That great champion of the self-made man, Horatio Alger, was inspired to write *From Canal Boy to President, or the Boyhood and Manhood of J. A. Garfield*.[40]

Education

Garfield became seriously ill, with malaria it seems, after just six weeks on the canal and returned home to be slowly nursed back to health by his mother. During his five-month convalescence, Eliza Garfield and James D. Bates, a teacher at a nearby school, gradually persuaded him to continue his education. In March 1849, Garfield entered Geauga Academy, a Baptist school in Chester, Ohio, just east of his home. During his two terms at the academy, he became enamored of a life of learning and also experienced a religious conversion. In Garfield's own words, while on the canal he had begun "to grow reckless and forgetful of the good influences of my early boyhood."[41] In February and March 1850, he attended a camp meeting held by the Disciples and on March 3, 1850, answered the call and soon was baptized into the faith. James also got his first taste of teaching between his two terms at Geauga, conducting an ungraded district school at Chagrin Falls.[42]

Increasingly committed to the beliefs of the Disciples and unhappy with the narrowness of the Baptist approach, Garfield withdrew from Geauga Academy in fall 1850. He worked for a year as a carpenter and teacher, saving enough to enroll in fall 1851 at the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, a newly established Disciples academy in Hiram, Portage County, Ohio.[43] In his three years at the Eclectic, Garfield began to come into his own. He was a diligent student, studying as much as eighteen hours a day, and began to show considerable prowess in debates. A lifelong love for the Greek and Roman classics began in these years, and Garfield was soon hired to teach these languages, along with geometry and algebra, to the lower grades at the school. He also began preaching at nearby Disciples churches; his well-received sermons earned him as much as a dollar each. By early 1854, Garfield had outgrown the intellectual opportunities available at the Eclectic and began to look elsewhere to complete his college studies. He visited the premier Disciples institution, Bethany College in Virginia, where he met the denomination's founder and college president, Alexander Campbell. In the end, Garfield opted to explore broader horizons and enrolled at Williams College, located in the Berkshire Mountains of western Massachusetts at Williamstown.[44]

Garfield exchanged the semifrontier of the Western Reserve for New England with considerable trepidation. Far from romanticizing his rise from humble beginnings, Garfield consistently lamented missing out on the social and cultural advantages of a solidly middle-class upbringing. Garfield at first experienced some snubs at Williams, but his exceptional debating skills and warm, hearty personality soon won him many friends. As usual, he zealously plunged into his studies, adding the German language and German literature to his existing intellectual enthusiasms. The college's president, Mark Hopkins, became a mentor and lifelong friend. Garfield was elected a member of the editorial board of the *Williams Quarterly* and contributed many pieces to it. Graduating in August 1856, Garfield faced a decision about his future: his training had prepared him for a

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[39] Peskin, *Garfield*, 9-13; Smith, 16-23.

[40] Alger's book was published in New York by John R. Anderson & Co. in 1881. Another work was James S. Brisbin, *From the Tow-Path to the White House; The Early Life and Public Career of James A. Garfield* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1880).

[41] James A. Garfield to Eliza Ballou Garfield, Nov. 19, 1855, cited by Smith, 27.

[42] Peskin, *Garfield*, 14-20; Smith, 26-33, 42.

[43] Now Hiram College.

[44] Peskin, *Garfield*, 21-32; Smith, 43-52.

career as a preacher or an educator. After considerable deliberation, he opted to return to the Eclectic as a teacher at $600 a year.[45]

Another important event occurred during Garfield's time at Williams: his courtship of Lucretia Rudolph, known as "Crete" to family and friends. She was the oldest child of Zebulon and Arabella Mason Rudolph. Zebulon was a prominent Ohio Disciple and a founder and trustee of the Eclectic. The Rudolphs believed in education for women as well as men and sent Lucretia to a district school and then Geauga Academy, where as a sixteen-year-old, she first encountered Garfield. Lucretia was a member of the first class at the Eclectic, where she studied Greek, Latin, French, mathematics, and geography. She was an outstanding student, helping to found a literary society and editing the school magazine, *The Eclectic Star*. Lucretia chafed at the widespread assumption of female intellectual inferiority and argued for the right of women to speak in public. She became an instructor at the Eclectic and later taught in Cleveland and Toledo, at a time when it was unusual for a single woman to work and live independently of family.[46]

Garfield was increasingly attracted by Lucretia's good looks, intelligence, and steady character when both were at the Eclectic. Their courtship was anything but smooth. Women found James attractive and he kept company with others while courting Lucretia. She was independent minded and harbored doubts about the "entire submission" to a husband seemingly required by the standards of the day.[47] Garfield at first was not entirely comfortable with Lucretia's ideas about the role of women. He also questioned whether their temperaments were well-matched: he freely gave vent to his feelings, while Lucretia was much more emotionally reserved. Only when Lucretia showed him her diary on one of his visits home from Williamstown was he convinced of the depth of her love. Even after returning to Hiram, Garfield hesitated to tie himself down. Following many talks in which they weighed the consequences of the step, they were married on November 11, 1858, in her father's house at Hiram. Lucretia seemed aware of Garfield's ambivalence about marriage, but opted to make the commitment.[48]

Soon after assuming his duties at the Eclectic, Garfield became chairman of the faculty and in 1857, president of the institution. As head of the Eclectic, Garfield gave less attention to theological studies and expanded secular instruction in history, science, government, and modern languages. He was omnipresent on the small campus of 250 students and also lectured and preached extensively in the area. Soon, Garfield began to look for broader fields for his abilities, and by 1859, he had begun to read law in preparation for being admitted to the bar. His growing reputation in solidly Republican northeast Ohio also opened the possibility of a political career. When the leading candidate for the Republican nomination for the 26th Ohio Senate District (Portage and Summit Counties) died suddenly, Garfield allowed his name to be put forward. Garfield's background as a speaker made him a natural on the stump and he was easily elected over his Democratic rival in October 1859.[49]

A General in the Civil War

Garfield remained president of the Eclectic while discharging his duties as state senator until the coming of the Civil War. He spoke often from the senate floor, gaining in self-confidence while forming a low opinion of most of his colleagues. He also interacted with men like Governor Salmon P. Chase (1808-1873) and Congressman John Sherman (1823-1900) who would influence his career in the future. Garfield took an active

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[45] Peskin, *Garfield*, 33-39; Smith, 69-72, 88-91.

[46] John Shaw, *Lucretia* (New York: Nova Publications, 2002), 2-4, 15, 20, 33.

[47] Lucretia Garfield to James Garfield, Aug. 19, 1858, James A. Garfield Papers, Library of Congress, cited in Betty Boyd Caroli, *First Ladies: From Martha Washington to Michelle Obama*, rev. and updated ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 99.

[48] Peskin, *Garfield*, 29-30, 40-42, 54-55; Smith, 28, 48, 61-62, 110-111, 119; Shaw, 32; Margaret Leech and Harry J. Brown, *The Garfield Orbit* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 52.

[49] Peskin, *Garfield*, 49-53, 61-65; Smith, 111-113, 135-137, 140-143.

part in the 1860 presidential election. Abraham Lincoln, candidate of the recently formed Republican Party, ran on a platform that opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. Leaders in the cotton states of the Deep South threatened to secede if Lincoln prevailed. Garfield and a solid majority of his constituents were committed to limiting slavery to its existing range, and the young senator added to his own reputation with more than forty appearances on Lincoln's behalf in Ohio. He had his first meeting with Lincoln when the president-elect stopped in Columbus on his way to the inauguration."[50] Garfield detected "a want of culture" in the Illinoisan, but applauded his "remarkable good sense" and "evident marks of indomitable will."[51]

With the outbreak of war in April 1861, Garfield immediately sought an officer's commission in the US Army. It did not come immediately; his vote was needed in the legislature for a period and others with more military experience stood ahead of him. Finally, he was appointed colonel of the 42nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry in September. Garfield personally filled the ranks of his regiment, enlisting many present and former students of the Eclectic. Confident of his leadership abilities, he began to pour over books on military tactics and rigorously drilled his young soldiers. The Union planned an advance into Tennessee, but was threatened by Confederate activity in southeastern Kentucky. Garfield was put in command of a small force with orders to clear Kentucky's Sandy Valley of rebels. Preparing his own battle plan and taking advantage of a befuddled adversary, Garfield did just that, earning a victory at Middle Creek in January 1862 that brought him a promotion to brigadier general. His achievement was widely celebrated and exaggerated in the northern press for a short time until supplanted by news of larger Union victories at Mill Springs, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson. After some mop-up work in Kentucky, Garfield was put in command of the four regiments of the 20th Brigade of the Army of the Ohio. The brigade reached the battlefield toward the end of the second day (April 7, 1862) at Shiloh in west Tennessee, seeing fleeting action but having no impact on the battle's result.[52]

As the 20th Brigade and the rest of the Army of the Ohio ground its way south from Shiloh toward the railroad hub of Corinth, Mississippi, Garfield became seriously ill and returned in early August 1862 to his wife in Ohio to convalesce. Over the course of its first four years, Garfield's marriage had not gone well, with Lucretia staying in Hiram while he was at Columbus or on active duty. Retiring to a house in Howland Springs, the couple repaired some of the damage created by absence and misunderstanding, forming a new bond that after some further trials that winter, ultimately would grow and endure. They also bought a house in Hiram, with Lucretia supervising its remodeling and furnishing. Meanwhile, Garfield's friends were pushing to secure him the Republican nomination in Ohio's 19th congressional district. True to a lifelong conviction that it was unseemly to seek office personally, the general left all of the work of securing the nomination to his managers. It took eight ballots, but Garfield won the nomination on September 2, which was tantamount to election in his solidly Republican district. Congress would not convene until December 1863, and once recovered, Garfield sought to continue his army career at least until then. He was ordered to Washington to confer with the War Department on his future.[53]

A new military assignment was not immediately forthcoming, but Garfield formed an important connection with Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, Salmon P. Chase. Chase took a liking to Garfield, invited him to occupy a spare bedroom in his home, and tutored him in economic matters. At last, in January 1863, Garfield was ordered to report to Maj. Gen. William S. Rosecrans, commanding the Army of the Cumberland at Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The young brigadier found another mentor in Rosecrans, who decided to make Garfield his chief of staff, much to the chagrin of the West Pointers on his staff. After seemingly endless

[50] Peskin, *Garfield*, 67-70, 76-77, 82-83; Smith, 146-151,

[51] James A. Garfield to Lucretia Garfield, Feb. 17, 1861, James A. Garfield to Burke A. Hinsdale, Feb. 17, 1861, cited in Smith, 155.

[52] Peskin, *Garfield*, 101-130; Smith, 171-173, 179-203; 207-208.

[53] Peskin, *Garfield*, 138-148, 160-161; Smith, 229-235, 893-894.

preparations, Rosecrans finally got his army on the road south in late June. The US force maneuvered the Confederate army of Braxton Bragg out of Chattanooga and began to advance into Georgia. There on September 19 and 20, 1863, one of the bloodiest battles of the war unfolded in the valley of Chickamauga Creek. On the battle's second day, the Confederates rolled up the US right wing, sending Rosecrans and two of his three corps commanders in headlong flight back to Chattanooga. Mindful of his honor and postwar reputation, Garfield got permission to go to Maj. Gen. George Thomas (1816-187), whose corps held firm on the US left. Garfield's ride did not affect the battle's outcome but was an act of considerable courage, linking him forever to Thomas, "The Rock of Chickamauga."[54]

Congressional Career

With no end to the war in sight, Garfield had to choose between remaining in the army or resigning his commission and taking his seat in Congress. President Lincoln felt he could accomplish more in the House, and Garfield began his tenure there on December 6, 1863. Deeply skeptical of the president's leadership, he aligned himself with radicals in the Republican Party. He pushed for vigorous prosecution of the war, the enlistment of black troops, the abolition of slavery, and the confiscation of the plantations of slave owners. After the rebellion ended and Lincoln was assassinated, Garfield, along with many others, formed a more favorable opinion of Lincoln's leadership. Garfield supported Congressional Reconstruction without the stridency of firebrands like Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868). He somewhat reluctantly backed the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), who was acquitted on all charges by the Senate. As enthusiasm for Reconstruction waned in the North in the face of the unrelenting, violent southern suppression of blacks' civil rights, Garfield increasingly turned his attention to economic and fiscal matters.[55]

During his seventeen years in the House, Garfield became recognized as one of the body's most eloquent and persuasive orators. In succession, he chaired the Military Affairs, Banking and Commerce, and Appropriations Committees, losing the chairmanship of the last when the Democrats took back the House in 1875. From then until 1880, Garfield was Republican minority leader in the House. Garfield had for years studied economic policy and led his party in this area. He was a proponent of free markets and a foe of inflationary paper-money policies. Making the paper currency (greenbacks) issued during the Civil War fully redeemable in gold (known as the resumption of specie payments) was a high priority for Garfield. He was widely lauded for an address lasting 80 minutes from the House floor on November 16, 1877, in defense of resumption. Intellectually, Garfield was inclined to low tariffs, but was forced to temper his views to accommodate iron manufacturers in his district who wanted a protective tariff. More than any member in this period he fully grasped the functions of the federal government and brought system and order to a previously piecemeal approach to appropriations. In 1869, Garfield drafted a bill comprehensively reforming and professionalizing procedures for the census. He guided this through the House, only to see it die in the Senate. An identical bill was passed in time for the 1880 census, and the Democrat managing the legislation fully acknowledged Garfield's pioneering role.[56]

During Ulysses S. Grant's first term (1869-1873), a group of reformers emerged within the Republican Party, eventually known as the Liberal Republicans. The liberals opposed the widespread abuses of the patronage system, sought efficiency and competence in government, and promoted free-market and hard-money economic measures. Their fear of an overreaching federal government led them to oppose federal civil rights legislation aimed at helping southern blacks. Garfield was sympathetic to many of the aims of the Liberal Republicans and unhappy with Grant's actions, but appalled by the liberals' selection of Horace Greeley (1811-1872) as their

[54] Peskin, *Garfield*, 151-155, 166-167, 172, 191, 203-211; Smith, 241-244, 323-346.
[55] Peskin, *Garfield*, 226-233, 255-262.
[56] Ibid., 262-262, 282, 286, 303, 306-307, 316, 324-326; Smith, 430-432, 518-519; 660-661; *Diary*, Nov. 16, 1977, vol. 3, 542.

1872 candidate. The Democrats also selected Greeley, and Garfield held his nose and campaigned for a second term for Grant.[57]

In the early 1870s, Garfield was implicated in three scandals, all of which would be brought up against him in the 1880 race. One of these was the Crédit Mobilier affair. The Crédit Mobilier was a construction company controlled by the organizers of the Union Pacific Railroad. By granting outrageously generous contracts to a company they owned, the railroad tycoons were able to rake off large sums. The Union Pacific depended on huge federal subsidies, and a number of congressmen were sold stock in the Crédit Mobilier on credit or at a bargain price to ensure their support. Garfield either accepted dividends in the amount of $329 from the Crédit Mobilier or took a loan in that amount from Oakes Ames (1804-1873), a fellow congressman and an agent of the Crédit Mobilier. The affair was incredibly confused, but Garfield was lumped with congressmen who had accepted bribes. Garfield also had a role in the so-called salary grab. In March 1873, Garfield reluctantly voted for an appropriations bill that included a retroactive salary increase for members of Congress. The retroactive raise provoked a storm of protest. Garfield was the first to return the extra pay and joined other chagrinned members in repealing the increase in December 1873. The third contretemps was the most serious. It emerged in 1874 that Garfield had accepted a $5,000 legal fee to help represent the DeGolyer McClelland Company in its bid to obtain a $700,000 paving contract from the Board of Public Works of Washington, D.C. Since Garfield chaired the Appropriations Committee, which controlled appropriations for the district, this was a dubious arrangement. Had the full details of the legal fee emerged in 1874, it might well have ended Garfield's political career. As it happened, the details remained obscure, and he was re-elected in 1874 and again in 1876 and 1878.[58]

Garfield played an important part in the disputed presidential election of 1876. It appeared at first that Democrat Samuel Tilden (1814-1886), the governor of New York, had beaten Ohio Governor Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893). There had been, however, massive intimidation of black voters in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, all of which at first showed majorities for Tilden. Republican Party organizations in those states challenged the returns. President Grant appointed Garfield to a delegation sent to Louisiana to oversee the actions of the state's Returning Board, which had jurisdiction over the vote count. The Louisiana Returning Board and the officials in South Carolina and Florida certified Hayes's electors to the Electoral College. The Democrats had a majority in the United States House of Representatives and claimed that they did not have to accept the disputed electoral votes when they were opened and counted in a joint congressional session. Garfield and other Republicans held that the president of the Senate, a Republican, alone could certify the electoral vote. In an effort to avoid a prolonged constitutional crisis, Congress in January 1877 created a special Electoral Commission, on which Garfield served, to count the votes. Meanwhile, intense private discussions went on to avoid an open break between the House and the rest of the federal government. The commission awarded the three states to Hayes, and ultimately the House Democrats accepted that result. Some historians have argued that the Democrats received a secret promise that Hayes would withdraw the remaining federal troops from the South. Others point out that during the campaign, Hayes had already signaled his willingness to let the southern states govern themselves. Bargain or no bargain, Hayes did withdraw the troops.[59]

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[57] Peskin, *Garfield*, 339-341; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 489-504.

[58] Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), 26, 28, 32-35, 63-66; Peskin, *Garfield*, 355-363, 366-371, 377-380.

[59] Peskin, *Garfield*, 408-417; Smith, 614-645; Charles W. Calhoun, *From Bloody Shirt to Full Dinner Pail: The Transformation of Politics and Governance during the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2010), 55-59.

Purchasing a Farm

Garfield's family life was a source of strength and satisfaction to him throughout his later years in the House. After 1863, his bond with Lucretia was secure, and he depended on her advice and counsel. True to the conventions of the period, Lucretia did not appear at political events, but was a steady presence behind the scenes. James frequently sought her judgment on men and issues. The family steadily grew with the birth of seven children, five of whom lived well into the twentieth century. The children were Eliza or "Trot" (1861-1863), Harry Augustus (1863-1942), James Rudolph (1865-1950), Mary, known in the family as "Mollie" (1867-1947), Irvin McDowell (1870-1951), Abram (1872-1958), and Edward or "Ned" (1874-1876). Beginning with the winter of 1864-1865, Garfield insisted that his family be with him while Congress was in session. After renting for several years, he and Lucretia decided in 1869 to build a house at 13th and I Streets Northwest, at a total cost of $13,000, half of which they had to borrow.[60] After selling the Hiram house in 1872, the family spent each summer in rented quarters at Little Mountain, a resort near Painesville, Ohio. The impermanency of this arrangement palled after a few years, and the Garfields began looking for a farm to purchase. An added incentive for the purchase came when a Democratic state legislature removed his home county of Portage from the 19th congressional district.[61] In addition, Garfield wanted "a place where I can put my boys to work, and teach them farming." [62]

These motives led the Garfields to purchase 157 acres in Lake County's Mentor Township some 20 miles east of Cleveland, safely within the 19th congressional district, for $17,910 (equivalent to about $387,000 in 2014 dollars). They bought the 117.74-acre Dickey farm in October 1876 and an adjacent 40-acre parcel the following spring. Also purchased was a one-acre parcel across Mentor Avenue from the main house that contained a small frame tenant house. The Garfields paid about $5,000 in cash and borrowed the rest. The farm contained a somewhat run-down nine-room, one-and-one-half-story main house, the tenant house, a barn, and other outbuildings. Typical of farms in the area, the property was long and narrow, about 800 feet wide and one mile deep, fronting on Mentor Avenue, the highway running west to Cleveland. The tracks of the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railroad ran across the property approximately three-fifths of a mile north of the main house. Ready access to Cleveland and Washington via the railroad was important for Garfield's many political activities. The Garfields immediately began to make improvements to the property, looking forward to occupying it in summer 1877. Dr. John Peter Robison (1811-1889), a Mentor neighbor, fellow Disciple, and longtime family friend, acted as the Garfields' agent in much of this work. The Garfields had the barns moved from directly behind the house to a location just west of the north-south running lane. They improved the water supply, had a small residence moved close to the main house and fitted up as a library, and made numerous small repairs and improvements to the main house. As soon as Congress adjourned in March 1877, James and Lucretia were in Cleveland selecting furnishings and wallpapers for the house. The family was able to occupy the house on April 17.[63]

Although he enjoyed it for just four summers, the Mentor farm possessed great importance for James Garfield. He and many others viewed with considerable alarm the rapid growth of industry and cities after the Civil War, fearing that the country was moving away from the traditional values of an agriculturally grounded society. Rural life was also celebrated by some of Garfield's favorite ancient Roman writers such as Horace and Virgil. Garfield relished his life on the Mentor farm, drawing sustenance from being close to the earth and its bounty. He closely supervised activity on the farm, frequently driving a team or performing other work himself. He also

[60] This house was demolished in 1964. John Shaw, *Lucretia* (New York: Nova Publications, 2002), 117.
[61] Smith, 896-897; Peskin, *Garfield*, 430-432.
[62] *Diary*, Sept. 26, 1876, vol. 3, 357.
[63] Peskin, *Garfield*, 431-432; Johnson, 32-36, 48; *Diary*, March 19-March 22, 1877, vol. 3, 459-460.

wanted to be an up-to-date and efficient farmer, reading up on the latest technical advances in agriculture.[64] An indication of his activity appears in a July 1877 diary entry: "Put the men to raking up the scattering barley, and cutting the seed grass in the northwest meadow. . . . In the p.m. sent [sons] Hal and Jim to the barley field to rake with Cub. I put on batting [battens] upon the hen house, raked some, and read and wrote."[65]

In early 1880, Lucretia and James believed they could afford a major remodeling of the farmhouse. The Garfields hired a Cleveland contractor, William Judd, for this work. Judd raised the first floor by at least a foot to make the house more imposing and built a new, high-pitched roof to accommodate a full-height second floor. The remodeling left the house with two bedrooms on the main floor, four bedrooms and an office for Garfield on the second floor, and several small rooms on a third floor. Lucretia made substantial revisions to Judd's preliminary sketches of the work. Once again, Dr. Robison acted as agent and Garfield made several brief trips back from Washington to monitor the progress of the work. The total cost ran to almost $4,000 and the work was completed in May 1880.[66] A campaign biography described the house as "plain and unpretentious," adding that it "cannot be called grand in any sense of the word, but certainly deserves the name of a very pleasant, comfortable-looking country home."[67] The irregular massing, contrasting materials—clapboard, shingles, and brick—and the decorative scrollwork in the gable ends conformed to the popular Queen Anne style.

The 1880 Campaign

The remodeling of the Mentor house was completed just in time for the 1880 presidential campaign. Garfield is often described as the darkest of dark-horse presidential candidates, but it was widely recognized that the 1880 Republican convention might well deadlock, and that Garfield was a very viable compromise candidate. The leading candidates that year were former president Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885), back from a triumphal world tour, and Senator James G. Blaine (1830-1893) of Maine. The Republican Party was split into two factions during this period, generally known as the Stalwarts and the Half-Breeds. Blaine led the Half-Breeds, while Senator Roscoe Conkling (1829-1888) of New York headed the Stalwarts. No policy differences separated the two camps; it was entirely a question of personal animosities and the control of government patronage positions. Garfield was close to Blaine, but managed to retain cordial relations with the Stalwarts. Many thought that Conkling and the Stalwarts would be able to secure the nomination for Grant, but Blaine had almost as many pledged delegates. Neither man had a majority, because of the presence of several other candidates. The strongest of these was John Sherman of Ohio, a former US senator whom President Hayes had made secretary of the treasury.[68]

Garfield went to the Republican National Convention in Chicago in June 1880 pledged to Sherman and placed his name in nomination. The Ohio legislature that year had made Garfield a US senator, and Garfield believed that he might be ready for a presidential run in four or eight years' time. After more than thirty ballots, the totals for Grant and Blaine had barely budged, and the convention became desperate for an alternative. On the thirty-fourth ballot, the Wisconsin delegation began a movement toward Garfield. The Ohioan rose to protest that he had not consented to have his name placed in nomination, but was gaveled down. Within a few ballots, he was the nominee, preparing to return to Mentor and mount a campaign.[69]

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[64] Smith, 753-754; Johnson, 52-53; Leech and Brown, 193.
[65] *Diary*, July 24, 1877, vol. 3, 499.
[66] Johnson, 73-80; Newman, 17-18.
[67] Brisbin, 316-320..
[68] Peskin, *Garfield*, 443-448.
[69] Ibid., 452-481; Smith, 959-992.

Presidential campaign practices were evolving during this period. The concept bequeathed by George Washington and the other founders was that the candidate should remain above the fray. In this view, a would-be president was a statesman, a republican icon who would demean himself by vulgarly soliciting votes. Campaigns could be vicious and personal, but the partisan appeals were made by surrogates, not the candidate. With the expansion of the franchise before the Civil War and the growth of transportation networks in the mid-1800s, more and more Americans came to believe that presidential candidates should make their views widely known and perhaps even show themselves to the electorate.[70]

Contrary to a persistent myth, it was not unprecedented in 1880 for a candidate to campaign on his own behalf. All the candidates who tried it had been defeated, however, and the move was looked upon as risky. As early as 1852, the Whig candidate, Winfield Scott (1786-1866), undertook a three-week "swing around the circle," making fifty short speeches in several states, but confining his remarks to patriotic bromides. Democrat Franklin Pierce (1804-1869) of New Hampshire easily defeated Scott, 254 electoral votes to 42. In 1860, the leader of one faction of the divided Democratic Party, Stephen A. Douglas (1813-1861), toured twenty-three states, giving hundreds of addresses that boldly confronted the issues of the day. Douglas was perhaps motivated as much by a desire to prevent secession as by hopes of winning election, and he won just twelve electoral votes. The unsuccessful Democratic candidate in 1868, Horatio Seymour (1810-1886), made a two-week tour of Midwestern states. Fresh in the minds of most political observers in 1880 was the experience of Horace Greeley, the 1872 candidate of both the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats. Long accustomed to taking a position on every issue confronting the nation as editor of the influential *New York Tribune,* Greeley campaigned vigorously in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, making as many as twenty-two speeches a day. Grant, who remained silent, easily won re-election.[71] At the time, Garfield noted that Greeley's "speeches in his own behalf hurt him seriously."[72]

An accomplished orator, Garfield was tempted to campaign vigorously in 1880, noting that "[i]f I could take to the stump and bear a fighting share of the campaign I should feel happier."[73] President Hayes counseled him to do nothing of the kind, but rather to stay at home, "sit crosslegged and look wise."[74] Garfield's biggest challenge was to reconcile the Stalwarts to his nomination and get Conkling's forces working diligently for him. He began this effort by selecting Chester A. Arthur (1829-1886), one of Conkling's New York chieftains, as his running mate. Conkling still remained aloof, and Garfield felt compelled to visit New York City for a meeting of the Republican National Committee in early August. There he conferred with Conkling's chief lieutenants. Opposition newspapers insisted that Garfield made promises regarding patronage in New York via a "Treaty of Fifth Avenue," but this is improbable. Garfield was too experienced a politician to go beyond ambiguous statements and tie his hands as president by making binding commitments. Unwilling to see a Democrat in the White House, the Republican organizations in New York and other Stalwart states started to exert themselves for the ticket.[75]

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[70] Gil Troy, *See How They Ran: The Changing Role of the Presidential Candidate,* revised and expanded ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 61-62.

[71] Troy, 51-53, 64-66, 71, 74-77; Charles Winslow Elliott, *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1937), 634-640; William Gillette, "The Election of 1872," in *History of Presidential Elections,1789-2008,* vol. iv, Gil Troy, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., and Fred L. Israel, eds. (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2012), 1325-1326.

[72] Garfield, *Diary,* Oct. 11, 1872, vol. 2, 101.

[73] *Diary,* Sep. 26, 1880, vol. 4, 461.

[74] Rutherford B. Hayes to James A. Garfield, July 26, 1880, cited in Peskin, 482.

[75] Peskin, *Garfield,* 482-489.

Garfield coordinated every aspect of the campaign from his farm, staying in regular touch with Republican leaders in key states and overseeing the raising and allocation of campaign funds. A telegraph terminal was installed in the freestanding library (renamed the campaign office), and the candidate used three assistants: his long-time clerk George U. Rose; Joseph Stanley-Brown,[76] on loan from the US Geological Survey; and telegrapher O. L. Judd. The candidate dictated as many as sixty letters a day from his private office in a second-floor room of the house, known to the family as his "snuggery." The front-porch aspect of the campaign began when friends and neighbors stopped by to congratulate Garfield on his nomination. As election day drew near, more and more groups took advantage of the proximity of the railroad to drop by to see the candidate and his family. On September 4, the arrival of the first large delegation, ninety-five Indiana "ladies and gentlemen," is recorded in Garfield's diary.[77]

By October, something of a routine for receiving delegations had emerged. Groups would either hire carriages to bring them the one and one-half miles from the Mentor station or have the train stop on the Garfields' property and walk about three-fifths of a mile from a temporary platform to the house.[78] Garfield would greet the groups from the porch, the delegation leader would make a few remarks, and the candidate would then deliver a brief address, keyed to the interests of the group. For example, when 900 Cleveland women arrived on October 27, Garfield stressed the contribution of women in maintaining home-front morale while their men were subduing the rebels in the Civil War. He studiously avoided addressing any controversial topics, such as the tariff or civil service reform. Lucretia usually served light refreshments before the delegation departed. More important visitors were invited to spend the night, sometimes forcing sons Abram and Irvin McDowell to sleep in the barn. During the campaign, an estimated 17,000 visitors came to the Garfield farm. Almost all of the delegations were from Ohio and Indiana, but their visits and Garfield's cordial reception of them were widely reported in the press, amplifying the effect. At some point during the summer, reporters began referring to the farm as Lawnfield, in tribute to its expanses of grass, and the name stuck.[79]

In late September, a small but important delegation of Stalwarts paid Garfield a visit designed to underscore party unity. Senator Conkling had agreed to make a western tour for the Republican ticket, which included a huge rally at Warren, Ohio, just 50 miles from Mentor. Conkling was traveling with former president Grant, Senator John Logan (1826-1886) of Illinois, and Senator James Donald Cameron (1833-1918) of Pennsylvania. Although the Stalwarts later claimed that Garfield made them promises concerning appointments at the time, there were no private conversations during the brief visit. The Democrats alleged that a "Treaty of Mentor" with all manner of concessions to Conkling had been agreed upon.[80]

A moving scene unfolded when the Jubilee Singers from traditionally black Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, visited the farm after giving a concert in nearby Painesville. They sang several spirituals in the parlor to the family and a few neighbors, bringing tears to the eyes of many. Garfield's secretary, Joseph Stanley-Brown, transcribed the candidate's remarks to the group, which concluded with the words: "And I tell you now, in the closing days of this campaign, that I would rather be with you and defeated than against you

[76] He was known as Joseph Brown at the time. At about the time of his wedding to Mollie Garfield in 1888, he legally changed his name to Joseph Stanley Brown. To avoid confusion, he will be referred to consistently as Stanley-Brown.

[77] Smith, 1018-1019; Herbert J. Clancy, *The Presidential Election of 1880* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1958), 188-191; *Diary*, Sept. 4, vol. 4, 451.

[78] A portion of the historic lane, extending 833 feet from the rear property line of the National Historic Site to the sidewalk along Mentor Avenue, is clearly visible today.

[79] *Diary*, Aug. 22, 1880, vol. 4, 445.

[80] Peskin, *Garfield*, 500-501.

and victorious."[81] Bowing to the era's prevalent racism, Brown omitted the last sentence when he released the statement to the press.[82]

In addition to speaking to delegations at his home, Garfield made a number of public appearances during the campaign. He spoke at the unveiling of monuments, at veterans' reunions, and from the back of his train going to and from his early August meeting with the Republican National Committee in New York. On all occasions, the candidate continued to studiously avoid saying anything about current issues, limiting his remarks to praise of the veterans' sacrifices and the glories of the republic and its robust economy. Though he did not barnstorm in the fashion of Greeley in 1872, Garfield clearly realized that Americans were coming to expect that a presidential candidate would show himself to the electorate.

Garfield's 1880 Democrat opponent was General Winfield Scott Hancock (1824-1886), a career army officer, famous as one of the heroes of the Battle of Gettysburg. His running mate was William H. English (1822-1896), an Indiana banker. There were minor party candidates as well: The Prohibition Party ran Neal S. Dow (1804-1897) of Maine, and the Greenback Labor Party, committed to issuing paper money to relieve debt-stricken farmers and others, ran Congressman James B. Weaver (1833-1912) of Iowa.[83] As commander of the Army's Division of the Atlantic, Hancock remained at his home and headquarters on Governor's Island in New York Bay throughout the campaign. Party leaders and office seekers took the boat to see him, but he was largely inaccessible to voters.

There were few real issues in the race. Both parties expected a close contest and believed vague and noncommittal pronouncements were less likely to offend any bloc of voters. Hancock had never held civilian office, which was a both a plus and a minus. He had taken few public positions that could be used against him, but was open to the charge that he had never given issues of public policy any thought at all. The Republicans mocked him by publishing a booklet entitled "Hancock's Record," consisting of a succession of blank pages. Early in the campaign, the Republicans castigated the Democrats as the party of rebellion and for the suppression of black voters. Hancock's sterling record in putting down the Confederacy and his public commitment to the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution blunted these attacks. Later in the campaign, the Republicans shifted to emphasizing that their economic policies, notably protective tariffs, protected American jobs. The Democrats' campaign plank on the tariff was deliberately ambiguous. The party's southern wing wanted low tariffs, but many voters in the key manufacturing states of New York and New Jersey wanted high tariffs to protect their industries. In an interview, Hancock pronounced the tariff a purely local issue. He may have meant that the tariff was of concern largely to local manufacturing interests, but Republicans castigated him for not understanding that the United States Congress set tariffs. The Democratic campaign consisted almost entirely of personal attacks on Garfield. The party pointed repeatedly to the Crédit Mobilier, the salary grab, the DeGolyer paving contract, and the general aura of corruption that surrounded the Grant administration. Implicit in the Democrats' campaign was that, after 20 years of Republican presidents, a change was in order.[84]

Hancock's campaign was hampered by a weak Democratic National Committee and divisions within the New York party. New York City Democrats in 1880 for the first time ran a Roman Catholic as a mayoral candidate. Given the widespread anti-Catholic prejudices of the period, this almost certainly depressed the vote for the Democratic ticket. After a surprise victory for the Democrats in Maine elections in September, the Republicans poured resources into Indiana's October elections. Infusions of cash, rallies featuring Roscoe Conkling, and

[81] Stanley-Brown, "My Friend Garfield," *American Heritage*, Aug. 1971, 52.
[82] Joseph Stanley-Brown, 51-52.
[83] David M. Jordan, *Winfield Scott Hancock: A Soldier's Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 281, 292-293.
[84] Jordan, 289-294; Glenn Tucker, *Hancock the Superb* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1960), 301.

pressure by employers on workingmen to vote Republican carried the day in Indiana. Oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937), in particular, used his money and influence in Indiana. The results there demoralized Democratic leaders, and Garfield won the presidency on November 2 by 214 electoral votes to 155 for Hancock. Garfield's popular vote margin was a scant 7,000. A swing of only 11,000 votes in New York would have made Hancock president. Although he made no public protest, the general went to his grave believing that Conkling and his minions had stolen the election in New York.[85]

The Impact of the First Front-Porch Campaign

The Republican Party was quick to grasp the advantages offered by a front-porch campaign. Although the term would not come into use until 1896, Garfield pioneered the elements of the approach in 1880. In essence, the technique allowed the candidate to appear before voters while retaining maximum control of his message. He appeared surrounded by the favorable images of a happy domestic life and enthusiastic supporters. Further, he remained comfortable and rested, unfatigued by travel. He could tailor his remarks to the concerns of the group in front of him, be they businessmen, iron workers, firemen, or party regulars. Friendly reporters could be relied upon to circulate glowing reports of the encounters across the nation. Republicans endorsed the front-porch approach, in part because it underscored a candidate's middle-class respectability. In addition, a front-porch campaign was more feasible for candidates with a centrally located, easily accessible home. Living in Augusta, Maine, Republican James G. Blaine in 1884 had few visitors, and felt compelled to take to the road. He deeply regretted his appearance in New York City in late October, where another speaker's characterization of the Democrats as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion" cost Blaine many Catholic voters. In 1888, Republican Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901) emulated Garfield with a modified front-porch campaign. When crowds around his Indianapolis home grew large early in the campaign, he began to walk almost daily to University Park to speak to delegations, addressing around 300,000 in this manner. Following each address, he edited his remarks for newspaper publication.[86]

Another Ohio presidential candidate, William McKinley (1843-1901), brought a new sophistication to the front-porch approach in 1896. His staff carefully scheduled the visits of several delegations per day, who were escorted to his Canton home by a mounted and uniformed McKinley Escort Troop and brass bands. To guard against any gaffes, McKinley insisted on reviewing in advance and editing the remarks of delegation leaders. In a large tent on the lawn, visitors were efficiently served refreshments before they departed: "wets" received two glasses of beer and a sandwich, while "dries" got two sandwiches and a cup of coffee. In a sense, McKinley and his staff were pioneers of what came to be called "media events." Although McKinley's remarks never contained anything novel, the constant coming and going of delegations and surrounding hoopla were considered newsworthy and widely published. Over the course of the campaign, 750,000 people from thirty states came to Canton to see and hear McKinley. McKinley's unsuccessful opponent, William Jennings Bryan (1860-1925), conducted an energetic and often poorly organized whistle-stop campaign. Bryan infused his supporters with energy with his touring, but many editorial writers found McKinley's approach more presidential. In their different fashions, both candidates were bowing to public expectations that a candidate be more visible.[87]

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[85] Peskin, *Garfield*, 510-511; Jordan, 291-307.

[86] Troy, 95; Henry Luther Stoddard, *Presidential Sweepstakes: The Story of Political Conventions and Campaigns* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948), 103-104; Harry J. Sievers, *Hoosier Statesman: From the Civil War to the White House, 1865-1888* (New York: University Publishers, Inc., 1959), 354-363, 371-372, 406.

[87] R. Hal Williams, *Realigning America: McKinley, Bryan, and the Remarkable Election of 1896* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 131-134; William D. Harpine, *From the Front Porch to the Front Page: McKinley and Bryan in the 1896 Presidential Campaign* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2005), 38-43. McKinley's house has been demolished but is marked by a State of Ohio historical marker. The Canton residence of his wife, Ida Saxton McKinley, where the couple lived from 1878-1891, stands and is part of the First Ladies National Historic Site, http://www.nps.gov/fila/index.htm.

After the turn of the twentieth century, taking to the stump became more the rule for presidential candidates, except for incumbents. As the Democratic standard bearer in 1900 and again in 1908, William Jennings Bryan campaigned widely across the country. More and more, the organizational methods perfected by McKinley in 1896 were applied to whistle-stop campaigns, with advance men coordinating the reception at each stop. The last important front-porch campaign was that of Republican Warren G. Harding (1865-1923) in 1920. Honoring the continuity of the tradition, Harding had the flagpole from McKinley's home moved to his house in Marion, Ohio.[88] He also replaced his front lawn with gravel and set up campaign headquarters in a house next door. Harding spoke to hundreds of delegations, while his unsuccessful opponent, Ohio governor James M. Cox (1870-1957) traveled 22,000 miles and spoke to approximately 2 million.[89]

A Brief Presidency

James Garfield had little opportunity to make his mark as president, being shot by Charles Guiteau (1841-1882) on July 2, 1881, just three months after being inaugurated. Predictably, appointments and patronage dominated his brief period as an active chief magistrate. The president struggled to accommodate the two main factions in his party with his cabinet appointments, relying on Lucretia's judgment of men as well as his own. He gave the important post of secretary of state to his long-time friend Blaine, who had considerable influence on his other choices. When objections to Blaine were raised on grounds that his first child came six months after his wedding day, Lucretia defended him for having done the honorable thing. Senator Conkling maintained that he should have a veto over all federal appointments in New York, while Blaine tried to convince Garfield to break Conkling's power. A climactic test came when Garfield appointed Blaine's preferred candidate as collector of the port of New York. Unable to persuade the Senate to back him in rejecting the president's appointment, Conkling resigned, effectively ending his political career. Blaine would go on to be the unsuccessful Republican presidential candidate in 1884.

In her brief time as first lady, Lucretia began to plan a thorough interior renovation of the White House and spent much time in the Library of Congress researching its history. In early May, Lucretia contracted malaria, and her husband nursed her faithfully for a month. She was still resting and regaining her strength in Long Branch, New Jersey, when the president was shot.[90]

Garfield's assassin, Charles Guiteau, had failed at a number of careers, among them lawyer, debt collector, author, and husband. During the 1880 campaign, he wrote and had printed a three-page pamphlet entitled "Garfield against Hancock." Convinced that this barely coherent tract had ensured Garfield's election, Guiteau expected a diplomatic appointment from the new administration. During the campaign, he frequented Republican Party headquarters in New York. He then went to Washington where he hounded Secretary of State Blaine and other Republicans, even having a brief encounter with Garfield, to whom he gave a copy of his pamphlet. Clearly delusional about his abilities and prospects, Guiteau finally concluded that if only Chester Arthur were president, he would get his post. He bought a revolver and on July 2, 1881, he shot the president twice from behind, hitting him in the arm and the back, in the Baltimore & Potomac railroad station in Washington, DC.[91]

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[88] Harding's home is part of the Harding Home Presidential Site in Marion, operated by the nonprofit Ohio History Connection and is open to the public, Ohio History Connection website, http://www.ohiohistory.org/museums-and-historic-sites.

[89] Paul F. Boller, *Presidential Campaigns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 179-181, 187-188, 212-213; Joe Mitchell Chapple, *Life and Times of Warren G. Harding, Our After-War President* (Boston: Chapple Publishing Co., 1924), 115-119, 125.

[90] Peskin, *Garfield*, 573-574; Allan Peskin, "Lucretia Rudolph Garfield," in *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy*, 2d ed., Lewis, L. Gould, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2001), 157-159.

[91] Peskin, *Garfield*, 582-596.

Garfield survived the initial trauma only to suffer another 80 days in the White House and New Jersey while physicians vainly attempted to help him, doing more harm than good. His dignity and courage as he lay mortally wounded had a profound impact on the American public, which followed daily bulletins on the president's condition. When Garfield finally succumbed on September 19, in Elberon, New Jersey, there was an outpouring of grief that many thought surpassed the reaction to Lincoln's assassination. The president's body lay in state in the US Capitol and then under a temporary pavilion in Public Square in Cleveland. Lucretia took the lead in planning funeral observances on September 26, when Garfield's body was taken in procession to Lake View Cemetery. She also demonstrated her commitment to gender equality by insisting that Dr. Susan Edson be paid the same as the male doctors who attended Garfield. In time, a monumental, 180-foot Romanesque Revival tomb was erected in Lake View Cemetery by public subscription and dedicated May 30, 1890. Guiteau was tried, convicted, and executed by hanging on June 30, 1882.[92]

James A. Garfield's Significance

Within two years of Garfield's assassination, the first significant federal service law was enacted. Although Charles Guiteau might well have focused his delusions on any profession, he was widely characterized as a "disappointed office seeker." His violent act was seen by many as the ultimate tragic result of the spoils system. In a supreme irony, President Arthur, who previously had grown wealthy as Senator's Conkling's hand-picked collector of the port of New York, asked Congress for civil service reform. Congress responded in 1883 with the Pendleton Civil Service Act. The act covered only 15 percent of the federal work force, but was an important first step in introducing a merit system for federal employment.[93] Those who looked for silver linings pointed to the act as a positive result of Garfield's death.

It is largely fruitless to speculate over the impact Garfield might have had as president. With his classical education and his habit of keeping up with the latest works in literature, science, economics, and sociology, he was one of our most erudite chief executives. Before he was shot, Garfield was beginning to think about civil service reform, federal aid to education, and a new departure in southern policy.[94]

For a number of years following his death, James Garfield was widely revered as the embodiment of American ideals. His assassination was viewed as a national calamity, and tributes poured in from across the country. Garfield's rise from very humble beginnings, his steadiness of character, his religious faith, and his stable and happy family life made him a paragon to many. As one eulogist put it: "He represented to them [the American public], more perfectly than any man living, the meaning of their institutions, [and] the greatness of the career that lies open before the feet of every American boy."[95] Hyperbolic predictions that his name would go down in history "coupled with that of Washington and Lincoln" were not borne out.[96] McKinley's assassination in 1901 brought renewed attention to other assassinated presidents. As literary scholar Dixon Wechter observed:

> [A] whole pictography of American martyrdom sprang up. There were paperweights of "Our Assassinated Presidents," dinner-plates [sic] bearing the faces of "Our Martyrs," and a brand of cigars

[92] Peskin, *Garfield,* 597-609; Smith, 1197-1204; Peskin, "Lucretia Rudolph Garfield," 159-160; Shaw, 21. The Garfield Memorial in The Lake View Cemetery is listed in the NRHP, NRIS 73001411.

[93] Calhoun, 76-79.

[94] Peskin, *Garfield,* 574-581,

[95] "Assassination of President Garfield in Washington, July 2, 1881," unidentified clipping in *James A. Garfield Pamphlets,* Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

[96] G. Carnachan, "The Lessons of Our National Sorrow: A Sermon Delivered on the Sabbath Morning, September 25th, 1881," in *James A. Garfield Pamphlets,* Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

called Memorata which illustrated the three executives above the motto, in dubious Latin, "De moribus nil nisi bonum."[97]

Garfield's reputation has suffered from the generally dismissive attitude many historians have taken to the post-Civil War decades, the so-called Gilded Age. Too often the period between Reconstruction and the Progressive Era is brushed aside as a time of robber barons, hopelessly corrupt politicians, and weak presidents. Garfield's biographer Allan Peskin shrewdly observed that: "He had the misfortune of being active at a time when there were no causes worthy of his abilities."[98] The resumption of specie payments, rationalizing government appropriations, and streamlining census procedures lack the drama of fighting wars and expanding the functions of government. Peskin's judgment probably should be amended to read that Garfield encountered no worthy causes that were realistically achievable. Certainly continuing the struggle to ensure civil and political rights for African Americans was a worthy cause, but the North had little stomach for that once southern whites took to violence and President Hayes withdrew the last federal troops from the South.

A Pioneering Presidential Library

Lawnfield remained in the possession of Garfield's widow, Lucretia, until her death on May 14, 1918. She made a number of improvements to the property over the years, changing its character from that of a working farm to more of a country estate. She enlarged the main house and added a new tenant house in 1885-1886 to replace the tenant house on the south side of Mentor Avenue, which was sold and removed by the buyer. In 1893-1894, she built a stylish carriage house and a four-story windmill. By 1900, son James Garfield's owned the property to the west of Lawnfield, called Hollycroft, and Caroline Robinson Mason, son Harry Garfield's mother-in-law, had purchased the property to the east of Lawnfield which was called Eastlawn. Lucretia retained Pittsburgh landscape architect J. Wilkinson Elliott to prepare a comprehensive landscape plan to allow for a unified landscape treatment of the three adjoining family estates.[99]

In her thirty-seven years as a widow, Lucretia devoted herself to her family and the memory of her husband, never abandoning her black-bordered stationary. She resolutely declined requests for interviews and invitations to be included in volumes on prominent American women. She maintained her literary interests, joining book clubs and working on a translation of Victor Hugo's biography of Shakespeare. When the Ohio winters began to wear on her, she started spending the cold months in southern California, eventually commissioning Charles and Henry Greene to design a house for her in South Pasadena.[100] She continued to devote the spring and summer months to the Mentor estate and enjoyed nothing more than being surrounded there by her children and grandchildren. Lucretia died in South Pasadena on March 13, 1918, after contracting pneumonia. Memorial services were held in California and in Cleveland, and her remains were interred next to her husband's in the memorial tomb in Lake View Cemetery.[101]

Until the 1970s, when Congress passed legislation redefining the ownership status of presidential papers under the purview of the federal government, the papers of United States presidents were considered their personal property. In many cases this led to examples of inappropriate and unfortunate mishandling, abuse, or outright loss of presidential papers. George Washington set the precedent for the customary treatment of presidential

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[97] Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), 265. A rough translation would be "Of the dead, speak only good."

[98] Allan Peskin, "Presidents Anonymous," *Timeline*, Oct./Nov. 1985, 29-34.

[99] *CLR*, 37-42, 57-59.

[100] The house is listed on the NRHP (NRIS 7300405). Charles Greene (1868-1957) and Henry Greene (1860-1954) are now widely recognized as the masters of the California arts and crafts bungalow, including the Gamble House, designated an NHL in 1977 (NRIS 71000155). Randell L. Makinson, *Architecture as a Fine Art* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1977), 92-93.

[101] Shaw, 112-120; Peskin, "Lucretia Rudolph Garfield," 160.

papers, taking his papers with him to Mount Vernon at the close of his second term in 1797. Washington planned to construct a stone building on the plantation for this collection, but died before he could begin that project. His papers ended up being disbursed and in some cases cut up for souvenirs. Throughout the nineteenth century, "presidential papers were systematically purged by editors, mutilated by autograph collectors, lifted by souvenir hunters, wasted by widows, and burned in barns and barrels."[102] The papers of Martin Van Buren, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and Ulysses S. Grant were deliberately destroyed, either by the former president or an heir. Andrew Jackson lent so many of his papers to biographers and others that the Library of Congress had to make 100 separate accessions when it began to collect them in 1899. The few presidents who made an effort to retain papers typically did little or nothing to protect them. The papers of Andrew Jackson, John Tyler, and James Buchanan were lost to fire. The Department of State began to collect presidential papers in the 1830s, but generally had to pay for them; for example, the government paid $20,000 to James Madison's heirs for his papers in 1849. Before Lucretia Garfield, only John Adams, John Quincy Adams, and their heirs had made a concerted effort to collect, organize, and carefully preserve in one location a set of presidential papers and mementoes. Lucretia's efforts established an important precedent for the twentieth-century system of presidential libraries.[103]

James and Lucretia had always been mindful of James's place in history, carefully preserving personal correspondence, incoming and outgoing political correspondence, and papers from his congressional career. James began a diary when he was seventeen and kept it faithfully until the day before he was shot. He would frequently annotate incoming correspondence with "save this." While the president lay mortally wounded, Lucretia issued instructions that newspaper coverage of the shooting and its aftermath be clipped and saved. Upon the president's death, she directed that any papers remaining in Washington be collected and stored in a fireproof room at the Treasury Department. She retained Joseph Stanley-Brown, who had briefly stayed on as personal secretary to President Arthur, to take on the job of "assorting and arranging" James Garfield's papers. Stanley-Brown and his assistants performed this task over the next few years, forwarding the last of the papers to Mentor in 1885. In the meantime, sons James and Harry had catalogued Garfield's library at Lawnfield. Lucretia asked longtime family friend Burke A. Hinsdale to prepare an edition of Garfield's public addresses and remarks in Congress, which appeared in two volumes in 1882.[104]

Lucretia and her children wanted the manuscript papers collected in one place and preserved until the family could choose a suitable authorized biographer for the president. This proved to be a more protracted effort than originally anticipated. Lucretia approached the well-known poet and editor James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), then serving as ambassador to the Court of St. James, but nothing came of it. She also briefly attempted her own biography, but quickly abandoned it. Until an authorized biographer was found, Lucretia kept the collection of papers intact, declining to allow anyone to examine them or to lend anything to be studied or published. In order to safeguard the papers until an authorized biography had been completed, she decided to build an addition onto the main house at Mentor.[105] She was also beginning to feel, as she later expressed it, "the house here is a much more interesting monument to your father's memory than anything that can be built merely as a monument."[106]

In 1885, Lucretia hired Cleveland architect Forrest A. Coburn (1848-1897) to design a major addition to the Mentor house. The centerpiece of the new wing was to be a library with a fireproof vault. The library was to contain James's 2,000 books and mementoes from his life, with the concrete and steel vault safeguarding the papers. Joseph Stanley-Brown and Lucretia worked closely with the architect on the plans, with Lucretia

[102] Don W. Wilson, "Presidential Libraries: Developing to Maturity," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 21/4 (Fall 1991):772.
[103] Wilson, 771-779; Josef F. Menez, "Presidential Papers and Presidential Libraries," *Social Science* 47/1 (Winter 1972):34-39.
[104] Kate M. Stuart, *Index to the James A. Garfield Papers* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1973); Burke A. Hinsdale, ed., *The Works of James Abram Garfield* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881).
[105] Shaw, 108-109.
[106] Undated typescript in James A. Garfield NHS files, quoting a November 1892 letter from Lucretia Garfield to Abram Garfield.

making the final decisions. Ground was broken for the addition in June 1885 and work was completed the following summer. The work converted the house's old kitchen to a spacious reception hall with a monumental staircase in one corner that rose to the library on the second floor. The library was a spacious L-shaped room, wrapping around a fireproof vault, known to the family as the Memorial Room. Included in the building program were a new kitchen, laundry, and maid's room at the back of the first floor and two servants' bedrooms on the second. The addition was carefully placed at the rear of the house so as not to detract from the appearance of the house from Mentor Avenue. Contemporary accounts described the result as Queen Anne or Gothic.[107] The new wing converted a rambling frame house into an estate, which one newspaper branded the "most imposing" in the area.[108] Many family events, including the June 14, 1888, double wedding of Harry to Belle Mason of Cleveland and of Mollie to Joseph Stanley-Brown, took place in the library.[109]

It was not until 1911 that Lucretia and her children chose an authorized biographer: Theodore Clarke Smith (1870-1960). Smith was a professor of history at Williams College, where Harry Garfield had been selected as president in 1908. Smith was given full access to the papers, working at Lawnfield in the summers and having the papers sent to him at Williamstown during the academic year. Smith's two-volume *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield*, some 1207 pages of text, was published by Yale University Press in 1925.

Once Smith's biography was published, the five Garfield children began to think more seriously about the ultimate repository for their father's papers. They had been as zealous as their mother in safeguarding the archive following Lucretia's 1918 death. James had already had some preliminary conversations on the matter with the librarian of Congress when he was secretary of the interior under President Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919). By the late nineteenth century, the Library of Congress had taken over the task of actively collecting presidential papers from the State Department. All five of the Garfields believed the Library of Congress was the appropriate repository, but discussions needed to take place about just what to surrender and what to retain. Further, James, who lived next door at Hollycroft and spent considerable time in the Memorial Room, was ambivalent about seeing the papers leave Mentor. In 1930, with his siblings' approval, James donated 150 bound volumes of letters from his father's public career to the Library of Congress, retaining personal and family papers, including all letters between Lucretia and James. This was the first of several donations over the course of the next three decades. The final shipment did not occur until October 1963, after historians Harry J. Brown and Frederick D. Williams had consulted the last of the president's diaries for their four-volume published edition of the diaries. President Garfield's books and many mementoes of his career have remained at Mentor.[110]

Lucretia Garfield and her children performed a valuable and nationally significant service by safeguarding and ultimately donating to the nation the president's papers. Unlike some presidential heirs, the children ultimately held nothing back, opting to donate all private letters between their parents, stipulating only that these be sealed until the last of them had died. Virtually the only record of the troubled early years of Lucretia and James' marriage was thus handed on by their children to be part of the public record. By contrast, Lincoln's surviving child, Robert Todd Lincoln (1843-1926), destroyed "useless" papers before donating them to the Library of Congress and then kept the collection sealed for twenty-one years after his death. Probably because of their long-time understanding of the role of the Library of Congress, the Garfields seem never to have considered turning the Mentor farm into a permanent presidential archive.

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[107] Johnson, 128-130.
[108] Undated newspaper clipping from circa 1886 in Garritt scrapbooks, vol. 2, 1884-1886, at LCHS, cited in Johnson, 128.
[109] "The Garfield Wedding," *New York Times*, June 15, 1888 .
[110] Fritz Veit, *Presidential Libraries and Collection* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 1-5; Stuart, v-xvi.

The library and Memorial Room in the main house at Lawnfield fully convey the national significance of this pioneering effort to preserve a collection of presidential papers. The library is almost unchanged from its 1886 appearance. With its impressive collection of James Garfield's books, prints, and furnishings, the library fulfills many of the museum functions of modern presidential libraries.

The Mentor Farm Becomes a Museum and Presidential Shrine

Maintenance costs and property taxes for Lawnfield became an increasing burden on the five children of James and Lucretia Garfield in the 1920s and 1930s. The size of the farm had been reduced to 67.35 acres in 1908, when Lucretia sold its northern portion. Her brother, Joseph Rudolph, remained in residence until his death in January 1934. This seemed to remove the last strong family tie, and in June 1936, the children donated the main house, the campaign office, and .779 acres surrounding them to the Western Reserve Historical Society (WRHS). Most of the furnishings were provisionally left to the society, after the family had removed the items they wished to keep.[111] The deed recording the gift stated that the property would be used "only and solely as a memorial to our father . . . and our mother" and "to preserve objects of historic interest especially connected with Ohio."[112] Contemporary accounts frequently stated that the site was intended to be a shrine to James Garfield. The WRHS opened the main house for public visitation in August 1936. The society organized a branch, the Lake County Chapter of the WRHS, to operate the house. The Lake County Chapter, renamed the Lake County Historical Society (LCHS) in 1956, maintained its offices and some historical exhibits on the third floor of the main house. Ultimately, the children donated the great majority of the furnishings of the house to the WRHS, including the president's books, as well as many prints, paintings, and mementoes, after making their personal selections. In 1944, the family donated an additional 3.269 acres, including the 1893 carriage house, to the WRHS. In 1975, Eleanor B. Garfield (1899-1994), the widow of Rudolph H. Garfield (one of James R. Garfield's sons) sold to the LCHS a 3.44-acre parcel that contained the well house, tenant house, barn, granary and small outbuildings. This brought the property to 7.82 acres. Over time, the remaining farm acreage had been sold to developers.[113]

As visitation to the property declined in the 1970s, the Ohio congressional delegation pushed to have it made a part of the National Park System. Following the preparation of an alternatives study, Congress on December 28, 1980, authorized the establishment of the James A. Garfield National Historic Site "to preserve for the benefit, education, and inspiration of present and future generations certain historically significant properties associated with the life of James A. Garfield." [114] The NPS was authorized to purchase that portion of the Mentor Farm owned by the LCHS, but could acquire the portion owned by the WRHS only via donation. Beginning in 1980, the NPS and WRHS entered negotiations over a cooperative plan for the ownership and operation of Lawnfield. In May 1984, the WRHS took over operations at the farm from the LCHS. In 1987, the NPS and the WRHS reached an agreement whereby ownership of the site's buildings and grounds was transferred to the NPS, while the society continued to operate the site. Ownership of the furnishings in the main house and campaign office remained with the WRHS. The NPS began an extensive program of rehabilitation and restoration at the site. A visitor center in the 1893 carriage house opened to the public in 1996, and the thoroughly restored main house was reopened in 1998. In 2008, the WRHS turned over all operations at the Garfield site to the NPS. The society and the NPS executed an agreement for the loan of the furnishings to the NPS. The initial term of the

[111] Johnson, 144, 155-164; Joseph Rudolph obituary, *New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1934.
[112] Johnson, 163-164, citing deed executed by James R. Garfield et al. to WRHS.
[113] Johnson, 155-164; "Garfield Shrine Is Completed," *Painesville Telegraph*, Aug. 20, 1936; Johnson, 184.
[114] Title XII of P.L. 96-607, Dec. 28, 1980.

loan was five years with the understanding that the agreement would be renewed at five year intervals.[115] The NPS currently operates the NHS, with museum exhibits in the visitor center and the main house, self-guiding tours of the property, and guided tours of the main house.

Comparison with Other Properties

The Mentor farm is the best surviving property representing James A. Garfield's political career. It is the premier property associated with his ground-breaking 1880 presidential campaign. The house that he and Lucretia built in Washington, D.C., and occupied during congressional sessions from 1869 to 1880 no longer stands. The house the family occupied in Hiram, Ohio, from 1862 to 1872 exists, but has no association with Garfield's 1880 presidential race. Furthermore, the Hiram house has no associations with the preservation of Garfield's papers. Since its public opening in 1936, the Mentor property has been universally recognized as the major property associated with James A. Garfield.

The Garfield Mentor farm is one of a handful of presidential sites that conveys both the private life of the man and very significant portions of his race for the presidency. Two comparable properties, both associated with front-porch campaigns and both NHLs, are the Benjamin Harrison Home in Indianapolis, Indiana (NHL 66000010) and the Warren G. Harding Home in Marion, Ohio (NHL 66000618).

A property in many ways comparable to Lawnfield is the Adams National Historical Park in Quincy, Massachusetts. This property contains the home of two presidents, John Adams and John Quincy Adams, as well as a library built in 1870 at the direction of Charles Francis Adams, John Quincy's son. Like Lucretia Garfield and her sons, Charles Francis spent many years arranging and collating the books and papers of his father and grandfather. The library contains the personal libraries of John and John Quincy as well as a number of mementoes from John Quincy's career. These include presentation volumes given to John Quincy by foreign heads of state and the desk he used on the floor of the House of Representatives in his post-presidential career. Like the Garfield children, the Adams heirs concluded that the family papers needed professional curation and in 1905 they were donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, where they were kept under seal for 50 years. The Adams family donated the Quincy property to the federal government in 1946, at which time the secretary of the interior declared it the Adams Mansion National Historic Park. In 1952, Congress expanded the unit and redesignated it as the Adams National Historic Site. In 1960, the secretary of the interior designated as NHLs two buildings within the historic site: the John Adams Birthplace and the John Quincy Adams Birthplace. Finally, in 1998, Congress authorized the Adams National Historical Park, which includes the two birthplace NHLs.[116]

From 1886 to the 1930s, the main house at Lawnfield was in essence a presidential library. It was never in the family's plan to make Lawnfield publically accessible while it belonged to the family. This fact allows the Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center to lay claim to being the first presidential library in the modern sense of the term. President Hayes's son Webb C. Hayes (1856-1934) gave his father's papers and his Spiegel Grove estate in Fremont, Ohio, to the state in 1910. The state erected a library and museum building, which was dedicated and opened to the public on May 30, 1916. The Hayes family knew of the Garfield family's library and Memorial Room, and surely what the Garfields had accomplished had an influence on their plans. Echoing

[115] WRHS, *Annual Report of the Western Reserve Historical Society, FY1980*, 59; WRHS, *Annual Reports of the Western Reserve Historical Society, FY1984, FY1987, 1996;* WRHS, "State of the Society, Sep. 24, 2008; Incoming Loan Agreement between NPS and WRHS, Jan. 24, 2008, James A. Garfield NHS files. The existing loan agreement has been extended through May 31, 2015, pending a new inventory of the items involved and the conclusion of new agreement.

[116] Shirley Gray Adamovich and Diane R. Tebbetts, "The Stone Library: Library of the Adams Family," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 69 (May 1995):1-4; Lewis Nichols, "The Adams Family in Word, Thought and Deed," *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1954, 3, 14..

the Garfields' actions, the Hayes library was fireproofed and preserved Hayes's 12,000-volume library as well as manuscript collections. The Hayes home on the estate is an NHL (66000624) but the library is not.[117]

The first president to plan a library to be operated by the federal government was Franklin D. Roosevelt. Influenced by the Hayes library and former president Herbert Hoover's archive at Stanford University, Roosevelt in 1938 announced his intention to have a library built on his estate at Hyde Park, New York. Prominent historians at first argued that the papers should go to the Library of Congress to join those of most other presidents, but Roosevelt won them over to his plan. Funds were raised privately and Congress passed legislation to allow the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) to run the facility, which was dedicated June 30, 1941. All subsequent presidents have established libraries. Congress in 1955 passed the Presidential Libraries Act, authorizing NARA to accept the donation of papers, lands, and buildings connected with presidential libraries. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, Congress passed the 1978 Presidential Records Act, providing for the first time that presidential records, with narrowly defined exceptions, were the property of the United States. This act took effect with the beginning of Ronald Reagan's administration in 1981.[118]

Influential in Franklin Roosevelt's decision to build a presidential library was the vast increase in the amount of paper that the office of the presidency generated. By Roosevelt's second term (1937-1941), the White House was receiving 6,000 letters a day. Roosevelt doubted that the Library of Congress or the National Archives could process such a mass materially and make it available in a timely manner. Like Lawnfield, the first official presidential library contains many mementoes of Roosevelt's career, including the desk he used in the Oval Office and his blue 1938 Ford Phaeton, specially modified with hand controls.[119] Roosevelt may well have been aware of the role of Lawnfield as a presidential repository, but no evidence of this has been located.

As many have pointed out, presidential libraries are really museums and archival repositories, rather than libraries. At each library, the NARA carries out the core archival functions, while a separate, privately funded foundation maintains a museum of presidential mementoes and coordinates educational programs, symposia, and temporary exhibits. In several instances, a presidential library is located adjacent to a home used by a president during his mature years. The Truman Presidential Library is a contributing resource of the Harry S Truman Historic District NHL. In 2013, the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum was made a contributing resource of the updated Herbert Hoover National Historic Site National Register of Historic Places nomination. The nomination also includes the Herbert Hoover Birthplace NHL. The Eisenhower Presidential Library in Abilene, Kansas, was dedicated in April 1962 and so has only recently become 50 years old.[120] None of the libraries of subsequent presidents have reached the 50-year mark as of this writing.

Thanks to the foresight of the Garfield family, the James A. Garfield National Historic Site in Mentor fulfills the museum function of a presidential library, preserving presidential mementoes and his personal library. The family's donation of the president's papers to the Library of Congress enables that institution to fulfill the archival role of a presidential library. Among the families of American presidents prior to 1900, only the Garfield, Hayes, and Adams families took concerted and successful steps to collect, organize, and preserve in one location a president's papers and mementoes.

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[117] Thomas A. Smith, "Before Hyde Park: The Rutherford B. Hayes Library," *The American Archivist* 43/4 (Fall 1980):485-488. The Rutherford B. Hayes Summer Home is NHL 66000624.

[118] Veidt, 1-5; Wilson, 771-773; Benjamin Hufbauer, "The Roosevelt Library: A Shift in Commemoration," *American Studies* 42/3 (Fall 2001):180-181.

[119] Michael Nelson, "Presidential Libraries Are Valuable Reflections of Their Eras," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 51/12 (Nov. 12, 2004):B15-B17.

[120] Robert Pearman, "Abilene Addition: Library Housing Eisenhower Papers Is Town's Newest Tourist Site," *New York Times*, Apr. 29, 1962.

Conclusion

James A. Garfield's record in Congress, along with his ability as a stump speaker for and representative of the Republican Party nationally, and his influential 1880 front-porch campaign make him a nationally significant late nineteenth-century political figure. The resources of the NHL property—the main house, campaign office, historic lane, and lawns—are closely tied to his national significance as a presidential candidate and president-elect. They also exemplify the lasting influence of his ground-breaking 1880 front-porch campaign. In addition, Lucretia Garfield's determination to preserve her husband's legacy led her to take unprecedented steps to gather, organize, and safeguard papers from all phases of his career. Her most significant alteration to the Mentor property was the addition of a large library and archival room, known in the family as the Memorial Room, to the main house at Lawnfield.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#66000613; Listed October 15, 1966
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark. NR#66000613; Designated October 15, 1966
_X_ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: # OH-2254
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: Approximately 5.2 acres.

UTM References:

Zone	Easting	Northing
17	470776	46123226

Verbal Boundary Description: From the southwestern corner of the National Historic Site (NHS), the boundary extends northward along the western and northern sides of the NHS to a point just east of the foundation ruin, then runs directly south to the northern edge of the hen house foundations, then east, south, and west to encompass the foundation remains in their entirely, then south along the eastern edge of the historic lane to the northwest corner of the carriage house, wrapping around the carriage house on the north and east, then proceeding along the outer edge of the curving pedestrian walk to the well house/windmill, then around the well house/windmill, along the western edge of the entrance drive to where it intersects with Mentor Avenue; from there, west to the southwest corner of the NHS and the starting point.

Boundary Justification: The NHL boundary for the James A. Garfield Home encompasses those portions of the NHS that were associated with James A. Garfield's residence, his 1880 presidential campaign, and Lucretia Garfield's collection and preservation of her husband's papers, library, and mementoes. These resources are the main house, the campaign office, the historic lane, and the expanses of lawn that gave the estate its name Lawnfield and were noted by visitors in 1880. The boundary excludes the portion of the NHS devoted to visitor access and maintenance operations, which has little integrity to the period of significance.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
September 9, 2015

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Main (South) Elevation
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, East Elevation
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, North Elevation
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, West Elevation
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Reception Hall
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Parlor
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Second Floor Office ("Snuggery")
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Library, looking northeast
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Library, looking west
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Main House, Memorial Room
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Campaign Office
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Horse Barn
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Granary
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

James A. Garfield Home, Tenant House
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

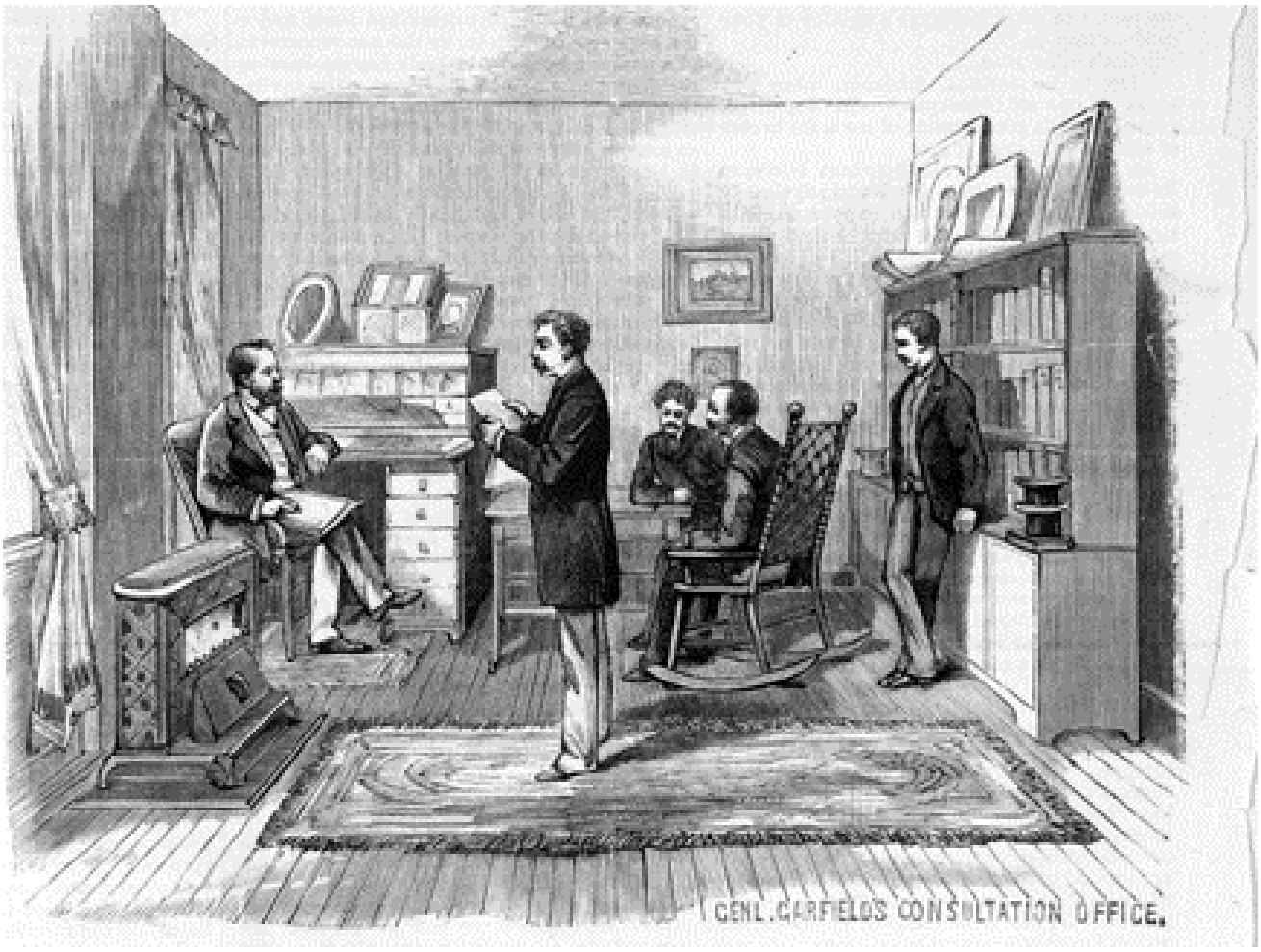
James A. Garfield Home, Lane looking South from Rear Boundary towards Main House
Photo by Robert W. Blythe, May and December 2014

General James A. Garfield in Brigadier General's Civil War uniform
Brady National Photo Art Gallery
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-B8172-2218

Lucretia Garfield in the 1870s
Brady-Handy Photography Collection
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-BH826-30278A

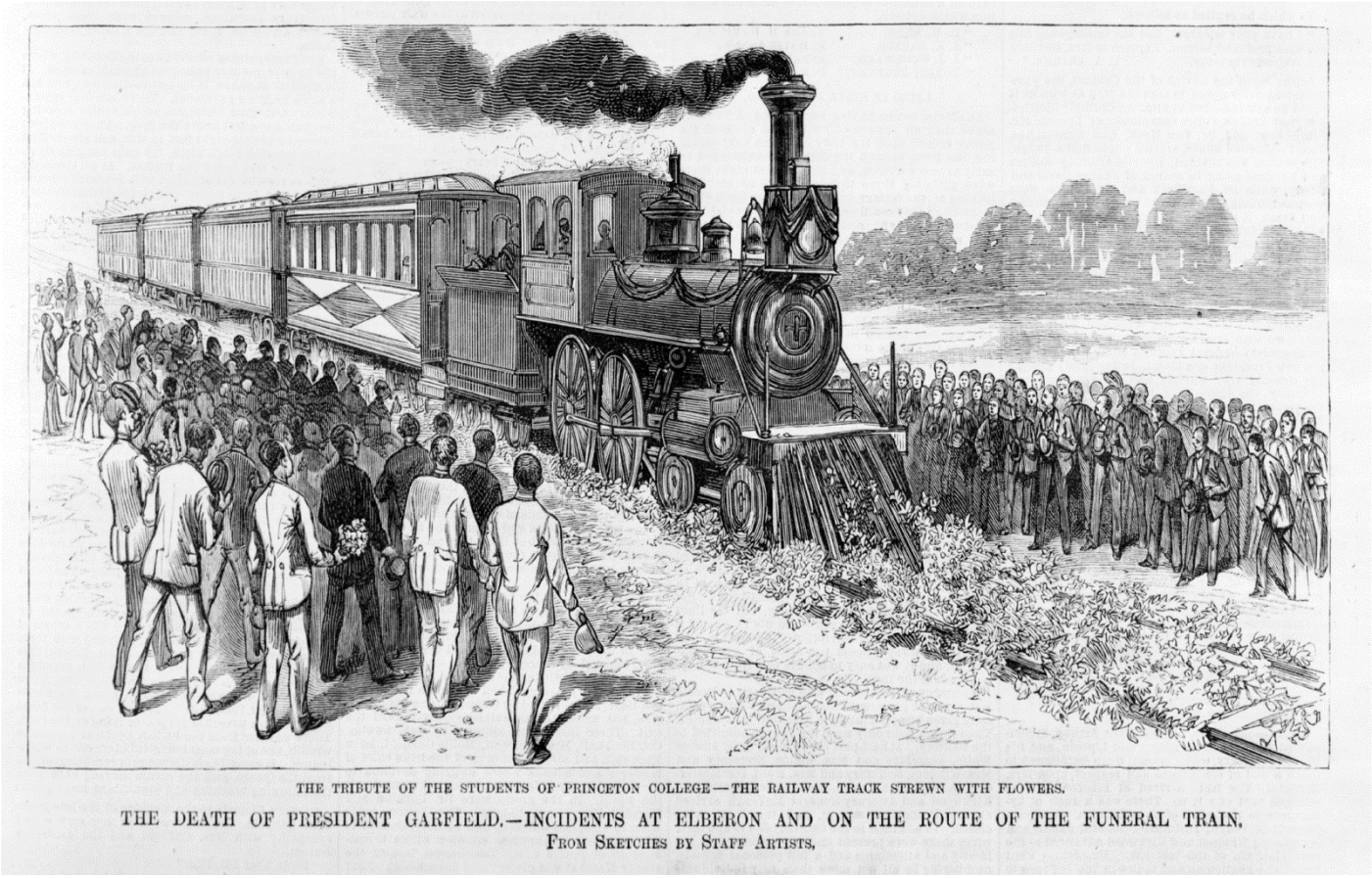
Garfield's Home, Mentor, Ohio
J. H. Buford Sons
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-DIG-pga-03565

Garfield greeting visitors at his Mentor farm
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 18, 1880
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ-112153



Garfield in his private office, the "snuggery"
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 18, 1880
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ-112156

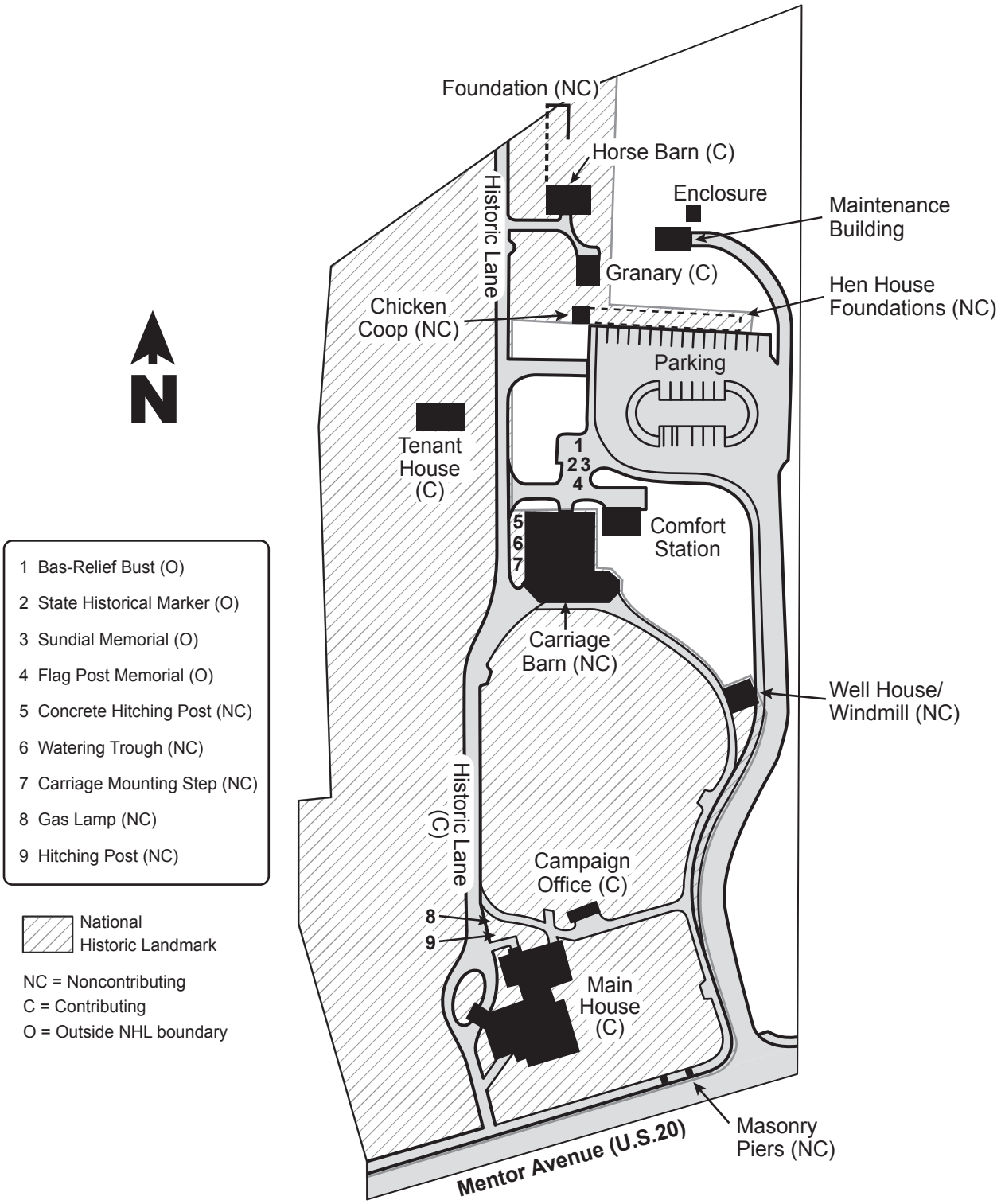
Garfield in the campaign office
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 18, 1880
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ-107253



"The tribute of the students of Princeton College—the railway track strewn with flowers."
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, October 8, 1881
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-121654

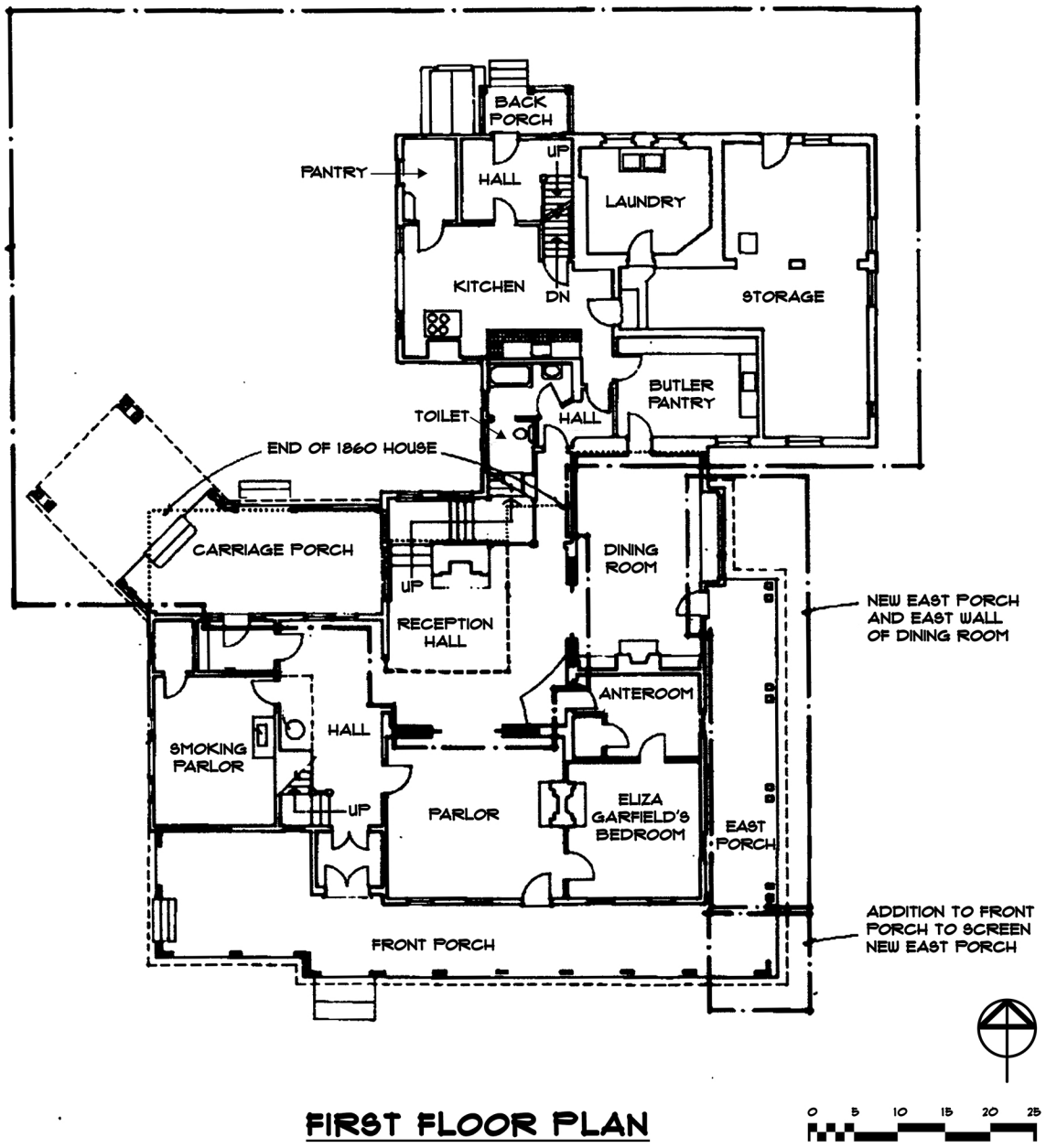
Martyred presidents: Lincoln and Garfield
Photographic print card, 1884-1898
Courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-13965

James A. Garfield Home (Lawnfield) Figures



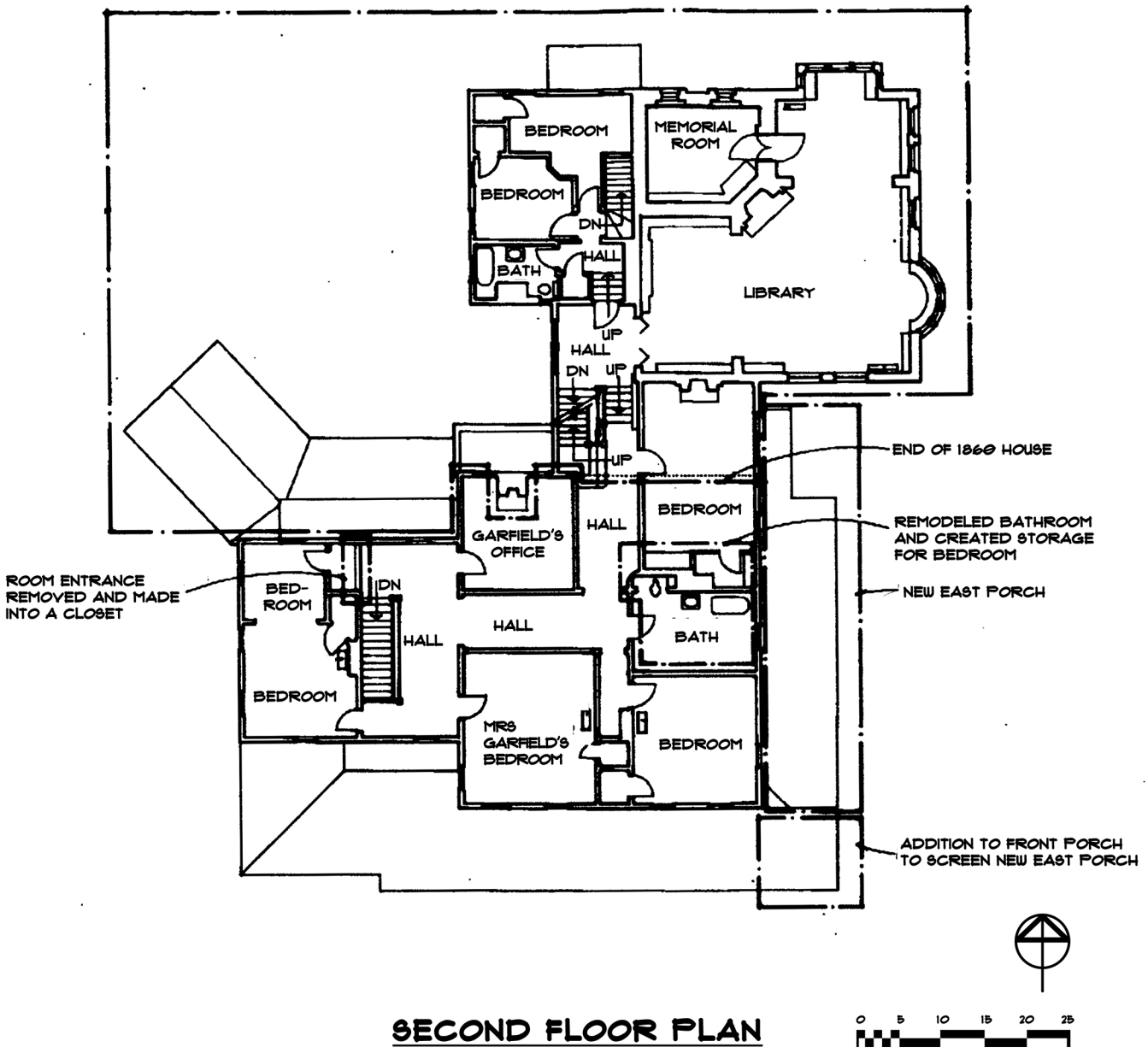
Site Plan - National Historic Landmark

James A. Garfield Home (Lawnfield) Figures



Main house, first floor, circa 1885.
From Paul Newman, Lawnfield Historic Structure Report,
James A. Garfield National Historic Site.
Denver: NPS Denver Service Center, 1991, p. 149

James A. Garfield Home (Lawnfield) Figures



Main house, second floor, circa 1885.
From Paul Newman, Lawnfield Historic Structure Report,
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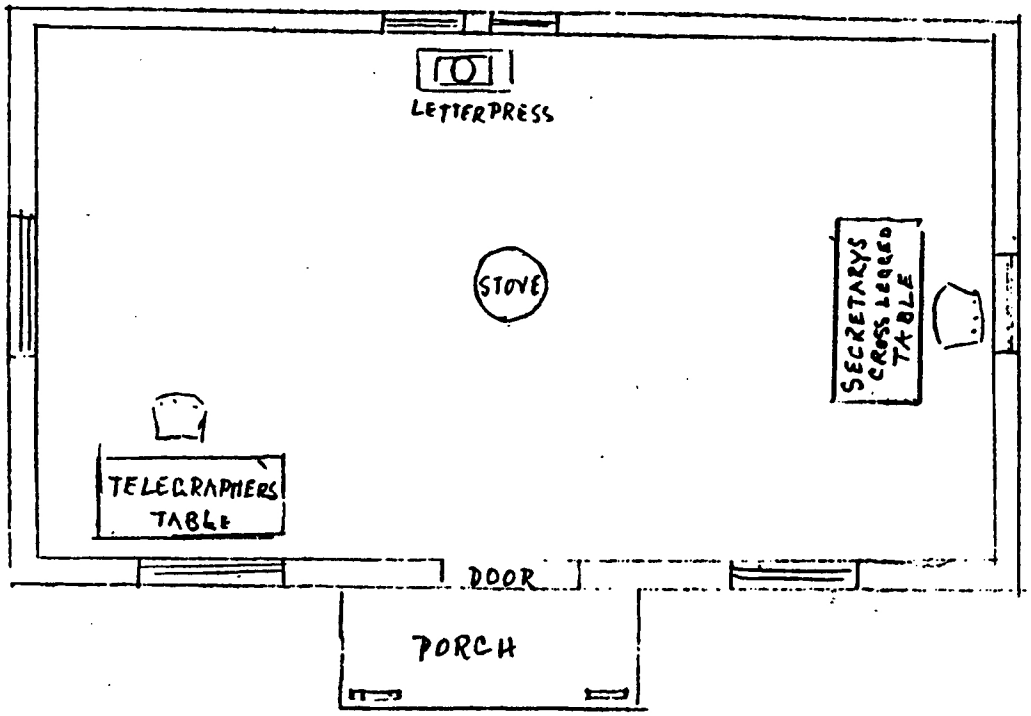
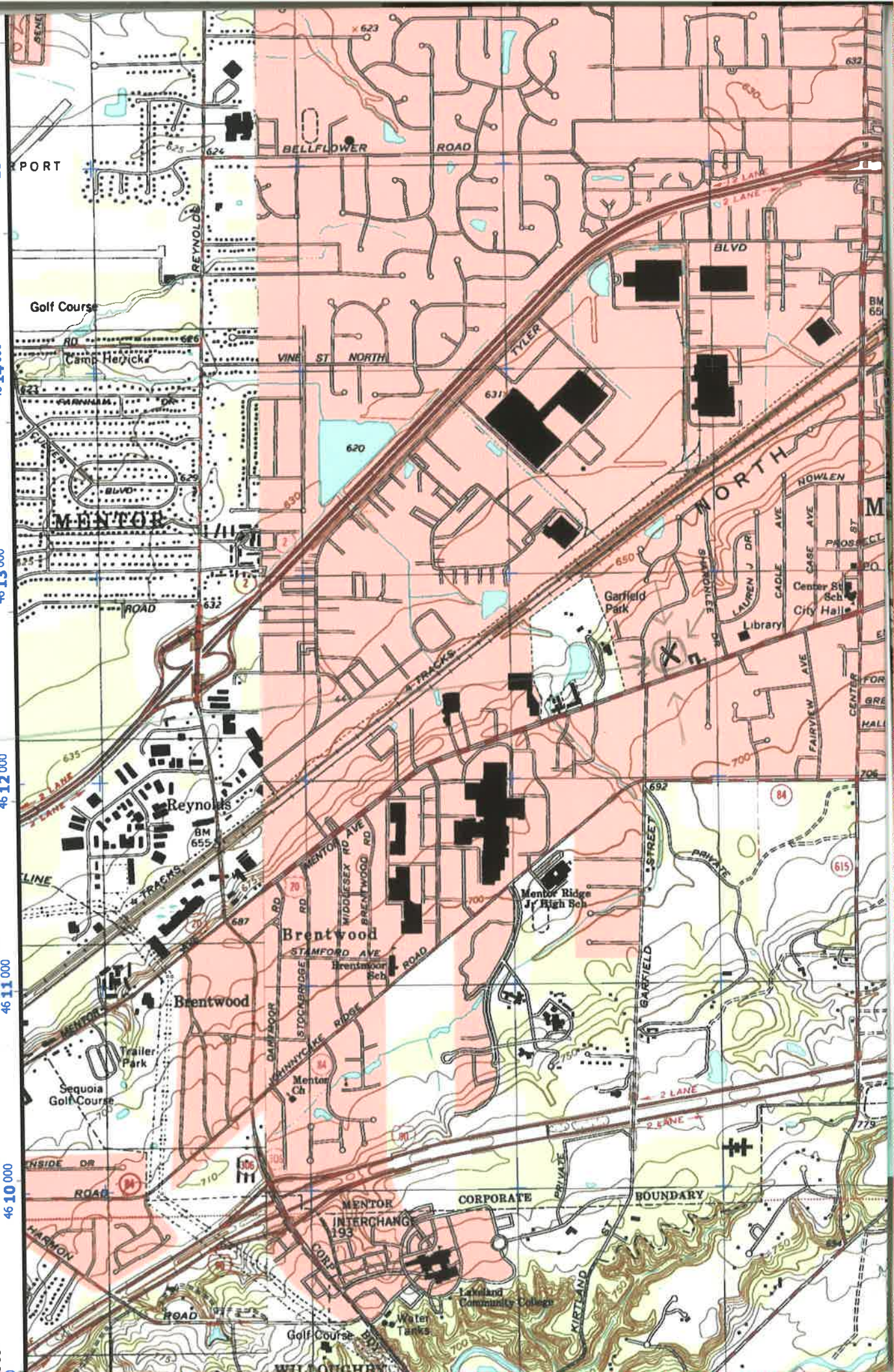
James A. Garfield Home (Lawnfield) Figures



Campaign office
Joseph Stanley-Brown Sketch

15-0325-2955-01R



James A Garfield Estate

mentor, ohio

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(NAD 27)