Volume 86, Number 1 Spring 1986

THE KEYNOTER

NO THIRD TERM
THE WILLKIE CAMPAIGN OF 1940

President's Message

The editor of the Keynoter, Roger Fischer, has resigned from the staff as of this issue. Roger's contributions to the Keynoter and the hobby are too many to enumerate. His ability to pen a historically accurate and interesting article on demand will be sorely missed by one and all. That liberal and acid tongue was a great balance to a largely conservative organization. Agreement or disagreement with his position was up to each reader, but we all agreed that his articles added to our knowledge of political history and brought us many an hour of pleasure. True to his principles, Roger resigned over the APIC's ethics code and the enforcement of it by the current administration. Roger has left his stamp on the Keynoter and I believe everyone hopes to see an article or two from Roger in future Keynoters.

Norman Loewenstern
President

Managing Editor's Message

It seems fitting that our first expanded Keynoter should be devoted to the Willkie campaign. Never before or since has a campaign had more relevant issues, interesting footnotes, or a constitutional issue that went all the way back to Washington's decision not to run for a third term. Thanks in large part to the indefatigable efforts of our most prolific writer, Bob Rouse, there is finally an explanation for the Chemurgy button, along with the many Willkie Club and Democrats for Willkie items and the Joe Louis buttons. Bob's willingness to share his vast knowledge of campaign issues, side stories and coattail candidates with readers of the Keynoter in almost every issue since 1979 is a record for which we all owe him a debt of gratitude.

Wendell Willkie as a candidate is a prime choice for collectors looking for a challenging, satisfying specialty on a moderate budget. Only a few of the literally thousands of Willkie buttons cost more than a few dollars, and many are a dollar or less..There are only four jugate buttons (for a possible fifth, see page 9) and all are commonly available for less than $100. No other candidate can say that!

It is with great pleasure that I welcome to the Keynoter our new manuscript editor, Mark Gelke. Mark is a collector of pre-1900 cloth banners and flags, and promises to contribute a number of articles on his specialty, as well as performing his editing duties.

The shape of our second issue is still in flux, but the third issue this year is planned to be on Dwight Eisenhower, with illustrations from the very extensive collection of John Pendergrass.

Robert A. Fratkin
Managing Editor

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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FEATURES

Illustrations: The Editors wish to thank John Gingerich, Theodore Hake, Drew Hecht, H. Joseph Levine, Morton Rose, and Robert Rouse for providing Willkie items and photographs, and Richard Brown for making his collection of sheet music available.

Covers: ***Front*** - Red/white/blue 9″ celluloid button; ***Back*** - Red/white/blue/green cloth banner.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Summer/Fall Keynoter will be a potpourri of interesting articles and pictures on a variety of subjects, including the 1912 Bullmoose campaign and the 1920 Debs campaign. Many previously unpictured items will be featured.

"WE, THE PEOPLE . . ."

WENDELL WILLKIE AND THE REPUBLICANS IN 1940

By Michael Kelly

Few presidential campaigns in American history have featured candidates as colorful, admirable and exciting as that of 1940. In one corner was "The Champ," an elegant patrician with a grand sense of humor and a professional political instinct — Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In the other was "The Challenger," by temperment as well as by circumstance an amateur politician with a sharp intellect who had yet to hold political office — Wendell Lewis Willkie.

Willkie was born February 18, 1892, in Elwood, Indiana. His father had been superintendent of schools while studying for a law degree. His mother had also completed college (a rarity for women at that time), earned a law degree and became the first woman ever admitted to the Indiana state bar. The Willkies were descended from German immigrants who fled their native land after an unsuccessful revolution in 1848 resulted in the crushing of liberalism there.

The Willkie home was notable for a collection of several thousand books and an abhorrence of injustice. Herman Willkie, Wendell's father, was a liberal "Bryan Democrat" who devoted much of his law practice to social causes. Wendell Willkie was the fourth of six children born into a bright and stimulating home.

As a student at Indiana University, he joined in debating social issues, advocating socialism, challenging the veracity of the Bible and calling for abolition of inheritances. Willkie would later repeat that "Any man who is not something of a Socialist before he is forty has no heart; any man who is still a Socialist after he is forty has no head."

To earn money for graduate school, Willkie became a teacher. His brief time teaching history at Coffeyville (Kansas) High School left quite an impact on his dazzled students; when he left a year later, the town honored him with "Willkie Day." The school yearbook likened "his entrance to our high school (to the) ovation of Julius Caesar."

Returning to Indiana University for his law degree, he won every faculty first prize for scholastic achievement. He was chosen to deliver the commencement address, and with a majority of the state supreme court present, he delivered a detailed criticism of the school system and the Indiana state constitution. Willkie entered the Army as a private at the outbreak of American participation in the First World War. He asked Edith Wilk to marry him while on leave ("Edith," he said, "How would you like to change that Wilk to Willkie?") and he served in France as a Lieutenant.

After the war, he took a job with the legal department of Firestone Tire. His successes in the corporate world culminated in his becoming President of Commonwealth and Southern, a large utility company and the source of the WILLKIE FOR PRESIDENT OF COMMONWEALTH AND SOUTHERN buttons issued in 1940. Along the way, Willkie attended the 1924 Democratic convention as an Al Smith supporter (and saw FDR reemerge as a political figure), wrote book reviews for the New York *Herald Tribune*, and became very wealthy.

In 1932, Willkie donated $150 to Franklin Roosevelt's campaign while he and Edith maintained memberships in the local Democratic organization (Tammany Hall). In 1935, both Willkies were elected to the Democratic county committee along with James Farley and Bernard Baruch.

Yet, by 1935, Willkie found himself disagreeing with how the New Deal had entered the utility business through the TVA project. In that Willkie's company provided power in the TVA area, he found himself competing with the federal government for customers. Astute enough to realize that battles with the government are best fought in the open, he began to speak and write

Self-standing Cardboard Poster

about his objection to certain aspects of Roosevelt's programs in a witty and articulate manner that won him wide admiration. "The Tennessee River waters five states and drains the nation" was a popular line. He appeared in a "March of Time" movie short in 1936 as well as on both the NBC and CBS radio networks. In the election, Willkie joined Al Smith and other Democrats in voting for Landon. *Fortune* featured Willkie and the utility battle in its May 1937 issue. The *Atlantic Monthly* printed a political essay by Willkie in August, and *Life* featured him in November as did the *New York Sun*. In 1937, a columnist first mentioned the outspoken businessman as the sort of person the Republicans ought to nominate to regain the White House. Willkie was still a registered Democrat at this time. He supported the Republican-Fusion campaign of Fiorello LaGuardia for mayor in 1937, but voted for Democrat Herbert Lehman against Tom Dewey in 1938.

That year, he offered to settle the battle of utility companies by selling his Tennessee utility companies to the Federal government. His asking price was $94 million. TVA Chairman David Lilienthal countered with a $57 million offer. The nation enjoyed watching the money-soaked drama. President Roosevelt broke the impasse with a sudden settlement of $78.6 million. Following congressional approval, Lilienthal handed a check for this huge sum to Willkie in front of the media. Willkie, relishing the moment, looked at the check and quipped, "That's a lot of money for a couple of old Indiana boys to be handling." The check symbolized a triumph for the entire business community as a "one man victory over the competitive inroads of the Federal government."

The next day, the New York Times mentioned Willkie in a story about GOP presidential possibilities. One political analyst said, "He'll have to go down as the darkest horse in the stable...but if anyone like that can be put over, I'd watch Willkie. He still has his hair cut country-style."

The Republicans looked hopefully at the White House in 1940, without certainty as to who their standard-bearer would be. The Depression loss of Hoover and the land-slide loss of Landon in 1936 had eliminated a generation of party leaders before the next generation was truly ready. Possible candidates included first term senators Robert Taft and Henry Cabot Lodge, known more for their family names than their own accomplishments, and a 35 year old county official who had won quite a reputation fighting crime in New York City - Tom Dewey. Michigan's Senator, Arthur Vandenberg, seemed a reasonable option, and some Republicans were ready to try again with President Hoover.

The 1940 Republican Convention is a story of timing that can best be understood as a series of unfolding and related events. Willkie was a virtual unknown who had entered no primaries, had no organization in a formal sense and was not even a member of the party, yet he won the presidential nomination of a political party that had provided 11 of the past 14 presidents.

Tom Dewey had swept the primaries, and polls showed him to be the choice of up to 62% of Republicans; but the war in Europe moved forward with a string of Nazi victories that turned American public opinion from isolationist to interventionist in a matter of months. Dewey would arrive at the convention only a few delegates short of a first ballot victory, but would lose delegates steadily. The isolationist stance of Taft and Vandenberg left them at odds with the voters on a matter that had formerly been their greatest strength.

Willkie spent the pre-convention period making ever more frequent appearances before business audiences and basking in a number of articles recommending that the GOP nominate a "guy like Willkie." As Hitler's armies marched through a string of six countries including France, Willkie's pro-Britain positions grew in popularity.

Much has been written about the Willkie Clubs and the amateurs behind them. Some have dismissed the grass-roots Willkie movement as an illusion created by slick ad agencies and Wall Street dollars. The truth seems to be that there were two independent aspects to the Willkie campaign. While Willkie and a few associates courted influential individuals and favorable press, thousands of ordinary Americans saw in the business executive exactly the kind of non-political leader that rekindled idealism and overcame cynicism. In a world of spreading totalitarianism and corrupt political machines, Wendell Willkie touched that desire to believe in an unorthodox leader, a

desire from which Eugene McCarthy and John Anderson were to benefit in later years. A nation that had toyed with leaders like Huey Long, Frances Townsend and Father Charles Coughlin was more than willing to consider a successful businessman who talked about civil liberties, prosperity and aid for the allies.

The Willkie Clubs began when Oren Root, Jr., the 28 year old grandnephew of 1916 hopeful Elihu Root, read Willkie's "We, the People" article in the April 1940 issue of *Fortune*. Part of the long article was a petition to the president:

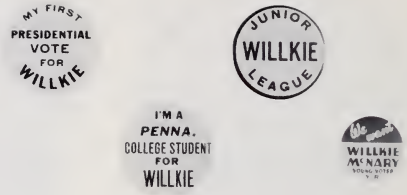
> "...You have told us that our day is finished, that we can grow no more, and that the future cannot be the equal of the past. But we, the people, do not believe this, and we say to you: give up this vested interest that you have in depression, open your eyes to the future, help us to build a New World."

At least six buttons reflect the "We, the People" theme.

As Root read the article, he found *his* candidate for president, but knew enough of politics to test public reaction. He reprinted several thousand copies of Willkie's petition with space for people to sign and sent copies to mailing lists for the Yale class of 1924 and the Princeton class of 1925. The petitions were mailed April 9, the same day Hitler invaded Norway and Denmark. Also on that date, Willkie appeared on a popular weekly quiz show called "Information Please," despite fears by his associates that it would be undignified.

The appearance is described in Parmet and Hecht's *Never Again*:

> "Millions of listeners heard Willkie handle himself with humor and knowledge as he answered technical questions about the Constitution and literature. He showed familiarity with both *Nicholas Nickleby* and the life of Matthew Arnold. The president of Commonwealth and Southern was far from the stereotype of the 'devil' businessman of the Thirties. More than any other single appearance up to that date, his performance on the program gave him a wide popular following."



The first response to Root's petition was a request from Willkie to cease his activity immediately. Root pleaded his case energetically, but Willkie refused to be involved with his efforts. Yet, four days later, a small ad appeared in the New York *Herald Tribune*:

> Wendell Willkie for President! Help Oren Root Jr. organize the people's demand for Willkie. Send Root a contribution to 15 Broad Street, New York.

Public response forced Root to move the campaign from his law firm's office to a new office on Madison Avenue which was easily paid for by steady contributions. Root's petition had an astonishing response. One print shop alone reported orders for 277,000 reprints and at least twenty other presses were known to have printed Willkie petitions.

Willkie Clubs sprang up across the nation and the many pins issued reflect their diversity. A score of club pins include ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS OF ILLINOIS, WILLKIE CLUB OF MARION CO., FOXBORO IS FOR WILLKIE CLUB, and even HAVERFORD TWP. WILLKIE FOR PRESIDENT.

The Willkie Clubs were an outburst of that Bull Moose Republicanism that had been in retreat since 1912. The old Progressive ideal of individualism and fair play seemed to have echoes in Willkie. One 1940 button reads SQUARE DEAL WILLKIE; another states NO MORE NEW DEAL, WE WANT SQUARE DEAL.


WILLKIE
S OUR MAN
541
"WILLKIE
IS MY MAN"
488
INDIANA WILLKIE CLUB
OFFICIAL
COMMITTEE
WILLKIE
NOTIFICATION
AUG. 17, 1940
WILLKIE
MEETING
1940
RECEPTION
COMMITTEE
WILLKIE
ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS
LEGAL
COMMITTEE
OF PENNA.
ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS
VETERANS
COMMITTEE
OF PENNA.
SQUARE
WILLKIE
DEAL
WILLKIE
ASSOCIATED WILLKIE CLUBS
WILLKIE
WORKERS
OF PENNA.
GOD WIN WITH WILLKIE
Life
Begins in '40
WOMEN SHARE THE TRIUMPH
HERSHEY
WILLKIE
CLUB
SALT LAKE
WILLKIE
AIRPORT
CLUB
VOLUNTEER
FIREMEN
FOR
WILLKIE
WILLKIE
GOD
McNARY
FOR PRESIDENT
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
THE AMERICAN WAY
WITH
WILLKIE
RETAILERS
FOR
WILLKIE
YOUNG
WILLKIE
CLUBS
WILLKIE
McNARY
WENDELL
L.
WILLKIE
LED
CLEAN SWEEP FOR
WILLKIE
RING IT AGAIN
WITH
WILLKIE
THE HOPE OF OUR COUNTRY
WILLKIE
McNARY
LEARN TO SAY
PRESIDENT
WILLKIE
FOR
WILLKIE
AND
U.S.A.
Election Returns
WILLKIE 1st
Roosevelt 2nd
ALL I
HAVE LEFT IS
A VOTE FOR
WILLKIE
THE HOPE OF OUR COUNTRY
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
WENDELL WILLKIE
FOR PRESIDENT
WILLKIE
FOR
PRESIDENT
CLUB
FOR PRESIDENT
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
WILLKIE
SALESMEN'S
CLUB
WILLKIE
BOOSTER
FOR PRESIDENT
WENDELL L. WILLKIE
WILLKIE
AMERICA'S HOPE
THE HOPE OF OUR COUNTRY
WELLSVILLE
WILLKIE
CLUB
WORK
WITH
WILLKIE
WILL
WIN
I'LL BET MY
OH
WILLKIE
I'LL BET MY
ON
WILLKIE
Which Head
Me Votes
FOR
WILLKIE Too
WILLKIE
NOT
ROYAL
BUT
LOYAL
IF
I WERE
21
I'D VOTE FOR
WILLKIE

The business community was the heart of the Willkie campaign; not the Wall Street "big business" community, but small businesses and professional people - the "yuppies" of 1940. He was seen as a business success at a time when unemployment remained high despite eight years of the New Deal, with the only economic recovery having come from spending for war industries. A NEW GENERAL MANAGER FOR U.S. is the call on one Willkie button. Business was responsible for the many handsome buttons ranging from the LUMBERMAN'S WILLKIE CLUB to the FISH INDUSTRY FOR WILLKIE. One colorful classic is the CHEMURGY button advocating power from agriculture long before Jimmy Carter thought of synfuel projects.

Labor is also represented among Willkie buttons in a variety of ways, including both A.F. OF L. FOR WILLKIE and CIO FOR WILLKIE. John L. Lewis, the dominant labor figure of the era, would endorse Willkie, but was unable to deliver the votes of his membership.

Willkie's "dark horse" victory at the Republican convention was what dreams are made of. He arrived in Philadelphia without a campaign manager or a headquarters. Vandenberg had 48 rooms at the Adelphia Hotel, Dewey had 78 rooms at the Hotel Walton, while Taft was booking 102 rooms at the Benjamin Franklin. Willkie had a two room suite on the 16th floor of Taft's hotel.

The morning the convention opened, the headline of the New York Times proclaimed, "FRANCE YIELDS FLEET UNDER ARMISTICE, GIVES UP WEST COAST, HALF OF COUNTRY." The glamor of the 35 year old "Gangbuster" from the Big Apple was fading fast in the face of Hitler's success and Dewey's delegates were slipping away before the first vote was taken. Taft retained a solid base of delegates, particularly in the South, but the convention knew that the old isolationist answers were not going to play this year; this undercut Vanderberg as well.

The many Republican activists drawn to Willkie at the convention were amazed to find that he had no organization for the convention floor other than a handful of friendly delegates. He did have, however, thousands of Willkie Club members from all over the nation, lobbying to convince the delegates to nominate their "hero."

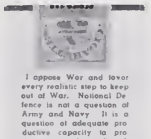
Willkie Club members flocked into town, marching and chanting for their candidate. The crush of people at Willkie's small headquarters contrasted with the larger headquarters of his rivals. "We, the People" had arrived in Philadelphia to nominate Wendell Lewis Willkie.

An ally on the convention arrangements committee made certain that gallery tickets were plentiful to the Willkie forces, and the convention hall began to ring with the cry, "We Want Willkie!" Letters and telegrams poured into the hotels and even onto the convention floor urging delegates to nominate Willkie. Some were no doubt planted, but many were from local business leaders delegates knew personally. A handful of party leaders began to come forward for Willkie. Connecticut Governor Ray Baldwin, hoping for a place on the ticket, announced his entire delegation would vote for Willkie on the first ballot, while a young congressman named Charlie Hallack agreed to deliver the nominating speech. Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen gave the keynote speech and then announced he would function as Willkie's floor leader. Momentum was running in Willkie's favor.

501 votes were needed for the nomination. On the first ballot, Tom Dewey received 360 votes, far fewer than had been expected. Taft followed with 189 votes, and Willkie was third with a surprising 105. It took five more ballots for Dewey to collapse and Taft to stall, but when it was all over, Wendell Willkie of Elwood, Indiana stood before the

JUGATE NUMBER 5?

We all know that there are only four Willkie-McNary jugates. Right? Wrong! If you look closely at the 7/8" jugate pictured above, you will note that Willkie is misspelled WILLKE. Whether this technically makes it an "error" or a different jugate, it clearly isn't among the four known Willkie jugates. While there is only one of these known in the hobby, there may be others. Quick, look in your own collection - maybe you have one like it!



convention as its presidential nominee.

The come-from-nowhere quality of the nomination struck a romantic chord in many Americans. After a decade of seeing dictators crush opposition throughout the world, there was something reassuringly American about such a political victory.

Many Americans saw President Roosevelt's desire for a third term as yet another example of totalitarian concentration of power in a single man, just as Germany followed "Der Fuhrer," Italy "Il Duce," and Spain "El Caudillo." From this concern sprang many campaign items such as the hand card reading:

THINK

"Who nominated Hitler?" -- Hitler.
"Who nominated Mussolini?" -- Mussolini.
"Who nominated Stalin?" -- Stalin.
"Who nominated Roosevelt?" -- Roosevelt.
"Who nominated Willkie?" -- THE PEOPLE.

Buttons read, THIRD INTERNATIONAL - THIRD REICH - THIRD TERM and THIRD TERM GRAB? IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE! Another Republican pin stated, "DICTATOR? NOT FOR US!"

The third term was Willkie's strongest issue. His progressive outlook supported much of the New Deal program, while his pro-British views conflicted with the still isolationist Republicans in Congress. Willkie found himself in a hopeless situation on the war issue. He criticized the president for leading the U.S. into a war, while at the same time attacked the administration for inadequately building up America's defenses. To make matters worse, the Republicans in Congress continued to oppose defense expenditures against the wishes of their presidential nominee (in 1940 the anti-war movement was made up mainly of conservative Republicans). One very handsome button easily available to collectors ties Willkie to the defense issue. It reads WINGS FOR AMERICA with a flying airplane marked WILLKIE.

The third term was a safe issue where the Republican nominee could come to little harm. He found that audiences reacted better if he called FDR the "third term candidate" rather than using his name.

Many conservative Democrats rallied to the anti-third term cause. There are more than a score of DEMOCRATS FOR WILLKIE buttons including JEFFERSONIAN LEAGUE buttons and another reading REGARDLESS OF PARTY AFFILIATION. One special button pictures a brown derby and reads EAST SIDE/WEST SIDE WANTS WILLKIE, a reference to the fact that 1928 Democratic nominee Al Smith had endorsed Willkie (as did 1924 nominee John Davis). Vice President John Nance Garner never disclosed who he would vote for, but Mrs. Garner passed out Willkie buttons to her friends.

After the convention, which named Oregon Senator Charles McNary for vice president, Willkie launched one of the most strenuous campaigns the nation had ever seen. The campaign kick-off was the traditional notification ceremony which was held in Willkie's hometown of Elwood, Indiana. Many items have survived this notifica-

tion during which thousands of loyal supporters poured into the small Indiana town. A drinking glass can often be found with a picture and the legend WENDELL L. WILLKIE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AUG. 17, 1940 ELWOOD, IND. The Elwood speech kicked off a whirlwind campaign. He appeared almost everywhere while Roosevelt played a "rose garden strategy" of staying in Washington, ostensibly too busy with serious developments overseas to take time for politics.

Both candidates were blessed with effective wives, each of whom became part of the campaign. Eleanor Roosevelt was an outspoken advocate of her own causes and even wrote a regular newspaper column entitled "My Day." One Republican pin states, 'MY DAY' WHEN I VOTE FOR WILLKIE. WE DON'T WANT ELEANOR EITHER and ELEANOR? NO SOAP! were others. Edith Willkie may have been the first to have the now classic style of FOR FIRST LADY EDITH WILLKIE, but Republicans made it clear WE WANT EDITH NOT ELEANOR. 1940 also created the much imitated ELEANOR START PACKING - THE WILLKIES ARE COMING.

FDR's entire family was drawn into the campaign with calls for NO MORE ROYAL FAMILY and NO ROOSEVELT DYNASTY. His son, James, inspired NO CROWN PRINCE JIMMY while his son Elliot set off thousands of buttons when he accepted a captain's commission in the Army Air Corps; but the presidential campaign of Wendell Willkie had peaked at his nomination.

Favored to beat FDR shortly after the convention, the amateur quality that had made Willkie so attractive began to catch up with him. His campaign was a rolling headquarters, more like a pop musician's road tour than the procession of a president. There was excitement, drama, some genuine courage and moments of poor judgment. The more Willkie warned of war, the more voters thought it better, in Lincoln's words, not to change horses in mid-stream. Republican buttons suggested SWITCH RIDERS NOT HORSES, but in a time of change and danger, voters will tend toward the status quo.

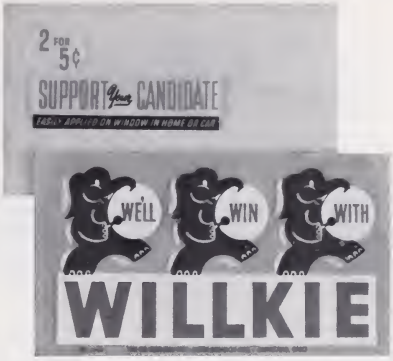
Perhaps never, even in the campaigns of William McKinley, has such an abundance of political Americana been created. The "Willkie button" itself became a symbol of the campaign; how many millions were produced and discarded will never be known. One overly optimistic button proclaims 100 MILLION BUTTONS CAN'T BE WRONG. Campaign items took the shape of glasses, coasters, matches, cigars, cigarettes, hats, feathers, flags, pens, pencils, paperweights, dishes, dresses, handkerchiefs, neckties and license plates, most of which were widely available. An entire display could be made up solely of items that feature a key as a tie-in to "Will-key."

The Willkie campaign was truly a "grass roots" campaign (even if the grass was mainly to be found on golf courses and neatly trimmed lawns). It was an exciting campaign with articulate opponents on each side. Forty years later, I found my own father eager to reminisce about a torchlight rally he had staged for Willkie on the Notre Dame campus.

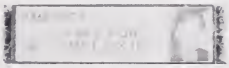
By the end, an exhausted Willkie knew he had lost. FDR's margin of victory was even larger than expected, though Willkie won more votes than any Republican candidate in history.

Soon after the election, Roosevelt invited Willkie to the White House and took a personal liking to him, sending him around the world as his personal ambassador. Willkie told of his travels in a best selling book, "One World." His later attempt to win the 1944 Republican nomination was quickly crushed by Tom Dewey, and Wendell Lewis Willkie died on October 8, 1944, without having endorsed either Dewey or Roosevelt.★

Color Painting on Oil Cloth

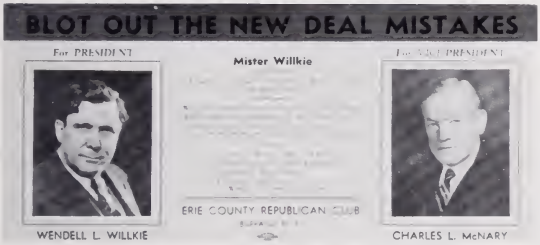


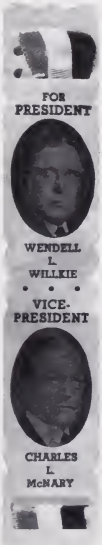
Decal



Hard Paper Bumper Strip

Chewing Gum





Canvas Banner — Aluminum Bookmark

Joe and Me for Willkie

by Robert Rouse

Joe Louis Barrow was born in 1914 on an impoverished farm in Alabama, the son of a penniless sharecropper. He was two years old when his father was put in a home for the Negro Insane. His stepfather moved the family to Detroit when he was 12 because he had heard, "Ford did not mind hiring Negroes."

When he was unable to pass sixth grade a teacher told him "to educate his hands rather than his head" and he was transferred to vocational school where he learned to make furniture. At 17, when his mother decided he should take violin lessons, he met a classmate, a Detroit Golden Gloves champion, who invited him to the "professional" gym where he learned the fundamentals of boxing. Within weeks admirers urged him to "throw the violin away" and he set his sights on a Golden Gloves title.

He dropped his last name before his first fight to prevent his mother from reading about a loss in the newspaper. After his first loss and a few months of pushing truck bodies to a conveyor belt for twenty-five dollars a week in a Ford plant, Joe became serious about training and knocked out the next fourteen fighters he faced. While pursuing the Golden Gloves title he was introduced to John Roxborough, a prosperous black man who ran a big time numbers game. Roxborough provided money and became Joe's manager. His brother Charles was the first black state senator in Michigan and through him Louis was eventually introduced to many political figures.

On July 4, 1934, Louis won his first professional fight by a knockout in the first two minutes. He won 37 of his next 38 fights and captured the World Heavyweight Championship on June 22, 1937, when he knocked out James J. Braddock in Chicago. His only loss during this rapid rise was to the German, Max Schmeling, in June of 1936 in a fight boycotted by many New Yorkers because Schmeling "represented Nazi Germany." Indeed Schmeling's victory was touted in Germany as a triumph of Nazi doctrines of racial superiority. That loss was avenged in June, 1938 when Louis knocked out Schmeling in the first round to regain his title. The international significance of this fight is described by Louis in his autobiography and confirmed by contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts.

> The whole world was looking to this fight between me and Schmeling. Germany was tearing up Europe, and we were hearing more and more about the concentration camps for the Jews. A lot of Americans had family in Europe and they were afraid for their people's lives. Schmeling represented everything that Americans disliked, and they wanted him beat and beat good. Now here I was, a black man. I had the burden of representing all America. They tell me I was responsible for a lot of change in race relations in America. Black and white people were talking about my fights: they were talking about me as a person, too. I guess I looked good to them. White Americans--even while some of them were still lynching black people in the South--were depending on me to K.O. Germany. I had had a personal dinner invitation from President Roosevelt. He sent a private car for me, and I met him in the White House. He felt my muscles and said, "Joe, we're depending on those muscles for America." Let me tell you, that was a thrill. Now, even more, I knew I had to get Schmeling good. I had my own personal reasons, and the whole damned country was depending on me.

Following the fight Schmeling was hospitalized with fractured vertebrae and badly bruised back muscles. When he was told the Germans had cut off radio transmission to the Fatherland to conceal the humiliation of the "master race," Louis commented, "They didn't want their people to know that just a plain old nigger man was knocking the shit out of the Aryan race."

By October 26, 1940, when he visited Detroit newspaper offices to announce, "I'm in Willkie's corner because I think he will help my people." Louis was a genuine American hero. He had successfully defended his title eleven times—knocking out nine of the challengers. He dominated his sport; and seven years before Jackie Robinson played major league baseball and a decade before the first Negro played professional basketball he was alone as a professional athletic hero to the nation's blacks.

Willkie was making a strong bid for the black vote, which had been Republican since the Civil War and had not broken for FDR until 1936. He gained the endorsements of such leading black newspapers as the *New York Age, Pittsburgh Courier,* and the *Afro American.* Republicans were thrilled with the potential windfall this endorsement might bring.

Democrats were stunned. In 1936 Louis had campaigned for Roosevelt, who was an avid Louis fan and often rearranged his schedule to hear his fights on the radio. The Depression was easing as the world war expanded and some blacks had obtained decent jobs as America started to prepare for war. The Supreme Court had rendered two favorable decisions, one against government salary differentials based on race and another provided the first erosion of restrictive-housing covenants.

In an effort to boost defense production and enlistment, Congress restricted bias against Negroes in some defense-appropriation bills and encouraged training in some military specialties--though this proved to be more shadow than substance as the provisions were easily evaded. Eleanor Roosevelt had resigned her membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1939 following the DAR's refusal to allow black contralto Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall. The action was condemned in the South but widely praised in the black community. Eleanor was friendly with Walter White, Executive Director of the NAACP and had promoted negro welfare in many ways. She was also the first First Lady who allowed her picture to be taken with blacks.

As if all this was not enough, in October the Democratic National Committee's minorities division released a statement that Willkie's hometown in Indiana had signs saying, "Nigger, don't let the sun go down on you." It also quoted Willkie as frequently wisecracking, "You can't do this to me, I'm a white man." Willkie described it as "the most scurrilous and indecent" political document of the campaign. Democratic National Chairman Edward Flynn disowned the leaflet and fired the chairman of the committee's minorities division.

To get maximum benefit from the Louis endorsement in the 10 days before the election, Louis was scheduled to appear in northern industrial cities with large black ghettos. At least eight different buttons and a poster were distributed at these hastily planned rallies. The correspondent from the *New York Times* who accompanied Louis while he promoted Willkie called his delivery "halting and embarrassed." The audiences were reported "enthusiastic," but it was agreed that the personality and not the words were the source of the affection. Throughout, the news account said, Louis was "unsmiling."

Informally Louis insisted he supported Willkie, "because he promises my people jobs, more jobs and better jobs. He promises them better jobs in the government."

A spokesman for the National Black Cross of America, a black-civic-improvement group, said, "The colored people of America appreciate Joe Louis as heavyweight champion but not as a spokesman on political matters."

In Philadelphia when he spoke for Willkie, Louis cringed under a shower of boos. "Listen you fellas," he protested, "I don't really care whether Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie gets elected. It don't concern my business. Neither one'll get in the ring with me."

Nevertheless, Democrats for Willkie paid $45,000 to broadcast Joe's speech nationwide just before the election. The Champ's final salvo for Willkie was a telegram to the candidate which read, "Win by a knockout. It will mean freedom from the WPA and for American Negro rights."

In his autobiography the Champ explains why he supported Willkie:

> I didn't know too much about Willkie except that he was running on the internationalist wing of the Republican Party ticket. He was real heavy on civil rights. But you know there was something so sincere and honest about the man that he got my attention...I never supported anybody in politics unless I felt they were giving my people a fair shake. Through the years, I had always supported Roosevelt. I knew he was a fan of mine, and thank God for the Welfare Relief programs that he had set up, not only helping my people but the whites, too. I honestly felt Roosevelt was a good human being. On the other hand, he'd been in office for two terms, and he had helped get the Civil Service going, but things were wrong with "fair employment". I talked to too many black people in Washington, D.C., who told me that though they had good jobs, even with "fair employment" they got bumped out of their jobs by white people. There were things I felt the President should have done that he just didn't do. He promised a lot, but he didn't always come through. He wouldn't even sign the anti-lynching bill.
>
> But when I listened to Willkie, I fell in love with him. He said things like, "Murder in the South should be just like murder in the North." "Every American is going to have a place in this country." Hell, a lot of people forget black people are Americans too. We've been here a long time. God bless Africa, but I never saw it. I

am an American. I want me and all black Americans to have the same chance in this country. I campaigned all over for Wendell Willkie, but he just couldn't beat Roosevelt. Roosevelt had that special charm. Never mind, though, I thought Willkie would have made one hell of a President. He made me feel that things would have been better for the blacks.

Lynching is certainly a stain on American history. In the years 1934 to 1940 there was a concerted effort to secure a federal law against mob violence. With the prevalence of racism and of one-party political control throughout southern and border states, lynching had taken the lives of over 3,300 black men and women in the period from the early 1880's to the early 1930's. Lynching statistics were routinely reported in yearbooks and almanacs along with each state's production of tobacco and cotton. It was the crudest and most visible form of social control employed to intimidate blacks. Since local white officials and the white electorate who kept them in office proved wholly indifferent to lynching, the NAACP argued that only federal intervention would induce the states to prosecute lynchers and end the practice of mob violence. Eleanor Roosevelt thought so too.

New York Democrats Joseph Gavagan in the House and Robert F. Wagner in the Senate, sponsored the anti-lynching bill which passed the House in 1937 and again in 1940. Passage reflected the emerging potential of the black urban vote in northern and midwestern industrial states and the willingness of New Deal legislators to respond to it. It also marked the flowering of the NAACP coalition that had been nurtured among black activists, liberal politicians, labor leaders, reform-minded churches, civil libertarians, and certain ethnic and women's organizations. Despite strong liberal support, however, the bill was turned aside in the Senate by a southern-led filibuster or threatened filibuster and never became law, which suited Roosevelt and his advisers, who were determined to avoid the issue. On occasion they sought refuge in southern appeals to states' rights, with FDR claiming that an informed public opinion would ultimately resolve the matter locally.

After Roosevelt's death the NAACP tried vainly to revive the issue as part of President Harry Truman's so-called civil-rights package in 1947-49, but entrenched segregationist power from the one-party South, abetted by conservative Republican legislators from the North, once again prevailed.★

100 Million Buttons Can Be Wrong

1940 WILLKIE SLOGAN BUTTONS

By Robert Rouse

The 1940 campaign produced several hundred different slogan buttons - a total unmatched in any presidential campaign before or since. Naturally, most of them are rooted in the politics and the popular culture of the period, but 45 years later the references are unknown to many collectors. The slogans can be divided into several generic categories: (1) No third term/ No fourth term - a topic addressed elsewhere in this issue; (2) Items criticizing or ridiculing President Roosevelt, his family and his public comments; and (3) Items based in the popular culture of the day - sports, entertainment, contemporary news, etc...

MY FRIENDS...

Several items parody the salutation "my friends" which FDR used so effectively to establish a warm, personal bond between himself and his audience. Running for the New York State Senate in 1910, Roosevelt admired the way his fellow campaigner, Richard Connell, a candidate for Congress, established quick rapport with his listeners. FDR copied Connell's "My friends" for that and subsequent campaigns, but the phrase became identified with him because of the lilt of his pronunciation and the special requirement for warmth in radio addresses. No longer was the audience "vast" and "out there," most listeners were in small groups in their own living rooms and FDR pressed the intimacy further with frequent use of "you and I know..." "My Friends" was parodied by Hennepin County (Minneapolis) Republicans in their WILLKIE IS MY MAN and WILLKIE IS OUR MAN numbered contributor buttons (shown on page 7).

"MY AMBASSADOR"

Although this item was addressed in the Spring 1985 *Keynoter*, Michael Beschloss, as recently published in *Kennedy and Roosevelt*, provides interesting insight into Roosevelt's use of the possessive pronoun "my" to describe Ambassador Kennedy, a use which infuriated FDR's advisors as well as the Republicans. Willkie thought he had a secret weapon in the anticipated support of Joseph P. Kennedy who had been Roosevelt's severest foreign policy critic within the Administration. In London,

Kennedy told Clare Boothe Luce (wife of Henry Luce, the founder and publisher of *Time, Life* and *Fortune*), later a Congresswoman from Connecticut, that he would endorse Willkie on his return to the U. S. The ambassador made the private boast he would "put 25 million Catholic votes behind Wendell Willkie to throw Roosevelt out." To be sure, this was an inflated opinion of his political clout, but it was certain his defection would be an important breakthrough for Willkie in his pursuit of the isolationist and Catholic vote. Arrangements were made for Henry Luce to meet Kennedy at the airport shortly before the dramatic announcement on national radio.

Fully informed of Kennedy's plans, Roosevelt denied him permission to return home. The ambassador's response was that he would publicly indict FDR's policies unless the decision was reversed. Crossing the Atlantic, Kennedy received a message from Roosevelt which asked him "not to make any statement to the press on your way over, nor when you arrive in New York, until you and I have had a chance to agree upon what should be said. Come straight to Washington as I want to talk to you as soon as you get here." When Kennedy arrived in New York on October 27, he was met by presidential aides and summoned to the White House. Lyndon B. Johnson, the young Texas congressman, said he was with FDR when he took Kennedy's phone call. After hanging up, Johnson recalled the President drew his forefinger across his throat, razor-style.

Roosevelt and Kennedy had dinner at the White House that evening. No written record of the meeting was kept, and there have been conflicting versions of what transpired. Sir William Stephenson, British intelligence agent, the man called Intrepid, said the President got Kennedy's support by threatening to make public transcriptions of indiscreet conversations in London. Kennedy told Clare Boothe Luce he traded his support in exchange for FDR's promise to support Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., his eldest son, for the Massachusetts governorship. James Roosevelt said his father warned the ambassador that bolting the party for Willkie would mark his as a turncoat and ruin his

dream of political careers for his handsome sons. John F. Kennedy said later that FDR hinted he might support the Kennedy patriarch for the presidency in 1944 if he came through with a timely endorsement of the third term. Whatever the reasons, Ambassador Kennedy purchased time on CBS radio and endorsed the President just two nights later: "Unfortunately, during this political campaign, there has arisen the charge that the President of the United States is trying to involve this country in the world war," said isolationist Kennedy. "Such a charge is false."

Crestfallen, Willkie said ruefully that FDR had deluded Ambassador Kennedy on the probability of war. Oren Root, founder of the Willkie Clubs, felt Kennedy's speech was a turning point of the campaign. For Willkie, it was a profound disappointment. The President triumphantly introduced Kennedy as "My Ambassador" at the Boston Garden. Their shotgun marriage was brief. Soon after the election, FDR fired Kennedy for insubordination when the Boston *Globe* published an interview in which the ambassador criticized the President.

NO MORE FIRESIDE CHATS

Roosevelt's first presidential radio address was made on March 12, 1933. It dealt with the opening of banks the next day. However, he had used radio talks in the same way during his first term as governor of New York, principally to woo upstate Republicans who received most of their information from Republican newspapers.

The title of the first speech made no mention of firesides; it was "An Intimate Talk With the People of the United States on Banking." ...The term 'Fireside Chat' was never applied to this first address, but in promoting the second, Harry C. Butcher, who was head of the CBS office in Washington, D.C., suggested the name, and from then on they were identified as such by everybody including Roosevelt.

Although the term is so ingrained in popular culture that one might think Roosevelt gave fireside chats weekly, in fact he averaged only two per year prior to World War II.

NO INDISPENSABLE MAN

The third term bid promoted many comments about the indispensable man in American politics. When the question was put to FDR he diplomatically quoted candidate Woodrow Wilson in his 1912 campaign against a president and former president. "There is no indispensable man. The government will not collapse and go to pieces if any one of the gentlemen seeking to be entrusted with its guidance should be left at home."

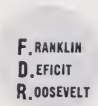
However, Henry Wallace was not so timid. Wallace became the first cabinet member to call for the reelection of the president - regardless of a no third term tradition- when he spoke at a banquet in January. During the campaign he proclaimed on several occasions the president was an "indispensable man." These words quickly became a sarcastic epithet on campaign buttons.

DICTATORS DON'T DEBATE

Willkie was an able debater — a skill he had honed in college — and an able extemporaneous speaker. With these gifts and underdog status he challenged Roosevelt to debate the issues. FDR ignored the matter until an August 20 press conference when a reporter pressed the issue; FDR chided him saying "all White House reporters know how busy I am with other things." Willkie replied, "No president has the right to eliminate discussion of the issues in a democracy;" yet the country waited 20 more years for presidential campaign debates. The president disposed of the recurring "Dictator" charge a month later in a "non political" speech at the University of Pennsylvania: "A free election is the greatest safeguard for democracy, no dictator in history has ever dared run the gauntlet of a really free election."

FRANKLIN DEFICIT ROOSEVELT

Since the acute phase of the economic depression which began in 1929, government expenditures constantly exceeded revenues, with a resulting steady increase in the national debt. At first, this was merely a consequence of the depression as the sharp fall in the national income drastically curtailed government revenues. But in the course of the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the increase in the national debt became a positive aspect of economic policy designed to promote business recovery. For the first time in United States history, heavy government expenditures were used as a remedy for business and economic depression. These increased expenditures were in part due to the assumption of a relief load for the unemployed, agriculture, and other groups which could no longer be carried by state and local governments and in part to enlarged requirements for national defense. Over and above these, however, were



expenditures for public improvements, such as waterworks, sewage-disposal plants, power facilities, schools, libraries, recreation facilities and other projects. These projects were designed not only to serve the public need which their names imply; they were conceived in total as a stimulus to the economy both by their direct contribution to the national income, and by their indirect effect upon consumption and private investment. The national debt rose from $23,815,000,000 at the end of 1933 to $41,961,000,000 at the end of 1939 largely because of the adoption of this controversial policy.

While this policy, a subject of considerable disagreement, was popularly designated "pump-priming" and "government spending," it might, with equal appropriateness have been called "government debt creation."

Although this policy was a major factor in the rise of the national debt in 1940, the situation was fundamentally changed by the vast defense program initiated in the middle of the year. Defense appropriations and authorizations enacted by Congress from June 1940 and other recommendations of the president, including those contained in the budget for the fiscal years 1941 and 1942 made the total defense program $28,480,000,000. This huge program opened a new chapter in the history of the national debt.

Defense expenditures were increased rapidly after the inauguration of the new program, contributing to the continued rise of the national debt in 1940. By the end of the year the debt reached $45,024,631,000 despite various new taxes enacted by the Congress, thus just exceeding the old statutory limit of $45,000,000,000. Provision had been made in the first Revenue Act of 1940, however, for a $4,000,000,000 increase in the debt limit.

By the end of 1940 it was evident that the contemplated increase in defense had made the new statutory debt limit of $49,000,000,000, inadequate. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau suggested that the debt limit be raised to $65,000,000,000 and, in his annual budget message, President Roosevelt questioned the significance of any statutory debt limit, except as it serves as a fiscal monitor. Since the president stated as his opinion that it was necessary to finance a substantial part of the defense program through borrowing it appeared likely that the national debt would continue to rise markedly for the duration of the war period.

The question in many minds was whether the already large total of the national debt and the further increase which seemed likely might lead to inflation.

However, the public seemed to be numbed by the huge armament expenditures and public interest in the budget dwindled. Though some Republicans hoped to make the budget a major campaign issue, as the buttons attest, it did not develop that way since both parties were committed to the defense program. The Congress raised the statutory limit on debt to $65,000,000,000 on February 10, 1941.

YOU CAN'T PULL A WILSON ON US

Another anti-FDR piece which plays on this contrast between the president's words and his actions is the YOU CAN'T PULL A WILSON ON US button.

In Boston on October 30, Roosevelt said, "And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

In 1916 Democrats issued a leaflet which attacked Republicans as the war party under the headline: "IF YOU WANT WAR, VOTE FOR HUGHES; IF YOU WANT PEACE, ELECT WILSON." In Chicago and elsewhere prominent politicians flaunted copies of this leaflet at Willkie rallies while charging, "If the New Deal does not keep its pledge any better than Woodrow Wilson kept his in 1916 (Wilson declared war six weeks after his second inauguration) the re-election of FDR means war!"

GONE WITH THE WIND

In 1935 Wendell Willkie, President of Commonwealth and Southern, extended himself to help the young wife of the advertising manager at the Georgia Power Company, a C & S subsidiary, publish her sweeping, oversized Civil War novel. Willkie supported the project because he had long thought about writing his own Civil War novel or an economic history of the ante-bellum South. Despite its length - 1037 pages - Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With The Wind* was a publishing sensation when it was introduced in July, 1936. By late September, it had been through eighteen printings - nearly half a million copies.

Publicists ballyhooed it as "the greatest historical novel ever written by an American," and in that decade of tight budgets it sold almost as many copies as the Bible!

The film version, released in 1939, was named best picture of the year by the motion picture Academy; it was still playing across the nation during the 1940 campaign and for many years it reigned as the top grossing film of all time.

Button makers seized on the popularity of the title to express the imagined ephemeral nature of FDR and the New Deal.

LIFE BEGINS IN '40

Walter B. Pitkin, a controversial journalism professor at Columbia University, virtually invented popular psychology with nearly fifty career uplift books published in the 1930's; the best known is *Life Begins at Forty*, first published in 1932. In this one the professor assures middle-aged Americans that they need not despair if they did not achieve material success in their youth. By 1940 more than 350,000 copies had been sold and a national survey discovered the title was second only to *Babbitt* as a household phrase book title. Thus it's not surprising Republicans and their novelty makers adapted it for use on 1940 campaign items.

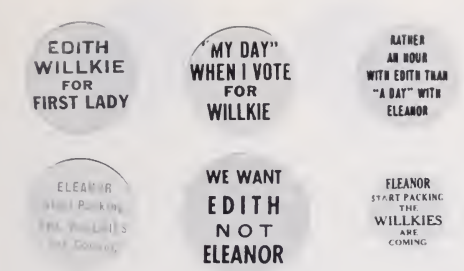
One of Pitkin's most unique ventures developed in 1939 when he launched "The American Majority - a movement for the betterment of America" in the staunchly Republican town of Elyria, Ohio. Pitkin also referred to his movement as a "League of the Middle Class in revolt against the predatory rich and the predatory poor". At the opening meeting he told his followers, "Get up on your hind legs and bark, if you don't get results by barking, bite somebody!"

WE DON'T WANT ELEANOR EITHER

Many variations of these buttons are known and they suggest a segment of the public was fed up with the first lady's seemingly ubiquitous presence in national media. Eleanor Roosevelt was the most active first lady the nation has ever seen. She infinitely broadened the social benefactor role (Project #UMP.000) which Lou Henry Hoover had pioneered. Eleanor was the first "first lady" to hold regularly scheduled press conferences, freely grant interviews to reporters, write a daily column and have her own radio show. Obviously some people thought all of this wholly inappropriate but through her trips, speeches, and writing, she developed the unique position of semi-official link between the administration and the public.

In March 1933 Mrs. Roosevelt held her first press conference. Following the advice of her journalist friend Lorena Hickok, she restricted the conference to women reporters. News agencies which had previously refused to employ women reporters discovered that it was essential to have them for Mrs. Roosevelt's conferences. During the first few sessions, the discussion centered mainly on social affairs and the First Lady's wardrobe. As she expanded her activities, the conference focused increasingly on her findings around the nation and her comment on current issues. She used the press conference as an instrument to popularize her favorite projects and the activities of various government agencies which she supported. Gradually, one could count on hearing at the conference tips of proposed legislation or the President's policy plans before he actually announced them. At the same time, she commenced a three month series of radio broadcasts for the Pond's Co. (women's toilet articles) which were concerned almost exclusively with what she called the "homely subjects"--marriage, the home, children and similar themes. At about the same time she became editor of *Babies, Just Babies*; unfortunately its journalistic level was nearly as infantile as its subject matter. In August, 1935, she began a two-year association with *Woman's Home Companion*, writing a column called "Mrs. Roosevelt's Page." By February, 1935, she was back on the radio for a weekly broadcast sponsored by the Selby Shoe Co. Previously she had squeezed in engagements for the Simmons Co. (mattresses) and Johns-Manville (building materials). By 1940 she was featured on "Sweetheart Toilet Soap Presents Eleanor Roosevelt," (NO SOAP ELEANOR) and the same year made a Fox-Movetone short plugging the radio show, "Hobby-Lobby."

The notion that the First Lady might become a daily columnist apparently occurred as early as 1933 and stemmed originally from Gretta Palmer, who edited the woman's page of the New York *World-Telegram*. Because of other commitments, Mrs. Roosevelt was not initially very receptive to the plan, despite the fact that there evidently was keen bidding for her services. At length in 1935 when McNaught Syndicate signed her sharp-tongued, anti-New deal cousin Alice Roosevelt



Longworth for a column of her own, she gave in; "My Day" appeared on December 30, 1935, in some twenty newspapers. By early 1939 it was carried in sixty-eight newspapers giving her column a total circulation of over four and one-half million readers. In early 1940 when the contract was renewed the number had grown to 135 papers. The column's format was originally that of an innocuous diary; but Mrs. Roosevelt, over the years, devoted an ever increasing amount of her space to public issues. Gradually "My Day" became a social and political force. In 1939 Arthur Krock of *The New York Times* commented that if one wanted to know the President's plans one had to read the First Lady's column. By this time she had started to use the column as an instrument for social criticism and daily coverage of important aspects of the New Deal's work. Although Eleanor never admitted it, the President sometimes used her columns to launch trial balloons for new political programs.

"My Day" also became, often covertly but sometimes openly, a significant channel of partisan propaganda. The First Lady had several methods by which she could promulgate her political beliefs, and she seems to have employed virtually all of them. The first was to simply and openly praise administration measures; because they frequently involved her own social and economic views on a broader scale. Another way was to mention unobtrusively her own political activities; this she did continually. "My Day" brimmed with phrases like "...the Democratic Women's Division Dinner... last night was very successful;" "... it is encouraging to find so many young Democrats growing up to strengthen the party;" or, "... there have been many Democratic national and state campaigns in which I attended to the details of the organization..."-- passages which periodically reminded her readers of her party affiliation and loyalty.

Of more direct concern, however, was the objective of helping her husband. Here again, she often employed the technique in which she had expressed so profound a belief-- that of bringing "closer to the people" important and otherwise distant officials in the government. Thus, anecdotes about FDR's "human" qualities dotted her narrative -- how he loved to "lose" his secret service guards when driving his car; his proclivity for never throwing anything away; the fact that he was invariably "calm as a May morning" before his important radio speeches; his easy capacity to forget the cares of high office and relax and enjoy himself. In addition there was a spate of books, numerous individual articles and innumerable speeches and lectures. All of this kept her in the public eye and annoyed many who felt first ladies should be seen occasionally, not heard constantly.

I WANT TO BE A CAPTAIN TOO

Elliott Roosevelt, FDR's second son and the operator of two radio stations called the Texas Network, applied for a captain's commission in the Army Specialist Reserve. Poor eyesight made him unfit for combat duty or for flying, although he had once held a pilot's license. He was ineligible for the draft because of his sight, a wife and two children and his age (30). The Army Air Corps was undergoing a rapid expansion program and undertaking the recruitment of non-flying reserve officers for various administrative functions at the Air Corps material division at Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio. Elliot was promptly commissioned as a captain, a standard procedure for those of his age who were accepted under that classification, and assigned as liaison officer between the Air Corps and the Signal Corps and in the procurement of radio equipment. Wright Field, at that time, had twenty-five other similarly classified non-flying officers and the service was seeking to commission four hundred others. But only Elliott was the President's son.

This was recognized at once as an issue with popular appeal, especially since FDR's other two sons of military age were serving with Captain's commissions, and Elliott's salary of $316 per month was two and one half times the median income for white males and more than six times what working women and blacks were earning.

General Hugh Johnson, a Willkie aide and a newspaper columnist, led off by charging that the President's sons received preferential treatment. Elliott responded by calling the general "a disgusting old man" who had spent the last war behind a desk. Johnson retorted that if the act were not undone, there would be "a stench to heaven."

Coming so soon after the debate over the Burke-Wadsworth Act, which authorized the first peace time draft in American history for men 21 to 35 years of age, popular uproar was inevitable. Letters poured into Willkie campaign headquarters and newspaper editorials showed the widespread interest. Willkie himself couldn't resist mention of Elliott in a Cleveland speech. A Greenwich, Connecticut, lady advised that the Republicans also "keep an eye on young Franklin." A New York stockbroker attacked Walter Winchell for having defended the appointment; and, urging the Eastern Division Willkie Clubs to exploit the issue, he said it would cost Roosevelt more votes "than the billions of dollars that will be wasted on National Defense."

On October 4 a Republican publicity director suggested that Young Republicans in twenty-five of the larger cities form "I WANT TO BE A CAPTAIN" clubs and wear buttons carrying the slogan. "It looks to me like a sure-fire publicity getter and it is one of the things which everybody understands and in which the country generally seems to be interested." He also noted that Willkie's greatest response in his Cleveland speech was to his phrase "overnight captains." Actually clubs of this kind had already appeared, along with buttons bearing the slogan. The American Music Company of Nashville, Tennessee, published the words for a song called "Elliott, I Wanna Be a Cap'n Too!" "Fuehrer Hitler Made his Captains, from his secret chosen few; Il Duce followed Hitler--and he made his Captains too. They've wrecked the whole of Europe—and brought misery and tears; Now King Franklin makes his Captains and he asks for four more years."

On October 14 Elliott submitted his resignation. It was promptly rejected. "His services are needed," stated his commanding officer, ignoring partisan politics.

NO CROWN PRINCE

In *MY Parents: A Differing View* James Roosevelt writes, "Most of the time I did not have to make any mistakes in order to be reproached. Some newspapers started calling me the "crown prince." *Time* magazine featured me on its cover over the title "Assistant President." And then the *Saturday Evening Post* published a story, "Jimmy's Got It," by Alva Johnson, who reported that by feathering my insurance business with golden eggs obtained by father's office, I had an income that approached $2 million a year. Actually between 1933 and 1941 my income ranged from $21,714 to $49,167. I think Alva Johnson simply created a story

out of thin air, based on the most irresponsible of rumors. Even my worst enemies within the White House considered the story irresponsible and totally inaccurate. It simply wasn't true. But I was burned by it, as was my father. I know my name helped my business, but I did not deliberately use any influence I might have had in my position as father's secretary to land new business. In fact I neglected my business interests while I was working in the White House."

DR. JEKYLL OF HYDE PARK

The original film version of Robert Louis Stevenson's classic "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" was showing during Roosevelt's first presidential campaign in 1932. By 1940 many buttons suggest the president had experienced an evil transformation similar to the one that made the good Doctor Jekyll an evil monster.

CHICAGO'S MOTTO

"I will" was a popular though unofficial motto in Chicago from 1891 through the 1960's when Mayor Daley's pronouncement "the city that works" superceded it. "I will" was part of a winning design for a city emblem in a contest sponsored by *The Interocean* newspaper in 1891. It signified the strength and determination in a city which grew from 30 people to more than one million in 60 years and rebuilt itself and tripled its population to reach the million mark in the twenty years following a disasterous fire in 1871.

EVERY "BUDDY" FOR WILLKIE

"Buddy" is a mid-nineteenth century British word which American doughboys adopted in World War I. To them it was a generic term for fellow soldier. On April 2,

1917 President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany, and Willkie, age 25, enlisted the same day. The armistice was announced before he arrived at the Western Front so he spent several months as defense counsel for young soldiers, who had gone AWOL - mostly nights in Paris after the fighting had stopped. This work irritated some of his superiors and Willkie was discharged as a first lieutenant even though a promotion to captain had been approved. Willkie never forgave this slight and on the rare occasions when he wore a uniform it was adorned with captain's bars. This twist was particularly ironic in view of the attention focused on FDR's three sons who were serving with captain's commissions.

...GOD SENDS A MAN

This recognition of Willkie as a messianic figure may have been inspired by a convention issue of the *New York Herald Tribune* which was distributed to delegates as they arrived in Philadelphia. The paper announced its unequivocal support for Willkie under the front page headline: "HEAVEN'S GIFT TO THE NATION IN ITS TIME OF CRISIS". Did the religious imagery affect any of the delegates — 83% of whom supported another candidate when they arrived?

WE DON'T THROW ROTTEN EGGS

Willkie was the target of more violence than any other candidate in a generation. A man was apprehended in Madison Square Garden as he pulled a loaded revolver from his coat just a short distance from Willkie. Two New York City detectives accompanied Willkie throughout his travels and dodged more flying objects than a pair of hockey goalies. Willkie laughed when reporter Bill Lawrence, standing with him on the rear platform of the *Willkie Special*, was struck by an egg and the broken yolk dripped and stained his coat. One of the most memorable photographs of the campaign is a wire-service picture which shows the GOP candidate as he was struck in the left temple by a frozen egg in Chicago's LaSalle Street Station. In Pontiac, Michigan, he hardly noticed when an egg splashed on the platform, and returned to his Buick convertible. Then, suddenly, an egg swished within inches of Mrs. Willkie's head, hitting the back of the driver's seat and splattering her dress and stockings. Willkie's face tightened, he reddened with anger and moved toward her assailant, then held back. In a display of sportsmanship Willkie wired Pontiac school officials and asked them to lift the suspension of a young man who had thrown the egg on the grounds that he had probably been influenced by older persons. Later, it was revealed that some Chicago schoolchildren had been paid to throw missiles at the Republican candidate.

Willkie's press corps kept a daily running count of the missiles thrown at the candidate, which included telephone directories, chairs, ashtrays, stones, oranges, eggs, and tomatoes. *Time* said, "He had more assorted sizes and kinds of vegetables thrown at him than anyone since the old Mississippi showboat days."

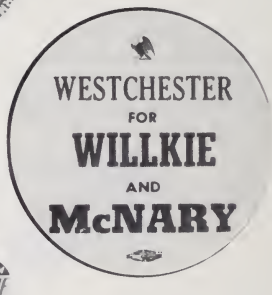
FOLLOW THE EAGLE

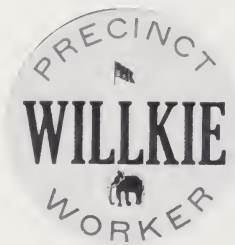
For many years the eagle was the symbol of the Republican party in New York State while the donkey, or less politely — jackass, has been the symbol of the national Democratic party since the 1920's.

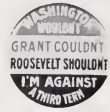
NO ROYAL FAMILY

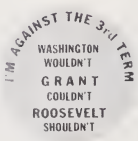
King Edward VIII of England had attracted world-wide attention when he abdicated on December 10, 1936 after less than a year on the throne to marry Wallis Warfield Simpson, a divorced American. Those who feared Roosevelt had royalist inclinations suggested he "abdicate" also.★

SHEET MUSIC









MATCHBOOK

CHEMURGY

By Robert Rouse

"Chemurgy" The word is passe now and few people know its meaning, but fifty years ago it gave hope to American farmers who were ravaged by drought (the dust bowl), falling prices at home and shrinking markets for exports due to the expanding world-wide depression. By 1940 the word gladdened the hearts of military planners, key manufacturing executives and others who feared the war would deny the US access to essential raw materials such as rubber, petroleum products, kapok, etc.

Chemurgy is a branch of chemistry devoted to the utilization of agricultural raw materials to produce non-food industrial products. For example, soybean derivatives are used in nearly 300 products ranging from plastics to paint and varnish. Corn is primarily used as livestock feed but it can also be a source of ethyl alcohol which is used for many industrial purposes and blended with gasoline to make gasohol. Citrus seeds, billions of which are discarded by fruit juice processors, can be oxidized in a kiln and pressed into charcoal briquetts.

In 1935 depressed farm prices prompted a group of farmers, scientists and industrialists to establish the National Farm Chemurgic Council in Columbus, Ohio, "to promote the discovery of: non-food uses for farm crops, their residues, and by-products; new and profitable uses for previously unused plant materials; new crops that farmers may grow profitably; and more valuable uses for presently used crops through chemurgic up-grading." A second goal was "to increase public acceptance of the importance of chemurgy." In this 1940 campaign button the graphics contribute to the public education goal. They feature flow arrows from farm fields to a factory and thence to a home, automobile and airplane - symbols of "the good life" brought by the industrial economy.

Aware of the fast-growing science of organic chemistry (the chemistry of carbon compounds) and its ability to convert organic materials into substances in wide demand, the council founders fostered the hope that chemistry might eventually produce important markets for farm products.

The first proposal for serious consideration of the idea was made on the editorial page of *Farm & Fireside* in 1926. It was pointed out that farmers are producers of starch, sugar, proteins, cellulose, vegetable oils, and other items which are raw materials for the organic chemist, and that industry might find its most favourable supplies of raw materials in the annually renewable gifts of the soil.

The term chemurgy was coined and first applied in 1935, by Dr. William J. Hale, an organic chemist. Hale pointed out that except for a 2% or 3% content of minerals actually extracted from the soil, all plant growth is simply moist air transformed by sunshine into solid substance; and therefore, wealth producing potentialities are virtually unlimited and independent of the irreplaceable characteristic of mineral deposits.

While few of chemurgy's proponents ever maintained that it was the only sound approach to the agricultural problem, developments during the latter 1930's appeared to indicate that it would have a large share in the eventual enlargement of agricultural income since the tonnage of non-marketable farm wastes grown each year was estimated to equal the quantity of products that were sold. Suddenly waste materials like cull fruits and vegetables, citrus seeds, poultry feathers, and nut shells were perceived as resources.

In 1939 Congress authorized four million dollars per year to establish and operate four regional centers for chemurgic research. The governors of Ohio and Missouri appointed official State Chemurgic Commissions to discover opportunities for enlarged farm production. Similar commissions already existed in Vermont, Arkansas, and Mississippi. Growing recognition of the popular appeal of chemurgy appeared when the state fair organizations of Ohio and Texas set aside large display areas for exhibits of products manufactured from farm raw materials. Smaller displays attracted attention at other state fairs, county fairs and Grange meetings.

In 1940 Illinois and Indiana joined the states with official Chemurgic Commissions and the consumption of farm-grown raw materials for non-food purposes advanced more in the U.S. than in any previous year. There also was a marked increase in chemurgic research as the four federal centers funded in 1939 opened in San Francisco, New Orleans, Peoria, IL and Philadelphia respectively. The requirements of U.S. national defense, and the appearance of actual or impending shortages of materials formerly imported, stimulated research to supply national needs with domestic farm crops and newly established crops. Surveys indicated extensive opportunities to develop domestic agricultural production of materials for which the nation had relied on foreign sources.★

Labor For Willkie

By Robert Rouse

In the 1936 presidential campaign John L. Lewis, founder of the CIO, worked vigorously for Roosevelt, and raised $500,000 for the campaign. Many feel that FDR's landslide win was in part a triumph for Lewis as well. The year 1937 started off brilliantly for Lewis and his CIO; they achieved contracts with General Motors and U.S. Steel, the giants of the auto and steel industries. Union membership doubled with most of the new members belonging to CIO affiliates. CIO unions now had a larger membership than the AFL. In *The Nation* the CIO was called "the most progressive and vital force in American life today." Later in 1937, however, the CIO was repulsed in its efforts to organize the smaller steel companies, known as "Little Steel." An angry Roosevelt called down a plague on both parties, and his criticism of labor and Lewis contributed to the split that later developed between the two men. The next year the CIO broke entirely with the AFL and held a constitutional convention in which Lewis was again chosen president.

In the next couple of years Lewis, nursing his grievance against the President following the Little Steel episode, also found other reasons to turn cool toward FDR. Roosevelt opposed his hand picked choices in a special congressional election and for the Pennsylvania governorship. The "Roosevelt Depression" of the late 1930's was a nagging worry for labor. And Lewis, sure that American involvement in a war would be costly for labor's hard-won gains, threw all his influence on the side of peace for the United States, crying out against Roosevelt's moves toward intervention.

All this seems sufficient to have caused Lewis's bitter opposition to FDR's third-term candidacy, though a more interesting explanation is the dubious story told by Frances Perkins, who has asserted that Lewis baldly pushed his own name at Roosevelt as a vice-presidential candidate and, when turned down, sought revenge. Historians Dubofsky and Van Tine point out that Lewis's vanity was not likely to permit his laying himself open to such a rejection. The old coal miner was outspoken in blaming FDR for mass unemployment and failing to cure the nation's economic ills. He berated the Administration for awarding defense contracts to anti-union companies. Most of all, he opposed FDR's foreign policy, which, Lewis charged, would inevitably lead to war. In an effort at reconciliation, FDR met with Lewis upstairs at the White House, but the union leader stormed out when Roosevelt was unresponsive to his accusation that the FBI had him under surveillance.

At a secret meeting on September 28, Willkie assured Lewis that labor would have a major voice in his administration and some of its leaders appointed to high positions, including Labor Secretary. Lewis offered his endorsement if Willkie went public with his pledge to appoint a Labor Secretary from the ranks of organized labor. Five nights later Willkie kept his part of the bargain but got into trouble in departing from the script. Speaking to a labor rally at Forbes Field, Pittsburgh, Willkie received a thunderous ovation with his announcement that the Secretary of Labor would be chosen from their brethren. Then, departing from his text he blurted out, "And it will not be a woman either." The President, who was listening on the radio, told Labor Secretary Frances Perkins, "That was a boner Willkie pulled. He was right. He was going good when he said his appointment of a Secretary of Labor would come from labor's ranks. That was legitimate political talk, but why didn't he have sense enough to leave well enough alone? Why did he have to insult every woman in the United States? It will make them mad, it will lose him votes." It was one of the campaign's ironies that Willkie was the first presidential candidate to run on a platform supporting an Equal Rights Amendment "providing for equal rights for men and women."

As a further condition of his support, Lewis wanted his speech broadcast on all three major radio networks. Campaign Chairman, Joseph Martin asked for between $75,000 and $80,000 to fund the broadcast.

The next morning Martin did not require the funds because a wealthy contributor had underwritten the broadcast. At the time, it was announced that the program had been paid for by Democrats for Willkie. After the election, it was learned that William Rhodes Davis, an oil millionaire with Nazi connections, had been the real sponsor.

Had he known about the oilman's shady background, Willkie said he would have turned down the offer. If the Democrats had found out before the election, the Davis connection would have been politically devastating.

The Lewis broadcast more than lived up to Willkie's expectations. In his deep Shakespearean voice, the CIO president delivered a stem-winder, denouncing FDR for turning his back on the working class, failing to come up with an effective response to the Depression, and leading the nation into world war. Willkie, argued Lewis, had a better understanding of labor's problems and said that to reject him for FDR "would be a national evil of the first magnitude." With a dramatic flourish, he concluded by saying he would resign the CIO presidency if Roosevelt won the election. His ultimatum was a political bombshell, and it caught FDR by surprise. Democratic strategists were fearful that Lewis was undercutting the party's blue-collar foundation with his attempt to turn the

election into a referendum on his leadership of the labor movement. Sidney Hillman, Roosevelt's most prominent labor ally, found the President uncharacteristically depressed by Lewis's threat. Pollster George Gallup, whose survey was continuing to show a strong Willkie trend, thought Lewis might be the decisive factor in a handful of key industrial states which were within the margin of error.

Mocking the Lewis claim that Willkie was a friend of low-income workers, the President quoted a socially prominent Philadelphia lawyer's snobbish remark that "only paupers" were supporting his re-election. "There speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership," thundered FDR. "Those paupers are only the millions who have helped build this country."

Roosevelt's fear of mass labor defection proved to be without foundation. In Chicago there were so many labor volunteers for Roosevelt that Mayor Kelley sent his regular precinct workers into the suburbs while the labor people canvassed the secure city wards.

Frances Perkins, a New York social worker from a family of New England Republicans, was the first woman appointed to a Cabinet position. She was described as "surprisingly feminine despite her tricorner hats and clothes which "looked as though they had been designed by the Bureau of Standards." She was a forward - looking person in touch with all reform movements, sympathetic to social control and social responsibility. But in labor circles support was lukewarm due to "her welfare worker's outlook" and in labor many leaders believed she held "a man's job." In 1935 *The Nation* which had welcomed her appointment said she "was one of the least important members of our government" when the NRA and National Labor Relations Board were not put in her department. Despite these and other criticisms she was widely regarded as one of the hardest workers in public life.

Harry Bridges, the Australian born organizer and president of the West Coast International Longshoreman's Association, was known as "the most investigated man in America" in 1940. Though in January he was officially cleared of Communist connections, in May the House of Representatives singled him out for deportation by passing a special bill that didn't mention any crime. The Senate Immigration Committee and Attorney General Jackson found its constitutionality dubious, but authorized a special squad of FBI agents to investigate his "general status and activities in San Francisco, Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles" in order to determine once more "whether he ever was or is a member of the Communist Party." Under the Smith Act, passed after Bridges' first trial, an alien could be deported for having been affiliated with the party.

In 1924 Bridges and some other men tried to organize a branch of the International Longshoremen's Association. It collapsed, however, when somebody embezzled the union's funds, and it wasn't until 1933 that an attempt to get the majority of longshoremen into a non-company union was successful. Harry Bridges was on the payroll as an organizer and not very important until a strike for recognition of their union, wages of more than $10.45 a week, a 30-hour week, a coast wide agreement and union control of hiring halls was called on May 9, 1934 after the owners refused to negotiate. Soon the other marine unions and the teamsters joined him and shipping stopped. The newly-formed Joint Maritime Commission of which Bridges was chairman pledged to hold out for a coast-wide agreement, and the men won virtually all their demands when on July 31 the government's National Longshoremen's Board handed down an arbitration decision, but only after the strike had expanded into a general strike that the press called a "revolution."

Harry Bridges was by this time "the bogey man of the Pacific." He was "privately and publicly damned as a Communist, an alien agitator, a ruthless, doctrinaire, and unscrupulous wrecker with a lust for power." But the longshoremen elected him president of the San Francisco ILA local. Bridges neither affirmed nor denied that he was a Communist, but freely admitted his willingness to accept Communist assistance and advice.

On October 30, 1936 a strike was called for all unions affiliated with the Maritime Federation. All Pacific shipping stopped like clockwork, rather than gradually, as in 1934. It was the most costly seamen's strike in the nation's history, and dragged on until February 1937, when the unions won. The West Coast I.L.A. then began to organize the warehousemen of the Pacific Coast as their affiliate, and unionization of lumber-workers, industrial workers and even the Newspaper Guild was speeded up. Harry Bridges began to sing the praises of the CIO. That

same year the National Maritime Union was formed, with jurisdiction over most of the seamen in the Eastern and Gulf ports.

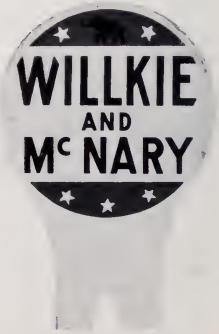
Anti-Bridges agitation from such powerful groups as the Associated Farmers, the Waterfront Employers' Association, the Southern Californians, Inc., and scores of business and civic organizations aided by most urban newspapers, and virtually all the rural press was stronger than ever. "Deport the alien agitator!" was their cry and that of the American Legion and Dies Committee on UnAmerican Activities, and in February 1938 Bridges asked the Department of Justice to determine his status once and for all. Under pressure from other groups Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, finally issued a warrant for his deportation of the ground that he was a Communist.

Bridges denied membership in the Communist Party, although he said he considered Communists good unionists and would work with them. He denied that the welfare of the workers was identical with the welfare of the employers and admitted believing that the United States should be so far socialized as to liquidate big companies and substitute public ownership of their properties, but also thought it could eventually be done "under the Constitution we've got now" and affirmed his faith in democracy, which "we in the unions practice every day." He also said that he had long wanted to become an American citizen.

The final verdict, rendered in January 1940, was: "That Bridges' aims are energetically radical may be admitted, but the proof fails to establish that the methods he seeks to employ to realize them are other than those that the framework of democratic and constitutional governments permits." Organized labor, most particularly the CIO, greeted the verdict as a great victory.

Representative Allen of Louisiana had denounced the verdict as a "whitewash," and introduced a bill into the House that would deport Bridges to Australia. Dies and others contended that Bridges had once cried, "to hell with the President of the United States!" and advocated the sinking of American warships; it was also claimed that "the warehouse union linked with waterfront workers could even interfere seriously with military operations anywhere in the nation."

When the Allen bill was passed in the House 330 to 42, a large part of even the conservative press condemned it and Attorney General Jackson stated his "emphatic disapproval" of "the first deportation in which the alien was not even accused either of unlawful entry or of unlawful conduct while here." Finally, on August 15, 1940 the Senate Immigration Committee blocked the bill, approving instead a measure to investigate Bridges' "subversive" connections.★



THE JEFFERSONIANS

By Robert Rouse

As a former presidential candidate, Al Smith was entitled to a seat in the New York delegation at the 1936 Democratic National Convention. Instead, Smith, the man who proclaimed himself a Jeffersonian in 1924 and 1928, and the man who had instructed the convention which nominated him to build a platform on "unflinching application of Jeffersonian principles to the problems of the day," chose to "walk in absentia," i.e. boycott the convention. Journalist Walter Lippmann had noted Smith's conservative bent as early as 1925 when he described him as "the most powerful conservative in urban America." Encouraged by Smith's example, two anti-New Deal groups were formed.

One was the Independent Coalition of American Women formed in July in Toledo, Ohio. The Coalition adopted a resolution endorsing Landon and Knox, and went to work to reach its goal of "1,000,000 anti-New Deal or inactive Republican women for the Kansas governor."

The other was the National Jeffersonian Democrats. The initiative for organizing the group came from former Senator James A. Reed of Missouri. At the invitation of Sterling Edmunds, a St. Louis attorney and a director of John Henry Kirby's Southern Committee to Uphold the Constitution, forty-three prominent anti-New Deal Democrats from twenty-two states met in Detroit on August 8 and 9, 1936.

Among those attending were such bitter foes of the Administration as Reed, Colonel Henry Breckinridge, a conservative attorney who served as Assistant Secretary of War in the Wilson administration and the man who nominated Senator Byrd for president in 1932; Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in the Wilson administration; and Joseph B. Ely, former Governor of Massachusetts. Reed was unanimously elected national chairman, Edmunds was named secretary, and Ely headed the finance committee.

All agreed that a third party movement was out of the question with the 1936 election little more than three months away. Governor Ely favored endorsement of Landon as the Independent Coalition of American Women had done; but there was strong opposition to this, especially from the Southerners, who remembered what had happened to Democrats who bolted in 1928, and argued that an endorsement of Landon would impair the effectiveness of their support of Democrats at the local and state levels. It was agreed that instead of openly endorsing the Republican ticket, the organization would attempt to coordinate into a national crusade the efforts of all the various anti-New Deal movements; but the methods for opposing the Democrats would be left entirely to the states.

The two day conference adjourned with the adoption of a "Declaration of Purposes and Intent" which stressed "President Roosevelt's disregard of the platform upon which he was elected; his various breaches of campaign promises solemnly made and as solemnly repeated from time to time; his light regard for his oath to preserve and defend the Constitution, and his disrespect for the great court charged with the upholding and interpretation of the Constitution; his repudiation of the traditional principles of the party to which he owes his election as President; the appalling and wanton waste under his administration of the nation's substance, with the resultant undermining of the national credit and the financial structure of the country." In short, it read Roosevelt out of the Democratic party. The convention closed with an emotion-packed speech by Reed in which he pleaded for a "disciplinary defeat of Franklin Roosevelt" to "return the party to its rightful heirs."

Ample funds were obtained via generous contributions from Ernest T. Weir, president of Weirton Steel, Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, the DuPont family, and David Bruce, a son-in-law of Andrew Mellon. In addition, John Raskob, who managed the 1928 Smith campaign, gave $50,000. Fortified with cash, the National Jeffersonian Democrats boasted from their national headquarters in St. Louis that they could divert at least three million Democratic votes away from Roosevelt.

Given this commitment and their resources, it is strange that no 1936 Jeffersonian Democrat items are listed. Items are known for 1940 and 1944. The largest material legacy is from the 1940 campaign when the "party" was revived and expanded into several additional states. Several buttons were distributed carrying the organization's endorsement of life-long Democrat Wendell Willkie and the California chapter is included in the financial records of the Willkie campaign as a significant contributor.

In retrospect, it seems fair to view the Jeffersonian Democrats, the Liberty League and numerous other anti-New Deal factions as expressions of a desire to hold onto the Democratic party's nineteenth century past. The party changed drastically during the Republican ascendency of the 1920's as it moved from a rural, agrarian Protestant base to an urban, industrial ethnic base.★

WILLKIE COATTAILS

By Robert Rouse

Willkie coattail candidates were primarily from the midwest and New England, areas of traditional Republican strength, and a few neighboring states: West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey.

The most interesting story is tied to the unlisted Willkie/Stassen button. In December, 1939, just one year after being elected governor of Minnesota at the age of 31, Harold Stassen declared his support for Thomas E. Dewey in the 1940 race for the nomination. He promised Hamilton Gaddis, Dewey's representative, that he would support Dewey at the convention, and Dewey opened his campaign in Minnesota while Stassen looked on and nodded approval. Then Stassen prevailed upon Tom McGill, a Minneapolis businessman, to put up the money for Dewey's Minnesota meeting and to further underwrite the Dewey cause.

There was consternation in the House of Morgan, the principle bank for many of the nation's utility companies. Minnesota was regarded as a key state in the Midwest, a big, pivotal state, and Harold (Red) Stassen, as the nation's youngest governor, could be an asset to Willkie almost beyond reckoning. His opposition to Willkie was very disconcerting. Thus it was "suggested" to Stassen that he go to New York and confer with Republican planners. The suggestion came from John Cowles, publisher of the *Minneapolis Star Journal*, and chairman of the board of *Look Magazine* whose support Stassen definitely required in future elections. Cowles "suggested" and Stassen left for New York. A few days later he returned to Minnesota all out for Willkie, and excited over the promise that he would be the Temporary Chairman of the Republican convention in which capacity he would deliver the all-important keynote speech--a plum the ambitious Stasson coveted. Stassen also had to pledge to the Republican Committee that he would remain neutral toward all candidates for the nomination. This was violated when Stassen agreed to be Willkie's floor manager at the convention. When Willkie announced that he had decided to be a candidate for the Republican nomination he opened his campaign in Minnesota as part of Stassen's political reward, and in recognition of John Cowles's service to the New York interests. In the general election Stassen was reelected governor but Willkie lost the state.

Republicans swept Iowa in 1940 and George Wilson was reelected governor over John Valentine, an FDR coattail.

Roosevelt carried Missouri and the city of St. Louis provided the margin which reelected Senator Truman. However, in rural St. Louis county, Republicans won for the first time in a decade led by Arnold J. Willmann who won the sheriff's office and Stanley Wallach who was elected prosecuting attorney. Their joint campaign produced two buttons: "Elect" and the more colorful, "Give 'em 'LL".

Four Illinois candidates tied their campaigns to Willkie's on buttons. Green and Brooks also appear with Willkie on a trigate license plate. Dwight Green was a handsome, gray haired lawyer who used his IRS experience to convict Al Capone, Frank Nitti, and other gangsters of the Prohibition era of income tax evasion. Like Thomas Dewey in New York, Green capitalized on the notoriety gained in 10 years as a prosecutor to become governor of a major state. His election and reelection in 1944 prompted several midwestern newspapers to mention him as "presidential timber" but his political career ended in 1948 when Adlai Stevenson turned back his unprecedented bid for a third term.

C. Wayland Brooks, a conservative isolationist, barely won a special election to complete the term of Senator James Hamilton Lewis who died in 1939. Brooks won a full term in 1942.

Congressman Noah Mason of Oglesby in north central Illinois served from 1937 to 1963. His name appears on two buttons. Judge Oscar Nelson, a one-time vice president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, lost a

statewide primary for state auditor in April then set his sights on the Cook County (Chicago) State's Attorney's office. Nelson charged county officials consorted with Frank Nitti and other gangland figures in a bitterly contested race. But voters reelected Thomas Courtney to an unprecedented third term. This success earned him the Democratic nomination for governor four years later.

Michigan congressman Fred Bradley of Rogers City appears on a jugate poster with Willkie. Indiana candidates and Philadelphia county Pennsylvania candidates are also pictured on posters.

In Indiana the GOP won everything except the governorship. Henry Schricker, the former publisher of the *Starke County Democrat* edged Glenn R. Hillis, publisher of the *Steuben* (County) *Republican*. In the Senate contest Raymond Willis defeated incumbent Sherman Minton in a close race. In a Delaware county (Muncie) race Wilfred Wingate used a "No Third Term/'Winn with Willkie' " license plate to promote his unsuccessful candidacy for state representative. Ohio, Republicans elected John Bricker to the second of his three terms in the governor's mansion over a former governor. They also sent Harold Burton to the U.S. Senate.

West Virginia voters had not elected Republicans to top offices since 1928 and 1940 was no different. Daniel Boone Dawson lost the race for governor and Harley Kilgore easily defeated Thomas Sweeney for Senator. Virginia was also solidly Democratic in 1940 so it is no surprise that J. A. Garber lost by more than two to one to A. Willis Robertson of Lexington in the seventh CD. Robertson later served twenty years in the Senate.

Candidates in four New England states joined the Willkie bandwagon and most were successful. In Maine Ralph O. Brewster easily won the first of two terms in the Senate and Sumner Sewall, a World War I hero and aviation pioneer, easily won the first of his two terms in Augusta. Sewall's 64.5 percent of the vote in the September 11 election was ballyhooed as a sign of things to come by Republican leaders. During Sewall's second term Maine became an important naval and air defense bastion. Upon leaving office in 1945 Sewall became an airline president.

New Hampshire Republicans were also successful although FDR carried the state by 15,000 votes. Robert O. Blood, surgeon, real estate investor, and dairy breeder, was narrowly elected governor while Arthur Stearns and Foster Jenks were easily reelected to their House seats.

Massachusetts Republicans issued an unlisted Willkie/Saltonstall button, a Willkie/Parkman pin and buttons promoting Horace Cahill, successful candidate for lieutenant governor with Saltonstall and Parkman. Leverett Saltonstall defeated James M. Curley in 1940 and 1942. When he left the governor's office he served 22 years in the Senate. Senator David Walsh won a fourth term by defeating Henry Parkman.

The most attractive Willkie coattail item (pictured on page 6) was issued by William H. Vanderbilt, a descendant of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who founded the Automotive Transportation Company in 1925; it was a holding company for railways and buslines in southern New England. After six years as a state senator he ran without the Republican endorsement for Governor in 1936 and was defeated in the primary election. In 1938 he was nominated for governor by acclamation at the Republican Convention, and easily won the November election. He surprised Republicans by reappointing Democrats to positions when he thought that they had done a good job. Vanderbilt was criticized for not handing out patronage jobs in his own party, a policy which appears to have been one of the major reasons why he lost the 1940 gubernatorial race despite his enthusiasm for Willkie. After his defeat, Vanderbilt reenlisted in the Navy and served during most of World War II. He became a member of the board of directors of the New York Central Railroad Company, a Vanderbilt family enterprise. Over the next two decades he contributed heavily to the national Democratic Party; was the chairman of the 1960 bipartisan Committee on Campaign Contributions and Expenditures; and served as a trustee of Vanderbilt University.

In New Jersey Charles Edison, son of investor Thomas Edison, resigned his post as Secretary of the Navy and defeated state senator Robert Hendrickson for governor. Hendrickson persisted and was elected to the Senate in 1948. Another New Dealer, James Cromwell, Minister to Canada, resigned to challenge Senator Warren Barbour. Barbour won and died in office three years later.

Finally, Maryland Republicans issued three coattail buttons, one to promote former governor Harry Nice for Senator in an unsuccessful race against an incumbent and others for Congressional candidates Theodore Brown in the second district and Walter Johnson in the sixth district. They lost their races.★

WILLKIE CLUBS

By Robert Rouse

Early in February 1940, Russell Davenport, editor of *Fortune*, interviewed Wendell Willkie for a story which appeared in the April issue, together with an article by Willkie under the title "WE, THE PEOPLE." With Willkie's article was a box containing half a dozen paragraphs purporting to be a petition. It began: "Before the political platforms are written, we, the people, have a declaration and a petition to make." The paragraphs which followed the preamble made specific attacks upon New Deal policies.

As a result of this and other carefully orchestrated publicity Oren Root Jr., a twenty-eight year old lawyer working in the New York firm headed by John W. Davis, 1924 presidential nominee, was attracted to the Willkie movement. His firm represented the House of Morgan and other blue chip clients. Although he had never met the utility president, Root liked all he had read about him. A grandnephew of Elihu Root, Oren had joined the Republican Party upon leaving Princeton University. He wondered how many other people felt as he did. Determined to find out, he printed about a thousand "Declarations" which he mailed to a selected list of graduates of Princeton 1924 and Yale 1925, men thirty to forty years old - "old enough to be seriously concerned about the country and the world and yet young enough not to be too set in their thinking," Root said. Though the poll was quite unscientific, Root had a Princeton alumni directory and a colleague provided one from Yale. The first "Declarations" were mailed on Tuesday night, April 9, 1940, and one was sent to Wendell Willkie. The title of the declaration was taken from Willkie's article, "We, the People." No party affiliation was listed. The paper called for the nomination of Willkie, and provided space for 15 signatures. Copies were sent to the *Herald Tribune*, *New York Times* and to Arthur Krock personally. Krock, the editor of the *New York Times* was already writing columns saying the best of all presidents would be Wendell Willkie, though he thought his nomination would be impossible. (In the fall the *Times* broke its long tradition and endorsed a Republican presidential candidate for the first time.) The next day significant stories appeared in both papers, and the wire services spread it across the country. Returns were to be mailed to Root's home address.

The immediate response to these circulars was astonishing. Willkie's aides were stunned at this unauthorized publicity. They asked Root to cease because his "naive action" seriously threatened a strategy which had been carefully thought out months before. Willkie was pursuing a "non-candidacy" strategy so the front page publicity pointing precisely at the nomination directed by an unknown and inexperienced youth was anathema. But the telephone in Root's law office was swamped for two days with calls about Willkie. Root decided to take a leave of absence from his law practice to devote himself to the campaign. He found a small office on Madison Avenue where he set up the headquarters of the Associated Willkie Clubs of America.

Lacking funds, Root inserted a small classified advertisement in the *New York Herald Tribune*: "Wendell Willkie for President! Help Oren Root, Jr. organize the people's demand for Willkie. Send Root a contribution at 15 Broad Street, New York." The name of Willkie proved to be magic; money in small amounts began to pour into the office. To meet the demand, Root printed 20,000 more declarations. By the opening of the convention in June, Pandick Press had printed more than 277,000 petitions, each with space for 15 signatures; twenty other presses also turned them out. A button was designed with "WE THE PEOPLE" on it and a first order of twenty thousand was fearfully made. But the demand for buttons increased rapidly; some days as many as fifty thousand were mailed out to local Willkie Clubs.

Concerned that his status as a Wall Street lawyer supporting a Wall Street utilities executive left him vulnerable to the "Economic Royalist" criticisms FDR used so effectively in 1936, Root decided public leadership of the Willkie Clubs should come from another part of the country. Accordingly he travelled to Oskaloosa, Iowa on May 1, introduced himself to Charles Williams, a local lawyer who supported Willkie, and enlisted his help. On May 4 a "completely spontaneous One Man Campaign for Wendell Willkie for President" developed in Oskalooska! Thus Willkie Clubs which had been concentrated in the East began to sprout in the heartland. Once established they proliferated throughout the region.

By election day there were 1700 chartered Willkie Clubs in Illinois alone and 500 more without charters. Many of these did not issue pins though their members worked for the candidate. They included Physicians Clubs, Grandmothers Clubs, Whigs of 1940, First Voters Clubs, Working Girls for Willkie, the Business Men's 1940 Election Committee, etc. Eight hundred clubs were formed in heavily Democratic Chicago, 342 of them in the black ghetto. The Chicago clubs produced a series of eight one-minute radio spots which were distributed to ten states. They also sponsored "No Third Term" days, undoubtedly the source of many buttons used in parades and rallies.

In *Persons and Persuasions* Root writes, "In the main,

support for Willkie grew at the grass roots. Willkie Clubs sprang up like mushrooms on a summer night. Almost without exception they were self-inspired, self-directed, and self-financed. They manufactured their own buttons, and never in the history of political campaigns have there been so many diverse types of buttons. They caused their own "Declarations" to be printed and in many cases arranged for the documents to be returned to local club headquarters instead of to me. In some few cases they even changed the phrases of the Declaration which I had borrowed from Willkie's *Fortune* text. From New York we tried to direct them, we tried to help them, but most of all we tried to inspire them and to urge them on."

By the time the convention opened, some five million persons had signed the "Declarations," half a million buttons had been distributed from the New York office and seven hundred Willkie Clubs had been chartered.

The Willkie Clubs were undoubtedly important in gaining the nomination for Willkie. Their activities prior to and at the convention persuaded many delegates to forsake their preferred candidate for Willkie on the sixth ballot. But many analysts have argued that they should have been dissolved after the convention, their mission accomplished. Instead they continued, indeed proliferated, and thus weakened the overall campaign. For rather than confronting Roosevelt with a unified campaign the Willkie effort was three distinct parts: the regular Republicans led by party professional Joe Martin, the House Minority Leader; Democrats for Willkie led by amateurs, and the Willkie Clubs lead by Oren Root, another amateur. By the end of the campaign many Republicans were seriously disaffected from the charismatic candidate who had addressed them as "you Republicans" and his legion of followers who would neither cooperate with nor subordinate themselves to Republican leadership. H. L. Mencken dismissed it as "a campaign run by amateurs", Raymond Moley called it "a comedy of errors." Many think Willkie would have been much more effective with a concerted professional campaign.

But after the election FDR told Russell Davenport: "You and your friend, Wendell Willkie, waged a much more effective campaign than I expected. As a matter of fact, it was so effective that you upset all my plans. I had to abandon my policy of keeping quiet and go out and make a series of speeches. If I hadn't you might have won."

Nearly fifty million people voted in 1940 - a record which stood until 1952. Willkie received more votes than any previous Republican candidate and his total was 5,646,000 votes more than Landon's, while Roosevelt's vote declined by 510,000 from his 1936 total. Thus the excitement and the issues of 1940 attracted a new generation to politics and the Willkie Clubs channelled their enthusiasm and facilitated their entry into the policial process.★

Democrats For Willkie

By Robert Rouse

The Democratic National Convention in Chicago had a sour ending. The third term issue and Roosevelt's demand that Henry Wallace be nominated for Vice-President alienated many faithful Democrats. Wallace's father had served as Secretary of Agriculture in the Coolidge administration and Henry Wallace was a lifelong Republican before FDR appointed him Secretary of Agriculture in 1933; Wallace was also suspect because of his known fascination with mysticism. The turmoil was so great that for a time Roosevelt considered flying to Chicago to subdue it and several advisors urged him to do so. He demurred to encourage the illusion that his controversial third term nomination was the result of a legitimate draft. When FDR refused to go to Chicago, Eleanor was urged to make the trip to assuage the angry delegates.

She went with FDR Jr. and after confering with her son Elliott, DNC Chairman Jim Farley and other delegates, she called the president and urged him to drop Wallace. But FDR was adamant. Eleanor made a speech to the convention about "The burdens of the Presidency in critical times," after which Senator Jimmy Byrnes, "Roosevelt's Messenger in the Senate"--worked the floor pleading "For God's sake, do you want a President or a Vice President?" Eleanor and Byrnes are credited with Wallace's narrow victory — 627 votes out of 1100 — and although he received the nomination Wallace was persuaded not to deliver his acceptance speech due to the temper of the delegates. In *The Roosevelt Years* Jim Farley wrote, "The delegates were ugly. They did not want Wallace. Not all their resentment was personal, however. They were showing their resentment against bossism. ...Angry and sour the confused delegates broke up. It had been a long, hot and tiring session. Many felt that the party had been split and the Democratic ship would founder in November." Willkie picked up the theme of party disunion three days after the Democratic convention when he began to talk about a "revolt" of Democrats becoming strong enough to maintain the two-term tradition. Al Smith declared the convention "sounded the death knell of the Democratic party" with the third-term nomination piling the "last straw on the camel's back." Smith then urged his admirers to "march under the banner of Wendell L. Willkie, a lifelong Democrat."

A further blow to the confidence of many loyal party members was the resignation of their beloved leader Jim Farley as Democratic National Chairman and Postmaster General. His action sharply emphasized the irregularity of the third term nomination. Edward J. Flynn, boss of the Bronx, was named to succeed Farley — a signal that help from the party's other leaders in big cities would be welcomed by the national ticket. Not surprisingly, one of the features of the Democratic campaign was the energetic co-operation of the most prominent municipal organizations: Tammany in New York City, Hague in Jersey City, and the Kelley-Nash machine in Chicago. Flynn promptly attracted negative publicity when he ignored protests and issued *The Democratic Campaign Book*, which carried 100 pages of advertising — some of which had been obtained from interests that might find it difficult to refuse solicitation. The advertising was said to have been arranged before the passage of the 1940 amendments to the Hatch Act and therefore not an infringement on the new restrictions on political activity, but public skepticism was widespread. With the levy on holders of public employment newly outlawed as a means of raising campaign funds, Flynn sent a letter to state campaign managers in October advising "even where ... Government or state employees cannot...make contributions...their friends and relatives are in no way prohibited from such activities." When this became public, the furor over his leadership intensified.

The action of the Corcoran-Cohen crowd also caused sober party members anxious reflections. Thomas Corcoran and Benjamin Cohen were brilliant energetic legal proteges of Harvard professor Felix Frankfurter who had imbued them with Justice Brandeis' concept of the "Curse of Bigness." They served as special assistants to Attorney General Robert Jackson, but Corcoran's influence was magnified because he acted as liason between jobs in Washington and Frankfurter's promising students. These radical young men who burned with a desire for reform were the original New Dealers and their presence in the Departments of Labor, Justice and Treasury and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Securities and Exchange Commission, Public Works Administration and Works Progress Administration dictated the actions and policies of these government agencies during the late 1930's. Indeed, Corcoran and Cohen wrote the anti-holding company legislation which FDR dubbed the "death sentence" for such companies. After the Senate passed it by one vote in 1935 Willkie launched a crusade to defeat it in the House. He was successful and this crusade was the beginning of his public career.

Furthermore, many responsible members of the Democratic Party criticized the whispering campaign directed against Willkie concerning his German ancestry. Willkie was supported because of his opposition to the third term as a menace to the free functioning of democracy, opposition to the continuous centralization

of power in the federal government and especially in the office of the President, opposition to the whole philosophy of scarcity economics which limited production—6,000,000 piglets slaughtered (HANK WALLACE'S RAW DEAL), burned wheat, and plowed under other crops, all of which decreased the nation's standard of living; and opposition to a class-conscious government by men instead of a government by law giving equal opportunity for all. This feeling was echoed by Al Smith when he called FDR "the chief apostle of class hatred in America" in an October speech.

As a result of all this dissatisfaction many prominent Democrats announced their support of the Republican candidate. Among these were Vance C. McCormick, National Democratic Chairman in 1916; Ex-Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma; Stephen F. Chadwick, former National Commander of the American Legion; Hamilton Holt, president of Rollins College, and Irvin S. Cobb, humorist. On July 30, Al Smith publicly announced his support of Willkie, as did Judge Samuel Seabury. Then in rapid succession came public declarations in favor of Willkie from Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, formerly of the New York State Supreme Court and one-time consultant to Roosevelt, Stanley High, former editor of the *Christian Herald*, O.M.W. Sprague, Harvard economist who had advised the New Deal in 1933, Ewing Y. Mitchell, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce under Roosevelt, and Young B. Smith, Dean of Columbia Law School.

The most important of the insurgent Democrats were Al Smith because of the publicity he attracted, John Hanes and Lewis Douglas, the founders of Democrats for Willkie. Smith spoke in Brooklyn and New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. The halls were packed, the crowds enthusiastic, and various versions of "The Sidewalks of New York" were played to warm up the crowds. The brown derby button with "East Side, West Side," the opening words of "Sidewalks of New York," is probably from one of Smith's rallies just as the 1936 button with LANDON printed across a derby is thought to be from a Smith for Landon rally.

Speaking at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on October 23, Smith gave his conception of a speech Franklin D. Roosevelt might have made eight years before if he had promised only what he was actually going to perform.

"If I am elected President," Smith quoted while imitating the President's style of delivery, "I am going to double the national debt...reduce the value of the dollar... and create class hatred as it has never been known in this country before. If I am elected President, I will sign more unconstitutional bills than any other President in the history of the country. Needless for me to say, I am going to ignore the party platform and I am going to increase the cost of government from five billion in 1932 to nine billion, one hundred million in 1940."

Smith paused here and returned to his usual manner. "Strange as it seems," he said very seriously, "that's exactly what happened. That is the record of eight years--and the hero of that record is referred to as 'the indispensable man'.

Frequently during the campaign he brought his sharpest humor into play. In Philadelphia he aroused his audience to gales of laughter when he referred to President Roosevelt's "nonpolitical" inspection trips, one of which had taken him to the Revolutionary battlefield of Saratoga.

Smith's final address was over a national radio hookup on the evening before election. The sharpness of his attacks, and the caustic humor with which his speeches had been punctuated attracted much attention, and the listening audience he had for that final radio address must have been large.

John W. Hanes and Lewis W. Douglas were former high officials in the Administration, the Under-Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of the Budget respectively; their support was expected to have great significance and far-reaching influence. They wired Willkie proposing to enlist Democrats who believed that loyalty to country took precedent over loyalty to party.

Thus the Democrats for Willkie was born. Alan Valentine, president of the University of Rochester, and a Democrat, was included. As events worked out, it was Hanes, Harold Talbott, a Wall Street financier and Willkie's chief fund raiser, and Valentine who did most of the work. Talbott was liaison between the Democrats for Willkie organization and Willkie headquarters. Hanes and Talbott collected the money which made the organization so highly effective in publicizing its opposition to the ticket and the third term bid. The Hanes committee sent out speakers, bought radio time, and carried on a full program of political activity. The Willkie Democrats prided themselves that the Republicans even borrowed their talent from time to time. The Hanes committee eventually set up an organization in every state, although their efforts did not begin until August.

There was little doubt of Roosevelt's chagrin that some of the stalwarts of his party deserted to the Willkie camp. When reporters asked the President what he thought of Hanes and Douglas coming out for Willkie, he replied with sarcasm that they had always been more interested in dollars than humanity. In acknowledging the Smith support, therefore, Willkie slapped back declaring; "I hope that nobody suggests that the warm-hearted Alfred E. Smith is one of those persons who is actuated by love of money rather than love of humanity."

Wooing the discontented Democrats became a chief focus of Willkie's campaign. The Republican Party was subordinated; all Willkie wanted from the Republicans were their votes. His neglect of party officials brought sharp complaints, "Whose party is it anyway?" they asked.

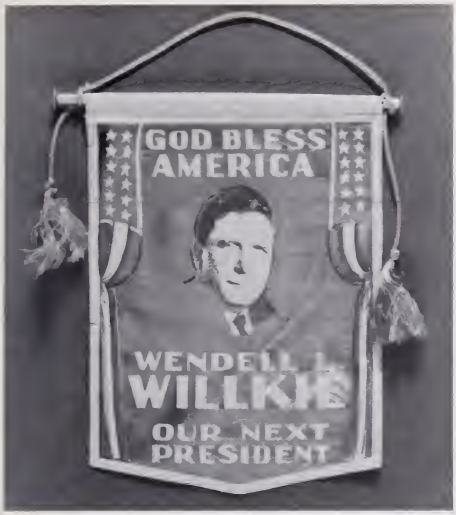
The Democrats for Willkie and the Willkie Clubs influenced the design of the Willkie campaign. He took Republicans for granted and directed his appeal to Democrats and independent voters. To newsmen he said: "I do not know of any reason why Democrats who subscribed to the Democratic platform of 1932 or who believe in the historic principles of the Democratic Party, or who voted for Woodrow Wilson should not vote for me in preference to the President."

Willkie enjoyed historical references. One afternoon, he delighted a mid-western audience with a summary of celebrated Democrats who undoubtedly would give him their blessing. "Jefferson opposed the grant of far-reaching powers to the federal Government," he said. "At the same time, Jefferson strongly believed that the presidential office should be limited to two terms." On these grounds Willkie claimed the support of all Jeffersonian Democrats. "As for Andrew Jackson," continued Willkie, "he balanced the budget, and even eliminated the national debt. Surely all Andrew Jackson Democrats should vote for me. Governor Grover Cleveland was opposed to centralization of power in Washington and he refused to run for a third term. Consequently "No Cleveland Democrat should vote against me," added Willkie. "Woodrow Wilson held that the function of the state in governing men was to see that they did not prey upon each other. Accordingly, No Woodrow Wilson Democrat should vote against me."

In the end it appears that Democrats for Willkie drew little away from FDR. Although the leadership was prestigious, rank and file Democrats supported FDR almost as strongly as they had in 1936. His popular vote total declined by 510,000 in 1940.★

Maine

Massachusetts



Machine-Woven Tubular Skirt Cloth

Metal Coaster

Mirror

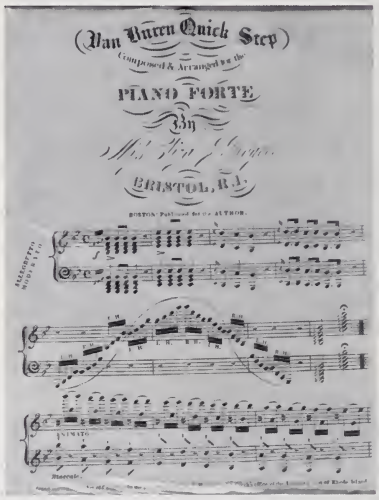
Milkglass Ashtray

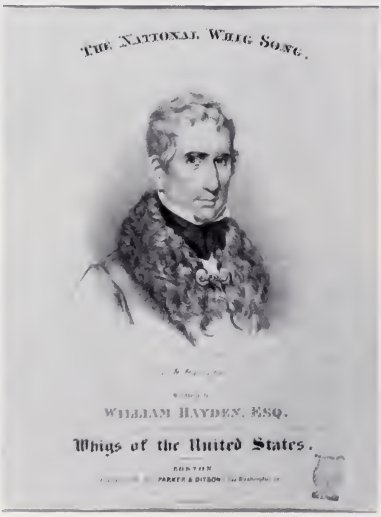
CAMPAIGN MUSIC PROJECT - PART 1:
POLITICAL SHEET MUSIC

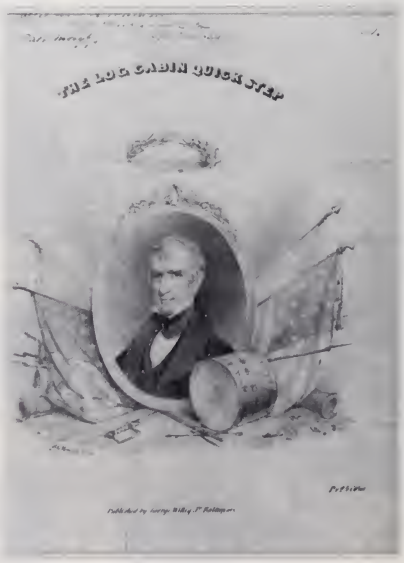
One of the most fascinating areas of political collecting has always been the field of campaign sheet music. There are only a few serious collectors in APIC, but many more who collect politicals as part of the general sheet music hobby. In many cases, the graphic, bold-covered sheet music is the least expensive way to obtain campaign items for particular candidates. As in other parts of this hobby, certain candidates are rarer than others. In twentieth century candidates, the rarest are Parker, Cox and Stevenson.

The first political sheet music appeared in 1836, but the real popularity of this medium came in 1840, as well as the first songsters. With the increased production of pianos for home use after the Civil War, the use of sheet music became widespread. By the 1890s, many songs were written for each candidate. In the 1930s, over 100 pieces appeared for Franklin Roosevelt. After World War II, however, the popularity of other types of entertainment and the more mobile nature of American society resulted in the decline of pianos and other home music instruments, and with it, far less sheet music.

This will be a continuing project, and we seek pictures of additional items from members for future issues.



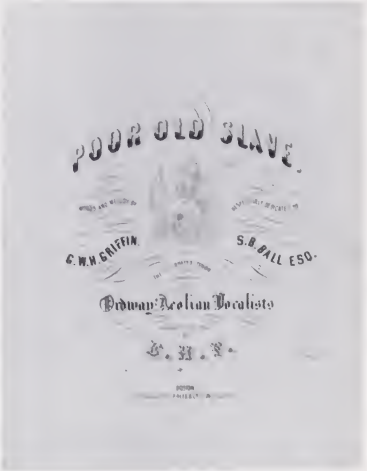





GEN WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.


WILLIAM O.OLVER


HARRISON MELODIES.
BOSTON
WADE DIXON AND COMPANY
1840


POOR OLD SLAVE.
C.W.H.GRIFFIN.
S.B.BALL ESQ.
Pidway Aeolian Vocalists
B. H. F.

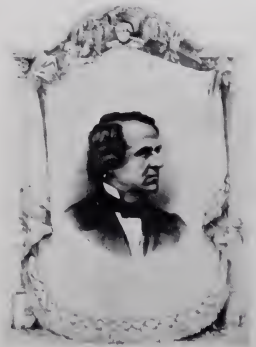
COME RALLY,
Freemen Rally.
CAMPAIGN
SONG AND CHORUS
JOHN ADAMS
MRS. PARKHURST.

JOHNNY,
FILL UP THE BOWL.

A. W. AUNER,
SONG PUBLISHER, CARD & JOB PRINTER,

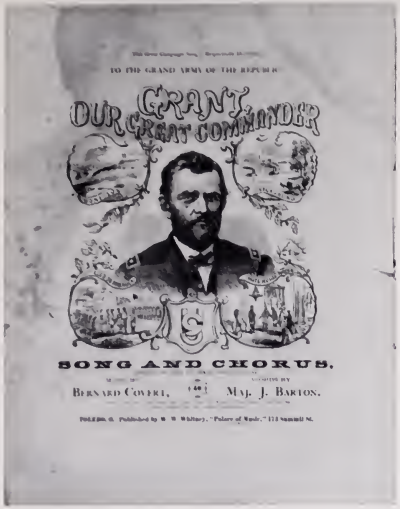
DOUGLAS POLKA

A NEW SONG
FOR THE
RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.
AIR.—A YEAR OR TWO AGO.

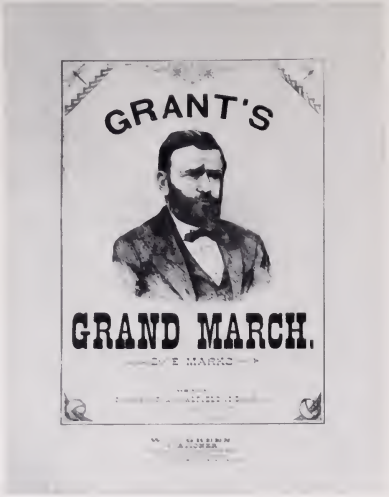


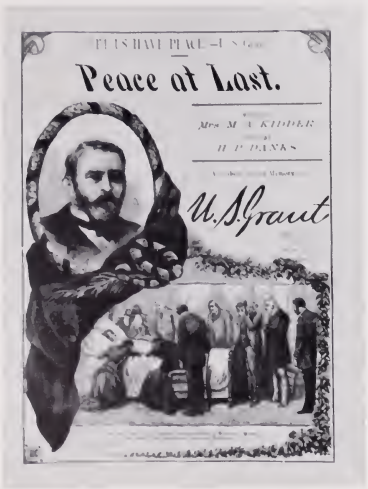
PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S
GRAND MARCH & QUICK STEP
E.MACK.

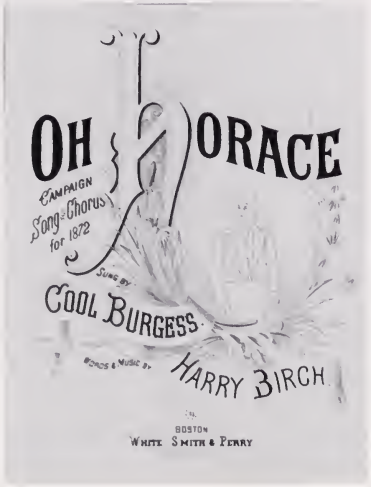
GRANT AND WILSON
CAMPAIGN
SONGSTER.

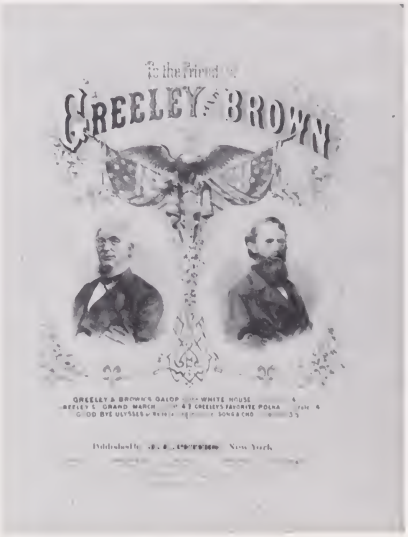

TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC
GRANT
OUR GREAT COMMANDER
SONG AND CHORUS.
BERNARD COVERT,
MYR. J. BARTON.


LIEUTENANT GENERAL GRANT'S


GRANT'S
GRAND MARCH.


Peace at Last.
U.S.Grant

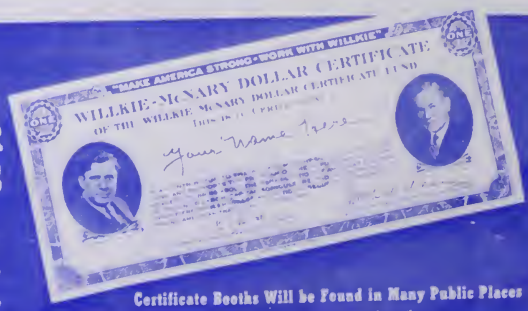

OH HORACE
Campaign Song & Chorus for 1872
COOL BURGESS
HARRY BIRCH
BOSTON
WHITE SMITH & PERRY


GREELEY & BROWN

Invest a Dollar In The Future of America

Get Your

WILLKIE-McNARY DOLLAR CERTIFICATE



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