



# THE KEYNOTER





## President's Message

We are pleased to welcome Roger Fischer as Editor of the new enlarged APIC Keynoter. Yes, the Board has voted to return to the old name with the change in leadership. You will find that under our new Editor, the quarterly Keynoter will place a greater emphasis on political items and their uses, have more photographs, be of greater value to the membership and be published on time, things not accomplished during the past year. Many collectors have expressed concern that, in establishing the magazine format, we lost a great many positive features of the Keynoter. Without the full cooperation of the previous Editor, attempts at needed improvements were frustrated. With Roger as Editor, our drive to meld the best of the old Keynoter into magazine format has taken a great step toward fruition.

Roger Fischer is an Associate Professor of American History at the University of Minnesota, and has published many articles on political campaigns and campaign items. He has been Editor of the HHHerald, newsletter of the Humphrey Chapter, for many years.

*Bob Fratkin*

## Editor's Message

With this issue I begin my duties as Keynoter editor. I look forward to the challenge of creating for you a publication of consistently high quality and informational value. Joining me in this effort will be such "old regulars" as Chick Harris, Erroll Leslie, John Vargo, and Preston Malcolm, along with some very talented newcomers to these pages. I am especially happy to welcome as Associate Editors Herb Collins, Curator of the political history collection of the Smithsonian Institution, and Ed Sullivan, Curator of the J. Doyle DeWitt Collection at the University of Hartford, two of the keenest students of American political campaigns I have ever met.

Future issues will be more oriented toward unusual and interesting campaign items and to the stories behind them, and less toward general political history and contemporary political commentary that can be found elsewhere. Our emphasis will be on those items of genuine historical significance that provide insights into the campaigns that brought them to life. It is our hope that we will make the Keynoter a publication of continuing value to collectors and students of American political campaigns. Your comments, suggestions and criticisms are welcomed.

*Roger Fischer*

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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# THE APIC KEYNOTER

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## FEATURES

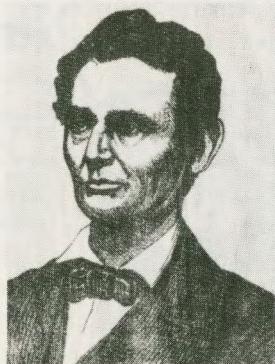
We Can't Eat Sunflowers	Page 4
Interview: Alf Landon	Page 8
Choosing the V.P.	Page 12
Riding Landon's Coattails	Page 13
Threads of History	Page 14
Lepman Collection	Page 16

## DEPARTMENTS

APIC's Past	Page 18
Q & A	Page 18
Items of Interest	Page 18
Locals Report	Page 19
APIC News	Page 20
1979 National Convention	
Report	Page 21
Photos	Page 22

**Cover:** 9-inch brown-tone celluloid button reduced 20%.

**Photo's:** The editor would like to thank Dr. Morton Rose, Bob Fratkin, and the Smithsonian Institute for the use of the photographs of their respective collections in this issue.



## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Winter Keynoter will feature the campaign of 1860 and the "Selling of Honest Abe." A special feature on campaign parades and torches will be included, along with many unusual pictures.





# We Can't Eat Sunflowers

Landon Vs. "Hard Times"

by Roger Fischer



Those who have run for the presidency and lost by a few votes in a key state or two have had to live out their days haunted by the knowledge that tiny adjustments in strategy or scheduling might have brought them the brass ring. Unlike Hughes in 1916, Nixon in 1960, or Humphrey in 1968, however, Alfred M. Landon has been able to enjoy a remarkably long life free from such doubts, for nothing he or his beleaguered Republican party might have done differently in 1936 would have materially changed the outcome of that campaign. Quite simply, Landon was destined to lose by epic proportions. He has the misfortune of challenging an immensely popular incumbent at the very peak of his political appeal. But Landon faced an even more awesome adversary in 1936 — to a degree equaled by few men before or since, the Kansan ran directly against the tide of history. The results were devastating—Landon's 523-8 loss in electoral votes still stands as the most lop-sided ever and his 36.5% share of the popular vote eclipses only the 1920 vote for James M. Cox in any essentially two-way race. He carried only Maine and Vermont (inspiring cynics to change the old axiom "As goes Maine, so goes the nation" to "As goes Maine, so goes Vermont") and took a host of Republican senators, congressmen, and other officeholders down to defeat with him.

The dimensions of his defeat are not a fair measure of Landon as a man, public servant, or presidential candidate. He was by no means the most dynamic campaigner ever to seek the presidency; even his devoted supporter Gifford Pinchot conceded that Landon was "No world-beater." Compared to the grand phrases and masterful cadence of Franklin Roosevelt's speeches, Landon's were uninspiring in person and deadly dull over the radio. Yet he had his attractive features as a candidate. His gentle charm, sincerity, and fundamental decency seemed to come across to the American public. His political background was colorful if his personality was not, from his debut as a "Bull Moose" Progressive in 1912 up through his power struggle with Kansas Republican old guard to become governor of his state in 1932. As

governor his unassuming air, sound record as an administrator, and occasional streak of liberalism (especially in the area of civil liberties) won him enough friends to assure his re-election, thus making Landon the only Republican governor elected in 1932 to survive the Democratic tidal wave of 1934. There have been years in which such a candidate would have made it to the Oval Office. 1936, however, was not one of them.

More than anything else, the 1936 election was a referendum on the personality and record of Franklin Roosevelt and on the enormous changes in the nature of the federal government that had taken place during Roosevelt's first term. In such a setting Landon's candidacy was almost inconsequential, for his only function on the ballot seems to have been to provide a home for those voters who hated and feared the man from Hyde Park and his New Deal. Outside of Maine and Vermont, such

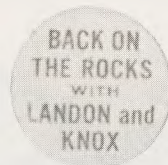
Paper Sticker





sentiments were shared by only one third of the voters who went to the polls on election day.

History does not often oblige us by making the dates of its epic turning points easy to pinpoint, but there can be no question that the Great Depression that began in 1929 was one such event. Up to 1929 Americans had weathered enormous economic and social changes set in motion by the Industrial Revolution with their traditional political beliefs essentially intact. Most Americans still believed in freemarket economics and laissez-faire governance; most would have rejected out-of-hand the notion that the federal government had any business involving itself in the daily lives of its people. The Depression, however, triggered fundamental changes in our ideas on the proper functions of government. Our economy literally ground to a halt. By early 1933 steel mills were running at 12% of capacity, industrial construction was down 93% since 1929, and 15,000,000 Americans were jobless. 5,000 banks had failed, wiping out 9,000,000 savings accounts. Soup

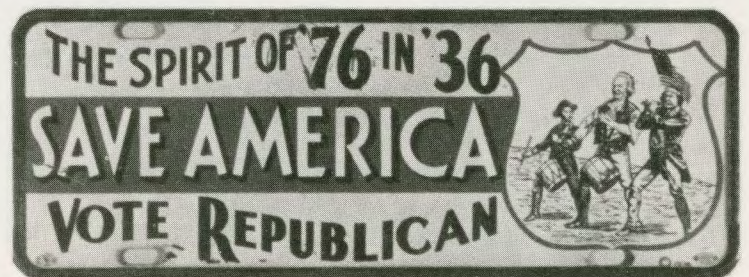


kitchens and food riots were common sights in our cities, while angry mobs roamed the countryside preventing farm foreclosures. While Americans faced a crisis of confidence unmatched since the Civil War, Herbert Hoover, that gentle and decent apostle of the old economic virtues, froze at the controls, a victim of his rigid beliefs that federal welfare programs were unconstitutional and that "prosperity was just around the corner." Having eagerly taken credit for the "Coolidge prosperity" that led to their landslide victory in 1928, the Republicans could not escape blame for the collapse that followed. In 1932 Hoover was defeated overwhelmingly, taking his ideas on limited government into oblivion with him.

Franklin Roosevelt's first term in the White House was a time of unprecedented federal activism. Written into law were massive public works and welfare programs to see the poor through hard times, measures to stimulate economic recovery, and far-reaching reforms of farm production, labor relations, banking, taxation, regional economic development, housing,

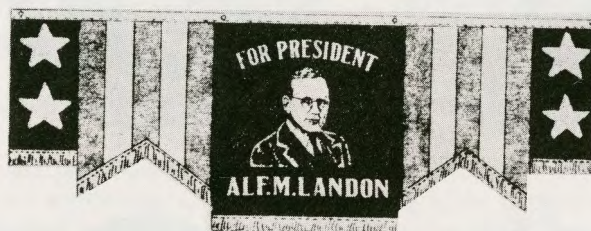


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and retirement security. Scholars disagree on whether the economy began to revive on its own or because of New Deal measures (or even despite some of them), but perk up it did. By the summer of 1936 unemployment was down to 6,000,000, farm prices were up 35% since 1932, and overall national income had improved 48% since Roosevelt took office. While fashioning a formidable record, Roosevelt was demonstrating a real talent for leading the people through the sheer force of his buoyant personality. His bold claim that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" and soothing "fireside chats" did wonders to restore public confidence long before any of his programs justified such optimism. Roosevelt's jaunty air and superb oratory helped give him a charisma more potent than that ever enjoyed by any other American president. By 1936, with a record of solid achievements behind him and such debacles as the Supreme Court "packing" furor still in the future, Roosevelt was at the very peak of his political appeal.



Street Banner

Throughout the campaign Roosevelt shrewdly ignored Landon, concentrating his fire on Hoover and the "economic royalists" of the Republican right wing. Try as he might, Landon never succeeded in divorcing himself from this burden. His party gave him its nomination and a rather moderate platform (accepting social security, a minimum wage law, and collective bargaining) for the sake of expediency, but its heart belonged to Hoover and the past. Knowing that strident conservatism in the midst of the Depression would be the kiss of death, Landon tried to bring Republican progressives like Gifford Pinchot and Charles Taft into the campaign and welcomed the support of Roosevelt Democrats (including John W. Davis and Al Smith), while keeping the embittered Hoover and other party reactionaries at arm's length. His speeches attacked Roosevelt for deficit spending and abandonment of the gold standard, but endorsed federal aid to farmers and scaled-down alternatives to New Deal programs. But the Kansan was unable to muzzle his conservative supporters, most of whom hated "that man" Roosevelt and his programs with a vengeance. Impatient with Landon's low-key approach, many of his partisans branded Roosevelt a Communist,



License Plate

hinted that his wife Eleanor was behaving improperly with black men, and spread rumors that people eligible for social security would have to wear dog-tags! Even Landon grew more shrill in the closing weeks of the campaign; his last few speeches might well have been delivered by Herbert Hoover. This turn of events was unfortunate for Landon, for the crafty Roosevelt easily used it to his advantage. Closing out his campaign in Madison Square Garden on October 31, Roosevelt told a roaring crowd, "I should like to have it said of my first Administration that in it the forces of selfishness and of lust for power met their match. I should like to have it said of my second Administration that in it these forces met their master."



License Attachment



Surprising as it may seem, most political observers expected a very close election. Pollsters Elmo Roper and George Gallup predicted a Roosevelt victory, but the prestigious Literary Digest announced that a poll of its readers indicated Landon in a landslide. Most of Roosevelt's aides expected him to win, but only James Farley (who wrote the President on election eve "you will carry every state but two — Maine and Vermont") had any inkling of the dimensions of the Roosevelt landslide. Within three hours after the polls closed in the East, it was apparent to everyone, for communities that had not gone Democratic since before the Civil War began reporting huge margins for Roosevelt. Shortly after midnight in Topeka Landon conceded defeat in a gracious telegram to Roosevelt and privately told his friends that he hoped the people could "gain a shirt without losing their souls." The final returns gave Landon only the eight electoral votes of Maine and Vermont and 16,679,583 popular votes to Roosevelt's 27,476,673. Of the 104 cities with populations of 100,000 or more, Landon carried only two. He took less than one third of the vote in the traditionally Republican Midwest and Great Plains, his own region. Like the dispossessed migrants in John Steinbeck's The

Grapes of Wrath, Alf Landon had become a victim of the Great Depression.

The 1936 campaign represented a "great leap forward" for celluloid buttons and other campaign items. Not since the "golden age" of 1896-1908 had such a generous selection of campaign objects been produced and distributed, although the 1936 crop would be dwarfed by the "100,000,000 button" race between Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie four years later. Many excellent 1936 items expressed the economic themes that dominated the campaign itself. Landon items bore such slogans as "AMERICANS CANNOT BE BOUGHT," "DEEDS NOT DEFICITS," and "LANDON AND THE CONSTITUTION." More than half of all known Landon items featured the sunflower, state flower of Kansas. Brown and yellow were the dominant colors. In terms of the verdict of the voters, however, the most representative of all 1936 campaign items were anti-Landon buttons with such messages as "WE DON'T WANT WALL ST. AGAIN," "BACK ON THE ROCKS WITH LANDON AND KNOX," and especially "WE CAN'T EAT SUNFLOWERS."

Pendent 27"

All other items

<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> actual size





# APIC Interview: Alfred M. Landon

Interviewer: Edward Ruhstaller

— My interest in Alf Landon began in 1970 when I began collecting his campaign items. Soon after that he generously invited me to lunch with him if I ever visited Topeka. After a hitch in the Navy and my undergraduate studies, I was finally able to accept this gracious opportunity this May, when my brother Tod and I visited the Landons' beautiful fourteen-room home with white pillars in the midst of forty acres among the rolling hills north of Topeka. We were greeted warmly by Mrs. Landon, taken on a tour by Landon of the basement rooms where he displays the keepsakes from his political life, then conducted this interview.

**Ruhstaller:** "Looking back at the 1936 convention, you went into that opposed by Frank Knox from Illinois, among others, and Knox ended up as your running mate. How would you describe your relationship with Knox during the campaign, since he was known more or less as a conservative?"

**Landon:** "Well, I was kind of fooled in a way about Frank Knox. He was much more conservative than I thought he was. He'd been an old Bull Mooser, like I had, so I was surprised by his conservative position. He had Caruthers I think was his name, professor of economics at some eastern university, to discuss the campaign and he and Caruthers thought the issue should be made on the issuance of money or the gold standard. I said 'No. You can't eat the gold standard. It has got to be on solid principles; it's got to be in tune with the times — the depression and everything else.' So that's the story on Frank Knox. And Frank for instance, he left himself out on a limb too much. For instance, he made a speech somewhere out in Wyoming during the campaign that insurance policies were all going to be weakened by inflation. Well, all Roosevelt did was call the presidents of four or five of the biggest insurance companies down to Washington and asked them if that was true and they said no. Answered the press that way. Then Frank went up to Maine. The potato growers were much interested in agricultural policy and he made a speech which offended them. All my advice had been not to go to Maine."

**Ruhstaller:** "How then did you come to pick him as your running mate?"

**Landon:** "He didn't know he was going to be nominated. He had left the convention the night before it convened, or maybe it was the night of the



first session, Hoover had made his keynote speech to the convention and got a big ovation. The convention wanted Vandenberg for V.P. I didn't care. It was all right with me, perfectly. So the next day we convened for the vice presidential nomination and Senator Vandenberg and Roy Roberts, then the managing editor of the Kansas City Star, were to arrange a meeting. Roberts called me early the next morning and said that he was where he was supposed to be but Vandenberg wasn't there. Vandenberg said that he was where he was supposed to be (he told me afterwards) but Roy wasn't there. I don't know which; I didn't have anything to do with it. Anyhow Roy called me and said that he had missed Vandenberg and wanted to know who I wanted for vice president. I hesitated. He said 'Now I was really thinking of a Democrat.' I know I was going to get a lot of Democrat support. For instance later on John W. Davis, the Democrat nominee for president in '24 and Al Smith from '28 both publicly supported me, along with one lone Democrat leader very favorably known from Cleveland. Anyhow, Roy said 'You stood the resolutions committee up a day; you can't stand the convention up. You have to have a name.' So I picked Frank Knox. Now Frank had withdrawn. He had left Cleveland and was driving back to Chicago with his wife and secretary and they stopped at noon in some little town in Indiana and went into a



hotel where there was a coffee shop to get some lunch. There was a radio playing in the lobby of the hotel and Frank asked his secretary to go on in and see who they were nominating for vice president and he came back and said 'they are nominating you.' I never talked to Frank Knox. I never discussed it with him. I handled it carelessly, I think, in a way I didn't know whether Frank would take it or not, whether he was interested or not. I would have been in bad shape if he didn't want to run for vice president."

**Ruhstaller:** "I read somewhere that the failure of Styles Bridges to obtain the vice presidency on your ticket was due in part to the fact that people said 'Landon Bridges Falling Down' would be used by the Democrats."

**Landon:** "Oh, I never heard that. I didn't have any intentions of him."

**Ruhstaller:** "Until 1936 Maine was always considered a swing state, yet you carried Maine and lost nearly everywhere else. Did you campaign especially hard there?"

**Landon:** "Ogden Mills came out to see me one day. He said, 'You can save a senator for the Republican party if you go to Maine,' so I ordered the train for Maine. I had a terrible day. I started in at the Manhattan Transfer at 6:00 in the morning, one big back platform crowd after another up the coast all the way up to Maine and the Democrat governor came down to the train to meet me. They had an old-fashioned torchlight parade. I had never been in a torchlight parade in my life; I had seen them as a boy but I had never been in one so I didn't get off the train to let him have his picture taken with me. He had another date that I knew he had to leave for. I just waited and sent word to start the torchlight parade, but they didn't. So as soon as he left I joined them and the sidewalks were packed. It was a cold night, fog drifting in from the sea, and I can remember seeing the last of the paraders coming in just about the time I was finished. They looked just like ghosts coming in from the fog. I was staying with Senator Hale that night and I had been told that Senator Hale was a pretty cold fish by some of the reporters and I had a light raincoat on. It was 110° when I left Kansas, and I was huddled up in the corner of his car. He said, 'Oh, that was the greatest meeting we ever had in Maine, that was just a wonderful meeting, the biggest meeting we ever had.' He was just excited and bouncing around in his seat. Finally I said, 'Senator that may have been a warm meeting, a hot meeting for Maine, but it was a damned cold meeting for Kansas!' I was huddled up in the car trying to get warm."

**Ruhstaller:** "What was your reaction to the Literary Digest poll that predicted your victory?"

**Landon:** "Henry Allen was in a car wreck in Indiana and got a couple of broken ribs. I was



**Cast  
Iron  
Toy**

making my last talk in St. Louis on the way home and Henry had been brought from a hospital in Indiana and placed on the train. He told me that the editor of the Literary Digest had told him, 'I know I won't get to see Landon and I want to show you our returns. He's going to win. We knew that he was going to lose the city big so we deliberately weighted the vote. We gave more ballots to the cities just to be sure and he's going to win.' So Henry told me that and I went to bed and I got as far as thinking about my first Cabinet appointment, Secretary of State, and then I forgot all about it."

**Ruhstaller:** "How did you feel about William Randolph Hearst's support?"

**Landon:** "Well, I never knew Mr. Hearst. There aren't any Hearst papers in this area. The first I knew about Mr. Hearst started on the day the county chairman from a county close to Kansas City was in visiting, the way a governor has of keeping track of what's going on in his state, especially in those days when they didn't have the polls or TV. They did have some polls then but not like they are today. He told me that there had been a couple of Hearst men the week before in his home town asking a lot of questions about me. Well, I thought at the time that there were some rumors that Hearst was going to buy the Kansas City Post, so I asked him 'Are they asking about the Star circulation and readership?' 'No, they seem to be more interested in you than anything else.' Then a week or so later I was visiting with a county chairman from western Kansas and he told me the same thing, which was interesting, but I still didn't tie it in with Hearst support. A lawyer from one of

#### **Campaign Trailer**





the leading law firms in the state from Wichita came in one day and said Hearst men had been up talking to him and asking a lot of questions about me. I asked 'what are the questions?' 'Well, one of them was if you indulged in alcohol and liquors to excess.' I asked, "what did you tell them?" 'I told him I had never seen you take a drink.' I said 'That's the safe exit.' So then the next thing I knew Hearst wanted to come and see me, 'He's going to help you.' That's all I know about the Hearsts."

**Ruhstaller:** "John Hamilton was the national campaign chairman during your campaign. Do you think he tried to direct the campaign for his own benefits more or less toward a conservative slant?"

**Landon:** "Well, he didn't do it for mine. I said to John, 'I want Charlie Taft in the campaign.' I knew the Cincinnati organization in particular had it in for Charlie. I told John Hamilton before he went to St. Louis, 'I wanted Pinchot in the campaign and I want you to tell the Pennsylvania organization (that I knew hated his guts) that I want Pinchot in this campaign.'" So John called me the morning after the convention adjourned and I asked in the course of the conversation, 'You told the Pennsylvania organization that I wanted Pinchot?' He said 'No' and I said 'I don't want you to leave Cleveland until you do that.' Well, he didn't, so I wired Pinchot to join my train."

**Ruhstaller:** "What did you think of Wendell Willkie? Do you think he deserved the 1940 nomination?"

**Landon:** "No. No. He was one of the phoniest candidates we ever had."



**Ruhstaller:** "He was a Democrat up until the convention, was he not?"

**Landon:** "Well, he was a pretty good man. I was there when the discussion was going on in the room after the convention. Willkie was there, four or five of us, and that's the convention where Peggy Ann and I were in the next room and I didn't want to hear some conversations (because then I could say I didn't know) and Peggy was so disgusted with me because I turned on the bathroom water and it made so much noise I didn't hear what was being said. She never did forgive me."

**Ruhstaller:** "What about Charles Curtis, who ran with Herbert Hoover? Did they get along?"

**Landon:** "Well, that's where Hoover made one of his greatest mistakes. Now, the art of governing must be preceded by the art of being elected and Hoover lacked political logistics. Curtis was the last nominee picked by the convention and not by the candidate. Hoover didn't pick Curtis for vice president. Borah got up and nominated him and that was it. It hadn't been discussed with Hoover. Now Curtis had been Republican leader of the Senate. He was vice president. Curtis was the one man that he should have asked his help. He would have shown him how he could have picked up his bills and framed them so the essentials could still have been there but he could have got them through the Senate."

**Ruhstaller:** "What about Roosevelt's running mate John Nance Garner?"

**Landon:** "Garner carried Texas delegates and California and Roosevelt had to have him to get the nomination. That's why he took Garner. They didn't have anything in common at all. Roosevelt





didn't need Garner like Hoover needed Curtis and he didn't pay much attention to Garner and he nominated him a second time."

**Ruhstaller:** "How about Henry Wallace? Did you have a chance to meet with him? What was your impression of him?"

**Landon:** "Very smart."

**Ruhstaller:** "How about James Farley?"

**Landon:** "Well, Jim Farley again was a great aid to Roosevelt and he used him. But when it came to a third term, Jim Farley wasn't for a third term. It was a question of precedent and custom."



**Heisey Glass Tea Cup**

stronger statement on inflation and on welfare — social welfare, public welfare — and they made it worse. Then I sent a telegram to the convention for a gold standard. Now, the gold standard was not an adequate answer because the issue was much too big for the amount of gold. But it was the simplest and easiest way to control the inflation. The second issue was that Roosevelt said in '35 that the antitrust laws belonged to the horse and buggy days. He was going to manage the economy of the country. I said that meant a huge federal bureaucracy. The third thing — the Social Security. I said it was a fraud because it was unsoundly financed, but they accused me of being against it. I used the illustration that it was like a father saying to his children, 'Now, don't worry. I've got everything planned when I'm gone.' So they went and opened up his safety deposit box and found IOU's. I used that illustration in '36 and it's still a fraud."



**Ruhstaller:** "What about the labor unions? Have they changed much?"

**Landon:** "No. Now I have always advocated collective bargaining, the right to collective bargaining. Labor in Kansas has always been strong for me, very strong. I've been against the state 'right to work' legislation."

**Ruhstaller:** "What did you see as the major issues in 1936?"

**Landon:** "Inflation. Inflation was the key issue. My fight in the convention with the resolutions committee was that the conservatives wanted a little snack of inflation to deal with the immediate question of the economy. I said that there wasn't any such thing as a little snack of inflation. They knew I was going to be nominated so they adopted the resolutions. I asked them to reconvene for a





# Choosing the VP

by Michael Kelly

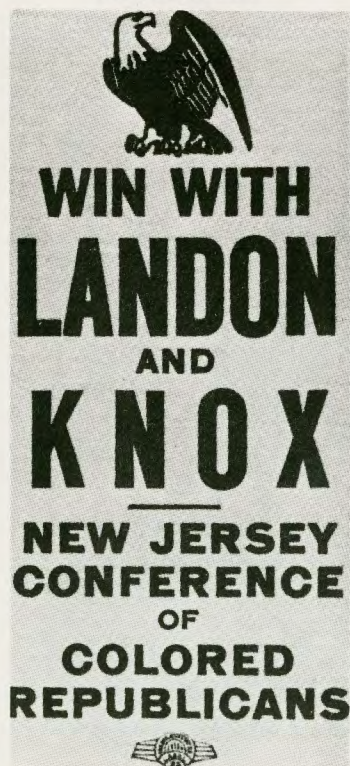
*Editor's Note: Although Gov. Landon says in our interview that Sen. Bridges was never a serious contender for the Vice Presidential nomination, Michael Kelly relates a humorous story frequently told during the campaign.*

As the Republicans gathered in Cleveland that June of 1936, the only real question was who the vice presidential nominee would be. Governor Alf Landon of Kansas was certain of a first ballot victory after a string of primary victories and the party leaders gathered in one of those proverbial "smoke filled rooms" to decide on the bottom half of the ticket. The talk went on for some time with several names being tossed out and around. Finally a decision was made. To balance Landon's being a Westerner, they needed someone from the East. Because Landon was from the liberal, or progressive, wing of the GOP, the vice president needed to be a conservative. The group decided that Senator Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, himself a candidate for the presidential nomination, would be the perfect balance.

The party leaders began to rise and head for the door when one young man said out loud, "Landon-Bridges falling down."

With a groan, the men sat back down.

**Cloth Ribbon**



**Celluloid Ribbon**



**Sheet Music**

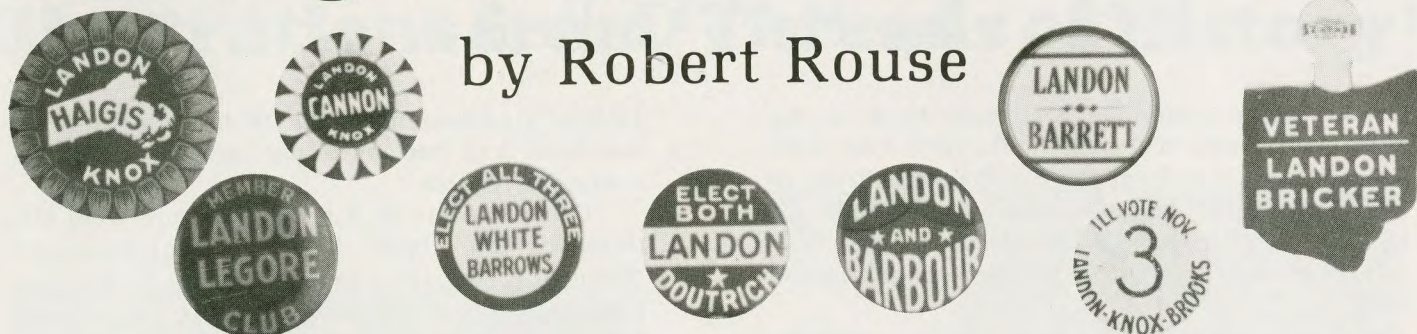


**Ethnic Pamphlet**



# Riding Landon's Coattails

by Robert Rouse



With few exceptions, the men who associated their names with Alf Landon's on political buttons, license plates, and ribbons all shared his fate in the election of 1936. Although in retrospect it would seem to have been wise to ride Landon's coattails only in Vermont and Maine, such items appeared in at least eleven states that I know of. Vermont produced none, but a button and a license plate were issued in Maine bearing the names of Landon, Senator Wallace H. White, and Republican gubernatorial nominee Lewis O. Barrows. On election day Barrows led the ticket with 174,000 votes, Landon followed with 169,000, and White narrowly escaped defeat by polling 158,000 votes.

Elsewhere the results were dramatically different for Republican candidates appearing on Landon coattail items, as GOP incumbents and challengers alike fell victim to the Roosevelt landslide. In Massachusetts four known Landon coattail items were issued, featuring the names of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., John W. Haigis, and Leverett Saltonstall. Lodge defeated Democratic Governor James M. Curley and Union party nominee Thomas C. O'Brien for a seat in the Senate, thus becoming the only known Landon coattail candidate outside of Maine to win in 1936. Haigis lost the governorship to Democrat Charles F. Hurley and "Salty" Saltonstall, seeking the lieutenant-governorship, went down to the only defeat he would experience in a political career of forty-seven years, the last twenty-two in the U.S. Senate. Three known Landon coattail items surfaced in Illinois, a button linking Landon and Republican gubernatorial nominee C. Wayland Brooks, a 4½ x 11¾ yellow, brown and white license plate (not pictured) that linked Landon with former Senator Otis F. Glenn, and a button featuring both Brooks and Glenn. Brooks was defeated by incumbent Governor Henry Horner, but went on to win election to the Senate in 1940 and re-election in 1942. Glenn lost his bid to return to the Senate to Democratic incumbent Senator James Hamilton Lewis.

New Jersey, Wyoming, New York, Ohio,

Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan and Delaware each produced one Landon coattail in 1936 so far as I know, all featuring local candidates destined to go down to defeat with Landon. The "LANDON AND BARBOUR" button featured New Jersey's Republican Senate nominee W. Warren Barbour, who lost to William H. Smathers in 1936 but went on to win Senate races in 1938 and 1940. "LANDON-BARRETT" was issued by Frank A. Barrett, the unsuccessful Republican candidate for Wyoming's congressman-at-large seat. A "LANDON-BLEAKLEY and VICTORY" ribbon (not pictured) featured New York Republican gubernatorial nominee William F. Bleakley, who lost to two-term incumbent Herbert Lehman. The "VETERAN LANDON-BRICKER" tab was used in Ohio by John W. Bricker, who lost a bid for the governorship in 1936 to Democratic incumbent Martin L. Davey, but rebounded to win gubernatorial races in 1938, 1940, and 1942, then graduated to the Senate in 1946, where he became a leading spokesman for the radical right wing of his party. The "ELECT BOTH LANDON-DOUTRICH" button was issued by four-term incumbent Congressman Isaac H. Doutrich of Pennsylvania's 19th District (Harrisburg), who lost his seat in 1936 to Democrat Guy J. Swope. "MEMBER LANDON-LEGORE CLUB" was used in Harry W. LeGore's unsuccessful bid to unseat Democrat David J. Lewis in Maryland's 6th District. A 4" button (not pictured) linked Landon with incumbent Michigan Governor Frank D. Fitzgerald, who lost to Frank Murphy in his 1836 bid for reelection but then rebounded to defeat Murphy in 1938. The final Landon coattail item I know of is a bit of a mystery. The "LANDON-CANNON-KNOX" sunflower button probably was issued in Delaware as part of Harry L. Cannon's unsuccessful race for the governorship against Richard C. McMullen. This button was made by Whitehead & Hoag of Newark, New Jersey, and seems to surface only on the East Coast. There is, however, a remote possibility that it was issued by V.S. Cannon, who lost to Democrat Jack Nichols in Oklahoma's 2nd District in 1936.



# Threads of History

by Herb Collins

**Editor's note:** American historical cloth is the subject of a new 600 page book, with over 1500 illustrations, due from the Smithsonian Press in November. The book, entitled "Threads of History", is authored by Herb Collins. The following short excerpt and photos come from the book.

Although printed textiles were produced simultaneously with the founding of the new Republic, it was not until the end of the 18th century that they began to become a popular cultural phenomena. The early textiles depicting battles and leaders of the American Revolution and were military rather than political; although, their impact was certainly 'intended to be political as well.

The earliest textiles of specific interest to the collector of political memorabilia were perhaps those dealing with the presidency and death of George Washington. Some half a dozen examples have survived depicting the death of the founding father. Both Washington's and Jefferson's inaugurations were recorded on textiles. An interesting example which has survived from the Jefferson victory in the election of 1800 is a hand-painted banner in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution.

With the advent of technology in the new Republic, textiles became a permanent part of the cultural and political scene and by the time of

Jackson's campaigns in the 1820's, bandannas or kerchiefs had become a permanent part of the campaign regalia.

Other aspects of American culture were also depicted on cloth, including international diplomacy, education, religion, sports, technology, manufacturing, rural and urban life, topography, reform movements and the military.

With the enthusiasm and the hullabaloo of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign of 1840, one finds over sixty examples of textiles available to the participants. The heyday of textiles was perhaps in the 1880's when more than several hundred different designs were produced. If textiles could have substituted for the Harris polls in the election of 1884, it is quite likely they would have predicted a Blain-Logan victory.

The early 20th century ushered in a continuous flow of textiles but by the mid-century, the production and design had declined. Perhaps the best and most colorful example of recent years has been the red, white and blue "I Like Ike/Win With Ike for President" bandanna with the smiling face of Eisenhower.

At the Democratic National Convention of 1976, only one bandanna was sold. Another with Uncle Sam peanuts and the Carter smile appeared later. The Republican National Convention sold five different bandannas in the concession area of the Muehlebach Hotel; although, they were seldom seen in the Convention Hall.

**Jefferson Flag**





# Illustrations from 'Threads of History'



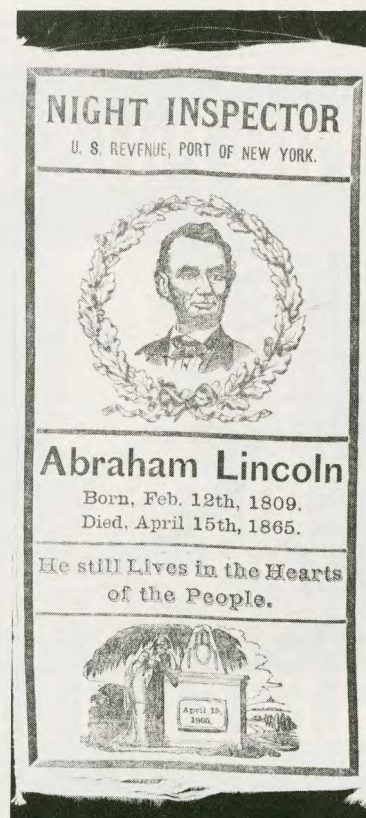
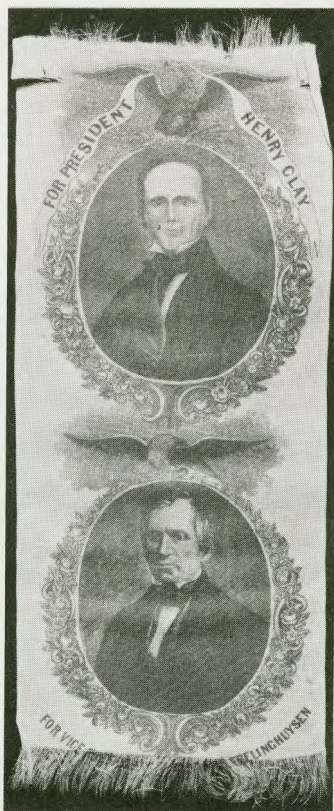


# Lepman Collection Given To Smithsonian

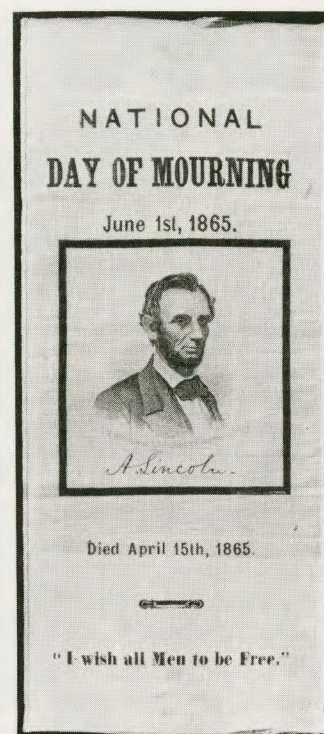
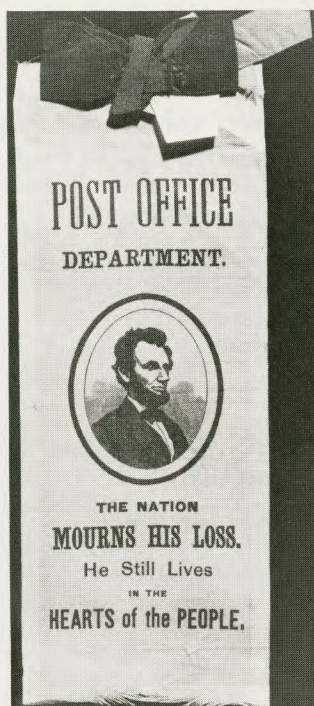
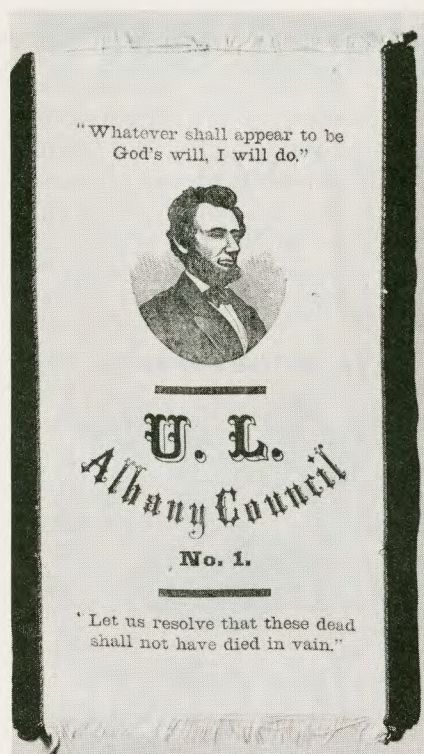
Ribbons observing Gen. Lafayette's visit to America in 1824, rare political broadsides and a pin cushion commemorating the deaths of Adams and Jefferson in 1826 are among more than 300 artifacts from the Dr. Harry Lepman collection of presidential campaign memorabilia recently given to the Political History Division of the National Museum of History and Technology by Mrs. Lepman. Dr. Lepman held the original APIC #6.

Acknowledging the gift, Herbert R. Collins, curator of political history, said, "The Lepman collection is a resource for scholars and the public that could not be duplicated today." Among the rarities in the collection is a Henry Clay banner used at the Whig convention of Baltimore in 1844, which was previously known through photographs and a description in the convention publication, a broadside of the 1844 Liberty Party and broadsides from elections of the 1840's, 1850's and 1860's.

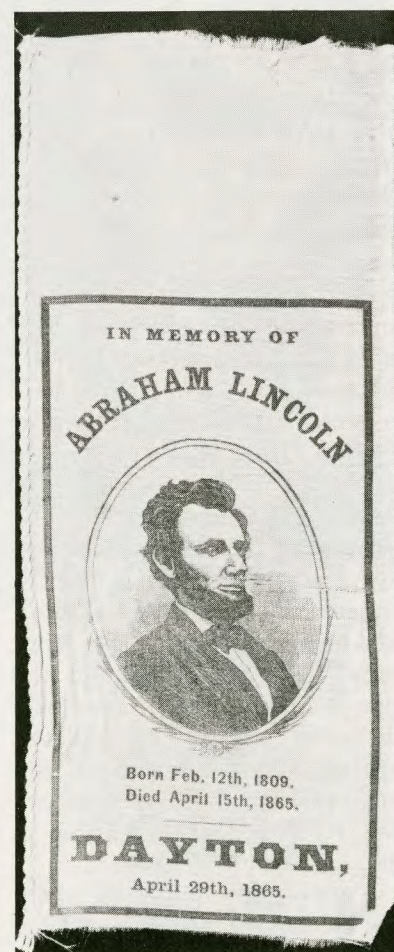
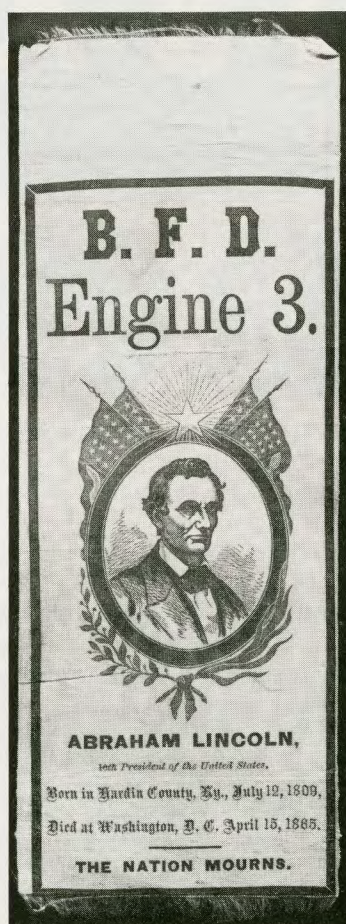
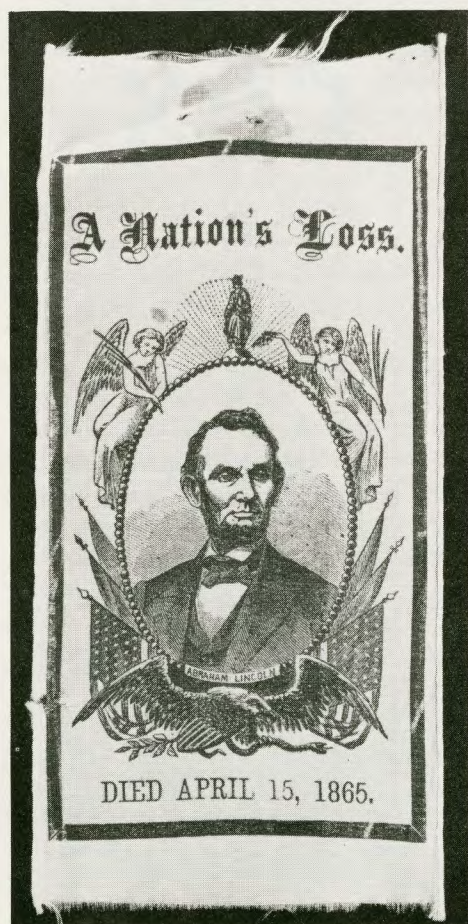
Dr. Lepman, a suburban Maryland dentist until his death in 1970, began collecting political campaign artifacts as a child. His specialty was the Civil War period; however, his enthusiasm and interest in political history was broad and the collection includes some very early campaign objects.







## Ribbons from the Lepman Collection





# APIC's A S T

by U.I. "Chick" Harris

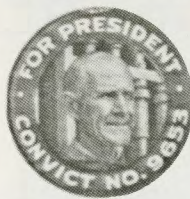
In two previous columns I have commented on the hobby of political collecting before the advent in 1945 of The American Political Items Collectors, the first organization of its kind. APIC was organized not through a formal meeting but by mail. Monroe D. Ray, then living in Belmont, New York, had been putting on displays of his items at banks and other businesses throughout upstate New York since 1938. These colorful presentations of posters, banners, flags, prints, buttons and other memorabilia attracted the attention of newspapers and Hobbies Magazine. Hobbies then forwarded letters from other political collectors to Monroe, allowing him to develop correspondences with many of them. This correspondence resulted in APIC, originated by Monroe and named by Joe Fuld of Hailey, Idaho, who was "declared" APIC's first president. Joe became APIC #1 and Monroe APIC #3. Other charter members were John W. Barkley of Cleveland, Ohio (APIC #2), Agnes Gay of East Rochester, New York (APIC #7), Walter R. Sanders of Litchfield, Illinois, and Louis H. Foster of Du Bois, Pennsylvania. Jack Putman and Paul Weinrich, who currently hold memberships #5 and #6, were not charter members, but were reassigned those numbers after APIC's reorganization in 1960.

Two of our charter members are still active APIC members, John Barkley and Agnes Gay.

John has not been able to be truly active in recent years, but has contributed to our financial success over the years and has donated his collection to Cleveland's Case-Western Reserve University. Mrs. Gay, who marched as a student in a suffragette parade in Rochester, New York, has remained a very active member locally and nationally. She has attended nearly every APIC national convention and many eastern regionals, often participating in programs and exhibits. She has served as an officer in the former New York-Pennsylvania chapter, as well as the Empire chapter. She is also a former associate editor of the APIC Keynoter. We owe a real debt of gratitude to these charter members and other early APIC members.

## Q & A

by David J. Frent



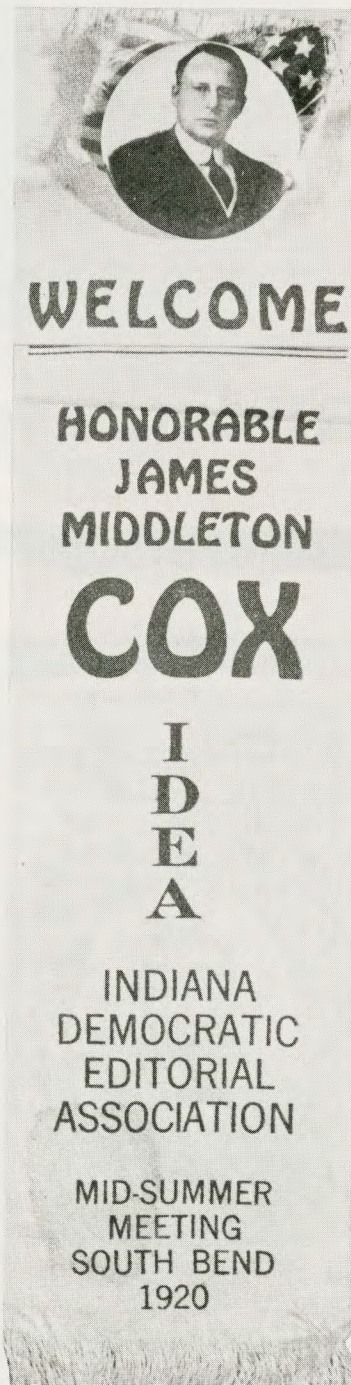
Why are there two different convict numbers on the 1920 Debs buttons?

In 1918 Eugene Debs was sentenced to 10 years in prison for violation of the Espionage Act. In April, 1919 he entered the West Virginia State Penitentiary, receiving number 2253, two months later he was transferred to the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary and granted number 9653. Debs maintained that number until Christmas Day, 1921 when he was released after President Harding pardoned him.

## Items of Interest

This section will feature new discoveries and acquisitions within the hobby. We solicit black and white glossy photos of items you have that you would like your fellow members to see. All photographs should be sent to Editor Roger Fischer.

### 1 1/4" Button and Ribbon





# The Locals Report

by Preston Malcolm

George McGovern carried Illinois' first congressional district in 1972 with 90% of the vote. McGovern also ran 10,000 votes better than Jimmy Carter's 1979 tally in Massachusetts' ninth district. New York's Charles Rangel was credited with 100% of the vote in his 1976 re-election effort. The lowest average level of education in any of our 435 congressional districts is 8.5 years, a dubious distinction for Kentucky's fifth district.

These tidbits (and about a million more) can be found in The Almanac of American Politics, written by Barone, Ujifusa, and Matthews and published by the E.P. Dutton Company of New York. This thousand page almanac, published in a new edition every two years, offers a wealth of information to local collectors, devoting about a page and a half to each congressman and congresswoman.

The Almanac is organized by state, giving a two to three page political history of each state, its census data, tax burden, federal outlays, economic base, political nature, voter registration, median voting age, employment profile, and ethnic characteristics. Its vote in the last two presidential elections is also included. Pictures of the state's governor and two senators, with career profiles. Eleven group ratings (ranging from Americans for Democratic Action to Americans for Constitutional

Action) are given for both senators. Results from the last two statewide primary and general elections are listed. Then comes a similar profile for each member of Congress, with results from the latest election and a break-down of the presidential vote in that district. The various lists of election results are probably the most useful part of the volume for collectors, for they give us thousands of names to match up with our unknown locals. Indeed, the index listing over 2,500 names, is the most thumb-worn part of my Almanac.

The Almanac of American Politics does have its flaws. The last two editions, for example, have listed former Governor James Edwards of South Carolina as having been unopposed in 1974, when he was an upset winner over former General William Westmoreland. The 1978 edition has begun the irritating practice of listing only the top two or three candidates in a primary, lumping the also-rans as "others." The typeset is poor and typographical errors numerous. Analysis of election results tends to follow a leftward slant.

On the whole, however, the book's value far outweighs its flaws. Moderately priced (\$8 and \$9) and available in most large book stores, it provides a real service to collectors of local items.



**Section  
of  
Quilt  
1880**

**footnotes . . .** Albert Nathanson, who used to be in the shipping business in Baltimore, said, "I remember going to a baseball game some time after the crash, and one of the umpires made a bad call. People started calling him names - 'bum! crazy!' things like that. Then somebody yelled from the top of the stands the worst epithet he could think of. He yelled 'Hoover'! New York Times, Sunday, September 23, 1979.





# NEWS

## Family Membership Approved for 1980

The APIC Executive Board, meeting in San Francisco, has approved a new class of membership starting in 1980. Family memberships will be available to any persons related to a full member and living at the same address. Dues for the new membership category have been set at one-half the regular dues, in 1980, related dues will be \$6.25.

Family members joining at the reduced rate will be assigned regular individual APIC numbers followed by an "R" designation. At such time as the related member pays full dues,

the APIC number will remain the same but the "R" notation will be deleted. Related members would have full voting rights, be listed in the Roster, receive the Roster and updates, but would receive no other publications. Where several members of the same family are already members and wish to use the new rate, they may designate which member(s) would have the "R" placed after their present APIC number(s) when renewing membership in 1980, and be considered "related" members. At least one member of a family must be a full-dues member each year.

**NOTE:** Starting March 1st, 1980, Joe Hayes will only supply mailing labels for meeting notices to chapters with "clear" meeting dates or "first approval."

### New Board Members Named

President Bob Fratkin announced that two members have been approved by the APIC Executive Board for service on the Board. Trudy Mason, Editor of the Monthly Newsletter, was named to the position of Chapter Coordinator, and Allan Anderson was named to another vacant Board seat.

## Meeting Scheduling Policy

The APIC Executive Board once again draws your attention to its policy on Regional meetings. No gathering will be an officially sanctioned APIC REGIONAL MEET unless (a) it has been scheduled for meetings on more than one calendar day and (b) it has been previously approved by Chapter Coordinator Trudy Mason, 205 E. 78th St., New York, NY, 10021.

Try to plan your meetings at least six months ahead. To avoid problems, contact Trudy as soon as your preliminary plans have been made. Conflict of dates will be settled on a first-come basis, and we cannot allow more than one regional meeting - in close geographic proximity - within

three weeks of another.

In addition, Trudy strongly urges you to clear local meetings as well on her calendar, to avoid conflicts with nearby chapter meetings scheduled for the same day. We have had several serious problems this year, including one day in which 4 chapters held meetings which normally would have drawn many of the same collectors. We encourage as many meetings as possible, but for the continued success of all chapter and regional meets, we must plan together.

Since meeting publicity is also handled by Trudy, it is even more important to register your plans with her if you are to get maximum publicity.

### Notice to all Specialty & Geographic Chapters

If you have not previously responded in 1979, please notify Chapter Coordinator Trudy Mason immediately of the status of your chapter. We need to know the following information from all groups.

1. Current officers' names and addresses
2. Publication name and Editor's name/address
3. Current list of members
4. Dates of meetings in 1979 and any scheduled meetings for 1980



# 1979 National Convention Report

The 9th APIC National Convention is now history. Almost 400 persons attended the bourse functions, with over 1000 people visiting the exhibit area. Everyone agreed that the Convention was a great success, and that the host group had run a very efficient, well organized event. Seminars on auction practices, fakes, and reproductions, collection tips, and specialty meetings were well attended. Besides the regular auction, there was a special ALPIC auction for the first time.

Two major West Coast collections, those of Dr. Morris Schenk and Frank Cherry, were exhibited during this convention, on a non-competitive basis, and were highly praised by those in attendance. There were 16 other exhibitors in the competitive group (see awards).

The Convention had 86 Bourse tables, and 108 people attended the banquet. An added attraction at the banquet was provided by professional violinist Gil Gleason, who played during dinner.

## Carlisle, PA. Site of 1981 National Convention

A proposal by Jake Myers, President of the Mason-Dixon Chapter, to host the 1981 National Convention in Carlisle, Pennsylvania has been approved by the APIC Executive Board. The convention dates will be August 5 thru 8, 1981.

The convention has been set for the Quality Inn-Embers Restaurant, site of the successful 1979 Mason-Dixon Regional Meeting at the end of June. Carlisle is located at the junction of the Pennsylvania Turnpike and Interstate 81, and is less than 200 miles from New York City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Baltimore, Washington, and other urban areas.

Part of the consideration taken in choosing Carlisle was in finding a site that would be conveniently near a large number of members in case of a repeat of the 1979 energy crisis.

Air service is available to Harrisburg, Pa., and a free van service will be provided from the airport to the Quality Inn on a regular schedule during the convention.

## Hall of Fame Awards

Three members were inducted into the APIC Hall of Fame in ceremonies at the Friday night banquet. The Hall of Fame is intended to recognize service to the organization and accomplishment in the hobby of political collecting.

The winners were:

**Dewey Albert**, for his publications and knowledge in the area of shank buttons;  
**C.W. Fishbaugh**, for his publications since the early days of the hobby and his efforts to inspire new collectors, and;

**Joseph Jacobs**, for his long efforts and major accomplishment in gathering an essentially complete item collection for a major candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a valuable educational resource.

## APIC Business Meeting

Issues that brought discussion at the Business Meeting included the requirement under the APIC Constitution that chapter members must be members of APIC. This matter had come up earlier at the ALPIC meeting and was reaffirmed as ALPIC policy after serious discussion. The Ford and Cause Chapters raised the same issue at the business meeting, and the general membership also reaffirmed the national membership requirement as being an important key to the strength of APIC. Under this requirement, chapter publications and services are only available to the APIC membership and non-profit institutions (museums, libraries, etc.).

A second issue discussed dealt with the possibility of junior and/or senior memberships at reduced rates. Reduced memberships were rejected by a wide margin when it was explained that the costs of services provided closely approximated the current dues, so that no surplus would exist to subsidize reduced rates for special groups.

**Photos Page 22**

## Exhibit Awards

**Best 19th Century Display:** Admiral Dewey for President Items, O.L. Wallis

**Best 20th Century Display:** Truman Collection, Ron Parsons

**Best Cause Display:** Women's Items "Spirit of Houston" Eileen Elfant

**Best Miscellaneous Display:** "WIN" Buttons, Bonnie Gardner

**Best Locals Display:** Oregon Locals, Jim McComb





## 1979 National Convention in Pictures

(All photos left to right): (1) **Service Award Presentation:** John Stanton, Bob Fratkin, Fred Jorgensen, Bob Bowen (2) **Mostly Oregon:** Nick Belenkof, Jim McComb, Steve Bibler, Charley Gustafson, Dave Wilson (3) **Auctioneers Panel:** Ted Hake, Al Anderson, Co-Chairmen Bob Fratkin and Chick Harris, Leon Weisel, Bob Coup (4) **Banquet Head Table (left):** Linda Adams, Neal Machander, Sue Graham, Chick Harris, Ceil Harris, John Stanton, (5) **Auctioneer:** Fred Jorgensen (6) **Getting the Point:** Doug Fouquet, Sue Graham, Neal Machander, Joe Hayes (7) **Banquet Table (right):** Fred Jorgensen, Trudy Mason, Joe Hayes, Doug Fouquet (8) **Looking at Locals:** Doug Fouquet and Jim Weling (9) **Northern California:** Bob Warren and John Rothmann (10) **New Jerseyite:** Leon Weisel (11) **Hall of Fame Presentation:** Bob Fratkin, Joe Jacobs, Banquet Speaker Bob Gardner.





Linda Adams, John Stanton, and Trudy Mason

# Political Collector

Featuring the APIC Monthly Newsletter

Published monthly since 1971, **Political Collector** features articles and displays and classified advertising covering all aspects of the hobby. An invaluable source of information and material for beginners and advanced collectors alike. Only \$5.00 yr. (12 issues). Skeptics may order a sample copy for 50 cents.

**The Political Collector**  
444 Lincoln Street  
York, Pennsylvania 17404

Chicago Daily Tribune  
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1936.

## nates Gov. Landon as Republican Choice for President—Delegates Wild with Joy



STATE BANNERS IN DEMONSTRATION LAST NIGHT AS JOHN D. HAMILTON NOMINATED ALFRED M. LANDON FOR PRESIDENT





Cloth Banner