



# THE KEYNOTER

VOTE



TRUMAN

FOR  
PRESIDENT

**APIC Interview: Merle Miller  
Author of Plain Speaking**

## President's Message

Thank you for your cooperation in the last two years. 1980 is going to be an exciting year for the hobby and your organization. Why not review the calendar in the enclosed APIC Newsletter now and plan to attend one or more meetings this summer.



Robert A. Fratkan

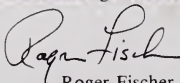
## Editor's Message

Now that another presidential election is upon us, a major concern for APIC and its members is the quadrennial infestation of fantasy or "collector" items and our role as an organization in combatting such effluvia. In recent years this is a problem which has grown steadily more complex, more resistant to simple solutions. Few collectors were hurt seriously by the deluge of fantasy buttons produced for 1968 and 1972, because they were sold very inexpensively and could usually be identified easily by their point of origin or their distinctively tacky quality.

In 1976, however, sizable numbers of items with varying degrees of collector involvement appeared on the market, often at hefty prices, to victimize APIC members seized by the madness of the moment trying to acquire every last Ford or Carter item. Joe Wasserman and I found it virtually a full-time job warning subscribers to our newsletter *Carter World* about just the dubious Carter-Mondale items and I am sure we missed more than we detected. Many scabrous cheats lined their pockets, and many disillusioned collectors abandoned the hobby in disgust. There is every indication that 1980 will bring more of the same.

Like the weather, this problem is easier to talk about than to do something about. Our APIC code of ethics is a reasonable document so far as it goes, but no ethics code can possibly account for the limitless loopholes open to those with more cunning than scruples. It is impossible to define precisely the parameters of collector involvement. Even if this were not so, it is impossible for a volunteer organization with limited resources to police American politics like some latter-day Gestapo. We can enforce our ethics code more effectively if all of us are willing to report possible violations to Ethics Committee Chairman Chris Hearn. But our greatest weapon is simple communication. We have initiated "APIC Project 1980" under the able guidance of Joe Wasserman mainly as a means of informing members about the new items and the circumstances behind their creation. Communication is a two-way street. "Project 1980" can keep collectors adequately informed only if APIC members conscientiously supply Wasserman with the new items they find and relevant details on their use. We realize that APIC is the only agency in existence with the resources to meet this responsibility. We are the only collector organization with a sufficiently large, broadly based membership and, unlike the *Political Collector*, we have no advertisers to offend or mollify. "APIC Project 1980" is a commitment to integrity in the hobby which we take very seriously. Help us do it well.

My special thanks go to Bob Lowe for two huge boxes of old auction catalogs and price lists. I am now at least 80% of the way toward a complete collection. A list of catalogs still needed is available on request.



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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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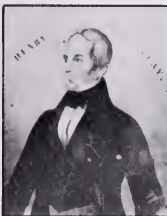
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**Illustrations:** The Editor would like to particularly thank Bob Phillips, whose outstanding Truman collection forms the nucleus for this issue. Thanks for assistance and photographs also to Bob Rouse, Bob Fratkin, Dr. Morton Rose, David Frent, Jim Barnes, Joe Wasserman, Ted Hake, Dewey Albert, Joseph Jacobs, and Joe Hayes. A major portion of the photography for each issue is done by Bill Arps, without whose assistance our task would be overwhelming.

**Cover:** Red, white, blue and black 9" celluloid button, shown 80% actual size.

**IN THE NEXT ISSUE**

The Fall Keynoter will feature the Campaign of 1844: James K. Polk vs. Henry Clay, and will include many previously unpictured items, a feature on postcards, and Part III of Project 1980.

# HARRY AND LYNDON

## An APIC Interview with Merle Miller

Merle Miller needs no introduction to students of American politics. A combat correspondent and editor of *Yank* during World War II, Miller then became an editor at *Time* for a brief stint and then at *Harper's* before turning to free-lance writing on a full-time basis. After producing several novels and such non-fiction works as *The Judges* and *The Judged* and *We Dropped the A-Bomb*, he put together his classic *Plain Speaking: An Oral Biography of Harry S. Truman* (Putnam's, 1973), based in large part on extensive conversations between the two in 1961 and 1962 for a television series on the Truman presidency which never came to fruition. For the past several years Miller has been at work on a biography of Lyndon Johnson, scheduled for publication by Doubleday and Company later this year. Miller is only one of many gifted political journalists, of course, but his work has one attribute which sets it apart from that of most others, a superb ability to portray his subjects as unique personalities. *Plain Speaking* is not (nor was it meant to be) the definitive history of Harry Truman or his presidency, but more than any other volume ever published, it allows the reader to really get a personal perspective on Truman as a human being. His forthcoming volume on Johnson promises to do likewise with the enigmatic Texan whose personality Miller describes as "layer on layer on layer." APIC extends its gratitude to Merle Miller for so generously sharing his time and insights with us.

**APIC:** From reading *Plain Speaking*, we get the impression that Mr. Truman thoroughly enjoyed reminiscing about the 1948 campaign.

**Miller:** Well, naturally, I think Truman never ceased thinking about and glorying in '48. I mean, how could one expect him to? It was such a marvelous victory and he enjoyed it so much. And all the stories about going across the country, collecting money, and all the stories about talking to the farmers in Iowa. For instance, in Dexter, Iowa, at the National Plowing Contest, he said for the first time, "Now you look here, the polls say -- everybody says -- this guy is going to lick me." But he said to me, "You know World War II hadn't been over for long. I didn't have to say anything, but everytime I mentioned my opponent, I'd make a gesture as if I were straightening a moustache. Hell, everybody could remember Adolf Hitler, and moustaches weren't very popular in 1948." I said, "Mr. President, how many people were there?" And he said, "96,000," that the press had it all wrong, that they were such lazy bastards they get things wrong, they never check anything, but, "There were 96,000. And they all applauded me and everybody said, 'Mr. President, you made a



All items shown 75% actual size.

great speech, but those farmers aren't going to vote for you." He said, "They're going to vote for me. Well, hell, I spent 20 years of my life looking at the rear end of a mule. I know how farmers are going to vote and, believe me, they're going to vote for me. And I'm going to carry Iowa." Well, of course, he did carry Iowa, as you know. And going to California, everybody said, "Mr. President, of course you're going to attack Earl Warren, the vice-presidential nominee." He said, "Hell no, I'm not going to attack him. Earl Warren did me some favors, and I never attack a man who's a friend of mine." And he didn't. And he never mentioned Dewey, by name anyway. He did the moustache, as I told you, and -- oh yes -- I was just reading someplace about Turnip Day.

**APIC:** What's Turnip Day?

**Miller:** Ah, exactly what I asked. Well, when he was at the convention, when he got up at 2:00 A.M. in the morning to accept the nomination, he said (and I paraphrase), "The Republicans have got themselves quite a platform. They say they're all for fair housing, they say they're for civil rights, they say they're for lower taxes, etc. It's all in their platform. Well, I'll tell you what I'm gonna do. On Turnip Day, I'm going to call a special session of Congress, and if they really believe those things, they're going to have a chance to pass them. I don't think they're going to pass a damned thing." And so, like you, I said, "Mr. President, what's Turnip Day?" And he said, "It's on the 26th of July. Rain or shine, farmers plant turnips. Then when it comes to freezing, you don't want them to freeze, so you dig them up and put them in your basement and they're good the next spring. You bring them up and cook them. But, the 26th of July, rain or shine, that's when I got Congress back in. They didn't pass a damned thing! I knew they wouldn't. And so I went to the people and said, 'Look what they said in their platform and look what they did!' I knew people were going to vote for me."



**APIC:** Did Truman really believe he was going to win? Did he go to bed that night knowing he was going to win?

**Miller:** That's what he said. If he doubted it, I don't think he told anyone. You see, one difference between him and Lyndon is that if Lyndon had doubts about anything he shared them with the world. He was a great sufferer, and he suffered publicly. He wanted everyone to know what he was going through. And of course he wanted to be loved. But Harry, it's my opinion that Mr. Truman made himself up at a very early age, said this is what I am going to be, my "image" (I am sure he would never use the word "image." Please forgive me). What I am going to look like is a small-town member of the Rotary Club, and not too bright at that (and indeed, that was the image, wasn't it?). I'm not going to tell them I read books or play the piano, or any of those things, because people are suspicious." And so he did make himself up, and very successfully fooled us all. Little did we know that he could quote Virgil or Socrates or Plato or that he read all the books in the public library and remembered most of what he read. In 1948, if he ever had doubts, which he must have, he had to have, so far as I know he never shared them with anyone, including Bess and Margaret. He was a very straight forward man. When you get into Lyndon Johnson, it's layer on layer on layer. There were no layers in Harry; it was just a simple picture -- "This is what I am." It wasn't what he was, but it was what he projected externally, even to those closest to him.

**APIC:** What do you remember about 1948 personally?

**Miller:** That I couldn't possibly vote for Thomas E. Dewey; that I couldn't possibly vote for Henry Wallace, all of whose associates and advisors I knew (and none of whom I had any respect for) -- because they were (I never would have put it this way at the time) tools of the Communist Party and of the Soviet Union in my opinion. I knew all those guys, because I had fought them in the American Veterans' Committee, which they were trying to take over. Every advisor that Wallace had was very close to the Communist Party. I couldn't vote for Wallace, even though he was a fellow Iowan. But I also thought I couldn't vote for Harry Truman...until I got into the polling booth. I might have voted for Norman Thomas.

**APIC:** What are your memories of election night?

**Miller:** It was a great moment, because we were all so young. If you had taken all the bets...We had a party and listened to the returns, which went on all night and into the next morning. It was very exciting, I must say.

**APIC:** Dewey didn't concede very quickly, did he? He seemed to be waiting for the last absentee ballot.

**Miller:** Dewey wouldn't concede, and he didn't concede, I think, until 12 o'clock the next day. Truman used to say, "He was a very slow conceder." You know that when he ran against Roosevelt, he did the same thing, and Roosevelt was scared of him, of Dewey, in '44, the first time and the last time, apparently, that Roosevelt really felt threatened.

**APIC:** It must have been very interesting just watching Truman's reactions as he talked about various people. You know, you've made the quote famous, about Richard Nixon being "a god-damned shifty-eyed liar," but did he really have a visceral reaction when he started talking about Mr. Nixon?

**Miller:** Oh yes, what did he say? "I have hated only two people, really hated only two people in my entire life." One was Lloyd Stark, who opposed him, the former governor of Missouri, and the other was Richard Nixon, and he said, "I never will forgive him when he went down to whatever town it was in Texas and called me and Sam Rayburn traitors. I can never forgive a man like that." This is not the place, of course, to quote Sam Rayburn, but in 1960 Sam Rayburn was asked by a British journalist, "Mr. Speaker, you've served in the House of Representatives since 1913. You must have known a lot of congressmen?" And Rayburn said, "Oh, yes, more than five thousand I would guess." And the British journalist said, "Well, Mr. Speaker, of those five thousand, was there anyone that you considered a crook and didn't like? And Sam Rayburn said, "Yes, one. He's now the Vice President of the United States."

**APIC:** There was a lot of talk in the 1960's about Lyndon Johnson's vision for America, his "goal-orientation" as we would say today. How did this compare with Truman's?

**Miller:** George Ball (Undersecretary of State under JFK and LBJ) used to tell about how marvelous it would be when Lyndon would call him up (well, he often called people up at night, he called everybody up), because the Kennedys never had anything socially to do with the work people. Ted Sorenson was never in the living quarters in all the

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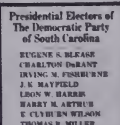
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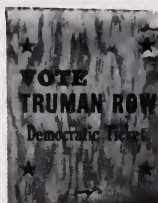
**ACT NOW--TOMORROW MAY BE TOO LATE**

1948 State's Rights Party Poster

time he was in the White House. But with Lyndon, the work and social people were all the same. He wanted everybody to come and (preferably) listen to him talk about various things, and one of the things George Ball said is that he was marvelous. He'd lean back in his chair and talk about his vision of what the United States could be and ought to be. And it was very beautiful. As Ball said, "There was no politics in it, it was just what Lyndon thought the United States ought to become." Lyndon really thought about the "Great Society." He had a master plan. As soon as he was inaugurated in 1965, he called everybody in and he said, "Now Wilbur (Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of HEW) and everybody," he said, "I look like a hero at the moment, but it's not going to last long. By next year at this time I'm not going to be a hero, I'm going to be a bum. So we have got to get everything passed this year. And I don't mean you're going to wait six months, I mean I want you to start tomorrow. Wilbur, I want you up there on the Hill tomorrow and I want you to start talking. You're the last of the big-time spenders, Wilbur, and I want you to start talking about expanding the poverty program, because we're going to have a strong poverty program." But the main emphasis was on civil rights, the whole business, in '64 and '65 and even '66. And Vietnam, he wasn't even thinking about Vietnam. Who was thinking about Vietnam in '66? It was the most popular war we had ever been in in '65, upheld by 80 percent of the people, sometimes 90 percent of the people, including all us who were to be marching around in the streets a few years later. But not then.

**APIC:** How does this compare with Truman in the sense of a scheme of things, where things should be? Truman didn't seem to have as much of a plan.

**Miller:** Harry? No, I don't think so either. I think he played it by ear. He did what he felt was right. If you're going to integrate the Armed Forces because it is right, you



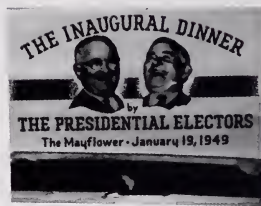
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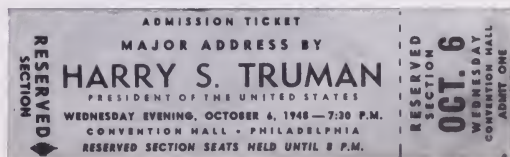
integrate the Armed Forces. But Lyndon had an idea of what these various things would do. As soon as they got the '64 civil rights bill passed, he called in Nick Katzenbach and said, "I want you to write the toughest bill we've ever had." And indeed Katzenbach did. The 1965 bill was the toughest one we ever had.

**APIC:** We know that Mr. Truman was a fine poker player, but did Mr. Johnson play poker? Did he play any games at all?

**Miller:** Oh, Harry was a very good poker player. I don't think Lyndon Johnson ever played poker in his life. He had no time for games, any games. Once Mary Rather -- his secretary -- and Lady Bird over a weekend lured him into gin, and he fell in love with the game and they played until 4:00 in the morning. At 11:00 the next morning, he called Mary Rather and said, "When are you going to be over?" And she said, "What do you mean, when am I going to be over?" He said, "We have to play some more gin." Well, for about three weeks, 18 hours a day, he would play gin. This was in the early Senate days, even before the heart attack, I think. But then he lost interest. No games. He had no hobbies. I said to Lucy -- I forget how the question went exactly, but in essence -- "Tell me about your father's hobbies." And she said, "Well, he didn't have any. His hobby was politics." As Hubert Humphrey said, politics was all there was, there was nothing else. Lucy said, "On the day Pat and I got married, Pat got a telegram from Jack Benny, who is from the same town in Illinois Pat was from. As often happened, the telegram ended up in the hands of guess who? And Lyndon called down and said, 'Who's this here Jack Benny?' And Nugent said, 'My God, Mr. President, he's one of the most famous comedians in America.' And Lyndon said, 'Well, I have never heard of him. I've heard of Bob Hope, but I've never heard of him.'" I said to Lucy, "That's incredible." I only knew the story "Who's Lana Turner?" He had never heard of Lana Turner, and you know, this was when she was a big star. He never went to the movies. He only went to one play as



Family Politics - by Norman Rockwell





# Against All Odds

## The 1948 Truman Miracle

by Roger Fischer

Through the long election night, countless Americans kept vigil by their radios as Thomas E. Dewey's expected landslide victory over Harry Truman failed to happen. The President's early lead in popular votes had been shrugged off as a normal Democratic show of strength in the eastern cities, but as returns began to come in from the traditionally Republican Midwest, his lead stubbornly refused to dissipate. After Iowa fell amazingly into the Truman column at midnight, commentators began to talk of a possible electoral deadlock, but outright victory for the beleaguered man from Missouri still seemed too implausible to even ponder. Truman never lost his lead in popular votes, but the vital electoral lead seasawed back and forth until Illinois came in narrowly Democratic just before dawn. Finally, at 9:30 that morning, Ohio followed suit, guaranteeing Harry Truman 270 electoral votes, a full term in the White House in his own right, and the satisfaction of pulling off the greatest upset in American political history.

The night the *Chicago Tribune* ("DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN") made the journalistic blunder of all time was a night many Americans never forgot. For many years a popular parlor game was to go about a room asking guests, "Where were you on Pearl Harbor Sunday or election night, 1948?," the two times in the life of a generation when the unbelievable became fact. Even before his troubled presidency ran its course, Harry Truman began to become a part of our folklore as a modern David who conquered overwhelming odds, a legend akin to the militiamen at Valley Forge or "them amazin' Mets" of 1969. To most Americans then and since, the Truman victory was a simple tale of smug pomposity whipped by feisty, "give 'em hell" resolve. As the *New York Sun* put it the day after the election, "You just have to take off your hat to a beaten man who refuses to stay licked! Mr. Truman won because this is still a land which loves a scrapper, in which intestinal fortitude is still respected."

The truth is not nearly so simple, however. Although Truman's "never-say-die" attitude undoubtedly played a crucial role in his victory, pluck alone could never have carried the day. Equally key ingredients in the 1948 Truman miracle were the superb political instincts of the President and his chief advisor Clark Clifford, a singular lack of such attributes in the camp of his Republican opponent, and an electorate which still remembered the Depression and its political legacy. The Gallup poll, *Chicago Tribune*, and all of the experts were wrong in 1948 partly because Harry Truman was not a quitter, but also in large part because the New Deal coalition forged under Franklin Roosevelt remained a potent political force in post-war America, especially in the hands of men who knew how to rally its diverse constituencies.

A year before the election, Truman appeared very much a "gone goose," as Connecticut's Clare Boothe Luce



described him. Despite a decade in the Senate highlighted by a brilliant stint as chairman of a select committee probing wartime mismanagement and waste, Truman came to national office virtually unknown outside Missouri. If the flamboyant FDR had often seemed larger than life, Truman -- short, bespectacled, plebeian, with a voice as flat as the heartland he came from -- seemed decidedly smaller. Roosevelt would have been a difficult act to follow even in the best of times, and the period of labor strife, inflation, and Cold War tensions which followed V-J Day were hardly the best of times. Restless Americans found it easy to blame the President and his Democratic party for the nation's problems. Wits dismissed the man from Independence with the one-liner "To err is Truman." In 1946 the voters had elected a Republican Congress, including such freshmen as Senator Joe McCarthy and Congressman Richard Nixon, and the rightward drift of the electorate showed no sign of abating. Moreover, the independent candidacy of former Vice President Henry Wallace seemed virtually certain to siphon off votes urgently needed by the Democrats, especially among such liberal constituencies as blacks, Jews, and labor.

Truman's chances appeared so bleak early in 1948 that the ultimate humiliation, being dumped by his own party,





Above items 60% actual size.

was a very real possibility. Jake Arvey of Chicago and New York Mayor William O'Dwyer, kingpins of the two mightiest Democratic machines, were openly looking for an alternative. FDR's son James and Florida Senator Claude Pepper were heading an effort to lure General Dwight Eisenhower, then president of Columbia University, into a Democratic candidacy. In February, a New York dinner to raise campaign funds for Truman was cancelled when only three "fat cats" accepted invitations. But Eisenhower refused to run and no serious challenger to Truman developed within the party's ranks, perhaps because a nasty fight for the nomination followed by a thrashing in November was not the most appealing of prospects. In Philadelphia in July, Truman secured the Democratic nomination almost by default, winning on the first ballot over Richard Russell of Georgia by 948-263. Senator Alben Barkley, a seventy year old Kentuckian, was selected by acclamation as his running mate.

Truman's campaign against the Republicans, however, had begun in earnest months earlier. During the winter of 1947-48 Clark Clifford and he had begun putting together a scenario for victory through reviving the old Roosevelt coalition of farmers, labor, ethnics, and the South. Wallace would have to be portrayed as a Marxist radical and his potential support co-opted. If record commodity prices held and a predicted bountiful harvest materialized, the farm vote could be won. Labor would be reminded at every turn that Taft-Hartley had been a Republican measure passed over his veto. The key to Jewish support was the sticky question of a Palestinian homeland. Blacks had been fiercely loyal to Roosevelt, but only a dramatic White House civil rights initiative would prevent a division of the ghetto vote between Truman and Wallace that would almost surely guarantee Republican victories in several major industrial states. An aggressive civil rights initiative would weaken Truman's already tenuous hold on the South, of course, but the President and Clifford agreed that in the end southerners would stay loyal to the party of their fathers. This proved to be the only major flaw in the whole blueprint.

Truman lost little time in putting the plan in motion. His State of the Union message in January was an uncon-

promising bid for liberal support, demanding a "poor man's tax cut," a massive federal housing program, anti-inflation legislation, enactment of national health insurance, and extension of unemployment and Social Security benefits. A month later he sent to Congress a special message urging creation of a federal civil rights commission and a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and federal laws prohibiting lynching and segregation in public schools and accommodations, a move which triggered the "Dixiecrat" candidacy of Strom Thurmond but assured Truman overwhelming black support. When Congress failed to move in any of these areas, Truman acquired a target far more useful than Tom Dewey could have provided, the "Do-nothing 80th Congress." Meanwhile, he kept hammering at Wallace as an unacceptable alternative, telling a crowd in New York in March, "These are days of high prices for everything, but any price for Henry Wallace and his Communists is too high a price for me. I'm not buying." On May 14, Truman won the hearts of Jewish voters by extending diplomatic recognition to Israel eleven minutes after it proclaimed its independence, thus assuring the new state the necessary legitimacy for survival.

In June, Truman traveled to California by rail to give the commencement address at Berkeley, delivering major speeches as well in Chicago, Omaha, Portland, and Los Angeles and scores of impromptu ones from the train's rear platform at lesser stops between. This trip became the prototype for his legendary autumn "whistlestop" campaign in many ways. If Truman's formal speeches put audiences to sleep, his feisty off-the-cuff attacks on Congress brought enthusiastic responses and cries of "Give 'em hell, Harry!" The louder the cheers, the more he poured it on. Republican leaders and a host of editorials deplored the vulgarity of the new Truman political style, but it struck a responsive chord among a public weary of slick rhetoric. When Senator Robert Taft protested Truman's "blackguarding Congress at whistlestops all across the country," thousands of small-town Americans bristled over Republican arrogance and a new term, "whistlestop," joined our political lexicon.

On June 23, the Republican convention in Philadelphia nominated Dewey and Earl Warren and in the same city three weeks later the Democrats endorsed Truman and



Above items actual size.

Alben Barkley. Truman's acceptance contained a nasty surprise for the Republican Congress. Remarking how much he admired the liberal sentiments expressed in the GOP platform, he announced that he would call Congress into special session on July 26 ("Turnip Day") to give the Republicans a chance to enact their planks on inflation, civil rights, public housing, minimum wages, and Social Security reform! It was one of the great political setups of all time, for the session produced almost nothing, the Republicans were made to appear as hypocrites, and Truman's vendetta against the Congress acquired even more credibility.

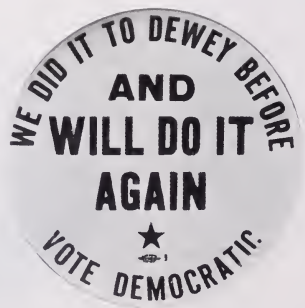
The autumn campaign, which began in Detroit with a spirited Labor Day rally, took Truman 32,000 miles to give more than 250 speeches heard by some six million people. Its highlights were two transcontinental "whistlestop" excursions patterned after the one in June. The routine rarely varied. Greeting the "Truman Special" were bands playing "Happy Days are Here Again," "The Missouri Waltz," or the state anthem. Truman would appear to plug local Democrats and then rip into the "no-account, do-nothing 80th Congress" for Taft-Hartley, failing to fund storage bins for crop surpluses, and generally having "calculating machines where hearts ought to be" as the crowds roared "Give 'em Hell, Harry!" Then he introduced Bess ("the Boss") and Margaret ("the one who bosses the Boss") and the train would depart. Vintage cornball politics it was,

perhaps the last campaigning of its type before television mandated button-down, "cool" candidacies, but the voters of 1948 certainly found it more to their liking than the bloodless platitudes of Tom Dewey.

Since Truman was supposed to lose, his campaign was starved for funds throughout. His Labor Day address from Detroit was broadcast nationwide only because Oklahoma Governor Roy Turner wrote a personal check for \$50,000 at the last minute. Three weeks later the "Truman Special" was nearly abandoned in Oklahoma City for lack of operating funds, according to Jack Redding's superb 1958 memoir *Inside the Democratic Party*. Because the campaign was such a "shoestring" operation, it engendered fewer buttons and other giveaway items than any other modern presidential campaign. Yet many of the items it did inspire offer good insights into its themes and essential tenor. Buttons reading "THE WON'T DO CONGRESS--WON'T DO!" capture the central message of the "whistlestop" harangues, just as one proclaiming "60 MILLION PEOPLE WORKING, WHY CHANGE?" and "TRUMAN FIGHTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS" attest to Truman's effort to win blue-collar and black support. Most anti-Truman items seem to have been rather moronic double-entendres on jackasses, but Republican putdown buttons showing some imagination include "TRUMAN WAS SCREWY TO BUILD A PORCH FOR DEWEY" (alluding to Truman's remodeling of the White



\*Note Differences Between 3 1/4" and 9" Pictured on Cover



Above items shown 2/3 actual size



House portico) and the eight-ball picture button (inspired by the gift of an eight-ball, traditional symbol of tough luck, to Truman by the Los Angeles Press Club in June).

Despite the momentum generated by the "whistlestop" campaign, opinion remained virtually unanimous that Dewey would defeat Truman decisively. A poll of fifty "experts" published in *Newsweek* in October had it 50-0 for Dewey. The Gallup poll on the eve of the election showed Dewey leading by five percent in the popular vote, while the *New York Times* gave Truman only 105 electoral votes. The fourth grade class at Wooddale Elementary School in Edina, Minnesota, came down 25-2 for Dewey (thus laying to rest the venerable old axiom, "As goes Edina, so goes the nation"), amidst shouts directed at this editor and the other Truman stalwart (a thrice held-back fellow named Ralph), "Truman ain't human." And as more than 48,000,000 voters went out to participate in the only poll which really matters, a typesetter in Chicago began mocking up the headline "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN." ★



TRUMAN  
CIVIL RIGHTS



All Items shown 2/3 actual size, except pennant.





# Truman for Vice President

## The 1944 Items — by John Vargo

Since the nomination and election of Harry Truman to the Vice Presidency in 1944 was, in effect, his election to the Presidency, it is unfortunate that this important candidacy was commemorated by so few items. There are no known "Truman for Vice President" buttons and fewer than ten known Roosevelt-Truman ones, plus three FDR-Truman tabs and several posters. The very small number of 1944 Truman items was due primarily to two factors, the wartime scarcity of materials and the brevity of the Truman campaign. Prior to his last-minute selection by Roosevelt, there had been no formal campaign on his behalf. Truman, in fact, had come to the convention in Chicago planning to give the nominating speech for James Byrnes of South Carolina!



### All items shown 2/3 actual size.

Undoubtedly the rarest and most desirable of all Roosevelt-Truman items is the 2 1/4" celluloid "ROOSEVELT-TRUMAN DEMOCRATIC ASSN." button bearing the standard 1936 picture of FDR. Little is known about this item or the organization which produced it, except that the association was not national in scope. Most other Roosevelt-Truman buttons are lithograph name pins, some with such war-related slogans as "FOR FREEDOM," "SAVE AMERICA," and "ALL FOR ONE, ONE FOR ALL." The latter button, with its soldier-sailor-marine-pilot design, is by far the best of these. The "BARKLEY/ROOSEVELT/TRUMAN" button was issued by Alben Barkley's Senate re-election campaign in Kentucky and, in a sense, forecast the 1948 Democratic ticket.

The 1" and 1 1/2" sepia on white celluloid jugates, the only known 1944 buttons to picture Truman, have long been shrouded in controversy. Two varieties exist (in each size), one with sharp, clear images and another with fuzzy pictures. There is no doubt that the clear variety is legitimate, but the much more plentiful fuzzy variety are of dubious



authenticity. APIC members in Chicago for the 1966 APIC convention reportedly discovered both sharp and fuzzy varieties of the jugates on the shelves of the American Badge Company, thus many collectors have argued that both types are legitimate. According to the collector who originally discovered the jugates, however, the sharp varieties were made up in 1944 but not purchased by the Democratic campaign, thus remaining on the company's shelves. After he discovered and bought the large quantity, he came back to the company to find two elderly gentlemen busy making the fuzzy varieties -- in three sizes (the 1 1/4" is pictured in the "Brummagem" column of the Spring, 1970 Keynoter). It seems that the woman who ran the company had showed a few remaining jugates to her brother Frank, the operator of a Chicago coin shop, who angrily demanded that she make him some from some original papers and more by reproducing the original papers photographically (thus the fuzzy design). It would have been possible for collectors to find both sharp reissues (with original papers) and fuzzy after-the-fact versions of the jugates on the Chicago manufacturer's shelves, therefore. Regardless of one's opinion on the legitimacy of the fuzzy varieties, they appear to be much more common than the sharp ones and should be valued accordingly.

A rather unusual Roosevelt-Truman item resembles a button, but was actually made out of thick cardboard; 15/16" in size with the candidates' names in red, white, and blue, it features a fold-out in the back which allows it to be worn on a lapel or attached with a pin. This piece was most likely inspired by the metals shortage, but obviously the concept did not catch on.★



# Henry Wallace and "Gideon's Army"

by Roger Fisher

Although he polled less than 2.4% of the popular vote and failed to win a single state, Henry Wallace played a key role in the 1948 Presidential election. Unlike Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond, whose influence was limited to the Deep South, Wallace appeared on the ballot in 44 states, campaigned actively in most of them, and exerted enormous influence in shaping the strategy of Harry Truman, the man who had replaced him as Vice President in 1944 (thus depriving him of the Presidency through succession). Until the home stretch of the 1948 campaign, when Truman solidified his hold on labor, black, and Jewish voters, Wallace seemed about to play an even greater role in the outcome than he eventually did.

Born in Iowa in 1888 and educated at Iowa State, Wallace became editor of the family-owned *Wallace's Farmer*, switched from Republican to Democrat to support Al Smith in 1928, helped carry Iowa for FDR in 1932, and became Secretary of Agriculture under FDR. Considered the key factor in New Deal agricultural reform initiatives, Wallace succeeded John Nance Garner as Vice President in 1941. His outspoken advocacy of liberal domestic and foreign policy beliefs made him the darling of the Democratic left but unpalatable to party conservatives, who convinced FDR to dump him in favor of Truman in 1944. Wallace served as Secretary of Commerce until 1946, when a scathing attack on Truman's foreign policy led to his resignation. He became editor of the liberal *New Republic* and a year later helped found the Progressive Citizens of American (PCA) as a vehicle for a third-party presidential bid. In the beginning the PCA contained many illustrious liberal Democrats (Eleanor and James Roosevelt, Chester Bowles, Phil Murray of the CIO), but when it became the Progressive party in December, 1947, most leading liberal Democrats deserted to form the Americans for Democratic Action to work for anti-communist liberalism within the two-party system. Those who remained to form "Gideon's Army" in 1948 were, as Cabell Phillips has written, "a hard core of radical left-wingers with a strongly Communist orientation." Was this a Communist movement? Harry Truman thought so, as did Hubert Humphrey, two men not noted for careless red-baiting. At the very least, it could be said that Wallace and his Progressives desired "detente" with the Soviet Union on terms that Joseph Stalin almost certainly could not have improved upon. This characteristic -- and Truman's merciless exploitation of it -- was primarily responsible for alienating most liberal voters and turning the Wallace candidacy into a purely radical fringe movement.



Vote for Wallace  
to Repeal  
the Draft  
FOR C



WALLACE  
IN '48

REPEAL  
TAFT-HARTLEY  
VOTE  
WALLACE  
'48



Pro - Wallace

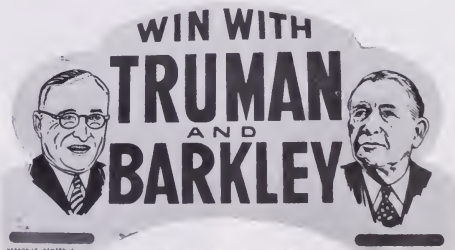
THINK!  
PREVENT  
WALLACITIS

PHOOEY  
ON  
BLUBBERHEAD  
WALLACE

Anti - Wallace

All items shown 60% actual size

What "Gideon's Army" lacked in broad-based support it made up in colorful enthusiasm. Traveling from one seedy union hall or public park to another by day coach and staying in "flop-house" hotels because funds were perpetually scarce, the Wallace effort was more tent-show evangelism than politics-as-usual, complete with prayers, exhortations to down-trodden masses, and group singing of favorite proletarian songs. In the end, however, "Gideon's Army" failed to conquer or even come close, mainly because Harry Truman brilliantly stole their thunder on the issues and stole the show with his own whistlestop theatrics. ★



License Attachment

# The "4H" clubs and other Anti-Truman items

All Items Shown 75% Size Except Asterisked Items Are 60%

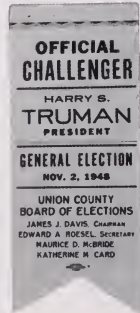
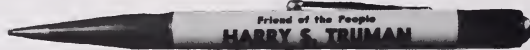
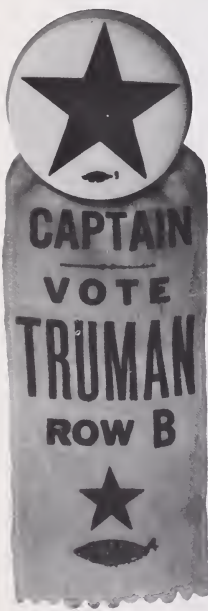
WASHINGTON  
COULD NOT TELL A LIE  
ROOSEVELT COULD NOT  
TELL THE TRUTH  
TRUMAN DOES NOT KNOW  
THE DIFFERENCE



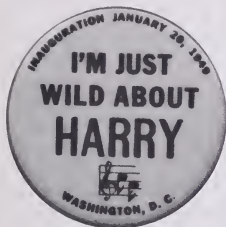
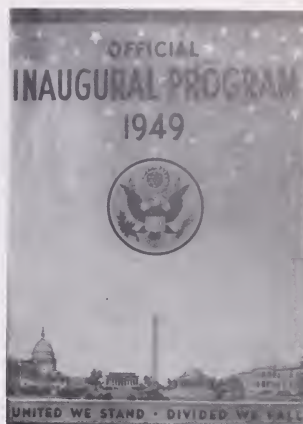
THE ISSUE IS  
TRUMAN'S  
RECORD  
NOTHING ELSE!



TRUMAN  
FOR  
EX-PRESIDENT







# Truman Multigate Posters: 1940-1948

by Preston Malcom

With this issue of *The Keynoter*, APIC is starting its Multigate Poster Project. In each coming issue, one or more multigates will be published. While these posters are of general interest to poster collectors, they also represent a valuable source of information for collectors of items featuring local candidates. Multigate posters offer locals collectors the opportunity to match elusive picture and name buttons with the candidates and the time period in which they ran. For instance, the career of Forrest Smith, mentioned by Bob Rouse in his coattails article in this issue, can be seen in these three Missouri multigate posters. Missouri has a tradition of multiple candidate posters, including superb 1916 and 1920 Democratic posters which will be pictured in a future issue. Please contact Roger Fischer or me if you have a multigate poster for use in our project. ★

**Editors Note:** Congratulations to the Malcoms on the birth of their son, Addison Norway Malcom, May 15, 1980.



1940



1944



1948

# Coattails & Details: Harry S. Truman

by Robert Rouse

Truman met Eddie Jacobson at Fort Sill, Oklahoma shortly after he enlisted in the army. Eddie's mercantile experience complemented Truman's drive and vigor and together they organized a financially successful canteen to serve the 1100 men in their regiment. After the war the partners opened the Truman and Jacobson haberdashery in Kansas City. The store closed in 1921—"forced to close by the Republican recession engineered by old Mellon" Truman explained--and Truman entered local politics while Eddie eventually returned to the clothing business in Kansas City. Although the two men were not close in the intervening years, they did maintain their friendship, a friendship which was commemorated on a scarce elliptical button issued in 1948 to shore up support in Jewish communities. In March, Truman had alienated Jewish support when he withdrew U.S. support for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states following the expiration of the British mandate over this territory on May 15, 1948. Zionists accused the U.S. of choosing oil over a homeland for the thousands of Nazi victims still scattered throughout Europe. One Democratic senator remarked, "The antagonism of the Jews may produce a revolt, in those cities where their populations are largest, as damaging to Truman in November as was the anti-Catholic movement to Al Smith." Truman partly repaired the political damage by extending diplomatic recognition to Israel within an hour after its provisional government was proclaimed on May 14. And the button reminded Jewish voters one of their own was a personal friend of the president.

Truman's early career produced two rare items, the Judge pin and the 3 1/2" TRUMAN/GOOD ROADS button (not pictured). After the clothing store failed in 1921, Truman was slated for the post of judge on the Jackson County Court. This Court was not judicial despite its title,



Actual Size

rather it was administrative much like county commissions or boards of supervisors in other states. One judge was elected from the rural eastern district, another from the urban (Kansas City) western district and the presiding judge was elected at-large. The Truman family had farmed in Jackson county for generations and Harry had many friends among the farmers as well as the town people. Truman was elected in 1922; in office he worked diligently to reform the county's financial structure and improve the roads. The anti-Pendergast Kansas City *Star* recognized his achievements in these areas during his 1924 re-election campaign, but Truman lost by 877 votes when the local Democratic party split into two factions. Truman was re-elected to the Court as Presiding Judge in 1926 and again he stressed his commitment to good roads. Once elected he proposed a \$7,000,000 bond issue to finance his 225 mile road building program. The skepticism of local politicians caused Truman to travel throughout the county urging voter support. Machine politicians were astonished when voters approved Truman's proposal three-to-one!

The Truman-Donaldson jugate is a convention item worn by the Missouri delegation. Jesse M. Donaldson was a career civil servant. He began his postal career as a child helping his father (postmaster at Hanson, Illinois) carry mail bags down to the train. In 1908, he resigned an \$85 per month teaching position to become one of Shelbyville, Illinois' first three letter carriers at \$50 per month. From 1915 to 1932, he was a postal official in Kansas City, Mo., and he had a nodding acquaintance with Judge Harry Truman. From 1933 until 1947, he rose through the ranks of postal administrators in Washington, D.C. When Truman's first cabinet appointee, Robert Hannegan, resigned as Postmaster General in November, 1947, Truman named Donaldson to the top job, thus making him the first career man ever named Postmaster General. Traditionally, this office was reserved for the national committee chairman of the president's party. Truman had followed that tradition three years earlier when he named Robert Hannegan to the office. Hannegan was a principal in the Dickmann-Hannegan machine in St. Louis which provided the narrow margin of victory in Truman's 1940 Senate campaign—7000 votes in the primary, 44,000 votes in the general election vs. a 262,000 vote plurality in 1934. Thereafter Truman sponsored him for a federal appointment and in January, 1944, FDR accepted Truman's suggestion and named Hannegan Chairman of the National



Above Items 75% of Size Except Oval is Actual Size





**Above Item Shown 80% Actual Size**

Democratic Committee. Hannegan returned the favor at the 1944 convention, where Truman replaced Henry Wallace on the ticket. Shortly after Roosevelt's death, President Truman named Hannegan Postmaster General. By the time he resigned in 1947, a more confident Truman had decided on a different approach to making cabinet appointments. Rather than focussing on political background, Truman decided to select "citizens of experience in the public service." Thus, he named Donaldson to join George C. Marshall, Secretary of State; James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense; and Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, in his administration.

The Forrest Smith item is also from Missouri. After four terms as State Auditor, Mr. Smith defeated Republican Murray Thompson for Governor--893,092-670,064.

The Illinois campaign also produced two items: the 3 3/4 " "bandwagon button" and a ball-point pen which pictures Truman and state representative Paul Powell of Vienna. Illinois Democratic prospects were bleak in 1948 when the party nominated two blue ribbon candidates: Adlai Stevenson for Governor to face two term incumbent Governor Dwight Green; and Paul Douglas, an Economics Professor at the University of Chicago who gained his political experience as a Chicago alderman, to challenge incumbent Senator C. Wayland Brooks. But when the votes were counted, Stevenson led the ticket with a margin of 580,000 votes, Douglas won by 400,000 and Truman edged past Dewey by 33,000-less than 1 percent. Senator Douglas was re-elected in 1954 and 1960. The Truman-Powell pen is interesting for the notoriety Powell achieved shortly after his death in 1970. Powell was a country politician who served 30 years in the state legislature before winning two terms as Secretary of State. Like Truman, he often used epigrams and homespun anecdotes on the campaign trail. His negative definition of a successful politician: "There's only one thing worse than a defeated politician, and that's a broke one", was fully appreciated by Illinois voters when state officials found \$800,000 in cash stuffed in shoeboxes in the closet of his Springfield hotel room shortly after his death!

The two most familiar coattail items attributed to the Truman campaign are the white on red buttons "Hear Harry/Meet Mac" and "Hear Harry/ Meet Jim and Joe". Ironically, they are the most difficult to identify. Knowledgeable collectors have suggested they were issued by local candidates eager to promote and capitalize on a Truman whistlestop visit. Others think these items were distributed to invite voters to candidate "coffees" or receptions which were scheduled to coincide with presidential

radio broadcasts. If anyone has definitive information about these items, please share it with the hobby.

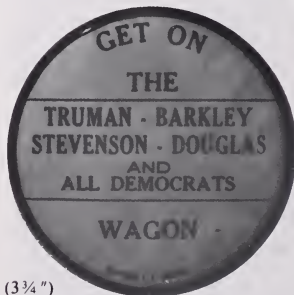
To my knowledge there are only two coattail posters from the Truman campaign. One originated in Kentucky's first CD, Alben Barkley's home district, and it pictures Barkley, Truman, and Congressman Noble C. Gregory of Mayfield who represented the district from 1937 to 1959 (see back cover). The other is a Missouri item pictured on Page 16.

Orville Freeman was elected governor of Minnesota in 1954, 1956, and 1958. He lost gubernatorial races in 1952 and 1960. His name appears on Stevenson and Kennedy items. Following Freeman's defeat in 1960, President Kennedy named him Secretary of Agriculture (see bottom of Page 11).

Although not truly a coattail, the Westminster College button commemorates the visit of Winston Churchill to Fulton, Missouri in 1946. It was in this speech that Churchill characterized the growing control of the eastern European countries by the Soviet Union as an "Iron Curtain" descending over Europe. ★



**These three buttons are 75% actual size**



(3 3/4")



**Ballpoint Pen Shown 60% Actual Size**

# Truman Inaugural Medals

by H. Joseph Levine

The official medal authorized by the Inaugural Committee for January 20, 1949, is shown below. Unlike most of official medals, this medal was produced by the U.S. Mint.

The medals pictured at right (single obverse with two reverses) were also made by the U.S. Mint as part of its series of Presidential Medals. The 1949 medal showing the White House is continuously available from the Mint and is restruck whenever the supply is low. One of the few relatively scarce Mint-issued medals is the 1945 reverse (eagle), which was "replaced" by the 1949 edition, listing both dates. ★

**Right: 1945 & 1949 Presidential Mint Medals.**  
**Below: 1949 Official Inaugural Medal.**  
**All medals are actual size.**



**1945 & 1949  
Obverse**



**1945  
Reverse**



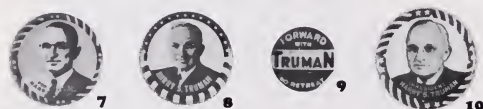
**1949  
Reverse**

## BRUMMAGEM: A Showy But Worthless Thing

# Fakes and Reproductions 1944/1948

by Robert Fratkan

In analyzing fake items, a collector's best defense is a knowledge of the original items. Most reproductions are of items that the average collector can readily examine at APIC meetings: few fakes are of rare or non-existent items (see #1 right). More detailed explanations and photographs of these and most other fakes can be found in the APIC Brummagem report available for \$2 from APIC Mailing Service, 6319 Tholozan Ave., St. Louis, MO 63109.



## Descriptions

1. Probably the most interesting fake from this period, this 1 1/4" black/white jugate is a fantasy piece which fooled several experienced collectors when it first appeared. The FDR picture is from 1932, the Truman picture is from 1948. Button usually comes with a venetian-blind back and sharp-edged curl; no markings.

2. This brown 1 3/8" lithograph is marked "Kleenex Tissues 68" on the curl. The item also appears in the "Crackerbarrel" set as they acquired the Kleenex plates. This item is not difficult to judge since the original is in celluloid. Always check the curl of a lithographic button if you have any doubts as to authenticity. An effort is frequently made to scrape off or overpaint information that indicates the item is a reproduction.

3. One of the most frequently reproduced items, this Kleenex litho is in the proper colors: red, white, blue and brown. Since the original is celluloid, this should not be a problem. Other observations on the Kleenex set: For some reason, Kleenex items are higher domed on the face than other lithographic buttons. Also, they usually come with a pin-lock back pin.

4. Even though this is a celluloid, the pictures are blue instead of brown, making it only a three-color button. It usually comes with a venetian-blind (white painted) back. No markings on curl. Note also that the picture of Dewey is not the same as the original button--see #3 above, which has the original picture.

5. This 1 5/8" lithographic pin is only red, white, and blue also, and marked "Reproduction" on the curl, although it was scraped off of the one pictured. This version also comes in a 4" lithograph which first appeared in the early 1960's in the mid-west. The larger sized original was 3 1/2" celluloid. If you remember that the original is celluloid with brown pictures, these fakes should not be a problem.

6. This 7/8" celluloid version has been a problem since its issuance by the original button's manufacturer in the late 1960's. Although the pin did not exist in this size in 1948, it does use the original papers from 1948. My definition of a fake is any item not constructed in the campaign year. Even if all the component parts of this item were from 1948, I would consider it a fake if it were constructed after 1948. Other people have picked up the item as a curiosity piece, but its value as a collectible is questionable.

7. This lithographic 1 1/4" is from the Kleenex set, with a high-dome and pin-lock, and from the Crackerbarrel set (flat face). If you look at the lower curl on the Crackerbarrel version, you can see part of the Kleenex name. Crackerbarrel fakes are marked with their name inside the back, but this is removable with a strong solvent, so it can't be depended upon to be there. This button is celluloid in the original version, so lithographs should not be hard to spot as fakes.

8. A lithograph, this 1 1/4" button is a fantasy piece. There are original celluloid items from 1948 with this picture or with this design, but none that have both. "Reproduction" is on the curl.

(Descriptions cont'd on Page 27)



# Backname Political Campaign Buttons

by Alphaeus H. Albert

Research through the years indicates that the first use of garment buttons in political campaigns began in 1816 or 1820 during the campaign of James Monroe. It might be noted that the many Washington buttons are not campaign items, but commemorative buttons worn at the time of his inauguration to honor him. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the style of men's coat buttons had changed from the large ornamented colonial style to smaller ones with plain gilt fronts. Thus, it came about that these early campaign buttons had their messages or slogans on the back, thus they are known today as "backname buttons."

For a long time it was believed that the buttons of the Andrew Jackson campaigns were the earliest ones, but a few years ago a button reading "MONROE" was found. It is generally considered that this button dates from the 1816 campaign, as there was very little party feeling or political propaganda during the 1820 campaign and no political medals or tokens are known. By 1824 and 1828, the political scene had changed and there appeared a number of these backname buttons favoring Andrew Jackson. Several of them referred to his victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans in 1815. No known John Quincy Adams or William H. Crawford backname buttons exist.

The exact date of the "HENRY CLAY" button is not known but it was probably before the 1844 campaign, most likely in 1832. During the congressional campaign of 1834, two backname buttons appeared with the motto "E PLURIBUS UNUM." By the time of the 1840 campaign, the number of backname buttons had dwindled to one for Martin Van Buren and one for William Henry Harrison.

Here are the fifteen known backname buttons, maybe the most interesting, puzzling, and scarce of all political garment buttons. So far as is known, no collector has a complete set. The numbers designating the buttons are from my *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons*.

## Descriptions

**PC 75** - The inscription "MONROE" with wreath, "Extra Strong" encircling the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1816? 1-piece; 20 mm.

**PC 76** - The inscription, "JACKSON-HUZZA," with "TRUE STANDARD" around the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 23 mm.

**PC 77** - The inscription "★JACKSON★ VICTORY", with "AMERICAN STANDARD" around the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 23 mm.

**PC 78** - The inscription "JACKSON'S VICTORY", with "Standard Colour" around the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 19 mm.

**PC 79** - The inscription "ANDREW JACKSON MARCH 4, 1829". A backname button with the State of Virginia seal on front of button; 1-piece; low convex; 20 mm. (Button not illustrated.)

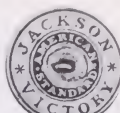
**PC 80** - The inscription "JACKSON'S VICTORY", almost obliterated by a raised backmark of "ARMITAGE-PHILA". A backname button



PC 75



PC 76



PC 77



PC 78



PC 80



PC 81



PC 82A



PC 82B



PC 83



PC 106A



PC 106B



PC 121



PC 137



PC 201

with the figure "1" in curve of the bugle and 16 five-pointed stars on front of button; 1-piece; convex; 17 mm. (An "overrun" button, reused as a 1st Rifle Regiment button.)

**PC 81** - The inscription "ANDREW JACKSON MARCH 4 AD 1829" with 20 stars encircling. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 20 mm.

**PC 82 - (A).** The inscription "ANDREW JACKSON MARCH 4, 1829" with 24 stars encircling. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 21 mm.

**(B).** The inscription "ANDREW JACKSON MARCH 4, 1829" with 18 stars encircling. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 20 mm.

**PC 83** - The inscription "ANDREW JACKSON, PRESIDENT. 1829." A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 20 mm.

**PC 106 - (A).** The inscription "E PLURIBUS UNUM", with "H. Meriton" around the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 19 mm.

**(B).** The inscription "E PLURIBUS UNUM", with eagle above and 13 stars encircling the shank. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 19 mm.

**PC 121** - The inscription "MARTIN VAN BUREN, EXCELSIOR." A backname button with ornamented front; 1-piece; 21 mm.

**PC 137** - The inscription "HARRISON OHIO/NE PLUS ULTRA". A backname button with a floral design on front; 1-piece convex; 23 mm.

**PC 201** - The inscription "HENRY CLAY", with "SUPERIOR" below. A backname button with plain front; 1-piece; 18 mm.

# APIC Project 1980

by Joe Wasserman



80/49



80/50

CARTER  
IN '80  
FLORIDA  
DOES IT AGAIN

80/51



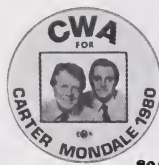
80/52



80/53



80/54



80/55



80/56



80/57

All items shown are 60% actual size.

## NOTES

80/38. (pictured in last issue) The litho version of this pin ("Labor for Carter-Mondale") is 1 3/16".

80/49. This is a 2 3/4" celluloid distributed at an AFL-CIO rally in Buffalo during the New York Primary. AFL-CIO appears on the curl.

80/50. Ordered by the White House for Rosalynn Carter's community trips to Springfield, Massachusetts; Lorain, Ohio; St. Louis, Missouri; and Davis, California in March 1979, this nondescript red and white celluloid was worn by Mrs. Carter and her traveling staff and given to key "volunteer" community leaders. Three sizes: 1 3/4", 3 1/2", and 9". Ribbons with the names of the four cities were made for use with the 9" button. "Rosalynn Carter's Community Trip March 1979" is on the curl.

80/51. This 1 1/2" X 2" green and white tab first appeared in Florida during the Florida caucuses in October 1979. The Florida Carter campaign also used the tab during the March primary.

80/52. This 1 1/2" green and white celluloid was made by N. G. Slater, a well known New York City manufacturer who makes large quantities of most of his items. This item was made for public sale and has been sold by vendors, novelty shops and local campaign groups throughout the country. Although N. G. Slater buttons are common, they are

generally well designed and available at reasonable prices.

80/53. Ordered by a Carter staffer in Europe, this 2 1/16" green and white celluloid was used during the complicated Democrats Abroad Primary from April 21st to May 9th; 250 were reportedly made in the U.S.

80/54. This 2" green, white and black litho is the National button of the Communication Workers of America.

80/55. This 1 5/8" red, white and blue litho is the national button of the National Education Association, a group deeply indebted to President Carter for establishing a separate Department of Education.

80/56. This 3 1/2" red and white celluloid was made by a Michigan farmer and leader of the American Agriculture Movement. Ordered in small quantity, this button was sold to protesting farmers at the AAM's National Tractorcade in February 1979. This classic button which reflects the feelings of a growing number of special interest groups is one of the few anti-Carter buttons from the AAM protests that is free from collector involvement.

80/57. This 1 1/4" multicolored button was ordered by the Democratic National Committee for use at a fundraiser featuring Rosalynn Carter in Palm Beach, Florida on April 25, 1980. The button was worn as a security badge by Carter staffers and contributors. Millenium Group 4/25/80 appears on the curl.



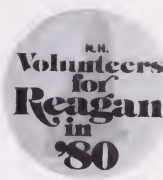
80/58



80/59



80/60



80/61



80/62



80/63



80/64



80/65



80/66

All items shown are 60% actual size.

**80/58.** This 3" full color trigate was made by Cleve Benedict (left), Republican candidate for Congress from West Virginia's 2nd Congressional District. The button also features Ronald Reagan and former W. Va. Governor Arch Moore.

**80/59.** This 2 3/8" black and white celluloid shows Reagan in a western hat in front of the Alamo, and is the official button of an unauthorized Texas group called Democrats and Independents for Reagan. The buttons surfaced during the primary. This committee is planning a statewide drive independent of the Reagan for President campaign for the November election. The name of the group appears on the curl.

**80/60.** One of the earliest "official" Reagan items, this 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid was made by the Fund for a Conservative Majority, an unauthorized Reagan campaign committee (see 80/4 in Spring 1980 issue) and sold at the National Young Americans for Freedom Convention in Washington, D.C. in August 1979; 1,000 were originally made but the group has reordered several times. The committee's name appears on the curl.

**80/61.** This 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid was made by collector/dealer Frank Enten for the Fund for a Conservative Majority (see 80/60) and used throughout New Hampshire during the primary campaign last February. The committee's name appears on the curl.

**80/62.** This 1 3/4" red, white and blue celluloid is available with red or blue stripes and was made by N. G. Slater.

**80/63.** This 1 1/8" red, white and blue litho is a national Reagan button that was first used during the primary campaign.

**80/64 and 80/65.** These 2 1/4" orange and white and orange and black celluloids were made by Frank Enten for use in the Tennessee primary by the same independent group as 80/61. The committee's name appears on the curl.

**80/66.** This 2 1/4" red, turquoise and blue celluloid was ordered by California Congressman Bob Dornan to promote his reelection and dream ticket of New York Congressman Jack Kemp as Governor Reagan's Vice Presidential running mate; 200 were made by Votes Unlimited and personally passed out by Representative Dornan.

**80/67.** This 1 1/8" blue and white litho is the first button issued by the newly formed Citizens' Party which has since nominated environmentalist/author Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris as their standard bearers.



80/67



80/68

**80/68.** This tacky 1 1/4" yellow and red celluloid was made for Luther Wilson, one of the many unknown that file for the presidency every four years. The button was made by Monico Graphics, a small independent button company that was also responsible for the poor quality Kennedy announcement button (80/16).

**80/69.** This 2 1/4" badge-a-minut comes in two color variations white and black, and gray and black. It was made by John Anderson's national headquarters in Rockford, Il-





80/69



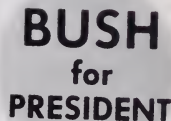
80/70



80/71



80/72



80/73



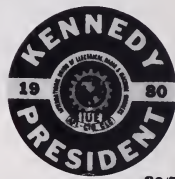
80/74



80/75



80/76



80/77

All items shown are 60% actual size.

Illinois and was sold during the Illinois primary when Anderson was still a Republican. The committee's authorization appears on the curl.

**80/70.** A brown and white 2 1/2" celluloid, this button was issued in the Albany, New York area shortly before Brown's name was removed from the ballot; manufacturer unknown.

**80/71.** This brown and white 1 1/8" litho was distributed in the Boston area; manufacturer unknown.

**80/72.** 1,000 of this 1 1/4" red, white and blue celluloid were made by the Bush National Headquarters in Houston, Texas.

**80/73.** A 2 1/2" red/white/blue celluloid, this item was made for the Bush party in Massachusetts the night of the New Hampshire Primary; nothing on the curl.

**80/74.** This 2 1/2" red, white and blue celluloid was issued by the Bush Headquarters in Hartford, Connecticut and sold for \$1.00. It was first used during Bush's visit to that city in January; 250 were originally made but reports are that the button was later rerun for the March primary.

**80/75.** This red, white and blue 2 1/4" celluloid was ordered by the National Connally Committee in Texas. Manufactured by Fargo Rubber Stamp, it is easily available for 50¢.

**80/76.** This 3" red, white, blue and black celluloid was manufactured by Phillips and is one of several speculative buttons this manufacturer made for sale to its jobbers. The Connally button was sold at a Republican State meeting in Texas earlier this year and reports of its use by vendors have come in from several states.

**80/77.** On November 1, 1979, the International Union of Electrical Machine Workers became one of the first major industrial unions to endorse the presidential candidacy of Senator Kennedy. Massachusetts IUE members were spor-

ting this very attractive 2 1/4" red, white, blue and yellow celluloid before Kennedy's formal announcement. Union bug 36 appears on the curl.

**80/78.** Ordered by the D.C. Kennedy Committee and worn by workers for the May 6 primary, this 3" blue and white celluloid was made by Frank Enten's PC Button Company.

**80/79.** Made by Billie Carr, a long-time liberal organizer and Democratic National Committee Member from Houston, this 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid was used at the DNC meeting in Austin, Texas on November 8-10; 200 of these buttons were ordered from A Badge & Button Corp. in Houston.

**80/80.** This 1 1/4" blue and white celluloid was given to Kennedy volunteers for the Massachusetts primary. Union bug 36 appears on the curl.

**80/81.** This red, white and blue celluloid, made by N. G. Slater, comes in 1 1/4" and 1 1/2" sizes. This button was probably made in large quantity.

**80/82.** This 2 1/4" black and white celluloid was made by an American actor and member of the Paris English Theater Group. Most of the 100 that were made have been distributed to other American members of this amateur theater group. The button isn't very elegant and its unusual rim leads me to believe that it was manufactured in Europe. No markings on curl. Only a few of its kind have surfaced.

**80/83.** Originally ordered by the UAW for use during the Iowa caucuses, this 1 1/2" blue and white celluloid was later used in the New York and Connecticut primaries. Barker Specialty Co. Meriden Ct. on curl.

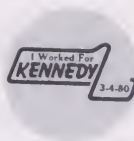
**80/84.** This 1 1/2" red, black and white celluloid was ordered by the Kennedy campaign and distributed at



80/78



80/79



80/80



80/81



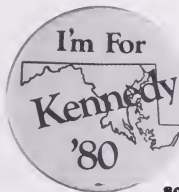
80/82



80/83



80/84



80/85



80/86



80/87



80/88



80/89



80/90



80/91



80/92



80/93

All items shown are 60% actual size.

Fanueil Hall in Boston on Valentine's night where Kennedy delivered one of his most memorable speeches of the campaign; 2,000 of this button were made with "Fanueil Hall 2/14/80" on curl. An N. G. Slater version also exists in red, white and blue, distributed by the Washington, D.C. headquarters.

**80/85.** 1,000 of this 2 1/4" blue and white celluloid were ordered by a Maryland Kennedy worker for use in the May 13th primary. The lion's share were sold at the state headquarters in Baltimore. But some were sent to Kennedy offices in target counties.

**80/86 & 80/87.** These 2 1/4" blue, red and white celluloid buttons were ordered by the Montgomery County, MD Democrats for Kennedy use at a fund raiser on January 23, 1980. The "worker" button (#80/87) was only given to local Kennedy supporters who were actively campaigning for Kennedy in Montgomery County.

**80/88.** On September 30, 1978, Ted Kennedy was the keynote speaker at the New Hampshire Democratic Convention Dinner in Manchester; 500 of this 1 1/4" green and white celluloid were ordered from MacDonald Associates making this one of the earliest official 1980 buttons.

**80/89.** 5,000 of this 1 1/2" green and white celluloid were ordered from the Millenium Group by the Kennedy campaign for use during the NY primary. Most were distributed at the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

**80/90.** This 1 1/2" blue and white celluloid was made by the United Farm Workers and passed out at campaign stops in the Hispanic areas of Texas where Senator Kennedy and UFW President Cesar Chavez pressed for the Chicano vote.

**80/91.** This 1 5/8" litho comes in two color variations: red, black and white or blue, black and white. It was used in the Kennedy headquarters in Boston for a short time last November, but thousands more have been sold to the public by vendors and novelty shops. Joy Products appears on curl.

**80/92 & 80/93.** These two celluloids were made by N. G. Slater. 80/92 comes in two color variations: red, white and black or blue, white and black. 80/93 is available with white or blue backgrounds. These buttons are 1 3/4" in size. These buttons were probably made in large quantity. ★



Pennant



# NEWS

## APIC 1980-1982 Election: September 15, 1980

**All Ballots must be postmarked by September 5, 1980**

### APIC Teller Committee Appointed

In accordance with the APIC Constitution, the Executive Board has selected Jim Henderson (#4296) of Athens, Alabama to be Chairman of the Teller's Committee for the upcoming election of APIC officers. Selected as members of the committee were Chris Olmstead (#2374) of Atlanta, Georgia, and Edward Jensen (#905) of Hardy, Arkansas.

### For the Record



26

The coattail candidate on this Bryan item pictured in the Spring 1980 issue (page 15) has been identified as Benton C. McMillin, who was re-elected Governor of Tennessee in 1900. Barry Nelson made the identification.

**NOTE:** In the same article, pictures #2 and #3 were reversed.

## APIC Library & Museum Service Announced

### Keynoter Subscriptions Available For Libraries

APIC is pleased to announce that subscriptions to the *APIC Keynoter* are now being made available to libraries and museums. Subscription rates have been set at \$8.75 per year, with a two year subscription for \$16.00 also available.

Initial response has been outstanding, according to Bob Fratkin. Bob also suggested that members may also wish to consider giving *The Keynoter* as a gift to their own college or high school libraries. Contact Joe Hayes for details.

### Editor's Note:

In previous issues of *The Keynoter*, most buttons and other small items have been pictured actual size. This has been a valuable aid to collectors, however it does limit the number of items that can be pictured in the space available. We are therefore experimenting with various percentage reductions to determine the best size for future illustrations. Your comments are invited.

For many years, APIC has been responding to requests from libraries and museums for assistance in putting on exhibits and cataloguing collections. Most of these requests have been handled on an individual basis in the local communities. However, as the volume of requests has increased, efforts to satisfactorily offer APIC services to institutions have been hampered by a lack of organization.

In order to increase the participation of APIC and its members, both locally and nationally, in these projects, a central clearing house has been created. All requests for assistance should be sent to Joe Hayes, APIC Secretary-Treasurer. A committee is being formed now to operate the Library and Museum Service (LMS), which will include the responsibilities of the APIC Education Division.

If you would like to become involved in this project and be a part of the LMS Committee, please contact President Bob Fratkin or Elmer Koppelman, Chairman-designate of the new Division. ★

### Membership Information:

Applications may be obtained by writing to the Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Joseph D. Hayes, 1054 Sharpsburg Drive, Huntsville, AL 35803.



## Fakes 1944/1948 Cont.



14

9. This 7/8" celluloid is a well-made fake, but can be easily determined on close inspection. The item is a photographic reproduction, and the lettering is fuzzy with small dots appearing on white surfaces; the word "President" is almost indistinct. The original celluloid is printed clearly and distinctly. Nothing on the curl.

10. One the hardest fakes to identify, this 1 1/4" celluloid with no markings usually comes with a venetian-blind back. This piece is so common that if you have any slight doubt, don't buy!

11. Marked "Columbia Adv. Co." on the curl, this celluloid 1 3/4" button appeared in the late 1960's along with similar Stevenson and Kennedy items, none of which had ever appeared earlier. The brushed aluminum back on this item was not used in 1948.

12. Part of the 1972 American Oil series, each of which is numbered on the curl. This curl says: "A-0-1972-28" and "Dewey 1948". This button is blue on white, the original is black on cream.

13. An interesting fake, this 7/8" red, white, and black celluloid pin was paid for by Sen. Thurmond and distributed from his office starting in the late 60's. By then, Thurmond had run out of the original lithographic buttons from his 1948 States Rights candidacy and wished to continue filling requests for the item. Luckily for collectors, the button salesman convinced him that celluloid buttons looked nicer (and were cheaper in small quantity), so the reordered buttons were celluloid.

14. This item is not a fake, but it is not from 1948 either. Clearly marked "1975 Democratic Natl. Comm." on the curl, this 2" red, white, blue, black and gold celluloid was used for several Democratic fund raisers in 1975.

As is evident from the above, many fakes are easily avoidable if you take even minimum precautions as to the material and colors of the originals. Increased knowledge is still the best protection against fakes. It should be noted that since the passage of the Hobby Protection Act in 1973, in which APIC played a key role, the issuance of new fakes has almost ceased. We must still contend with the pre-1973 material, but even that seems to be diminishing over the years. ★

## Moving?

Please send all Change of address information to Joseph D. Hayes, 1054 Sharpsburg Dr., Huntsville, Alabama 35803.

## Q&A

by David J. Frent

**What is your opinion of the "rare", expensive pieces issued for the current election?**

This question encompasses the problem which is probably the major reason new collectors lose interest in political Americana. The answer will differ greatly depending on the point of view of the seller, bystander or those who have gotten hurt in '72 and '76. Nevertheless, track records of the current ('72 & '76) material during the peak interest period resemble an election fever buying panic which breaks sharply 6 months or so after the election; continuing down in both collector interest and price for the next 1 - 2 years until it reaches a true realistic level. I recall some of the hot '72 McGovern and '76 Carters which

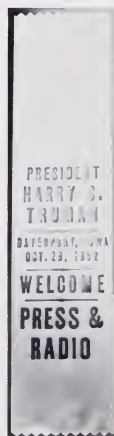
were going for 5 - 10 times what they are now.

No current item produced in so-called limited numbers is as rare as a Grant ferrotype or a Cox or Davis picture pin, which are examples of pieces valued below some 1976 hot items during the fever peak. No common Taft, McKinley or Harding which are over half a century old and not hot off the presses are equal to current items (1980) which the seller seems to have an endless supply. In addition, many FDR, Landon and Willkie pieces are selling for less than 1980 items a multitude of sellers seem to have in quantity. Worse than the major party candidates are the third parties and hopefuls, whose price decline makes the recent tumble of silver look tame by comparison. But one difference, hopefuls will probably never have a bounce back to earlier levels no matter how our ranks grow. I recall some of the McCarthy items for '68 and '76 Fred Harris buttons as glaring examples.

Personally, I wait until eight months after the election before focusing on

what I want in my collection. Not only do I have a better selection seeing all that is available but my dollar goes quite a bit further. We all collect history, so let's use it to help us avoid the pitfalls of the past. ★

**Ribbons 40% actual size.**



# Truman Campaign Posters 1934-1948

