



THE KEYNOTER



1944 ★ The Campaigns of ★ 1948
THOMAS E. DEWEY

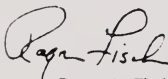
Editors' Message

We are now well into the silly season, both in national politics and in the collecting of campaign items. Another harvest is fast upon us. Sales and trade lists are filling our mailboxes and ads for 1984 treasures are proliferating in collector publications. By year's end we will all have opportunities to add to our collections a thousand or more 1984 items, running the gamut of desirability from the truly choice, artistic, scarce and significant buttons to the monumentally tacky button-machine monstrosities made in a collector's basement. Perhaps the best that can be said for the latter is that many of them fox quickly, sparing their owners any long range embarrassment for acquiring them! For the best of reasons as well as the more sordid, prices on new items rarely bear a remote resemblance to real value. Items offered quite reasonably soon dry up and prices escalate. Items represented (often honestly) as true rarities surface in great numbers and soon fill the 3/\$1.00 fishbowls in bourse after bourse. You win some and you lose some, but overall, most collectors who try to acquire everything produced during a campaign year lose more than they win, for prices generally fall once the excitement of the campaign fades away, the loser takes refuge in a law office or university chair, and the winner turns out to have been less than a modern messiah.

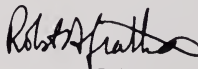
Probably the worst single facet of this election year mania in our hobby is the number of new collectors that, campaign in and campaign out, grow embittered over being taken and abandon the hobby altogether. APIC wishes it could do more to protect the new collector, especially the young people attracted to our ranks, but we can do very little. Items used to fall rather clearly into three categories, for the most part — official items used by political campaign organizations; legitimate vendor items sold to the general public; and tainted items produced almost exclusively for sale to collectors. We see fewer of the last variety any more, fortunately, a result of rising costs of producing such trash and collector sophistication in avoiding it. What we do see taking its place, however, is a massive variety of technically legitimate items produced partly for campaign purposes and partly for the collector market, often because of the active involvement of collectors in the political process. From areas thinly populated with collectors, where one enterprising soul can corner a market in an item, we see buttons presented as great rarities when enough copies may exist to cover every last APIC member. APIC cannot — and will not try to — dictate the rights of its members to political participation. We will not get into the pricing of items and cannot advise as to quantities available. We do, however, offer these suggestions:

- 1) Attempt to acquire good duplicate items and trade rather than buy whenever possible; if both items go for \$20 today and \$2 next year, there are no victims.
- 2) Ask veteran collectors about the reputations of those who offer items that interest you; we are a small fraternity and scoundrels are usually well known to most old-timers.
- 3) Whenever in doubt, avoid buying a new item until the dust settles and the law of supply and demand has a chance to operate. This generally occurs within nine months to a year after an election. You will miss *very few* bargains through patience and can really minimize the chances of being victimized.

We wish each of you an exciting and rewarding collecting season in 1984, but echo the words of the late Michael Conrad, Sergeant Phil Esterhaus on *Hill Street Blues*: "Hey — Be careful out there."



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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Illustrations: The editors thank Al Anderson, Robert Blay, Frank Cacommo, Ted Hake, Chris Hearn, Michael Kelly and John Pfeifer for providing items and photographs for this issue.

Covers: Front: Dewey-Bricker 6" jugate button, blue and white; **Back:** Dewey-Warren 6" jugate button, red, white and blue. Both buttons shown actual size.

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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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Summer *Keynoter* will feature articles on the two campaigns of William McKinley, including many previously unpictured items, Charles A. Lindbergh, and Eric Sebastian, the "candidate" of the Hamiltonian Party.

1944 ★ The Campaigns of ★ 1948 Thomas E. Dewey

By Michael Kelly

November 2, 1948, was a cloudless, unseasonably warm day in New York City. At the fashionable Hotel Roosevelt (named in honor of Theodore, not Franklin) in suite 1527, Thomas E. Dewey arose at 9:30 to breakfast with his wife and note the first results of election day 1948, already in from Hart's Location, New Hampshire — Dewey 11, Harry S. Truman 1. The morning papers and newsweeklies made pleasant reading for Tom and Frances Dewey over their morning coffee. The New York *Times* ran a state-by-state survey that credited the Republican standardbearer with 345 electoral votes, 78 more than needed. *Newsweek* conceded 366 electoral votes to Dewey. The cover of *Life* featured him as "Our Next President" gazing across San Francisco Bay. That week Warner Brothers had revised the soundtrack of its film comedy "June Bride." A reference about changing fashions "from McKinley to Truman" had been updated to "from McKinley to Dewey." As the Deweys left the hotel to vote that morning, they were greeted by giant letters in the windows of the General Electric Building across the street that spelled out "GOOD LUCK, MR. PRESIDENT."

Thirteen years earlier Thomas E. Dewey had burst onto the national scene as "The Gangbuster," a daring young prosecuting attorney. U.S. Attorney for New York City at the

age of only 31, Dewey was the man who threw such mobsters as "Dutch" Schultz and "Lucky" Luciano into prison and led the crusade against the rackets in the "Big Apple." His courtroom exploits were the subject of a score of films, radio programs, and Broadway plays. Newsmen Lowell Thomas labeled him "an authentic colossus." Yet popular history has not dealt kindly with Tom Dewey, remembering him primarily as a loser and "the little man on the wedding cake." The key visual image associated with Dewey is a newsphoto of his victorious rival holding up a newspaper headline reading "DEWEY DEFEATS TRUMAN."

Born in rural Owosso, Michigan, on March 24, 1902, Dewey's birth was recorded in the local papers as follows: "A ten pound Republican voter was born last evening to Mr. and Mrs. George M. Dewey. George says the young man arrived in time for registration for the April election." To say that Tom Dewey was born into a Republican family would be to understate the case. A grandfather was said to have been a founding father of the Republican party in Michigan in 1854 and his father George was a Republican activist throughout his life (except in 1912, when he followed Teddy Roosevelt into the Bull Moose crusade).

Dewey's childhood seems taken right from a Horatio Alger





story. As a boy he organized paper routes, worked on his father's newspaper, studied hard, and was an excellent student. He graduated from the University of Michigan and for a time gave serious consideration to a career in opera, for he possessed a rich singing voice. His decision to attend law school at Columbia University in New York was influenced by the fact that he could continue to study voice there, but when his formal public debut was ruined by a last minute cold, he decided that a career should not be based on anything as vulnerable as a voice. Fortunately, he had continued to excel in his legal studies and was soon considered one of the most promising young lawyers in the highly competitive New York market.

He first ran for public office in 1937 as a candidate for district attorney on an amazing Republican-American Labor Party fusion ticket headed by Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia. The bright kid from Owosso became the first Republican district attorney for Manhattan in a quarter century, and began almost immediately to attract attention as a presidential possibility for 1940 (a fact that says less about Dewey than it does about the sorry state of American Republicanism at the peak of Roosevelt's popularity and power). A button from the 1937 race, a blue and white 2 1/4" celluloid reading "CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE — THOMAS E. DEWEY FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY," appeared in the 1981 Don Warner auction. Several paper items were printed and distributed as well. The broader fusion effort inspired some items, including a cloverleaf "FUSION" tab and a 3/4" blue and white litho "I'M VOTING FUSION" button.

Dewey had barely assumed office (at the ripe old age of 35) when the Republican party in New York sensed it had a hot property and made him its nominee for the governorship in 1938. Democratic incumbent Herbert Lehman was running for the Senate and the open governorship of New York was no small consideration. Past occupants of the statehouse in Albany had included Martin Van Buren, Samuel Tilden, Grover Cleveland, Charles Evans Hughes, Al Smith, and two men named Roosevelt; it was, short of the presidency, the most prestigious political office in the nation. At the urging of FDR, who did not like the rising challenge he saw in Dewey, Governor Lehman decided at the last minute to seek re-election instead of a seat in the Senate. The campaign that followed caught the imagination of the nation. A common attack on Dewey was his youth. Mocking his nickname "Gangbuster," the Democrats just called him "Buster." During a radio

broadcast in support of his old friend Lehman, President Roosevelt dismissed Dewey as "one who has yet to win his spurs." Dewey's campaign embraced the general purpose of many New Deal programs, but deplored their waste and inefficiency. He offered New York voters a clean, efficient administration and reminded them again and again of the many ties between the mob and the Democratic party that he had exposed.

Lehman squeaked past Dewey narrowly, but the contest made Dewey a major presidential contender. A Gallup Poll taken just days after the 1938 elections showed the 36-year old district attorney the first choice for the presidency of fully a third of his fellow Republicans, far ahead of such other hopefuls as Alf Landon, Herbert Hoover, Arthur Vandenberg, and two freshman senators named Robert Taft and Henry Cabot Lodge. President Roosevelt was concerned about Dewey as a potential opponent in 1940, possibly prompting his friend and lieutenant Harold Ickes to sneer that "Dewey's thrown his diaper into the ring." Dewey took to the primary trail to demonstrate his ability to attract votes. He clobbered Vandenberg in Wisconsin and Nebraska, intimidating Taft into hastily withdrawing from primaries in New Jersey and Maryland. But within weeks of Dewey's impressive Nebraska victory, Adolf Hitler launched his attack on Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands. That night one of Dewey's political intimates told a campaign strategy meeting that the game was up. He warned that the Republicans would not nominate a "38-year old kid" whose foreign policy experience was limited to a bicycle tour of France fifteen years before!

The 1940 campaign took place against the shifting background of war in Europe and the possibility of America's entry into that war. Heavily isolationist at first, Americans reacted with growing concern as Hitler's forces swept through Poland, the Benelux nations, France, and much of Scandinavia. As the population changed its mind, politicians scrambled for footing. Out of the turmoil and confusion within Republican ranks emerged a ruffled, outspoken Hoosier with credentials as a Wall Street lawyer and utilities executive, Wendell Willkie. A set of handsome photo buttons issued shortly before the 1940 Republican convention to sell at Philadelphia included Dewey, Taft, and Vandenberg varieties but none for Willkie. On May 16, 1940, a poll showed Dewey to be the choice of 62% of Republican voters and Willkie at just 5%. Two weeks later the margin had diminished to 52% to 17%. As the GOP delegates arrived in Philadelphia, the

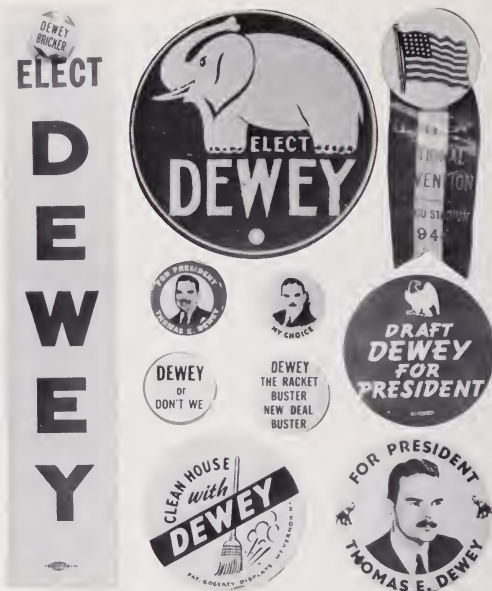


lead over Willkie had shrunk to 47% to 29%. In the five weeks from May 16 to June 20, Willkie's support among rank-and-file Republicans had grown fivefold! His main asset (other than his engaging personality and non-political image) was his reputation as a firm internationalist. Behind him was a cleverly orchestrated publicity campaign that made it appear as if a purely spontaneous grass-roots enthusiasm for Willkie were sweeping the nation. Delegates were swamped with letters and telegrams demanding the Hoosier's nomination (although when Alf Landon personally replied to the avalanche of messages he had received, eighteen sacks of mail were returned to him marked "addressee unknown").

After delivering his keynote address, Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen announced that he would serve as Willkie's convention floor leader. The galleries were packed with Willkie supporters whose boisterous enthusiasm helped negate the large delegate lead enjoyed by Dewey. On the first ballot Dewey tallied 360 votes to Taft's 189, but Willkie won a surprising 105. Dewey held his lead on the second and third ballots, but Willkie's vote kept rising. He took the lead on the fourth ballot and won nomination on the sixth. As Dewey quipped afterwards, "I led on three ballots, but they were the wrong three." Among the better Dewey items from 1940 was a slogan button of the variety later used so widely in Willkie's campaign that read "DEWEY THE RACKET BUSTER, NEW DEAL BUSTER." A cute postcard featured two elephants shaking trunks with the caption: "DO WE WANT DEWEY? WE DO! SHAKE, BROTHER, YOU SAID IT!" With a 1940 date on the front, it is one of the few Dewey items that can be conclusively dated as a 1940 piece.

Dewey faithfully supported Willkie in his unsuccessful bid to deny FDR a third term and then returned to the task of attacking crime in New York City. He was the obvious Republican nominee for governor in 1942 and won easily, despite Willkie's prediction that he would lose. The crowd at his victory night party chanted, "Dewey for President, Dewey for President." As he took his seat in Albany at a desk once used by Franklin Roosevelt, his eye was already on replacing Roosevelt at a desk in the Oval Office.

His chance came as expected. Dewey easily brushed aside his rivals for the 1944 Republican presidential nomination, eliminating Willkie in the Wisconsin primary and coming only a single vote shy of a unanimous first-ballot victory at the convention (one Wisconsin delegate held firm for General Douglas MacArthur). At the time of his nomination Dewey had not yet even officially declared his candidacy. The delegates selected Ohio Governor John Bricker as his running mate in an attempt to balance an eastern moderate Republican with a midwestern conservative. Bricker was featured with Dewey on a few 1944 jugate items, including a blue and white 6" celluloid "DEWEY AND BRICKER FOR PROSPERITY" button that ranks among the most desirable of all known 1944 items. A 1" celluloid jugate (Hake DEW-2) is a classic display piece, with crisp photos of both men under the legend "DEWEY AND BRICKER." The 1¼" RWB celluloid jugate DEW-1 is also prized by collectors, as is the smaller and more readily available litho version DEW-3. A favorite son presidential hopeful before his vice-presidential



nomination, Bricker inspired 1944 buttons in his own right, including a very attractive 7/8" celluloid with his signature in white beneath his photo, a 2" "B - A BRICKER BACKER" litho, and a smaller "BRICKER FOR PRESIDENT" RWB litho.

Although neither party issued a bumper crop of campaign items in 1944 (primarily a result of critical wartime shortages of metals and plastics), a number of Dewey pieces exist that reflect the issues and tenor of the race. Paper items bearing the slogans "PEACE AND JOBS QUICKER WITH DEWEY AND BRICKER" and "BACK TO WORK QUICKER WITH DEWEY AND BRICKER" echoed Dewey's pledge to retool the economy to absorb the millions of men in uniform, while the Roosevelt administration toyed with the idea of keeping them under arms to reduce their impact on a fragile economy. The "MOTHERS - SISTERS - WIVES - SWEETHEARTS" litho DEW-58 also reflected Republican emphasis on the coming peace. A good-luck charm featuring a picture of Dewey and the legend "GOD BLESS AMERICA" sought to capitalize on the general patriotic fervor during the war. One elaborate button (DEW-125) featured the sentiment "TRUST, FAITH, HOPE - ON HOME AND FOREIGN FRONTS" and a design pairing two large war victory "V" signs to form a "W" for "Win the War."

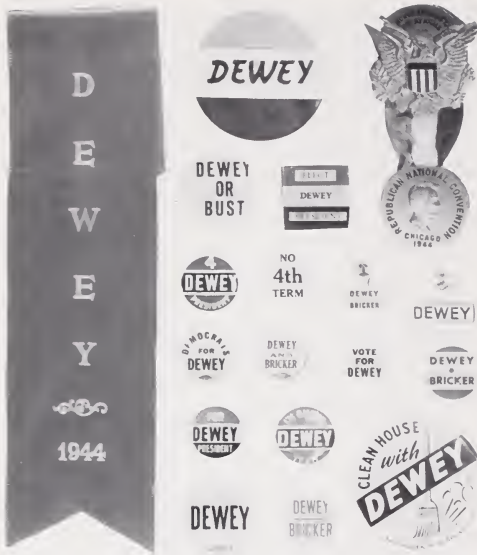
A few 1944 Dewey items reflected the anti-fourth term theme, although the idea of a fourth term for Roosevelt did not stir up nearly the furor that his third term bid had provoked in 1940. A pair of litho picture buttons (DEW-33 and 34) played up the theme with the slogan "GO FORTH WITH DEWEY" (with a large red "4" behind the "forth"). Celluloid "NO FOURTH TERM" buttons were also



produced, reminiscent of the deluge of similar “NO THIRD TERM” slogan pins in 1940. More caustic were the “CLEAR EVERYTHING WITH SIDNEY” buttons, referring to CIO Political Action Committee head Sidney Hillman. Chief architect of this allegedly “nonpartisan education program” that essentially put the resources of the CIO at the disposal of Roosevelt’s re-election effort, Hillman was an enormously powerful figure in American politics in 1944. Feared as a sinister leftist by much of the Republican right (who took as evidence of his Bolshevism his Jewish faith and Lithuanian birth), Hillman had been dismissed as “a Russian pants worker” by the embittered John L. Lewis. Roosevelt clearly disagreed. During a meeting of party leaders in 1944, when someone suggested dumping Henry Wallace for either Harry Truman or James Byrnes, FDR reportedly delivered the edict “Clear it with Sidney.” Thus the buttons echoing the remark raised not only the issue of leftist influence on the New Deal, but also the possibility that Roosevelt was not his own man. One negative theme that the Dewey campaign did not exploit openly, on items or otherwise, was the failing health of FDR, a genuine concern among many Americans that Roosevelt effectively countered with his eight-hour motorcade in an open car during a rainstorm in New York City. In a record voter turnout FDR trounced Dewey 432-99 in electoral votes, but less than six months later he was dead.

The 1946 mid-term election was a GOP landslide, bringing Republican control of both houses of the Congress for the first time since 1930. Dewey was swept to re-election in New York to put him in a strong position for the 1948 presidential nomination. 1948 had been the logical year for him all along — his 1940 and 1944 campaigns had been almost forced on him by circumstances. But now FDR was gone and the Democrats under Harry Truman were foundering from internal bickering and dissension. The left wing of the Roosevelt coalition was in the process of following Henry Wallace into his Progressive party secession and the coalition’s “Dixiecrat” right wing would soon follow suit when South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond and his supporters would bolt the Democratic convention and hoist the banner of the States’ Rights campaign in the South. In a strong position to reclaim the White House after sixteen years, the Republican party had no shortage of candidates for the nomination. Ohio’s Robert Taft had risen in the party’s estimation and remained a potent force; Michigan’s Arthur Vandenberg had gained great (and deserved) stature for his leadership in postwar bipartisan foreign policy; Minnesota’s Harold Stassen was back from the war and loaded for bear.

As the acknowledged front-runner, Dewey began by maintaining a posture of above-the-battle indifference toward the political process. He almost did not enter the primary in Wisconsin, where he had trounced Willkie and MacArthur four years earlier. Like many front-runners in our political history, he would find out that the presidency rarely comes by default. This was a lesson he would learn barely in time to win the nomination and then apparently forget during the general election campaign. He had never been fond of campaigning. A fiercely private man whose rigid sense of decorum and proper public behavior made him seem aloof



and rather stuffy, his tendency to avoid rough-and-tumble political combat was probably more a result of his personality than poor strategic planning. In any event, Dewey began the primaries in New Hampshire by remaining aloof from the campaign and relying on his state organization to defeat Stassen (who campaigned strenuously) 28,000 to 21,000 in popular votes and 6-2 in convention delegates.

But Stassen was far from finished. In 1948 this enigmatic man was far removed from the political curiosity he has become since. Governor of Minnesota at the age of 31, he had resigned his office to enter the Navy when war came. He was put forth as a candidate for the 1944 Republican nomination, but remained silently on active duty. In 1948 Stassen was again a civilian with no public duties to distract his attention. He plunged into the 1948 race with energy and excitement. Four years later Estes Kefauver would have a similar impact, but in 1948 it was Harold Stassen who generated the lion's share of the excitement. After his loss to Dewey in New Hampshire, Stassen made a major effort in Wisconsin, where he enjoyed the advantages of next-door status and the support of freshman Senator Joseph McCarthy. A strong campaign was waged by supporters of Wisconsin native Douglas MacArthur. Dewey spent only two days in the state, devoting most of his time to ridicule a Stassen-McCarthy proposal to outlaw the Communist party. "You can't shoot an idea with a gun," he argued. The Wisconsin primary dealt a serious blow to Dewey's hopes and established Stassen as the new front-runner. The Minnesotan won 19 delegates, MacArthur 8, and Dewey none. A week later Stassen repeated his victory in the Nebraska primary. The pundits and press began to discount Dewey as Stassen gained even more momentum with a huge write-in tally in Pennsylvania.

Oregon was plainly Dewey's last chance to stop Stassen and

regain credibility. In that primary, at long last, Dewey threw decorum to the winds and ran to win. He donned an Indian head-dress, rode in a 1901 Locomobile in a small-town parade, and even on one occasion gnawed on a bone with a local group dressed as cavemen! The Oregon primary was probably decided by a debate staged at Portland's radio station KEX and broadcast nationally over nine hundred stations. The event had one of the largest radio audiences in history, with estimates as high as 80,000,000 listeners. Dewey's strategy was to limit the debate to a single issue, the outlawing of the Communist party. Surprisingly, Stassen was calm and low-key in arguing that it should be illegal to be a Communist in the United States, while the supposedly icy Dewey presented his case with great emotion. He compared Stassen's position to fascism and communism itself: "It is thought control...an attempt to beat down ideas with a club. It is a surrender of everything we believe in." Many Oregonians apparently agreed, for on primary day Dewey defeated Stassen by ten thousand votes. Although he did not get the message, the Oregon primary ended any chance Stassen ever had to become president. Dewey was back in a commanding position to capture the Republican nomination. Later in the campaign, to commemorate the event, Oregon Republicans issued a litho that simply read "50001," the number of votes Dewey won in the Oregon primary that iced his nomination.

When the Republicans gathered in Philadelphia in late June, Taft and Stassen attempted to rally a "Stop Dewey" movement but failed to unite against the New Yorker. The first ballot gave Dewey 434 of the 548 votes he needed to win; Taft trailed with 224, followed by Stassen with 157 and scattered support for Vandenberg and California Governor Earl Warren. On the second ballot Dewey advanced to 515 (just 33 short of victory), Taft increased his tally to 274, and Stassen fell to 149. The "Stop Dewey" forces called a recess but could not agree to unite behind a single candidate. On the third ballot Dewey was nominated by acclamation. California's Earl Warren was then selected as his running mate, creating what was in many respects a "dream ticket" for the GOP that year — two popular, progressive governors of large states that spanned the nation coast-to-coast. The virtual certainty of a Dewey victory was reflected in one 6" button that read "DEWEY-WARREN — SURE WINNERS FOR THE GOP."

A glum and contentious Democratic convention in Philadelphia renominated President Truman and gave the vice presidential nomination to Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, in large part out of gratitude for his vigorous keynote address. Truman immediately took to the offensive with a blistering attack on the Republican-controlled Congress, the "Do-Nothing 80th Congress" that he would attack again and again between then and November while for the most part ignoring Dewey altogether. Truman deviously called the Congress back into special session in July to write into law the enlightened and progressive platform the GOP had just adopted. Dewey urged the Republican leadership in the House and Senate to do just that, but Taft and other party conservatives were so angry at Truman that they vowed to deny him any legislation he wanted, a short-sighted strategy that played right into his

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

TED 48

VOTE REPUBLICAN

DEWEY

★ VOTE REPUBLICAN PULL FIRST LEVER

DEWEY RALLY

USHER

DEWEY

DEWEY

WE WANT DEWEY

DEWEY

DEWEY

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

DEWEY

FOR DEWEY

CONFIDENTLY I'M FOR DEWEY

EVERY PAPER HARRY THE DEWEYS ARE COMING

THOMAS WAS SURE TO BUILD A PORCH FOR DEWEY

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

Elect THOMAS E. DEWEY PRESIDENT CARL WARREN VICE-PRESIDENT

48-48 DEWEY WARREN

DEWEY WARREN

DEWEY IN 1948

DON'T BE AN

VOTE FOR DEWEY

VOLUNTEER I'm on the team

DEWEY WARREN

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

FOR PRESIDENT THOMAS E. DEWEY

DEWEY AND WARREN

DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL

DEWEY VICTORY SPECIAL

DELEGATE

MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION SEPT. 25, 1948 DETROIT

VOTE DEWEY FOR PRESIDENT

ALL 48 IN '48 DEWEY WARREN

SURE WINNERS DEWEY & WARREN FOR THE G. O. P.

photograph of Dewey. Another button, possibly used in connection with one of Dewey's campaign swings aboard a train, read "OUR DEWEY SPECIAL IS DUE." Another proclaimed him "YANKEE DOODLE DEWEY." A popular candidate expected to run ahead of the GOP party ticket in many areas, Dewey was linked to Republican candidates on many 1948 coattail items, including some from Arizona, Indiana, Ohio, and New York.

Also of interest to Dewey collectors are the 1948 presidential items issued on behalf of Earl Warren before the addition of the Californian to the Dewey ticket. Best remembered, of course, as Dewey's running mate who later developed into a major figure in American jurisprudence and chairman of the commission investigating John Kennedy's assassination, Earl Warren was in 1948 a serious candidate for the GOP presidential nomination in his own right. Among his presidential buttons were a vendor pin that read "BASES FULL — WARREN IS SCORIN'." Two favorite son buttons worn by California delegates in 1948 promoted the orange as well as the state's very popular governor. A large (3¾") celluloid featured "WARREN" in bold blue letters on an orange background with a green stem. A 2¼" celluloid featured the inscription "EARL WARREN FOR PRESIDENT" on an orange background.

One very nice 1948 Dewey item that can be acquired without spending an arm and a leg is a handsome ribbon and medallion from the New York Republican County Committee "Dewey-Warren Victory Rally" held in Madison Square Garden on October 30, 1948, a souvenir of one of the few occasions during the campaign when Dewey took the gloves off and delivered a bold attack on Truman. Throughout the campaign Dewey had limited himself to broad and toothless platitudes calling for national unity, while the embattled incumbent mounted a campaign characterized by constant attacks, bitter language, and wild punches. In the final days of the contest, however, Dewey began to sense that Truman was gaining on him and grew worried that his bland campaign may have backfired. His hearty attack on Truman on October 30 inspired lusty cheers from the New York County Republicans for one of their own since Dewey's days at Columbia Law School, but it was too late to alter his basic strategy of playing it safe. That rally brought Dewey's campaign to an end.

Three days later, on November 2, Thomas E. Dewey awoke with every reason to believe that he would be elected to the presidency that day. He swept the industrial Northeast, cut traditional Democratic margins in the big cities by a third, and ran better than any Republican since Hoover (in 1928) in the South. But he failed to carry the normally Republican farm belt, losing Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. The Democrats recaptured control of Congress, Harry Truman entered American political mythology as a modern David, and Tom Dewey became known as the man who had "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory," as Emmet John Hughes put it. Dewey faced the press the next morning, answering their questions for more than half an hour with calm dignity and asking in return, "Is there anything I can tell you that you don't already know?" He finally stood, waved goodbye, and told the press, "It's been grand fun, boys and girls. I've

enjoyed it immensely. Good luck."

Dewey went on to make many real contributions to his nation, state, and party. He was re-elected governor in 1950 and was influential in delivering the 1952 Republican nomination to Dwight D. Eisenhower. It was Dewey who suggested Senator Richard M. Nixon as Ike's running mate and he and Nixon remained close for years. He escaped to private life in 1954, relieved to be at long last earning a good income from his law practice. He resisted the frequent calls for his return to public office. On November 21, 1963, the governor of Nebraska issued a public plea to Dewey to run for the presidency in 1964, but Dewey responded by joking, "If anyone is going to tie William Jennings Bryan's record it will have to be Adlai, not me." He was scheduled to have lunch with Nixon the next day, but the Kennedy assassination in Dallas put an end to their plans. Dewey enjoyed excellent relations with Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey (whom he once bought a new pair of golf shoes so that HHH would appear presentable as his guest at the fashionable Bal Harbor course). In 1964 Dewey gave LBJ some sound strategic advice for the upcoming Democratic convention in Atlantic City, to move the tribute to John Kennedy from the opening day of the convention to the last if he did not want to face a Bobby Kennedy vice-presidential boomlet. Dewey made his last appearance at a GOP national convention in Miami in 1968, when Nixon was nominated over Nelson Rockefeller, Dewey's successor in Albany.

Thomas E. Dewey died on March 16, 1971, just eight days before his 69th birthday. "Everything came too early for me," he observed near the end of his life. A leading presidential candidate as a 38-year-old county official and twice the GOP choice for that office, he would be remembered mainly as a name on an incorrect newspaper held up by a grinning adversary. If this somewhat unfair place in popular mythology bothered him, Dewey never admitted it. "Remember, fellows," Dewey told a group of Boy Scouts visiting his Albany office in 1950, "any boy can become president — unless he's got a mustache!" ★



"Clear Everything with Sidney"

Sidney Hillman and the CIO-PAC

By Robert Rouse

In the July 25, 1944, *New York Times*, Arthur Krock reported President Roosevelt had said, "Clear everything with Sidney" in connection with the choice of a vice president in 1944. In addition to Truman and Wallace, FDR was reportedly considering James Byrnes, "Roosevelt's messenger" in the Senate, William O. Douglas, Sam Rayburn, Paul McNutt (former governor of Indiana), Senator Scott Lucas of Illinois, Alben Barkley, and John G. Winant. Winant was a three term Republican governor of New Hampshire who served in the Roosevelt administration as Assistant Director of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, first head of the Social Security Board, and Ambassador to England after Joseph P. Kennedy. The remark was officially denied but in his 1958 autobiography, *All in One Lifetime*, Byrnes confirmed FDR said it about July 15, 1944. Critics seized upon it to demonstrate the President was dominated by organized labor. Curiously, Sidney had urged FDR to retain Wallace on the ticket; Truman was his second choice.

Sidney Hillman was a Lithuanian-born Jew; he was dispatched to the United States as a boy, and later employed as an eight-dollar-a-week pants cutter in the garment district of New York. In 1910, at the age of twenty-three, he led 41,000 of his fellow workers out on strike, then displayed a tactical gift by agreeing to modify his demands in exchange for permanent arbitration within the industry. Soon afterward, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was born, with Hillman its guiding spirit. He met and married a spellbinding union organizer, broke with the AFL in 1936 to join Phillip Murray's more militant CIO, and was elevated to vice-president of the organization. By 1944 he was the head of the CIO Political Action Committee and an advisor to Roosevelt.

As a young man he had shared the political convictions of others in his trade, joining the Socialist party in New York. He had met and been captivated by Leon Trotsky. As leader of his own powerful union, Hillman wrote a book with kind words in it for the goals of Russian revolutionaries. He gave union funds to Russian relief projects and, in common with other CIO figures, spoke warmly of the heroic resistance of the Russian people to Hitler's aggression.

In July 1943, at a CIO board meeting, the Political Action Committee was born. PAC was the first attempt to organize labor for political purposes on a national scale in the United States. Hillman pledged \$1.5 million to defeat the Republicans in 1944. More important than the money at his disposal was the manpower: 20,000 in New York City on Election Day alone. There were 20,000 more in Ohio and



Actual Size

Michigan, plus untold thousands canvassing war plants and shipyards throughout the land, working at phone banks, building car pools, writing weekly bulletins for distribution to 1,500 labor newspapers and 255 Negro ones. Hillman's very prominence became an issue in the campaign, as buttons bearing the quote, "Clear everything with Sidney" attest. Earl Warren's knowledge of Hillman and the effort the CIO PAC was planning on behalf of Roosevelt was reportedly a factor in his refusal to accept the vice-presidential nomination in 1944. Soon the Dewey high command was derisively echoing the slogan, "Clear it with Sidney," and running radio spots declaring that Dewey would clear everything only with the Congress and the American people.

Samuel Rosenman, who served as special counsel to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman saw a deeper significance in the Republican slogan. In *Working with Roosevelt* (Harper, 1952) he wrote, "The attack on Hillman was an obvious, unvarnished, unabashed appeal to anti-Jewish prejudices.... The President did not try to defend Hillman, or say that there was no truth to the charge that things had to be 'cleared with Sidney.' Instead he carried the attack right to his opponent. Roosevelt's attack came early in the campaign, slamming into religious intolerance in a Boston speech: '...big as this country is, there is not room in it for racial or religious intolerance...and there is no room for snobbery!'"

Writing about Hillman a decade later, C. Wright Mills gave the phrase sociological significance, "...his awareness of himself as a member of the national elite, and the real and imagined recognition he achieved as a member ('Clear it with Sidney') signaled the larger entrance, after the great expansion of the unions and after the New Deal, of labor leaders into the power elite."

Did the Mustache Make a Difference?

By Robert Rouse

In the aftermath of close elections participants, pundits, and scholars all search for factors which may have been ignored during the heat of the campaign but, in retrospect, may have indeed made the difference between victory and defeat. An example would be the role played by John and Robert Kennedy in securing the release of Martin Luther King, Jr. from the Reidsville Penitentiary in Georgia in 1960, a little-noticed move among whites but one that prompted the massive black turnout for JFK that put several doubtful states in his column on election day. An equally good example would be the 1884 remark by James G. Blaine supporter Rev. Samuel Burchard that the Democrats stood for “rum, Romanism, and rebellion,” a slur that incensed Irish voters in New York, which Blaine lost (and with it the presidency) by a margin of 1,047 votes (less than .0009 of votes cast). Another fine case of “little things mean a lot” in close campaigns was a 1916 campaign swing through California by Charles Evans Hughes, who failed to meet with popular Governor Hiram Johnson and also inadvertently crossed a union picket line. He lost the state by fewer than 3,500 votes out of a million cast, and with it the presidency.

Did Tom Dewey’s celebrated mustache make a similar difference between victory and defeat? The Dewey mustache was born during a 1925 bicycling trip through France after his graduation from Columbia Law School, when he bet a friend to see who could grow one first. When they returned home his sweetheart Frances Hutt, whom he married three years later, shared Dewey’s fondness for the mustache, which hid a high lip. It stayed for the rest of his life, to the dismay of some political advisors and the delight of editorial cartoonists. In 1944, when Americans were chuckling over Alice Roosevelt Longworth’s acerbic quip that Dewey “looks like the bridegroom on a wedding cake,” Dewey’s friend and biographer Stanley Walker wrote:

“There is no way of knowing how much the mustache has helped to fix the personality of Tom Dewey in the public consciousness. Certainly it has been of inestimable help to the political cartoonists, who, according to their inclinations, can draw it so as to indicate either a powerful, aggressive, dignified gentleman or a near-buffoon. Today it would be as hard to visualize a mustache-less Dewey as a toothless Theodore Roosevelt.”

It is clear that the mustache cost Dewey precious little in 1944 against Franklin Roosevelt, but his 1948 race against Harry Truman was close enough for it to have made the crucial difference in defeating the man referred to by the Navajos as “Dogi Cligen”—Black Mustache. Although in some circles a mustache was regarded as chic and debonair, in rural areas it was more commonly viewed as a symbol of guile and conceit. The most famous mustache of the period had belonged to Adolf Hitler, an association that did Dewey no good, especially among Jewish voters and the

families of combat victims. Political advisors often urged Dewey to shave it off or at least trim it back in the manner of matinee idol Clark Gable, for apparently some Republicans were uncomfortable supporting a man once described in a New York newspaper as “a perfect sartorial masterpiece...with a Hitler-Chaplin mustache.”

One man who thought that the mustache hurt Dewey, both in 1944 and 1948, was Harry Truman. Asked by author Merle Miller, “Did you think you and Roosevelt would win in 1944?” Truman responded:

“Never doubted it for a minute. I knew he’d win because the country wouldn’t want to change Presidents while there was a war on. Besides, there was something about that other fellow that people just never did trust. He had a mustache, for one thing, and since in those days, during the war, people were aware of Hitler, that mustache didn’t do him any good. I also made use of that mustache during the 1948 campaign. I never mentioned him by name, but I’d make a motion of stroking a mustache. People got the idea.”

Another man who believes the mustache to have been a major factor in Dewey’s defeat is the famous odds-maker Jimmy “The Greek” Snyder. In his autobiography *Jimmy the Greek*, Snyder recounted how the Dewey mustache was responsible for the largest single bet he had ever won. One evening in 1948 the Greek was at home in Steubenville, Ohio, dressing for a date, when he remarked casually, “I think I’m going to raise a mustache.” His older sister Mary said to him, “Jim, don’t do it. Girls don’t like mustaches.” A few days later he was looking at a picture of Dewey with “that neat, manicured little mustache” and began to think “girls don’t like mustaches.” It seemed implausible, for Dewey was an odds-on favorite (as high as 30-1 in some of the action), but what if his sister was right? Women were 52% of all voters. Snyder hired three local women to stand in front of an A & P store to ask every exiting woman, “Do you like men with mustaches?” The tally told him what he needed to know — 347 did not, 122 said that they did, and

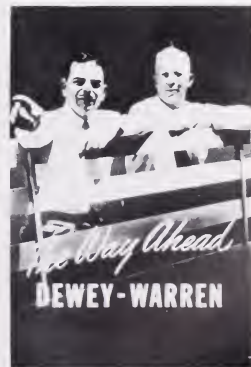
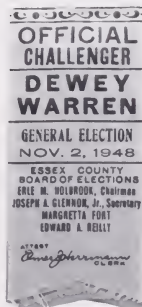


31 did not care. The Greek then polled two precincts always used by Jack Nolan, an old-line Democratic powerbroker in the county, because they had always gone with the winner in a national election. He sent his three women into grocery stores, a dress shop, men's stores, a store in the Negro district, to ask the question "Will you vote for Truman or Dewey?" One precinct split dead even, the other went Truman 48%-46%.

With the signs pointing to a much closer election than anyone was figuring, Snyder put \$11,000 in his pocket and hopped a train for New York, a city where gamblers love favorites (and, of course, Dewey's home town). His friend Harold Salvey tried to dissuade him from throwing his money away, but finally took him to Lindy's, the Broadway night spot patronized by some of New York's biggest bookmakers. Salvey put out the word that he wanted to put \$10,000 on Truman and the offers came in hot and heavy, at odds as high as 22-to-one. They finally placed the whole roll with one bookie at 17-to-one ("he pays off," was Salvey's explanation). As the Greek told it, "The next day I had \$180,000, my ten and the \$170,000 payoff. It was the

most money I had ever won."

Two years later Dewey quipped to a group of Boy Scouts in his office in Albany, "Remember, fellows, any boy can become president — unless he's got a mustache!" Ironically, however, he was much less sensitive about the mustache than he was about his height. Although he was 5' 8" — as tall as the average man in the service, slightly taller than Truman, nearly two inches taller than Churchill, and three inches taller than Stalin — his stature bothered him and it rankled when FDR condescendingly dismissed him as "the little man." His running mates were both much taller, Bricker 6' 2" and 6' 1" Warren. An arrogant defensiveness toward taller men came out on several occasions, as when he branded the 6' 1" Wendell Willkie "our fat friend" and the Chief Justice "that big, dumb Swede." Dewey may have been politically right not to second-guess himself about his mustache. It must be remembered that he kept it originally to cover up a high upper lip, which might well have been a greater handicap, making him appear even more stuffy, fastidious, and ill at ease than he did with the mustache. We'll never know for sure. ★



Henry Clay

And the Great Dayton Barbecue

By John Pfeifer

September 29, 1842 was a day that would be remembered long after the sounds of celebration faded away. It marked the fulfillment of a promise that had been made by the Whigs of Ohio to their sister state of Kentucky. The city of Dayton had pledged its word to Kentucky that 100,000 freemen would meet their Whig brethren in an outpouring of enthusiasm unequalled by any previous assemblage in Ohio history. Nearly 200,000 Ohioans were present that day, exhibiting the same devotion to Whig principles which had been demonstrated during the great Whig rallies of 1840. No one seemed surprised that so many had made their way to Dayton to meet the champion of their cause, Henry Clay, and to receive into their midst the representatives of an entire state which had been invited to come over and partake with them of the fat of the land at the great Dayton Barbecue.

At the beginning of the week, campaign flags were hoisted all over the city and music was heard in all parts of the town as choirs and glee clubs entertained the faithful with a variety of Clay songs rendered in all cases with great gusto and in a few cases with admirable style. By Wednesday night, the 28th, crowds had begun to gather on every street corner to listen to speeches by some of the prominent orators of the day, and to cheer as each new company arrived, bringing renewed enthusiasm and banners of every description. The weather had been hot all week with very little air stirring, but by the morning of the 29th a light breeze had blown up, extending the flags which were floating by the hundreds over the city and removing clouds of dust which had been raised by the throng of vehicles clogging every road into Dayton.

Henry Clay left his Centerville lodgings at 7:00 on Thursday morning and reached the city limits of Dayton at 9:00, where he was met by the Citizen's Guards of Cincinnati under the command of Captain O. M. Mitchell. With all the efforts that had been made by the marshals to have the line of march and arrangements fully understood, it became impossible to adhere to the plan due to the crowds filling every street. The entire procession did not pass any one point but seemed literally to engulf the entire city!

First in the procession, riding in an open brouche, were Senator Clay and Governor Tom Corwin, legendary "Wagon Boy" and Whig champion of 1840. Following the Citizen's Guards was a large wagon carrying one hundred girls and boys in handsome uniforms singing songs and waving flags. Next came a number of mechanic's shops on wheels, among them a blacksmith's forge and anvil, upon which the clink of the hammer was constantly heard. The cotton spinners were busily engaged in reeling, twisting, and spinning as the procession moved through the streets. Not

to be undone, the Whigs of Butler County followed in their wagon where all the operations of dressing and spinning flax were carried on. Washington Township set up a threshing floor and the flail was "playing merrily" as the parade moved along. The carpenter's car was drawn by six horses and bore a miniature temple of Theseus at Athens, which had been carefully built to scale by the Whig artisans of Dayton.

From a stand erected on Main Street, Clay and Corwin reviewed a small part of the procession, as many sections of it were unable to get into line and pass this point. Following the review the crowds moved to the meeting grounds housed in a grove surrounding a hill at the south end of Main Street. Thousands of people had crowded into the stand area throughout the morning and waited patiently for the sound of the cannon signaling the approach of the speakers. Acres of ground were covered by the dense crowd of excited people on foot, with an even greater area taken up by carriages and horsemen stationed where the distance might permit seeing, though no possibility of hearing the speakers. It was estimated that 130,000-150,000 were on the grounds with half again that many crowding the streets and public places in the city. Before the hour for calling the meeting to order had arrived, the multitudes were entertained with speeches by the great Whig leaders of Kentucky, including Senator Crittenden. The convention then proceeded to the appointment of its officers, with Jeremiah Morrow of Warren County elected president. Having dispensed with all preliminary business, a long cheer went up from the crowd as Henry Clay was escorted to the speakers stand accompanied by Grand Marshal Schenck who presented the following declaration.

"In the spirit of enthusiastic affection the Whig masses of Ohio have met to welcome their brethren of Kentucky. The good, the great, and the patriotic of both states now contend, as they have long struggled for the same principles of national policy, for unanimous opinion as to the individual to be selected for the consummation of those principles.

Resolved, therefore, that the Whig masses here assembled in the voice of numbers never before equaled on the American continent announce to their Whig brethren of the union, Henry Clay of Kentucky, the long cherished, the master spirit, the incorruptible statesman of the Giant West, as their candidate for the Presidency in 1844.

Resolved, also, that the Whigs of Ohio here assembled, made painfully conscious of the importance of looking hereafter with equal care to the character and qualifications of him who may be proposed for the second office in the

stand. After delighting the faithful with one of his inimitable appeals to their patriotism, he took up the gauntlet which had been thrown and on behalf of Ohio accepted the contest for "first honors in support of true American principles and Henry Clay."

Though it had begun to rain shortly after Crittenden began to speak, the crowd stood firmly in place determined to remain undampened, at least in spirit. "Any rain," it was said, "was to be endured but the 'reign' of Tyler." The celebration continued throughout the day with speeches, contests, and singing on every corner in town. Street vendors were busy selling souvenirs of all kinds, among these being various ribbon badges and at least two known variations of papier-mache' cigar cases picturing Henry Clay.

At 2:00 p.m. the following day, Clay left on his way to Indianapolis. No public notice had been given concerning his departure time but great numbers of people were reported to still be on the grounds crowding around to take him by the hand and bid him goodbye amid the cheers and best wishes of all who remained.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable convocations of the people ever assembled in the United States up to that time. The local journal reported, "For numbers, enthusiasm, devotion to principle and to the cause of liberty itself, no one has perhaps ever witnessed an assemblage which can be compared with it. It will be an honor to Dayton as long as Liberty shall be esteemed worth maintaining or honesty and patriotism deserving such homage as free men may consistently pay."

The Dayton barbecue had been a resounding political success for its organizers and left as its legacy several of the more outstanding examples of political material culture remaining today. ★

Items of Interest

A comment on patriotism penned by John W. Davis while Ambassador to Great Britain, 1919-1921.



*"They have rights who dare maintain them
John W. Davis
London, Eng.
Jan. 27, 1919"*

government of the Nation, do nominate as their candidate for the Vice-Presidency, John Davis of Massachusetts, a man distinguished for his stern practical honesty and known principles, as well as for his long and valuable services.

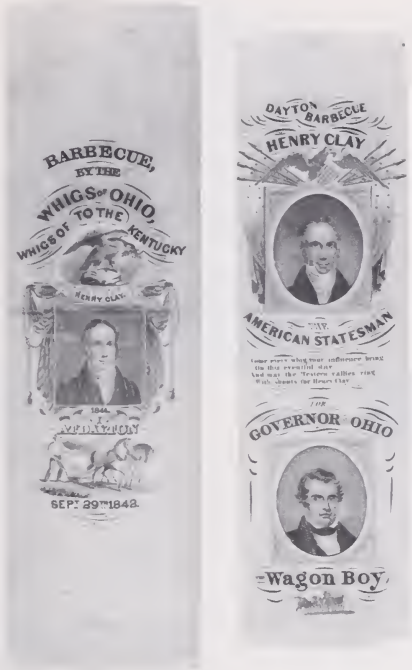
Resolved, that as the best guarantee Ohio can give the other states of our determination to maintain and carry out Whig principles, we will elect Thomas Corwin, again our governor."

Having made the official nomination of Clay and subtly reminding the crowd of the error of John Tyler's nomination in 1840, Schenck introduced the great statesman without any further comment by simply pointing to him as he rose before them, and pronounce the single name—"Clay."

For over an hour and a half Henry Clay held the audience in the palm of his hand as he assailed the policies of President Tyler and the Democratic interests that he represented. When he finished speaking no doubts were left in the minds of those assembled concerning his course and position as the ardent and consistent friend of the "Protective" system.

After Clay returned to his place of honor on the platform, the crowd called once again for Senator Crittenden and he returned the challenge, which had been the occasion of the present festival—offering on behalf of Kentucky, a barbecue to the Whigs of Ohio, if they could exceed the majority to be given by his state to Clay in 1844.

When he had finished, shouts for the "wagon-boy" rose from the audience, bringing the eloquent governor to the



“If at First You Don’t Succeed”

The Rise and Fall of Harold Stassen

By Michael Kelly

Many men have unsuccessfully sought the presidency on two or more occasions. The Socialist party candidacies of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas became nearly as traditional as the return of the swallows to Capistrano. Among major party candidacies, of course, William Jennings Bryan holds the record with three nominations and three defeats. Thomas E. Dewey and Adlai Stevenson were nominated twice and serious contenders a third time, Dewey in 1940 and Stevenson in 1960. Robert Taft of Ohio mounted campaigns of varying intensity for the Republican nomination in 1940, 1944, 1948, and 1952. Hubert Humphrey was his party’s unsuccessful nominee in 1968, twice more (in 1960 and 1972) a serious contender, and again in 1976 a major factor until his failing health drove him from the presidential picture. But another Minnesotan, Harold E. Stassen, stands in a class by himself as a presidential perennial. No American politician can match the undiminished lust for the presidency that has gripped the ultimate hopeful. His 1948 rival Tom Dewey once remarked, “Everything came too early for me.” That same irony is found in the singular political career of Harold Stassen, candidate for the presidency of the United States in 1944, 1948, 1952, 1960, 1964, 1968, 1976, 1980, and again it seems in 1984.

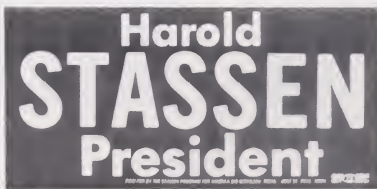
Born of immigrant parents on a Dakota County, Minnesota, farm on April 13, 1907, Stassen was a bright, dedicated student who entered the University of Minnesota at the age of sixteen. He became a champion debater, class president, founder of the university’s first Young Republican club, and a lieutenant colonel in the campus ROTC unit. He received his bachelor’s degree in 1927 and a law degree two years later. He founded his own law firm and months later, at the ripe old age of 23, won public office as the district attorney for Dakota County. He was re-elected in 1932, 1934, and 1936, served as president of the Minnesota District Attorneys’ Association, and in 1936 served both as president of the Minnesota Young Republicans and as a delegate to the GOP national convention that nominated Alf Landon.

In 1938 Stassen pulled off a stunning upset over endorsed candidate Martin A. Nelson in the Republican gubernatorial primary and went on to defeat incumbent Farmer-Labor Governor Elmer Benson in the general election by nearly 300,000 votes, a tribute to Stassen’s unbounded energy as

much as a growing realization among Minnesota voters that Benson’s agrarian populism had become difficult to distinguish from out-and-out Marxism. Thirty-one years of age, Stassen became the youngest governor in the history of the United States and was immediately hailed as a figure of national importance, Minnesota’s “boy wonder.” His progressive and efficient administration of state government also bolstered his reputation. In 1940 Stassen was chosen to deliver the keynote address at the Republican national convention in Philadelphia and then served as floor leader for the victorious Wendell Willkie forces there. That November he won re-election by more than 200,000 votes over Farmer-Laborite Hjalmer Peterson and was selected as chairman of the Council of State Governments. Two years later he was elected for a third term over Peterson by a diminished margin of 110,000 votes (in large part caused by a 37% drop in voter turnout from 1940), but within weeks resigned the governorship to go on active duty in the U.S. Navy for the duration of World War II.

One “STASSEN FOR GOVERNOR” button, a 7/8” blue on white celluloid, occasionally appears in auction or for sale, as does a gubernatorial “STASSEN NITE - NOV. 3RD” white on red tab. An extremely rare and very desirable gubernatorial item is the 2 1/4” maroon and gold “STASSEN PAUL REVERES OF ’38” celluloid button, picturing a mounted rider and occasionally drilled to accommodate a loop and cow bell. This exceptional item was created for a group of young volunteers that in 1938 drove through rural Minnesota, stopping in the small towns for quick blitzes of pamphlet distribution before driving on to the next hamlet down the road. Ten years later, when the Stassen presidential campaign used the same technique in the 1948 Wisconsin primary, volunteers were given an updated version of the same button that read “STASSEN PAUL REVERE RIDERS OF ’48.” These two buttons are generally regarded as the most desirable of all known Stassen campaign items.

Stassen was assigned to the staff of Admiral William “Bull” Halsey, commander of the combined forces in the Pacific theatre. He served with distinction, receiving three decorations and six battle stars and personally attending the Japanese surrender aboard the *USS Missouri*. While on active duty, Stassen could not officially seek the 1944 Republican presidential nomination, but he nevertheless kept





a vigorous draft-Stassen boomlet alive through the primaries. His name was officially entered in many state primaries with mixed results. He won in Nebraska, placed second in Oregon, ran third in Wisconsin, with a fifth place in Illinois and a sixth in New Jersey. By convention time it was clear that Dewey was going to be the GOP nominee, so Stassen instructed his supporters not to place his name in nomination. If buttons or other items were utilized in the 1944 primaries, it is difficult to distinguish them from other Stassen pieces. So many Stassen buttons merely read "STASSEN" or "STASSEN FOR PRESIDENT," perhaps wise in light of how many times they would wind up being recycled! Dating through photographs is also a frustrating experience, for only two of the more than fifty known Stassen local, state, and presidential buttons featured his picture.

Stassen's shadow campaign while on active duty in 1944 put him in a good position for postwar politics, for he was able to straddle the two worlds of his Republican rivals. Like Dewey and Taft, he had kept his name before the public; like Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur, he could point to a credible military record. In 1945 President Franklin Roosevelt appointed Stassen as one of three GOP members (along with Senator Arthur Vandenberg and Representative Charles Eaton) to the seven man delegation to the conference in San Francisco that created the United Nations. At thirty-eight, Stassen was the youngest man to sign the charter creating the U.N. He was discharged from the Navy in November, 1945, and immediately set out to rebuild his political base in Minnesota. Breaking with a lengthy tradition of waiting until the eve of the convention or the primaries to declare his candidacy for the presidency, the brash Stassen threw his hat into the ring for the 1948 Republican presidential nomination on December 17, 1946, nearly two full years before the election.

In 1948 Harold Stassen came the closest he was to ever come to winning the presidency. Given his aggressive style of campaigning, his "boy wonder" image, and his

popularity in the agrarian Midwest, it could very well be that the Republicans would indeed have beaten Truman if they had chosen Stassen instead of Tom Dewey. In that case, Harold Stassen missed out on the presidency of the United States by the bare ten thousand votes that measured his loss to Dewey in the pivotal primary in Oregon. In 1948 Stassen was seen as a progressive in the tradition of Teddy Roosevelt, George Norris, and William E. Borah. His military service brought him the support of many veterans, some of whom sported an attractive 1¼" celluloid "VETERANS FOR STASSEN" button featuring an elephant with military insignia. His appeal to youth inspired a "STUDENTS FOR STASSEN" and his ability to reach across party lines for support resulted in a "DEMOCRAT FOR STASSEN" button. The argument that he was the best Republican to take on Harry Truman was promoted by buttons that read "WE CAN WIN WITH STASSEN" and "UNITE WITH STASSEN AND WIN."

Stassen and Dewey first locked horns in New Hampshire, in the back yard of the New Yorker, who enjoyed the support of the Granite State's GOP establishment. On the eve of the primary Stassen shocked the nation with Senate testimony that eleven Truman regime insiders were guilty of profiteering in grain commodities. Stassen campaigned personally in New Hampshire and finished in a very respectable second-place position behind Dewey. They next met in Wisconsin, Stassen's neck of the woods. Dewey had done well in Wisconsin in past years, beating Arthur Vandenberg there in 1940 and trouncing Wendell Willkie there in 1944. But this time Dewey did little, while Stassen and his supporters threw themselves into the contest heart and soul. Day after day Stassen strolled the streets, chatting in barber shops and shaking hands outside grocery stores. When the Wisconsin primary was over Stassen had captured 19 delegates, native son Douglas MacArthur had 8, and Dewey had none. A week later Stassen repeated his victory in Nebraska. The press was quick to count Dewey out of contention and tout Stassen as our next president. He entered the Ohio primary, challenging Bob Taft on his home ground, and won a few delegates. In the Pennsylvania primary Stassen was not even on the ballot, but won a stunning write-in victory. He did poorly in primaries in New Jersey and Illinois, but entered the Oregon primary as the man to beat for the GOP nomination.

The last real primary in 1948 (since Earl Warren was unchallenged in California), Oregon would be make-or-break for Stassen. The state was natural Stassen territory, a bastion of progressive Republicanism with a large Scandinavian population where he had run an impressive second in absentia in 1944. But Dewey decided to show a new face here, throwing himself into the campaign as personally and vigorously as Stassen himself. In a key radio debate, Dewey scored heavily with a spirited and effective attack on the Stassen-Joseph McCarthy position favoring the outlawing of the Communist party in the United States. Had Dewey understood the lesson better and carried it over into the general election campaign against Harry Truman, the Chicago *Tribune* might have been saved much

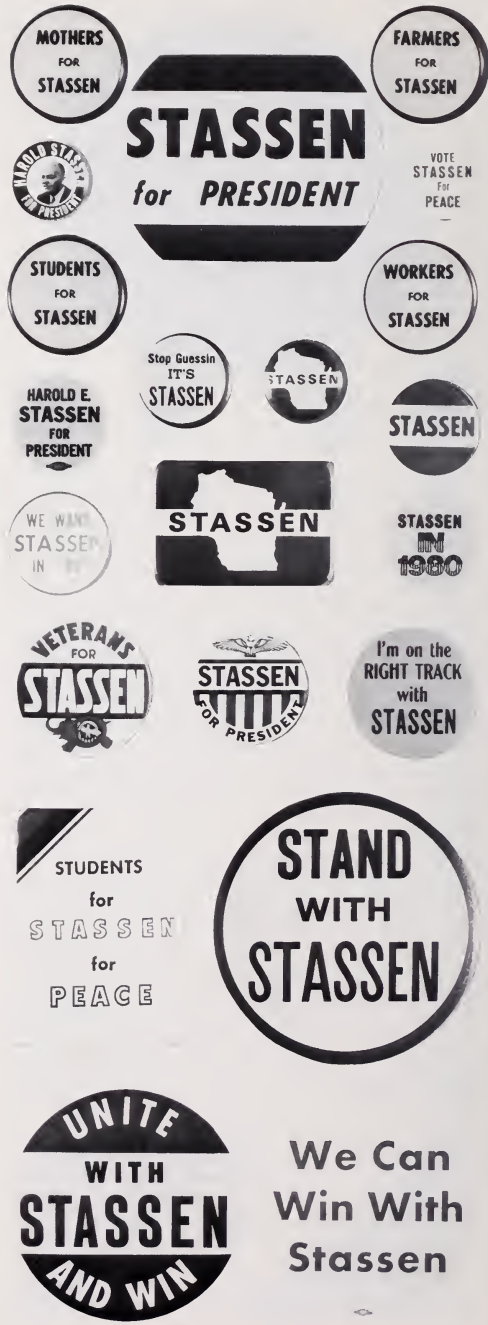
embarrassment. Anyhow, Dewey carried the day in Oregon by ten thousand votes and Stassen's days as a realistic presidential possibility were over.

At the 1948 convention he received 157 votes on the first ballot. After Dewey's nomination there was a brief Stassen-for-vice president boom, but the nod went to Earl Warren. After Truman's victory Stassen became president of the University of Pennsylvania. He was only 41 years old. In 1952 he made his third attempt at the White House, running in several primaries but carrying only his native Minnesota. He brought 20 delegates with him to the convention, but it was clear that the aura that once surrounded the "Boy Wonder of Minnesota" was fading rapidly. His block of votes switched after one ballot to give Eisenhower the nomination. Ike appointed Stassen to several major posts in his administration, including the job of special assistant to the President with Cabinet rank. His work on a test ban treaty earned him the nickname "Secretary of Peace."

When Ike suffered a heart attack in 1955 that put in doubt his candidacy for a second term, Stassen was quick to avow that he was willing to run for president in 1956 if Ike wanted him to. Eisenhower declined his offer and ran again himself, with Stassen getting into hot water by starting a public campaign to dump Vice President Richard Nixon (whom he loathed) from the GOP ticket in favor of Massachusetts Governor Christian Herter. The "Dump Nixon" effort was a total failure and Herter wound up nominating Nixon at the convention, with Stassen forced to give a seconding speech. By this point many people were beginning to lose patience with Stassen. The "Dump Nixon" effort inspired "IKE AND CHRIS" and "EISENHOWER AND HERTER" celluloid button and an "IKE/CHRIS" tab, but also several opposition items hostile to Stassen. A 7/8" button insisted "I DON'T LIKE STASSEN" and a 6" beauty read "STASSEN STOP HARASSIN." The most cutting of all was one that read "STASSEN IN '56," with the middle three letters of his named enlarged!

Soon afterward he left the Eisenhower administration to return to Philadelphia to try rebuilding a personal political base. In 1958 he ran for the governorship of Pennsylvania but lost the primary. A year later he accepted the GOP nomination for mayor of Philadelphia, but was swamped in this Democratic stronghold. This campaign produced one of the rarest and most desirable of all Stassen buttons, a 3 1/2" RWB celluloid with his picture and the legend "VOTE STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN — FOR MAYOR HAROLD E. STASSEN — PULL 2ND LEVER." Perhaps the only official picture button he ever used, it is considered a rare classic. [See late arrival, page 26]

At this point in his career, most American politicians would have accepted the verdict of the public and sought employment elsewhere. Some, like Tom Dewey, have had the best years of their lives after retiring from the public arena. But Harold Stassen is not like other men. In 1960 he let it be known that he was available for the GOP nomination, but made no formal effort in the face of overwhelming support for his old enemy Richard Nixon. In 1962 Stassen was elected president of the American Baptist





Association. Two years later he announced that he would again seek the presidency, looking for the first time genuinely foolish. He entered primaries in New Hampshire, Indiana, and Texas. His best showing came in Indiana, where he received 27% of the vote (but no delegates) one-on-one with Barry Goldwater. He wound up without a single delegate. His 1964 campaign did issue a set of buttons that included "WORKERS FOR STASSEN," "FARMERS FOR STASSEN," "STUDENTS FOR STASSEN," and "MOTHERS FOR STASSEN."

After his humiliation in 1964, observers were amazed when he again announced his availability in 1968. What little comment his announcement inspired focused mainly on the bushy wig the balding Minnesotan had added to spruce up his image. His issue in 1968 was Vietnam. After Michigan's George Romney withdrew from the race, Stassen was the only Republican candidate in open opposition to LBJ's conduct of the war. Despite the inherent strength of the issue, Stassen (unlike another Minnesotan, Eugene McCarthy) lacked the personal credibility to capture a measure of national attention. He entered primaries in New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Nebraska, hoping to duplicate his 1948 showing against Dewey, but failed to draw any serious support. He did improve his delegate count in 1968, however, up to two (one from Ohio and his son Robert from Minnesota). The 1968 Stassen campaign produced three blue on green and white "STASSEN" buttons, one featuring the map of Wisconsin, and a green and white Wisconsin poster that read "STASSEN '68 - WHY NOT?!"

He sat out the 1972 GOP convention that renominated his old nemesis Richard Nixon, but he did show up at the 1976 convention in Kansas City to offer himself as a compromise candidate to unite the warring Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan camps. RWB "STASSEN" buttons and pamphlets promising "STASSEN CAN BEAT CARTER" were issued by his forces, but far more Republican delegates and on-lookers sported satiric "STOP STASSEN" pins sold by vendors. Exhibiting an unbelievable optimism (or merely

the force of habit), Stassen announced once again in 1980 that he would be a candidate for the nomination. Although he lost the nod to Ronald Reagan, a man nearly his own age, Stassen was regarded as a ghost of a bygone era. His 1980 bid inspired two RWB litho "STASSEN" buttons (1" and 2 1/4" used earlier in a 1978 Senate primary fiasco in Minnesota) and a 1 1/4" celluloid that read "WE WANT STASSEN IN '80." He again provided a target for satire, as a button urging "STOP STASSEN IN 1980 — FOR THE 8TH TIME!" attested.

In 1982 Stassen filed in the Minnesota Republican primary for the governorship, but was swamped by winner Wheelock Whitney and endorsed loser Lou Wangberg. On April 8, 1983, after Democratic Governor Rudy Perpich had appointed him to head a bipartisan commission to improve Minnesota's business climate, Stassen announced at a press conference that he would never again be a candidate for the presidency. "Reagan will be up for re-election," he explained, "and I will back him." But old habits die hard. Whether some Reagan action had angered him or it was simply a case of thinking back to the ten thousand votes in Oregon that cost him the prize a third of a century ago was not explained, but on September 9, 1983, Stassen announced that after careful reconsideration he would again be a candidate in 1984 for the Republican presidential nomination.

When will Harold Stassen's quest for the Oval Office end? In 1948 he came close, very close. Perhaps the narrowness of his defeat, coupled with Dewey's "from the jaws of victory" loss to Truman, made it too difficult for Stassen to accept the fact that he would never make it. As he announced his 1984 candidacy, he noted that he was in good health and that "my Viking ancestors were piloting ships when they were a hundred." Harold Stassen long ago passed the point of simply being silly. He is now an American political institution, a living monument to the maxim "if at first you don't succeed, try and try again...and again, and again, and again." ★



1944 and 1948 Dewey Coattail Items By Robert Rouse

The dearth of Thomas E. Dewey coattail items in 1944 is not surprising, given the shortages in strategic raw materials and Dewey's status as an overwhelming underdog against Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A similar scarcity of 1948 Dewey coattail items is quite puzzling, however, for Dewey was an odds-on favorite against Harry Truman who featured local Republican candidates aboard his "Victory Special" and made a special trip in late October to stump for such GOP Senate candidates as John Sherman Cooper in Kentucky, Ross Rizley in Oklahoma, and Joseph Ball in Minnesota (despite Ball's 1944 defection to FDR). On his first 1948 campaign swing Dewey vigorously promoted Wayland Brooks in Illinois, George Wilson in Iowa, Ed Robertson in Wyoming, and Pat Hurley in New Mexico, even though in many instances the Democratic candidates were much closer to Dewey on the major issues than the candidates he stumped for. On election day the Democrats swept the Senate races in these seven Dewey-targeted states to seize control of the Senate. Among the freshman Democrats elected in the class of '48 in spite of Dewey's campaign efforts were such notables as Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, Paul Douglas of Illinois, and Clinton Anderson of New Mexico.

In the Northeast, Massachusetts Republicans issued a "Dewey/Bricker/Cahill/Bradford/Saltonstall" tab in 1944. Horace Cahill lost the governor's race to Maurice Tobin, who appeared on an FDR coattail, but a wave of ticket splitting enabled Robert Bradford to be elected lieutenant governor. Two years later Bradford defeated Tobin to become governor. He was a strong Dewey supporter in 1948, but the voters rejected him along with Dewey. After three terms as Massachusetts governor, the popular Leverett Saltonstall won a special Senate election in 1944 to complete the term of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., who had resigned to serve in the military. "Salty" Saltonstall subsequently won three full terms in the Senate.

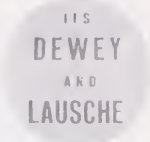
Most Dewey coattail items were issued in the Midwest, several of them in Ohio, the home of Dewey's major adversary Robert Taft. In 1944 maverick Democrat Frank Lausche defeated James Garfield Stewart, mayor of Cincinnati, for his first term as Ohio's governor. The race produced a "Stewart/Dewey/Bricker" tab. After three terms as attorney general, Thomas Herbert defeated Lausche in the Republican landslide of 1946, but lost to Lausche in a 1948 rematch that featured Dewey coattail items on both sides. A "Dewey/Herbert" litho and matching tab were issued by the Republicans. Bored by Herbert's interminably dull speeches, however, many Republicans found more enjoyable the impromptu Lincoln-quoting speeches of Lausche, a maverick conservative who had whipped the state Democratic machine to gain the nomination and then ran alone, patently distant from Truman and the rest of his party's slate. As the election approached, many Ohio voters were saying, "I vote Republican but I'm going to cross over

for Lausche." One of them presumably issued the seemingly incongruous "It's Dewey and Lausche" celluloid. Lausche later went on to a career in the Senate and Herbert served as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board during Eisenhower's first term. Ohio Republicans also issued attractive multigate posters in both elections. Pennsylvania Republicans issued one in 1944.

Indiana candidates identified with Dewey in 1944 and again in 1948. In 1944 Ralph Gates was elected governor and Homer Capehart defeated Governor Henry Schricker to win the first of his three terms in the Senate. A "Capehart/Dewey/Gates" litho was issued that year. Described by *Fortune* in 1941 as "one of the highest powered, highest pressure salesmen this country has ever produced," Capehart came to politics after a very successful career in business. Prominent among his contributions to American popular culture was the jukebox. Working in 1927 as sales manager for an Indianapolis firm that made coin-operated popcorn vending machines, he learned that a man named Small had invented a coin-operated phonograph with the unique feature of being able to turn the records over. Capehart conceived the "orchestroke," better known as the jukebox, and he and Small became partners in the Capehart Automatic Phonograph Company, manufacturing and selling the units on an installment basis that included a percentage of the gross. When the Depression made it difficult for jukebox owners to meet their payments, Capehart switched to deluxe radio-phonographs for the affluent. His firm later manufactured TV sets as well. In the Senate Capehart was an outspoken conservative critic of FDR, Truman, and Kennedy, and was finally defeated narrowly by Birch Bayh in 1962. In 1948 Indiana Republicans issued a "Dewey/Creighton/Warren" celluloid for Hobart Creighton, who lost the governor's race to the durable Schricker.

Illinois campaigns produced two paper items, a jugate shield featuring Dewey with Governor Dwight Green and a 1948 fan with Dewey and Earl Warren on one side and Senator Wayland Brooks on the reverse. Green was elected in 1940 and again in 1944 after losing a bid for the Chicago mayoralty in 1939, but was defeated by Adlai Stevenson in 1948, the year that Paul Douglas unseated Brooks for the first of his three Senate terms.

Elsewhere, two unsuccessful Wendell Willkie 1940 coattail candidates tried their luck with Dewey. In West Virginia, where local Republicans wore "Dewey/Dawson/Bricker" buttons, Daniel Boone Dawson lost the governor's race in 1944, as he had done in 1940. In New Jersey Robert C. Hendrickson, who had lost the 1940 race for governor to Charles Edison, was elected to the Senate in a 1948 campaign that issued coattail word buttons and jugate postcards. Finally, in 1948 Arizona Republican Bruce D. Brockett attracted only 40% of the vote in his second unsuccessful bid for the Arizona governorship, despite the



Buttons Shown Actual Size

"Dewey/Brockett/Warren" button issued by his campaign.

Among the buttons commonly considered as Dewey coattail pins, at least three are not. The scarce little "Frackville Dewey Club" celluloid was issued in the town of Frackville, Pennsylvania, a metropolis of about 5000 people in east-central Pennsylvania 50 miles west of Bethlehem. The "Dewey/Hanley" litho featuring the New York Republican eagle was issued in 1946 to promote the re-election of Dewey as New York's governor and Joseph Hanley as his lieutenant governor. When Dewey's first lieutenant governor, Tom Wallace, died in July, 1943, Hanley (the 67-year-old president of the state senate) was chosen by Dewey and confirmed by the voters in November by a large margin. The team won again in 1946 but split up in 1950, when Hanley (now 74 and virtually blind) was pushed into a hopeless Senate race against Herbert Lehman.

The "Draft Dewey and Willis Too" button is not a coattail piece, but a 1944 convention button promoting Kentucky Governor Simeon Willis for the vice presidency. A surprise winner in 1943, Willis carried six other Republicans into state offices with him. His disruption of a long Democratic tradition in the statehouse and his remarkably progressive social policies (he appointed many blacks to state offices and called for the abolition of Jim Crow segregation laws, admission of blacks to public graduate and professional schools, and equal pay for black and white teachers) focused national attention on him as a figure who might help Republicans make inroads in the Solid South. But Dewey's first choice for the vice presidency

in 1944 was California Governor Earl Warren, who refused him twice (mainly because he couldn't afford the salary cut, felt Roosevelt was unbeatable, and did not want to raise a growing family in a Washington hotel); his second choice was Ohio Governor John Bricker, who accepted a place on the ticket. In addition to Willis, another eager candidate for the vice presidential nomination was Everett McKinley Dirksen, then an Illinois congressman. In 1944 Dirksen encountered the bitter opposition of Illinois Governor Dwight Green, but again in 1948 Dirksen hoped for a place on ticket or at least a Cabinet post as Secretary of Agriculture. Rebuffed again, this time for Warren, Dirksen turned against Dewey and at the 1952 GOP convention (as a Taft delegate) shook his finger at the New Yorker (an Eisenhower supporter) and brought turmoil in the hall with his stinging rebuke, "We followed you before and you took us down the path to defeat." Four years later, in a rare display of bad manners, Dewey walked out on a Dirksen address to the GOP convention in San Francisco's Cow Palace. ★



1948 in Cartoons: The Berryman View

Most of these cartoons from the 1948 presidential campaign were drawn by Clifford K. Berryman, the editorial cartoonist for the *Washington Star*. The *Star*, a moderate Republican newspaper, was the leading paper in Washington, D.C. at the time. Clifford Berryman was considered to be one of the major political cartoonists in America until his death in December, 1949. Two of the cartoons were drawn by Gib Crockett, Berryman's protégé, including the version of the well-known Roosevelt-Johnson poster, with the quote from Rudyard Kipling. Political cartooning first came into prominence in the 1860-1880 period, under the mastery of Thomas Nast, a staff artist for *Harpers Weekly*, who first used the elephant as a symbol for the Republican Party. ★



Mr. Truman alienated the South with his stand on civil rights.



Dewey breezed through his first trial heat in the New Hampshire primary.



At Easter time, Dewey decided to try his luck in Wisconsin and Nebraska.



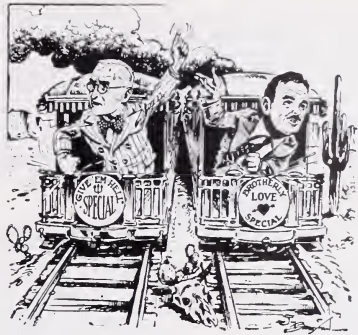
In Oregon, Dewey broke up the Stassen-G.O.P. romance, and once again established himself as the leading contender for the lady's favor.



The Republicans had picked their men.



Ignoring Mr. Dewey, Truman renewed his attack on the Republican Congress.



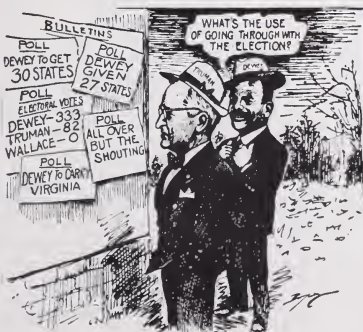
Mr. Truman was giving 'em hell—Mr. Dewey was not.



But Truman was also busy arguing with Dewey.



About the only important person with faith in Mr. Truman was Mr. Truman. Dauntless to the last, he led his opponent on a last roundup of the big cities.



As far as any one else could see, it was all sort of futile.



It was quite a day! In keeping with American tradition, John Q. Public had spoken the last word.



NEWS

Government Agency To Host Political Exhibit in Philadelphia

Region 3 of the General Services Administration is making plans to mount an exhibit of political memorabilia in their new exhibit hall in downtown Philadelphia during the 1984 fall campaign season. The plans were announced by George Cordes, GSA Regional Administrator and APIC member. Since GSA does not have its own political items, George is counting on cooperation from APIC members and friends to provide the materials for the display. Mid-Atlantic Chapter President Lynn Christy will be working with George to coordinate the exhibit materials.

The exhibit will be on display from August 15 to November 15 (dates tentative), at 9th and Chestnut Streets, a prime tourist area. Special locked, light-filtered cases will be used. GSA will supply regular public relations information to the media about the exhibit.

APIC plans to hold seminars and a meeting in conjunction with the exhibit. This is a rare opportunity to show off items from your collection or whole collections, in a secure, well attended setting. Let your friends and neighbors see the historical importance and appreciation garnered by your participation in APIC.

If you would like to participate, contact George Cordes, GSA Regional Administrator, 9th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, PA 19107, or Lynn Christy, PO Box 210, Worcester, PA 19490 (215) 584-1121.



American Political Items Collectors

INCORPORATED 1973

1983 APIC Financial Statement as of December 31, 1983

January 1, \$ 69.46
January 1, 1983 Reserve Fund Balance 1,225.64

1983 Income

1983 Dues Incomes	\$30,775.50
Mailing Supply Service Income	927.69
Miscellaneous Income	1,923.33
Interest Income	646.54
1984 Dues Income	627.00
Donations	9,918.44
Donations (special fund)	67.50

\$44,886.00
\$46,181.10

1983 Expenditures

Awards	\$ 209.36
Keynoter Editor Expense	142.33
Keynoter Miscellaneous Expense	57.00
Mailing Supply Service Expense	340.29
Miscellaneous Expense	207.37
Office Expense	289.09
Photographic Expense	1,068.08
Postage Expense	5,000.67
President's Expense	75.00
Printing Expense	28,182.77
Secretary's Compensation	3,004.50
Storage Expense	275.00
Telephone Expense	387.97
Total	\$39,239.43

Cash Balance, Dec. 31, 1983 3,785.28
Money Market Balance, Dec. 31, 1983 3,156.39

\$46,181.10

Joseph D. Hayes
Joseph D. Hayes
Secretary/Treasurer

Late Arrival

This red, white and blue 3½" picture button issued for the 1959 race for mayor of Philadelphia is considered the only picture button issued for a Stassen campaign. The picture item shown on page 20 was put out by Trimble for sale at the 1968 Republican convention. This item is considered to be very rare by Stassen collectors.



Dewey
Bricker

Committee

WIN THE WAR
★ **QUICKER** ★
WITH
DEWEY AND BRICKER

DEWEY
I'M ON THE TEAM
WARREN



Thomas E. Dewey gubernatorial victory in 1942. Photo taken at the Dewey 'N. Y. 42' headquarters.

VISOS TAUTOS GEROVEI
ZMONIŲ GEROVEI
JESŲ GERBUVIŲ
JAU REIKIA PERMAINOS



REPUBLIKINIŲ SAJONŲ PARTIJA



NEW YORK REPUBLICAN COUNTY COMMITTEE
RALLY **RALLY**
DEWEY-BRICKER
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1944
DOORS OPEN 9 P. M. NO SEATS RESERVED AFTER 7 P. M.



HE WOULD SO GOO STRONG IN THE RING

THOMAS E. DEWEY

VOTE FOR AND WITH



THE DEWEYS

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WASHINGTON, D. C.



DRAFT
D
E
W
E
Y

FOR EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT

ELECT THESE MEN AND INSURE EFFICIENT AND HUMANE NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT

FOR PRESIDENT

THOMAS E.

DEWEY

Present Governor of New York



FOR VICE PRESIDENT

JOHN W.

BRICKER

Present Governor of Ohio



Thomas E. Dewey and John W. Bricker as Governors of their States have Proved their Ability as Efficient and Economical Administrators.

FOR GOVERNOR

HORACE T.

CAHILL

Present Lieutenant Governor



And Before That - One of the Best Speakers the Massachusetts House of Representatives Ever Had. His Record Merits a Well Deserved Promotion.

DEWEY-BRICKER
JEFFERSONIAN
DEMOCRATS of California



DEWEY *and* WARREN
for PROSPERITY