



THE POLITICS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS 1912 • Woodrow Wilson • 1916

EDITORIAL

In our "Project 1980" section in the 1981:3 Keynoter, we inadvertently (and incorrectly) stated that #80-363 (a 3" Reagan "KANSAS DELEGATE" celluloid) had been manufactured by Morgan Williams and was of dubious authenticity, for the man whose name appeared on the disclaimer (Patrick Hill) had denied knowledge of the item. This mistake was caused by the deletion of two lines of type by the printer and was not caught during proof-reading. It caused some embarrassment for an APIC member who was trading or selling the item pictured, which was in fact produced by Pol-Ad of Clayton, Missouri, and is considered legitimate. The nature of the error was explained to that collector with our apology and a promise to run a correction in the next issue. This was done and we assumed that the matter was laid to rest. Such was not to be the case, however, for at a subsequent meeting of the Gateway to the West Chapter, a resolution was adopted unanimously asking us to conduct a review of "Project 1980," establish guidelines for future APIC projects of this sort, and to choose the project chairman "with an eye toward eliminating either the substance or appearance of a conflict of interest." While we regret the typographical error on #80-363 and any inconvenience it may have caused, and point out that guidelines were established in the Spring 1980 Keynoter, we believe that we can not let pass without comment the allegations raised in the resolution adopted by the Gateway to the West chapter.

Since this project began, some 580 campaign items have been catalogued, and — with the exception of some layout errors such as incorrect size, color, or numbers — there have been only five items incorrectly attributed, and only #80-363 significantly so. This 99% record of accuracy is not only commendable, it is downright amazing, given the amount of misinformation floating about the hobby on many new items.

We decided to run "Project 1980" with its descriptive format because we feel that these campaign items are important historical artifacts and that serious collectors and scholars are interested in the stories behind the buttons as to the roles they played in the 1980 presidential campaign. We consciously rejected a format that would merely catalogue and describe the items. To undertake such a formidable task, we agreed that Joe Wasserman was the perfect person, for his knowledge of current items, his energy and ability as a researcher, and his contacts with other collectors of 1980 material put him in a class by himself on the subject. We made the right choice. "Project 1980" has been a credit to our hobby and an eloquent testimonial to Joe Wasserman's role in it. This project, and the wealth of information it has provided to our readers, would not have been possible without Joe's splendid and unselfish labors.

We are both angered and puzzled by the Gateway to the West resolution's innuendo that "Project 1980" has suffered for a possible "conflict of interest." Wasserman has certainly not used the project to promote the value of his duplicates or to disparage the duplicates of others, nor has he engaged either in false allegations of collector involvement or cover-ups of same. *The Keynoter* exists solely to inform its readers by creating the most accurate historical record possible. We will continue to provide the highest quality expert opinion available consistent with APIC and *Keynoter* policies.

The many hundreds of APIC members who have dealt with Joe Wasserman know that he is almost a fanatic on the subject of integrity and that he is one of the fairest individuals in the hobby. One contribution he has made in 1976 and 1980 has been to play the leading role in keeping prices on modern material so reasonable that many new and less-than-affluent collectors have been able to remain part of this hobby. We respect the right of the Gateway members and all other APIC members to comment on all aspects of our organization, but in raising (without explanation or evidence) this allegation of conflict-of-interest, we believe that the Gateway to the West chapter owes an apology to Joe Wasserman.

Roger Fischer, Editor

Robert Fratkin, President

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Editor

Roger A. Fischer
1930 Hartley, Duluth MN 55803

Associate Editors

Herbert R. Collins
Edmund B. Sullivan

Historian

U. I. "Chick" Harris

Locals Editor

Preston Malcom

Project 1980 Editor Joe Wasserman

Brummagem Editor Neal Machander

Near Machander

Contributors
David Frent
Charles Gauthier
H. Joseph Levine
Robert Rouse
John Vargo

Photography Bill Arps

Ted Hake Erroll Leslie

Support Services Vi Hayes Ronnie K, Lapinsky

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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Covers: Front—Multicolor paper bookplate; Back—red, white and blue design on a pink cloth pillow, multicolor paper poster, and two celluloids on hangers.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The summer Keynoter will feature the 1964 campaign of Barry Goldwater, showing many previously unpictured items. Also featured will be an article on Marcus Alonzo Hanna, a pictorial review of bandannas, Part 10 of Project 1980, and a continuation of the APIC projects on Grand National Banners, license plates, multigate posters and postcards.

Page 4 The Keynoter

Woodrow Wilson

and the Politics of Righteousness

By Roger Fischer

Thomas Woodrow Wilson occupied the American presidency from 1913 to 1921, a period that qualified as "interesting times" in the finest tradition of that old Chinese curse. His stint in the Oval Office encompassed the culmination of the Progressive reform movement and the addition of women to the franchise. but also brought a tightening of the color line in federal service and the worst repression of civil liberties since the 1798-9 Alien and Sedition Acts. The Wilson presidency witnessed the genesis of the United States as an international super-power during World War I and then its failure to accept responsibility for that status in the "Great War's" diplomatic aftermath. It brought to the Supreme Court the incomparable Louis Brandeis, but to the Department of Justice the scurrilous red-baiter A. Mitchell Palmer, the first American political leader to grasp the personal opportunities inherent in the Bolshevik menace. The Wilson presidency did much to establish the tradition of activist executive leadership in American politics, yet it ended in disarray, with Wilson a helpless invalid sheltered by his wife from the disturbing realities of an administration adrift.

Like his presidency, Woodrow Wilson was very much a creature of contradictions. A brilliant political theorist as a Princeton historian (perhaps the first national leader since Calhoun to do any primary political thinking), he was given to the most elementary errors in judgment when moved by the spirit of moral righteousness that made him among the most arrogant of men (he once confided to a friend, "I feel sorry for those who disagree with me because I know they are wrong"). Twice elected president as a progressive reformer, he was at heart a conservative. Deeply and devoutly a man of peace, he failed to question the ultimate absurdity of war "to make the world safe for democracy." A very good orator with a commanding public presence, he was awkward and aloof in personal relationships-it was said that he could win over thousands with a speech and then lose them all one by one shaking hands as they exited! At times a shrewd pragmatist, he was on other occasions doomed to pay a terrible political price because he would not yield an inch on a point that represented, however obliquely, a moral principle. He shrewdly finessed his colleagues into adopting much of his blueprint for a new world order at Versailles, for example, then let all his labors go for naught because he was unwilling to entertain even the slightest compromise with Senate Republicans. His starchy sense of high moral purpose that was his greatest strength was also his greatest weakness.

Given this rigid self-righteousness ("God ordained that I should be the next President of the United States," he told a startled William McCombs in 1912) in an office demanding flexibility above all else, Woodrow Wilson was a tragedy waiting to happen. Yet his failures were offset by many truly significant achievements. During his first term he signed into law such milestones of progressive reform as the Underwood Tariff Act lowering rates and establishing a graduated income tax, the Federal Reserve Act creating our modern national banking system, the Clayton Antitrust Act combating monopoly and



UNCLE SAM WOOD-ROW WILSON





assuring organized labor the right to exist, and the Adamson Act establishing the eight-hour workday for railroad workers. He put the brilliant liberal Louis Brandeis on the Supreme Court, the first Jew to so serve. After the German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare prompted him to abandon our neutrality, Wilson proved to be a superb wartime leader, effectively marshaling public opinion and the nation's resources in support of the war effort. His "Fourteen Points" blueprint for peace and a more rational post-war world order induced the Germans to surrender and crafted the broad outlines of the treaty negotiated at Versailles. Its salient feature, the League of Nations, was rejected by the Senate and eventually foundered during the troubled 1930's, but even in failure marked the first step toward world peace through collective action. Because of this a prominent presidential scholar has said of him, "for all his limitations, Wilson was probably the most influential man ever to occupy the White House."

Born the son of a Presbyterian minister in Staunton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856, Wilson grew up in a series of parsonages in Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina and entered Davidson College in 1874. A year later he transferred to Princeton, graduated in 1879, studied law for a year at the University of Virginia, and briefly practiced as an attorney in Atlanta. He turned to graduate study in political science at the

Johns Hopkins University, received his doctorate in 1886 for a brilliant thesis entitled Congressional Government, was appointed to the Princeton faculty in 1890, established a splendid reputation as a teacher and scholar, and was appointed president of Princeton in 1902. An innovative academician who did much to bring Princeton to the front rank of American universities, Wilson proved singularly unable to keep honest disagreements from turning personal. His failure to eliminate the elitist "eating clubs" led to a willingness to leave Princeton for public office at a time when the New Jersey Democratic machine desperately needed to launder its sleazy image with a prestigious nominee for the governorship. In 1910 Wilson was handed the nomination by men who considered him a safe and harmless idealist and then elected by the second largest plurality in New Jersey's history. As governor he shocked the party bosses, gained a national reputation for vigorous reform initiatives, and positioned himself for a bid for the 1912 Democratic presidential nomination.

When the delegates came to Baltimore in June, the folksy Speaker of the House, Champ Clark of Missouri, known affectionately as "Ol' Hound Dawg," was the choice of half of the convention, followed by Wilson and Alabama congressman Oscar Underwood. Clark began to close in on the required two thirds when New York fell into his column on the tenth ballot, but four rounds later party patriarch William Jennings Bryan







All buttons and ribbons are 60% actual size except as noted







Buttons shown 70% size on this page

(angered by Tammany's support for Clark) switched to Wilson and the Clark vote began to dwindle. On the twenty-sixth ballot he lost his majority and on the forty-third he surrendered the lead. Three ballots later Underwood released his delegates and Wilson was the Democratic nominee. With the Republicans hopelessly split between William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, running in 1912 as an insurgent "Bull Moose" Progressive, Wilson was literally guaranteed the victory if he held the "solid South" and avoided mistakes that would alienate traditional Democratic voters elsewhere. He consequently waged a campaign characterized by its extreme caution, enunciating his "New Freedom" program of safeguarding competitive free enterprise through preventive legislation (not through an activist federal bureaucracy as Roosevelt's "New Nationalism" prescribed). Safe in its methodology and comforting in its appeal to traditional American values (however antiquated in reality—he would evolve into a closet New Nationalist soon after taking office), the New Freedom brought Wilson 6,293,000 popular votes (42%) and the 435 electoral votes of forty one states. Roosevelt came in second with 4,120,000 popular votes (27.5%) and 88 electoral votes and Taft third with 3,485,000 popular votes (23%) and the eight electoral votes of Utah and Vermont.

The 1912 Wilson campaign inspired approximately two hundred varieties of buttons, nearly twenty types of fobs, a rather large number of postcards, some metal lapel pins, ribbons, and posters, at least two types of pocket knives, a few mirrors and pennants, a cigar, and a few glass and ceramic objects. Judged by the awesome number of campaign items produced for the 1896-1908 presidential elections, the 1912 Wilson effort was a rather sparse one in material memorabilia. Among the more desirable 1912 Wilson pieces were several that repeated the lavish colors and designs of 1908. As might have been expected of a



campaign waged with such caution, 1912 Wilson items avoided issues and themes almost entirely, relying instead on such rather bland slogans as "Win With Wilson." A button characterized Wilson as "TO THE WHITE HOUSE BOUND/WITH A PLATFORM SAFE AND SOUND." Rowboat buttons and postcards featured the "WOOD-ROW" pun. Handsome "PRIDE OF NEW JERSEY" and "MAN OF THE HOUR" buttons featured Princeton's school colors. But for thematic creativity 1912 Wilson items were on the whole vastly inferior to those of his "Bull Moose" adversary Theodore Roosevelt.

Items promoting Wilson's re-election in 1916 were much more issue-oriented by necessity. In Charles Evans Hughes he faced a strong candidate supported by both the conservative and progressive wings of a reunited Republican party. To defeat Hughes, Wilson had to hold his 1912 support while winning over some of the reform voters who had gone for Roosevelt in 1912. His progressive credentials, burnished considerably by his selection of Brandeis for the Supreme Court and his establishment of the eight-hour day for railroad workers, were exploited by many 1916 campaign items. A button proclaimed "PROGRESSIVE POLICIES BECOME LAW UNDER WILSON" and several others featured the figure "8" or such slogans as "THE MAN OF THE EIGHT HOUR DAY" to





Above items shown 50% size

celebrate enactment of the Adamson Act.

A much larger number of 1916 Wilson items reflected his campaign strategy of exploiting widespread fears of involvement in the European war and at the same time portraying him as a decisive national leader prepared to defend American interests in a crisis situation. Buttons declared "WAR IN EUROPE/PEACE IN AMERICA/GOD BLESS WILSON," "PEACE & PROS-PERITY," "SAFETY FIRST," and "HE PROVED THE PEN MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD." A fob echoed "HIS PEN MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD." Alliterative paper stickers read "WOODROW WILSON'S WISDOM WINS WITHOUT WAR" and buttons "WATCHFUL WAITING WINS" and "WOODROW WILSON'S WISDOM WINS." The catchy (and nicely ambivalent) slogan "America First" was used on many buttons, some of them reading "AMERICA FIRST/THANK GOD FOR WILSON," "THEY HAVE KEPT THE FAITH/ "WE'LL STAND BY THEM/AMERICA FIRST," and "AMERICA FIRST/LIBERTY." Decidedly more hawkish was a button featuring artillery, a war eagle, and the motto "AN AMERICAN FOR AMERICA/PREPAREDNESS," although calls for preparedness were commonly tied to peace sentiments with such legends as "PEACE WITH HONOR/PREPARED-



NESS/PROSPERITY" and "PEACE AND PREPAREDNESS." Buttons urging "STAND BY THE PRESIDENT," "STAND BY WILSON/THE MAN ON THE JOB," and "FOR GOD AND OUR COUNTRY" implied that a capricious switch in national leadership at such a perilous time was unthinkable.

The campaign strategy reflected on these items proved successful, but barely so. Although Wilson rather easily surpassed Hughes in the popular vote by 9,129,606 to 8,538,221 (mainly because the South was literally uncontested), Hughes held a slim lead in electoral votes until the next morning, when California fell into the Wilson column to give him a second term by a margin of just 23 electoral votes, 277-254. These 1916 campaign items did not turn out to be the last trinkets inspired by Woodrow Wilson, for within five months the German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare forced the man re-elected because "He Kept Us Out of War" to come before Congress to seek "a war to end war, a war to make the world safe for democracy," and for our eighteen months of active involvement in World War I Commander-in-Chief Wilson was a familiar feature on a host of patriotic memorabilia that probably eclipsed in both variety and volume the material culture inspired by his campaigns for public office. *

WILSON COATTAILS

By Robert Rouse

Wilson coattail items were produced primarily in the Midwest and Northeast, mainly in states that he carried in 1912 and then lost in 1916, despite the fact that on the whole his 1916 coattail items were much more appealing than his 1912 ones. For example, Wilson won Wisconsin in 1912 but in 1916 the Republicans carried it, Senator Robert LaFollette defeated William F. Wolfe and incumbent Governor Emanuel Philipp defeated Democrat Burt Williams. In Illinois both Wilson and Judge Edward F. Dunne (mayor of Chicago from 1905 to 1907) won in 1912 but lost in 1916. Dunne's partisans produced three buttons and at least two ribbons for his two gubernatorial campaigns. Dunne defeated two-term incumbent Charles Deneen in 1912 but lost by 140,000 votes to former congressman Frank Lowden in 1916. Four years later Lowden received more than three hundred votes for the presidency at the Republican national convention and in 1924 he declined the vice presidential nomination that was then offered Chicago banker Charles Dawes. Another Illinois item pictured Wilson with Dr. Martin Foster of Olney, a six-term congressman from 1907 to 1919.

Missouri supported Wilson twice and Governor Elliott Major was promoted in 1916 as a favorite son candidate for the vice presidency following rumors that Thomas Marshall would be dumped because of his frequent run-ins with Wilson. The Major boomlet died, however, when Wilson declared for Marshall before the convention opened in St. Louis. In 1916 Frederick Gardner won the governorship of Missouri and James A. Reed was elected to the second of his three terms in the Senate. The Wilson-Reed 8-hour button recalls the long evolution of a tradition we take for granted today. Ineffectual state eight-hour laws existed during the Civil War. In 1868 Congress enacted the first such federal statute, applying to "Laborers and mechanics employed by the government." This movement was frustrated temporarily in 1905, when the Supreme Court ruled state laws limiting the hours of work to be unconstitutional. In 1912, however, Congress extended the mandate to all persons working under federal contracts and five years later coverage was broadened to include railroad workers. The 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act introduced the concept of a forty-hour week into law, but it was not until the 1950's that this became close to universal.

In Ohio James M. Cox was elected governor in 1916, defeating Governor Frank B. Willis (who had beaten Cox two years earlier). Cox defeated Willis again in 1918 and in 1920 was the Democratic presidential nominee overwhelmingly defeated by fellow Ohioan Warren G. Harding. Virginia Congressman Charles Carlin of Alexandria represented his district from 1907 to 1919.

New York Congressman William Sulzer moved up to the governorship after nine terms in the House. As governor he ignored Tammany support (see ribbon), refused to grant Tammany patronage demands, and ordered an investigation that revealed vast corruption in state government. Nevertheless, Tammany still controlled the legislature and Sulzer was impeached and removed from office in October, 1913, after



resentful legislators discovered that he had diverted some campaign contributions for personal use. His term was completed by Lieutenant Governor Martin Glynn, who campaigned for election in his own right in 1914 but lost to Republican Charles Whitman, Sulzer also ran on the American party ticket in 1916 and garnered 126,000 votes.

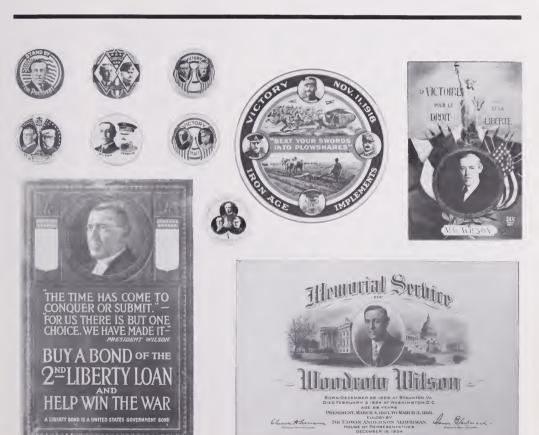
The highlight of Glynn's political career came when he delivered the keynote address to the 1916 Democratic convention. While discussing the neutrality advocated by Wilson and the party, Glynn adopted the preacher's ploy of rhythmic repetition to rouse the passive delegates-who had little to do, as the ticket had been determined beforehand and the administration had written the party platform. Glynn recited a partial roster of American presidents (Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Grant, Lincoln, and Cleveland), in each case citing an international incident which might have ended in war and then announcing with a flourish, "But we didn't go to war!" In short order the delegates were happily anticipating each finale with the shout, "What did he do?" And each time Glynn's refrain prompted the delegates to cheer. Following the convention the slogan "He Kept

A LIBERTY BOND IS A UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BO

Us Out of War," a more personal assertion than "But we didn't go to war!," emerged as the major theme of the 1916 Democratic campaign.

In 1912 Massachusetts Governor Eugene N. Foss won his third consecutive one-year term and David Walsh was made lieutenant governor. A quadragate featuring Wilson, Marshall, Foss, and Walsh was made in several sizes. Walsh was elected governor in 1913 and 1914 and served in the U.S. Senate from 1919 to 1925 and from 1926 to 1947. Another Wilson coattail item, a 7/8" "WILSON VICTORY LEAGUE/CHAS, McCARTHY for U.S. SENATE," may also be a Massachusetts piece. Could it have been a primary item? The only Charles McCarthy I am aware of lost to Robert Luce in the thirteenth congressional district of Massachusetts in 1920.

NOTE: My thanks to Stewart Barr, who identified the candidate pictured with Theodore Roosevelt on the Sligo Republican Club jugate as Cyrus P. Walbridge, 1904 Republican candidate for the governorship of Missouri. He lost narrowly to Democrat Joseph Folk. *



"HALT THE HUN!"

World War I Patriotic Items

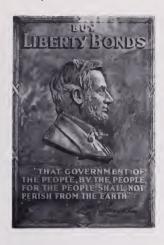
By Roger Fischer

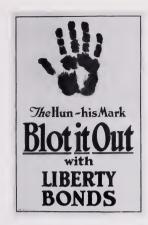
Although neither our soil nor our way of life was really threatened and our active involvement against the forces of the Kaiser was rather brief in duration, American participation in World War I engendered a popular wave of patriotic zeal unmatched by any other war (or crisis of any sort) in our long history as a nation. Hysteria on the home front reached such proportions that public schools quit offering German language courses, sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage," German-Americans were lynched by mobs in the Midwest, and some patriots demonstrated their Americanism by stoning to death little dachshunds! Such wartime fervor inspired a massive body of material culture that provides students of history with clear insights into the period and collectors with the opportunity to acquire some of the most beautiful and intense posters, buttons, badges, banners, and other objects ever produced in the United States. Enormously influential in creating both the climate of patriotic hysteria and the material culture of the period were the series of Liberty Loan drives to sell bonds to fund the war effort. A total of nearly twenty-four billion dollars was subscribed in response to five campaigns, representing some 66,289,900 individual subscriptions that made an estimated thirty percent of all American men, women, and children investors in the "war to make the world safe for democracy."

When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, a key decision was the funding of the endeavor. Because taxation alone would impose prohibitive burdens on the economy, the Wilson administration and congressional leaders decided to raise an initial two billion dollars through a public Liberty Loan bond drive from May 14 through June 15, 1917. To promote this first Liberty Loan drive massive quantities of buttons were distributed to give to subscribers and three types of posters were designed and printed. A variety featuring Miss Liberty warning, "You buy a Liberty Bond, lest I perish," was the most common, with a million copies made. Another style featured Uncle Sam promising, "You buy a Liberty Bond, I'll do the rest," and the third pictured Uncle Sam grabbing a man's lapel and asking, "Where is your button?" Theatres promoted bond sales, businessmen worked loan appeals into their ads or sponsored separate pitches, towns suspended other business for loan campaigns, and the Boy Scouts and other organizations mounted bond campaigns of their own. The response was overwhelming, for by the June 15 deadline the drive was oversubscribed by more than fifty percent.

This effort set a pattern for the four drives that were to follow. The Second Liberty Loan drive raised more than three billion dollars through bonds bearing a four percent annual return (Up from the somewhat unrealistic 3½% yielded by the first issue) in October, 1917. A much greater emphasis was placed this time on









THAT LIBERTY SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH BUY LIBERTY BONDS





















IBERT!









AUTHORIZED SOLICITOR







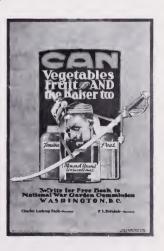












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bond sales in small communities and rural areas. Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo conducted a coast-to-coast speaking tour to spur sales. In Cleveland workers erected a huge contraption that allowed every purchaser of a fifty dollar bond to strike a trigger with a sledgehammer that rang a bell in a papier-mache head of Kaiser Wilhelm! This drive also inspired massive numbers of subscriber buttons and several varieties of posters, including the type featuring President Wilson's portrait and blunt words, "THE TIME HAS COME TO CONQUER OR SUBMIT.—FOR US THERE IS BUT ONE CHOICE. WE HAVE MADE IT." Other varieties featured the Statue of Liberty and Uncle Sam once again. Particularly emotional was one depicting Uncle Sam asking, "Shall we be more tender with our dollars than with the Lives of our sons?"

The Third Liberty Loan drive, waged in April, 1918, waged an even more vigorous campaign in the small towns and rural areas. Six special trains were made into mobile war museums and were

accompanied by war heroes on their trips throughout the nation. Poster art, important to the success of the earlier drives, really flowered during the third campaign. The Committee on Public Information, journalist George Creel's enormously effective propaganda machine, established for the third bond drive a Division of Pictorial Advertising, under the leadership of noted popular artist Charles Dana Gibson (creator of the "Gibson girl" pin-up art of the period), to enlist the talents of such noted artists as Howard Chandler Christy, James Montgomery Flagg, and Francis X. Levendecker in the war effort. As a result, poster art became liberated to a great extent from the overuse of the Statue of Liberty and Uncle Sam and was generally much more expressive. Conducted as the Germans were gearing up for their great 1918 offensive and as large numbers of American "doughboys" were facing the enemy guns for the first time, these posters demonstrate a growing martial spirit in the United States. evidenced graphically in the "HALT the HUN!" variety and others portraying the Germans as spike-helmeted monsters.











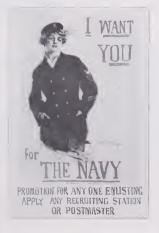
The Fourth Liberty Loan drive, conducted from September 28 through October 19, 1918, as the war was reaching its final days, raised nearly seven billion dollars from a total of 22,777,680 subscribers, making it the most successful of the five fund drives. Although the menace posed by the Germans was greatly diminished, the poster art produced for the effort does not reflect any softening of wartime propaganda. Among the more memorable posters printed was the "THAT LIBERTY SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH" variety with a charred Statue of Liberty set against a backdrop of Manhattan burning. More lurid was a "REMEMBER BELGIUM" poster featuring a spike-helmeted hun dragging off a sweet young girl, ostensibly to a "fate worse than death!"

The last World War I bond drive, a post-armistice effort labeled the "Victory Liberty Loan Drive," brought subscriptions of \$5,249,908,300 from nearly twelve million American donors in April, 1919. Among the more memorable posters engendered was one picturing a simple soldier's grave in Europe that proclaimed "He fought to a FINISH—You lend to a FINISH." Another depicted a workingman in bib overalls in the act of reaching into his pocket. It read, "SURE we'll Finish the Job!"

Altogether, the Liberty Loan drives and such other wartime activities as recruiting inspired several hundred different posters (considered by students of American popular art to represent the zenith of poster art in this country), even more varieties of subscriber buttons and other lapel devices, and such other types of memorabilia as banners, ribbons, badges, sashes, and little metal bells. Buttons were issued by a host of schools, businesses and labor organizations, civil groups, and communities that conducted Liberty bond sale campaigns. A collection of this material would contain some of the finest propaganda art known to exist, a graphic glimpse into the hearts and minds of Americans more than sixty years ago as they faced their first international crisis of major proportions since Jackson bested the British at New Orleans in 1815. **

Buttons and Ribbons shown 60% of size.







PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL LICENSE PLATES

By Charles L. Gauthier

Editor's Note: Charles Gauthier is considered one of the premier inaugural license plate collectors. He was a member of the 1981 presidential inaugural license plate committee.

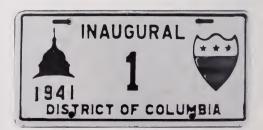
Many presidential inaugural items are collected for their historical significance, attractiveness, and collector value, most commonly medals, buttons, programs, badges, and invitations. One of the least collected (although possibly one of the most interesting) types of inaugural items are the official inaugural license plates. While most inaugural material dates back much earlier, the first presidential inaugural license plates were issued to commemorate Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first inauguration on March 4, 1933. Since then the various inaugural committees have issued special licenses for each inauguration, with the exception of the wartime ceremony in 1945, when it was felt that the celebration should be deemphasized because of World War II. On that occasion Roosevelt was sworn in for his fourth term on the south portico of the White House in a brief and simple ceremony and no parade or celebration was held and no license plates issued.



According to an act of Congress, the plates are ordered by the inaugural committees through the District of Columbia Department of Motor Vehicles and are manufactured by the District of Columbia Department of Corrections in Lorton,





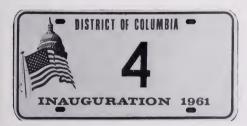


All license plates shown are approximately 30% of actual size.











INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

VEHICLE PASS

JANUARY 20, 1945

POLICE WILL PERMIT THIS CAR TO ENTER OFFICIAL PARKING AREAS AND TO PARK THEREIN DURING THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES

INAUGURAL COMMITTEE

Just Hargen Form

This pink and black hard-paper pass with glue facing is the only vehicle-related item from the 1945 inauguration. It permitted the user to park on the White House grounds during the ceremonies. Less than 100 were issued.

Virginia. In recent years the plates have been validated for use in all states—some allowing the inaugural plates to be used in lieu of regular plates and other states requiring them to be used in conjunction with the standard state varieties.

One of the most interesting aspects of these inaugural license plates is the actual number on the plate and the individual to whom it was assigned. By tradition plate number 1 is reserved for the president and plate number 2 for the vice president. In 1941, however, President Roosevelt chose plate number 100 and assigned plate number 1 to the chairman of his 1941 inaugural

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
INAUGURAL REGISTRATION CARD
Valid from Midnight January 12 to Midnight January 11, 1987
Issued to ROBERT V. FLEMING
INAUGURAL COMMITTEE 1987
DEPARTMENT OF VEHICLES AND TRAFFIC

committee, Joseph E. Davies. Interestingly, FDR apparently had a special fondness for the number 100, as it was also the regular District of Columbia plate number on his car while he was president. He was also issued number 100 on plates produced for such special occasions as a Shriners' convention during the late 1930s. In 1977, Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale chose not to use specially numbered plates on their limousines, consistent with their walking of the inaugural parade, and therefore plates numbered 1 and 2 weren't issued at all. All other single-digit and double-digit plates and some of the three-digit plates are normally issued to VIP's and constitute highly desirable collectibles as a result. Plates with repeating numbers (333, 4444) are prized as well, as are such numbers as 700 and 1000.

In 1933, apparently, inaugural license plates were available to only a selected group of individuals, such as White House and Cabinet officials and members of the House and the Senate. Since then, however, the plates have been available to the general public, with the first five hundred to a thousand numbers normally reserved for various dignitaries and friends of members of the inaugural committees.

Different quantities of plates have been produced for the various inaugurations, but they have always been issued in pairs.

Although there is little information available as to the specific number of sets manufactured each year, examination of the plate numbers known to exist provides a reasonable indication of the quantities created for each inauguration. It seems that no more than five hundred sets of the 1933 plates were made and that slightly fewer than a thousand sets were produced in 1937 and again in 1941. Nearly two thousand pairs were manufactured for the 1949 inauguration. Eisenhower's 1953 and 1957 inaugurations brought quantities of about three thousand and 4500, respectively. For the 1961, 1965, 1969, and 1973 inaugurations about ten thousand pairs of plates were stamped out. The 1977 committee ordered twenty thousand sets and for Ronald Reagan's 1981 ceremony the total climbed to 36,000 sets.

The relatively low number of plates produced, especially in the earlier years, have added to the intrinsic value of an inaugural license collection. While the cost of purchasing a pair of plates at the time they are issued has not increased very much when compared to the rate of inflation (the licence plate set in 1941 was \$5.50 and 1981 plates were \$25), the collector value has risen dramatically in many instances.

Although many different designs and themes have been used on the plates, they have all shared the colors red, white and blue. The District of Columbia shield was the main feature on the 1933 plate. In 1937, 1941, and 1949, the plates had this shield and a silhouette of the Capitol dome as their motif. The 1953 and 1957 plates included oval (decal) portraits of Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon, interestingly enough both men smiling in 1953 and looking very serious in 1957. Licenses from 1961 through 1973 all shared the common theme of the American flag, featured along with the Capitol dome in 1961, the District of Columbia flag in 1965, the White House in 1969, and the Capitol dome again in 1973. It is interesting, although perhaps purely accidential, that the 1973 plate celebrating Nixon's second inauguration used the same design as the 1961 plate issued for John Kennedy, whom Nixon envied almost pathologically. The motif of the 1977 plate was a stylized Old Glory, while the 1981 plate featured a traditional American flag design. The 1981 license also included the notation "USA," as if to signify the national scope of the inauguration and the support of all Americans for the new president.

Because picture decals were used on the 1953 and 1957 licenses, much extra work was required to produce them. In 1957 this caused some trouble when a large number of plates were made with the Eisenhower and Nixon decals reversed. Fortunately for the inaugural committee, the error was discovered and corrected before the plates left Lorton Reformatory. As a result, there exist hundreds of 1957 plates obviously bearing two sets of decals. Also in 1957 the embossed lettering on most plates was painted twice—first in blue and then in red. The first several hundred pairs were painted by masking off the red embossed areas from the blue embossed parts, but it was then discovered to be easier to paint all of the raised surfaces in blue (the lighter color) and then repaint the embossed letters in red, the darker or dominant color.

The actual designs on the early inaugural plates were most likely done by the official committees. For example, in 1961 when reflectorized material was first used on the background, the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Company, producer of the reflectorized tape, submitted several design possibilities—which the committee ignored and selected its own design. The actual designers of only the 1977 and 1981 plates are known. In 1977 the Rafshoon Advertising Agency of Atlanta, the home agency of Carter media expert Gerald Rafshoon, provided the design. In 1981 John D. Garst, Jr., a member of the District of Columbia Republican Committee, provided a number of designs and first







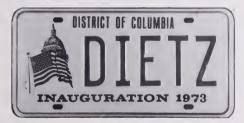














lady Nancy Reagan made the final selection.

All plates from 1933 through 1957 were made of steel with embossed numerals, letters, and designs. The 1961 and 1965 licenses were unique in that they were made of flat aluminum and were completely silk-screened with printed numbers. The decision to use aluminum plates was made by the 1961 committee. Officials at Lorton Reformatory were at first unsure if they could make the plates, since their machinery for painting licenses was magnetically controlled and magnets cannot handle aluminum. The print shop at Lorton solved the problem, however, both in 1961 and 1965 by using silk-screening for the plate design and printing for the numbers-a process demanding extensive hand labor. Since 1961 all plates have utilized reflectorized material instead of paint. After the experience of painting the 1961 and 1965 plates, licenses since then have used silkscreen designs with embossed numbers. In 1977 and 1981 aluminum was again used for the plates, but by then Lorton had acquired equipment to stamp and paint plates without the need for magnets.

Only numerical plates were available to the public through 1969. In 1965, however, a few sets of single-letter licenses were produced for several influential friends of the Johnson administration. Then in 1969 several more sets of vanity licenses were made. Inaugural committee staff members that year were issued plates with the prefix "B" and in 1973 staff plates used the prefix "S." No specific staff licenses have been issued since then. In 1973 White House staff members were able to purchase plates in a special series with the designation "WH." The series ran from WH-1 through WH-99 and the names to whom they were issued reads like a "Who's Who" of the Nixon years.

Vanity inaugural license plates have been available to the general public since 1973, offering any combination of letters and numbers (or just letters) up to five spaces. Some of the more desirable vanities have been the single-letter plates "A" through "Z." Many recipients select their names or initials as vanities, while others pick clever sayings, such as the 1977 plate "P-NUT" or the 1981 license "WE WON." In 1973 an estimated two thousand plates were stamped "SKINS" to honor the appearance of the Washington Redskin football team in the NFL Super Bowl that year.

The numbering system for the 1981 regular-issue plates was unique. It went from 1 to 1000, then A-001 to A-999, then B-001 to B-999, etc. In all prior years the number began at 1 and went on consecutively. The four domestic automobile manufacturers who provided vehicles to the inaugural committee for its use before and during the ceremonies were equipped with plates with the prefixes "AMC" for American Motors, "FM" for Ford, "CHY" for Chrysler, and "GM" for General Motors. Additionally, the District of Columbia Police Department used plates with the prefix "PD" on their patrol cars.

In 1981 two different sizes of dies were used for stamping the numbers and letters on the plates. With the use of the standard size die, only five characters could be stamped on the plates, but with the use of half-size dies up to seven characters were possible. A third type of plate was also produced in 1981, with the characters silkscreened. In this instance virtually any number of characters could be included. Records indicate that only thirty pairs of the silkscreened licenses were created.

Sample license plates (all zeroes) were most likely made for each inauguration, but my research has failed to discover actual examples from 1933, 1937, 1941, and 1949. These sample plates are used for advertising purposes and to reveal to each state's motor vehicle department what that year's inaugural plates will look like. Due to the limited quantities of sample plates made, they are quite rare and very desirable to collectors.

As with many other types of collectibles, error licenses are very unusual. The quality control and inspection during manufacture has been quite thorough, so that very few error inaugural plates have ever left Lorton. The best (or worst, depending upon one's point of view) is a 1969 plate with the number 6743 stamped upside-down on the wrong side of the license, with no paint on the numbers! The plate also features an embossed border rather than a debossed one.

Inaugural licenses have always come packaged in envelopes. In 1941 the word "INAUGURAL" was stamped in red on the brown paper envelope and a pocket was included to hold the registration card. Specially printed envelopes, also produced at the Lorton Reformatory, were used in the following inaugurations, with the 1949 envelope having "1949 INAUGURAL" and the plate number printed on it. The 1953 and 1957 envelopes were quite elaborate and added the names of the inaugural committee chairmen and transportation committee chairmen as well as the dates for valid use of the plates. Since 1965 special envelopes have been printed for mailing purposes, with the inaugural committee as the return addressee.

It appears that special registration cards have been produced for each year, with the size varying from $2\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4" to 4" x 8\footnote{1}2 and the material ranging from thin paper to heavy cardboard. To a collector, a pair of license plates in the original envelope with the registration card is highly desirable.

In addition to the inaugural plates issued by the official inaugural committees, the state of Illinois has issued special license plates for members of the Illinois committee organizing presidential inaugural functions in the state. Illinois plates wre first issued in 1973 and have featured the same design in 1977 and again in 1981. These plates feature red, white and blue stripes on the left with the rest of the lettering in blue, all on a reflectorized white background.

Inaugural license plates are highly prized by political collectors and license plates enthusiasts alike, for collecting them is an interesting and challenging endeavor enhanced by the historical and political significance of the licenses themselves. Additional information and answers to specific questions about these plates may be obtained by writing to me (1604 Longfellow Street, McLean, VA 22101). *















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No. 9 P. LEAD

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ANNIN & CO.

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Fortraits and tie 4 et and three lines of lettering on both sides of banner Additional lettering charged for xtra.

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LIBERAL DISCOUNT TO THE LRADE.

Page 22

APIC Project 1980

by Joe Wasserman

DESCRIPTIONS

80/523 through 80/567 are shown 40% actual size.

80/523. APIC member Terry Miller of Hanover, Illinois produced this 3"red, white, blue and black celluloid for three bus loads of people he took to the inauguration from Reagan's hometown of Dixon, Illinois.

80/524. Badge-A-Minit red, white and blue $2\,\%$ celluloid distributed at LaSalle, Illinois Republican headquarters.

80/525. 3" gold on black celluloid was distributed by California delegates at the Republican National Convention.

80/526. Brown Button Co. (Iowa) manufactured this red, white, blue and black 3" culluloid for sale in Iowa.

80/527. "CUDAHY WELCOMES REAGAN" 21/4" black on white celluloid. 500 of these items were made for the 4th District Republican party and were all given away when Reagan spoke in Milwaukee on October 31, 1980.

80/528. This very early campaign item was made by Frank Enten, originally for a Reagan rally in Baltimore, MD, but was then sold throughout the country. 3" red, white, blue and black.

80/529a and 529b. This 21/4" celluloid comes in both white on blue (a) and blue on white (b). They were designed by a Canadian girl now married to Peter Morgan of the Vermont Reagan staff, for distribution at the Vermont State Republican Convention May 24, 1980 in the Barre, VT auditorium. The buttons were paid for by the Vermont Reagan Committee. Only 250 of each were made and most were distributed as singles at the convention and few complete sets can be found.

80/530. McDonald's Button Company (Manchester, New Hampshire) made this 2¼" white on red celluloid for Reagan's 69th birthday party held on February 6, 1980 in New Hampshire to diffuse the criticism that was expected from the media about Reagan's age.

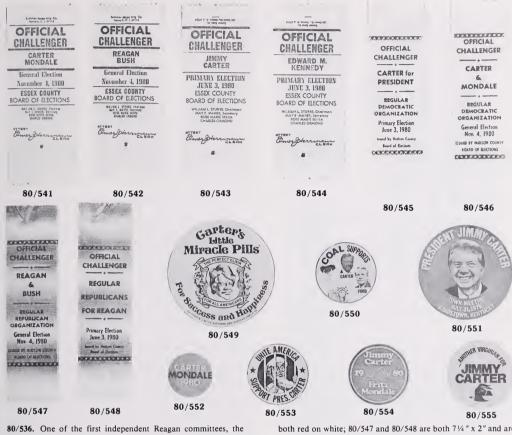
80/531. This 2¼" white on blue celluloid was also made by APIC member Terry Miller for the bus loads of people he took to the inauguration from Dixon, Illinois (see 80/523).

80/532. 2½" red, white and blue celluloid made either very early in 1980 (or possibly in 1979) and was used by California YAF's. 80/533. 500 of these tacky 2½" white on blue celluloids were also made by the 4th District Republican party (see 80/527) and were distributed on the lower south side of Milwaukee. They are similar to the lithograph set issued by the National Reagan Committee.

80/534. 2¼" white and blue vendor item made for female Reagan supporters by Frank Enten. Sold at various locations in the Washington, D.C. area. A similar piece was made for men, "Ronnie's Devils," with a cartoon devil in the center.

80/535. APIC member Tom French made this 2¼" blue, white and black button which sold inexpensively in the Republican exhibit hall inside the Detroit Plaza Hotel during the Republican National Convention.





80/536. One of the first independent Reagan committees, the Chicago office of Citizens for Reagan, made this 2½ " blue, black and white button which circulated in the local Chicago area and was available at the convention.

80/537. This 3" red on white button was made by an Alabama contributor and given to Reagan headquarters in Alabama.

80/538. This ⁷/₄" lithograph comes in green on white and orange on white. The item was originally used in the 1976 campaign and leftovers were used in 1980.

80/539. This white on blue plastic badge, extremely popular, was made by Columbia Advertising for national Reagan headquarters in Northern Virginia. Although distributed nationally, the item was produced in limited quantity due to manufacturing costs.

80/540. This red, white and blue plastic badge was sold and traded by John Hay at the Republican National Convention, Detroit, 1980.

80/541 thru 80/548. Challenger ribbons have traditionally been issued in Essex and Hudson Counties, New Jersey. They are worn by representatives of political parties assigned to polling places to challenge the right of possibly unqualified or unregistered voters to cast out their ballots. The first four ribbons shown are 6½ " x 2½": 80/541 and 80/542 are blue and white, 80/543 and 80/544 are red and white. 80/545 and 80/546 are 6½ " x 2" and are

both red on white; 80/547 and 80/548 are both 71/4" x 2" and are black on orange. Several other ribbons (unpictured) also exist, including: gold on blue "Democrats For Reagan" variety of 80/547 and 80/548 and editions for the congressional districts within Hudson County; a white on red challenger ribbon for John Anderson's 3rd Party effort from Hudson County; and a paperboard ribbon from Union County for Reagan, black on white.

80/549. This unusual item was designed by the Joseph A. Burchard Advertising Agency specifically for Carter's campaign (not as a vendor item). It came in a novelty kit package along with a can of peanuts, a pill jar and a T-shirt, all bearing the same logo, which symbolized Jimmy Carter as a cure-all for America's ills. Because of the federal financing laws, which don't allow the campaign to sell items as was previously allowed (and the high cost of the kit) the design was rejected and only a few were produced. The item pictured is 4" black and white.

80/550. N. G. Slater made this 2½" black and white item for Wendell Ford's U.S. Senate campaign in Kentucky.

80/551. 3½" green, white and black celluloid manufactured by N. G. Slater and ordered by the national Carter campaign headquarters in D.C. for distribution at the Bardstown, KY town meeting, July 31, 1979.



80/552. Very early (1978) campaign item; 1¾" green, white and black, used for the mini-convention in Louisville, Kentucky, and distributed at the Democratic National Convention in 1980.

80/553. This cartoon characterization of Khomeni behind bars was reportedly used at the Herald Square rally in Jersey City in support of Carter's handling of the hostage crisis (early primary season). 2" green, white and black.

80/554. 21/4" white on green celluloid was sold at the Democratic State Convention in Norfolk, Virginia, during the fall campaign.

80/555. Milton Parsons, Vice Chair of the Democratic Committee, Virginia, made this green on white $2^{1/2}$ " celluloid. It was available at the Carter-Mondale headquarters, sold for \$1.00 at the Norfolk/Virginia Beach fundraiser where Rosalynn Carter spoke, and was later used on October 7, 1980 for a fundraiser in Portsmouth, Virginia.

80/556. This plastic badge with ribbons was worn by Utah delegates to the Democratic National Convention. It was produced in large enough quantity to be given away to anyone visiting the Utah delegation office.

80/557. This plastic badge with ribbon was worn by Michigan delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Most of the badges were inscribed with the name of the delegate on the bar. An Alternate ribbon was also made.

80/558. 1¾" red, white and black celluloid; Jim Boren, a tonguein-cheek candidate from Washington, D.C. also ran for President in 1976, has long been famous for poking fun at bureaucratic semantics, thus the slogan at the top of the item: "When In Doubt, Mumble."

80/559. This red, white and blue 2" celluloid was manufactured very early in the campaign and was sold in Pennsylvania.

80/560. This 11/4" red on white celluloid was made by local Stassen supporters in Michigan and appeared at Oakland University during the summer of 1980.

80/561. This 2½" black on white celluloid has been a standard press item for many years and was worn by some members of UPI during the Democratic National Convention.

80/562 thru 80/567. These six buttons were supplied to APIC by the American Independent Party/California. 80/562 is 1½" red, white and blue, Rarick and Shearer were the official candidates; 80/563 is 1" red, white, and blue; 80/564 is 1¾" red, white and black; 80/565 is 1¾" black on yellow; 80/566 is 1¾" red, white and blue; 80/567 is 1¾" red, white and blue. Finch, a recent governor of Mississippi, was a rumored candidate, but didn't actively seek the nomination.

Items 80/568 through 80/580 are shown full size.

80/568. Green, white and gold enamel lapel pin given to delegates at the Democratic National Convention.

80/569. This green, white and gold enamel lapel pin was given out at a "Thank You" staff party prior to the Willie Nelson concert at Merriwether Post Pavillion in Columbia, Maryland.

80/570. Green, white and gold lapel pin worn by Carter convention staffers in New York City during the National Convention.

80/571. Green, white and gold lapel pin worn by White House campaign staff.

80/572. Green, white and gold lapel pin given to workers and VIPs at the campaign benefit concert starring Mitch Ryder in Detroit a week before the November election.

80/573. Gold lapel pin given to labor VIPs and contributors by the Communication Workers of America. A stickpin also exists. 80/574. Silver and black lapel pin sold for \$10.00 by NEA to raise funds for "poor" teachers who were delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

80/575. This lapel pin available in gold or silver, was worn by the Carter staff and given to contributors during the primary campaign. The gold version was given to larger contributors, but it seems to be the easier to obtain.

80/576. This red, white, black and gold lapel pin was worn by John Connally staffers and given to contributors in New Hampshire during the primary.

80/577. This green, white and gold lapel pin was made in very small quantity for Carter members of the DNC Rules Committee, which was to determine the hottest issue of the Democratic











80/569

80/570



80/572



80/574

80/577

80/578

80/579



80/575

80/576

campaign-the fight over rule F3C.

80/578. This green, white and gold lapel pin was made in very small quantity for Carter members of the DNC Credentials Committee. Two versions exist; one with committee spelled with one "t."

80/579. This gold and black lapel pin was made by NEA for fundraising.

80/580, Red on white lapel pin used by Carter sympathizers during the F3C rule debate.

APIC Postcard Project: 1908

















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NEWS

CHICAGO SITE FOR 1983 APIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

Robin Powell, APIC 3rd Region Vice President, has announced that arrangements have been finalized to hold the 1983 APIC National Convention in Chicago. The event will be held at the Sheraton O'Hare Motor Hotel on August 11, 12, & 13, 1983. The hotel is less than 10 minutes from O'Hare Airport and bus transportation is provided by the Sheraton every half hour. The 14,000 foot bourse area will be substantially larger than previous conventions. Room rents are guaranteed at \$45 per night, single or double, and the hotel has indoor and outdoor pools. If you have any suggestions for meetings or other arrangements at the convention, please contact Robin Powell, Mark Jacobs, or other members of the Chicago chapter.

BRUMMAGEM: A Showy but Worthless Thing

By Neal Machander

For some years, there has been general agreement but no proof that the 1½" size of the Eisenhower-Nixon jugate shown below was a fake made in the 1960s. Now, the exowner of Philadelphia Badge Co. has confirmed that the small version was produced in the late sixties at the request of Seymour Moss, a Philadelphia collectibles dealer and APIC member. The papers appear to be original, and were probably remainders in stock at P.B.C. The picture of Nixon is out of focus, as it was on the originals. The real button is red, white, blue with black pictures and a gold edge rim, which frequently deteriorates to a pink color. The fake is only red, white and blue with black pictures, and is obviously on the wrong size button for the design.





21/8" Original

11/2" Fake

JACOBS NOMINATED FOR EXECUTIVE BOARD

Mark Jacobs (#2120) has been nominated to the APIC Executive Board by President Bob Fratkin, subject to the approval of the Board. Mark was chosen by the Chicago 1983 APIC National Convention Planning Committee to act as the committee's representative on the Board. He takes over the seat traditionally filled by a member of the chapter responsible for the next convention. The seat was previously held by Jake Myers, chairman of the highly successful 1981 Carlisle, PA, national convention.

Mark Jacobs is well known in the hobby. The son of FDR specialist Joseph Jacobs, Mark has been a dealer and mail auctioneer for the last fifteen years, and until recently had a shop in Chicago. Mark and Lois Jacobs (#4293) are collectors of Chicago-related items.



Q. When was the first Grand National Banner issued?

A. Grand National Banners, ornately designed colorful jugate prints, were first issued for the 1844 campaign by N. Currier (Currier and Ives after 1857). Kellogg and Comstock adapted the same basic design in 1848. Kelloggs appear through 1864, with Curriers continuing through 1876, though the company remained in business until 1907. We have been requested by many new members to run an APIC project in the Keynoter picturing the complete series of Grand National Banners. Roger Fischer has asked Chick Harris to coordinate the project, which he has agreed to do. Unfortunately, due to the difficulty of obtaining quality photographs of all the banners in order, the project will picture one or more each issue, as we receive them. For a start, page 27 features the four Grand National Banners issued for the 1860 campaign, including the unusual standing Bell and Everett.

If you are a collector of Grand National Banners, your assistance on the project would be appreciated. Please send black and white photographs to Chick Harris.

The Keynoter Page 27

1860 GRAND NATIONAL BANNERS







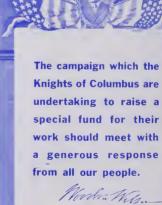






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1 William Mills

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