



THE KEYNOTER



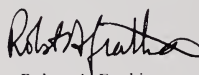
TR 1912 • DEBS 1920 • FILLMORE 1856

Managing Editor's Message

This mid-year issue of *The Keynoter* is the most eclectic one we have produced. That is one of the advantages of our new tri-annual (3 times a year) publishing schedule, which has given us more pages per issue and more pages per year. By cutting the mailing costs and printing one less cover, we are able to print 12% more content pages during the year. Thus, we are able to more completely cover a specific candidate as we did with the Willkie issue, and offer a more varied fare in at least one issue a year, with something of interest for almost every collector, as we have done in this issue.

But we are still not satisfied. Although Mark and I are pleased with this issue, we are still in need of more material and contributors on almost every topic. Starting with this issue, we are recognizing the unique contributions of Robert Rouse by making him a contributing editor for coattails and specialized stories. In addition, John Pfeifer has agreed to be a contributing editor for pre-1896 items. John will be providing at least one feature for each issue in his specialty area. We have at least two staff positions still available: a locals editor and a contributing editor for third parties. Both of these positions are important in meeting the needs of our readership, and fulfilling our commitment to the hobby. If you would like to be a regular contributor to *The Keynoter* on one of these topics, please contact Mark Gelke or me. We would also like to see more features on other historical collectibles, such as the recent articles on World War I and Lindbergh.

The success of our "items of interest" sections depends solely on membership participation. We would very much appreciate a clear photo or Xerox of that unique or unusual item from your own collection that you would like to share with the hobby. We wish to particularly thank William Alley for his article on Admiral Dewey, and Richard Rector for providing us with the piece by Eugene V. Debs. Our publication must depend on this kind of collector cooperation if we are to succeed.



Robert A. Fratkin
Managing Editor

Editor's Message

As a member of the American Political Items Collectors, I'm certain that you have enjoyed your issues of *The Keynoter*. Our publication is recognized nationwide as an invaluable tool for advancing knowledge of virtually every aspect of collecting political memorabilia, and a large number of libraries, historical societies, and other institutions receive it on a regular basis.

To keep *The Keynoter* the superb magazine it has been, we need quality articles by knowledgeable collectors. As manuscript editor, I am soliciting such articles, and would like to encourage you to share your knowledge of political Americana by writing a piece for the magazine.

This is an excellent opportunity for you as a student of American political history to help further our understanding of your particular field of interest. Your article may be of any length, and on any subject you choose so long as it relates to some aspect of collecting political memorabilia. Black and white photos of items from your collection to supplement your article are welcome.

Without question, your contribution will help us all to better enjoy the fascinating hobby of collecting political Americana. Additionally, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you have had a role in maintaining the excellence of *The Keynoter*.

Please submit your articles to me at the address below.

4255 Delryan Drive
Cincinnati, Ohio 45238



Mark Gelke
Editor



Managing Editor
Robert A. Fratkin

Manuscript Editor
Mark Gelke

Contributing Editors
John Pfeifer
Robert Rouse

Museum Associates
Edith Mayo
Edmund B. Sullivan

Historian
U.I. "Chick" Harris

Contributors
Stephen Ackerman
William Alley
Jon D. Curtis
Eugene V. Debs
John Pfeifer
Robert Rouse

Photography
Bill Arps
Robert Fratkin
Ted Hake

Support Services
Vi Hayes

THE APIC KEYNOTER

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Covers: *Front* - Cloth bandanna, red and black; *Back* - multi-color paper poster.

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

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Winter Keynoter will feature the 1952 and 1956 campaigns of Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard Nixon, with extensive illustrations from the collection of John Pendergrass, the hobby's leading Eisenhower collector. Many previously unpictured items will be shown.

“MY HAT IS IN THE RING”

By Jon D. Curtis

Theodore Roosevelt was a president for the twentieth century. He had come to that office when William McKinley died from an assassin's bullet. To say that Roosevelt enjoyed being president would be an understatement of his White House years. He loved every minute of it. He restructured the office. From Lincoln's death to T.R.'s ascendancy, the legislature had dominated the government. When Teddy became president on September 14, 1901, to March 4, 1909 it was dominated by the executive.

In 1904 Roosevelt became the first accidental president to win a term in his own right when he crushed Alton B. Parker. When in the glow of the victory, he declared he would not run again he would live to regret his words. After all, he was and still is the youngest ever to hold the presidency. He was 42 years old when he assumed the office. John Kennedy was 43 when he became president. When Teddy left the White House he was only 50 years old. He already had held the Governorship of New York, the Vice Presidency and the Presidency of the United States.

When one has accomplished all this by age fifty what does one do from there? After the presidency does one become an "elder statesman." That would be hard to swallow at an age when most political careers are just beginning.

After hand-picking William Howard Taft to be his successor, T.R. left the United States to go on an African safari. The news media covered his tour in grand fashion. After Africa, Teddy went on a grand tour of Europe where he was treated like visiting royalty and wined and dined by the crowned heads of Europe. Again there was mass media coverage for the triumphal "King of America."

Teddy was invited to be a guest lecturer at the most prestigious universities on the continent including a stint at the Sorbonne in France and Oxford in England. In 1910 King Edward VII of England died and Roosevelt was the American representative at the funeral where he hobnobbed with royalty. When he returned to the United States he received the hero's welcome with a triumphal parade through New York City. He returned to his estate at Sagamore Hill but continued to pour out articles on politics.

By 1911 he began to feel that his old protege Taft was turning his back on Roosevelt Progressives. This culminated in the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. Pinchot was a Roosevelt appointee as Chief Forester and in a clash with Interior Secretary Ballinger, a Taft appointee, Pinchot came out second best. Roosevelt felt that Taft was falling more and more under the control of the "Old Guard" Republican conservatives in the Senate. The Aldrich-Cannon group dominated Taft.

Also early in 1911 the National Progressive Republican League was formed and proposed that Wisconsin Senator Robert M. LaFollette challenge Taft for the Republican nomination. By the end of the year it was evident that LaFollette's continuity was confined primarily to the Mid-West. He surely did not possess that political clout to deny an incumbent the party's top prize.

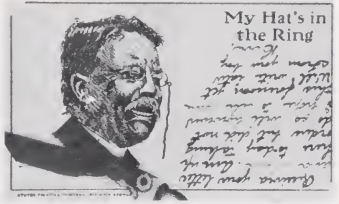
Finally, in February, 1912, Roosevelt announced that

Roosevelt and Johnson



"For there is neither East nor West,
Border nor Bound nor Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face
Though they come from the ends of the earth"





“My hat is in the ring!” 1912 saw the first real use of the presidential preference primaries in the U.S. The first two were LaFollette victories in North Dakota and Wisconsin, but Roosevelt followed these with four straight victories. Taft’s only victory came in Massachusetts where he squeaked passed T. R. by a vote of 86,722 to 83,099 and, of course, Massachusetts was the home state of Henry Cabot Lodge, one of the leaders of the “Old Guard.” Roosevelt then won three more head to head contests. When all the

primaries were totaled T.R. had 1,164,000 votes to Taft’s 766,000 and 327,000 for LaFollette. T.R. had won 278 delegates; Taft 48; LaFollette 36.

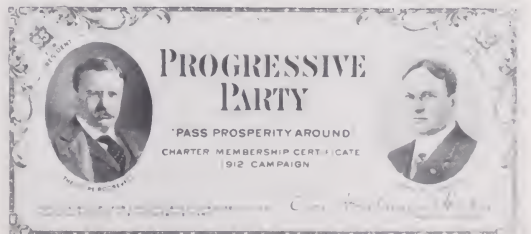
There were 1,078 seats at the 1912 Republican Convention. There were disputes involved in 254 of them. These disputes were to be settled by the National Committee and Taft controlled two-thirds of the membership. Whereas Roosevelt won only 13% of the delegates selected by primaries, the National Committee gave 235 of the seats to the Taft forces and only 19 to the Roosevelt people. This meant, regardless of the primary voting results, less than 9% of the contested delegates were given to T.R. That result meant that the handwriting was on the wall. The “Old Guard”, the conservative House-Senate leadership were willing to chance a party split to maintain control of the party machinery. Roosevelt would not have the control of the party machinery even if it meant an election defeat. In addition, the onus was placed on T.R. It was now obvious Taft would be re-nominated. It would be on Roosevelt’s shoulders if the party was split and defeat resulted. Roosevelt was faced with the choice of accepting defeat gracefully or taking a walk dividing the party, and responsibility for a possible November loss.

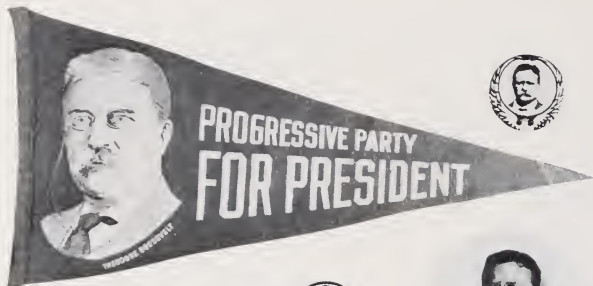
There was only one ballot. Taft received 556 votes, 16



Founders' Day
October 27, 1912

Progressive Party





WASHINGTON PARTY



ROOSEVELT-JOHNSON
Pass Prosperity Around



ELECTION DAY
NOVEMBER 5
1912



ROOSEVELT

PROGRESSIVE CONVENTION

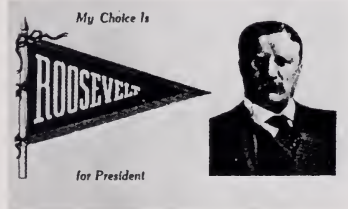
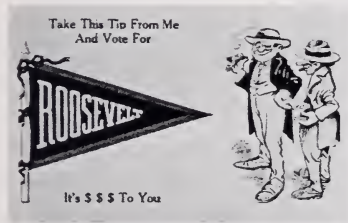
WILSON NEBP
OCTOBER 2-4 '12

more than necessary to win. Roosevelt had 107; Lafollette 41; Albert Cummins 17; Charles Evans Hughes 2; and 355 not voting. June, 1912 ended with Taft and James S. Sherman facing Democrats Woodrow Wilson and Thomas R. Marshall. For several weeks the Roosevelt forces re-grouped. Finally on August 5, 1912 the Progressive Party was called to Chicago and with much hoopla nominated Roosevelt with Hiram Johnson as his running mate.

The campaign was dull compared to the conventions. There were few Progressive candidates for lesser offices such as Governors, senators, and congressmen. For the most part Republican candidates for these offices tried to preserve their neutrality and let the top dogs battle it out. It was also clear that if Wilson polled the normal Democratic vote, he would win because of the Taft-T.R. split. Most of the media light was on Roosevelt and Wilson. Taft seemed to be campaigning in a void. Nobody was listening to him. Roosevelt, feeling "fit as a bull moose" was too colorful for Taft to compete with. The Progressives soon became known as the Bull Moose Party. The campaign was short-lived as Roosevelt was wounded by would-be assassin John Schrank in Milwaukee on October 14, 1912. By a gentleman's agreement campaigning ceased while Roosevelt recovered. In reality, the campaign never resumed. Roosevelt was not seriously wounded and returned to the campaign trail on October 30, but Vice President James S. Sherman died that day. With his death the campaign ended. There wasn't time for the Republican National Committee to replace Sherman so 3½ million people voted for Taft and his deceased running mate. 4.1 million voted for Roosevelt-Johnson and almost 6.3 million for Wilson-Marshall. When the Electoral College voted 435 for Wilson-Marshall; 88 for Roosevelt-Johnson; and the eight electors from Utah and

Vermont cast their votes for Taft and Nicholas Murray Butler as Sherman's stand-in.

The 1912 Progressive campaign has no real relation to the 1924 Progressive candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler and none to the 1948 Progressive ticket of Henry A. Wallace and Glen H. Taylor. In 1912 the Progressives finished second to the Democrats. They finished third and fourth in 1924 and 1948. The 1912 percentage of the vote was almost twice LaFollette's and 13 times Wallace's 1948 total. It could probably be argued that the Progressive campaign of 1912 was even a third-party campaign. As seen through the primary results the Progressives probably represented mainstream Republicanism in 1912 which would mean Taft's campaign was the real third-party effort. In 1912 the vast majority of voters were voting liberal-progressive lines. In 1924 the Coolidge and Davis votes were conservative votes. In 1948 the Truman-Dewey-Thurmond voters represented everything from moderate to extreme right. Wallace appealed to only about 2% of the voters who considered themselves to be far-left. The 1948 Progressives had no more appeal than Thurmond's far-right segregationists. In addition



Cloth Banner



Postcards



Large Bandanna

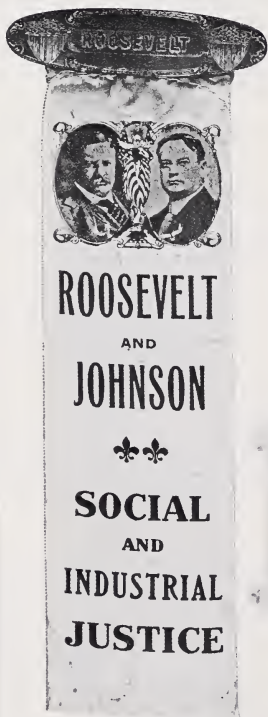
the financial support of the 1912 Progressives far outstripped the 1924 and 1948 Progressive campaigns.

There are dozens of Progressive political items still available glorifying Roosevelt and emblazoned with a bull moose to identify the party. Some of these are still so common that they can be purchased in the five and ten dollar range. The 1912 campaign did produce one of the cornerstones of political collecting. The Roosevelt-Johnson jugate ranks as one of the big four in post-1896 collecting. It isn't as rare as the 1920 Cox-Roosevelt jugate or the 1924 Davis-Bryan, but ranks just above or just below the Harding-Coolidge jugate depending on collector preference.

The Roosevelt-Johnson jugate is found in at least twenty different styles or sizes, but still is quite rare and treasured by most collectors. Nonetheless one doesn't have to be an advanced collector to have a nice sample of Bull Moose Progressive items, nor is it necessary to have hundreds of dollars to invest. When one looks at the asking price for some 1976 Carter and Ford items or 1980 Carter and Reagan items he could have a fine 1912 display for the same expenditure. After all, it is the only campaign in American history where three presidents, the future, present, and former chief executives did battle. It may never happen again.★



NATIONAL
PROGRESSIVE
CONVENTION
CHICAGO
AUG. 5, 1912



Watcher

Vote Under This Emblem



Bull Moose

ROOSEVELT
JOHNSON
STRAUS
DAVENPORT



APIC PROJECT:

ROOSEVELT-JOHNSON JUGATES

For several years, we have been collecting pictures and information for a special project illustrating all the known Roosevelt-Johnson jugates. Even now, our knowledge exceeds our pictures, so we have pictured two non-TR jugates showing designs that we know exist with

TR and Johnson, but for which we don't have photos. If you have one of these, or any TR-Johnson jugate we haven't shown, please send a photo or clear Xerox picture to Bob Frarkin. Particular thanks to Morton Rose and Gary Cohen for their cooperation on this project.



2 1/4"



* 1 1/4"



1 1/4"



1 1/4"



1 1/4"



* 1 1/4"

7/8"



2 1/4"



2 1/4"

These two designs also exist for Roosevelt/Johnson, but pictures were not available.



1 1/4"

*These items were produced in both black/white and sepia.

Welcome Home T.R.

By Robert Rouse

From childhood, when he toured Europe and Egypt with his parents, Theodore Roosevelt had wanderlust. While President he visited America's cities, hunted insatiably in its wilds, inspected waterways, went down in a submarine, and toured the Panama Canal diggings. Thus it is not surprising that in March, 1909, less than three weeks after leaving the White House, he departed for Africa with great fanfare. The trip was undertaken to collect samples of African wildlife for display in the Smithsonian Institution. TR was accompanied by his son Kermit and a bevy of American naturalists. The estimated \$75,000 cost of the expedition was paid by the Smithsonian with money provided by generous sponsors including Andrew Carnegie.

To keep the public informed, TR signed a \$50,000 contract with *Scribner's Magazine* to write articles on his African experiences. Aware of Roosevelt's love for writing, King Edward VII of England quipped, "President Roosevelt is coming out as penny-a-liner." After the trip TR published *African Game Trails*, a complete account of the trip.

The expedition plunged into the bush at Mombasa, Kenya and emerged eleven months later at Khartoum, Sudan on the Upper Nile. It must have been a strange sight for the natives of the Congo and the Sudan: this giant safari led by a bushman carrying the American flag followed by TR, Kermit and the naturalists and reporters on horseback and two hundred porters stretched far behind, but it was excellent copy back home where every move was recorded in the press. Senator Lodge wrote him, "The people follow the account of your African wanderings as if (you) were a new Robinson Crusoe."

TR and Kermit did the shooting and the museum experts prepared the thousands of skins for eventual display. TR's list of "game shot with the rifle" during the trip totaled 296 animals, including nine lions, eight elephants, thirteen rhinoceroses, seven hippopotami, six buffalo, fifteen zebras and 28 gazelles. This prodigious

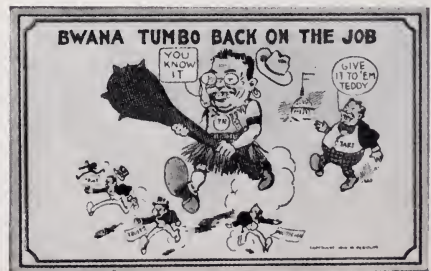
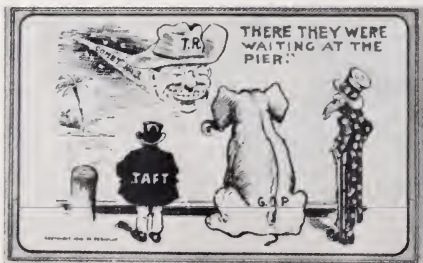
take prompted the Africans to refer to TR as "Bwana Tumbo" or "Great Hunter." The exotic sound of this appellation appealed to American postcard and button makers who used it on their wares.

Some of these kills were very dramatic such as when TR dropped a raging black rhinoceros only thirteen paces away in the Wakamba country. Such "heroics" were avidly chronicled in words and pictures in the United States. Kermit bagged 216 additional animals.

The expedition concluded in Khartoum on March 14, 1910. At the time it was judged the most successful scientific expedition ever made to the Dark Continent. Roosevelt had planned to return home but demands for lectures in Europe proved overwhelming. He delivered the prestigious Romanes lecture at Oxford University, and another at the Sorbonne in Paris. Kaiser Wilhelm then insisted he should speak in Germany as well. Everywhere he went he attracted crowds and intense curiosity; his unaffected candor fascinated kings and commoners alike. In Rome he was involved in "an elegant row" with the Vatican over the terms of his papal audience; and when the Kaiser asked the ex-President how he was regarded in the United States, Roosevelt told him: "In America we think that if you lived on our side of the water you would carry your ward and turn up at the convention with your delegation behind you—and I cannot say as much for most of your fellow sovereigns!"

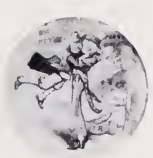
Early in June it was time to go home. Letters had come by the thousands from all parts of the country, asking TR to address meetings or give lectures. Taft had written as well—a letter of political sorrow. Roosevelt knew of Taft's growing troubles with Congress and his growing troubles with the progressive wing of the party. Now he learned about them from the President himself. And while Roosevelt was sailing toward America, a "poet" expressed the feelings of many a citizen:

Teddy come home and blow your horn,
The Sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn.



The boy you left to tend the sheep
Is under the haystack fast asleep.

The tumultuous welcome which T.R. received on his return to America after an absence of fifteen months has seldom been exceeded, even in a later age of sports heroes, trans-Atlantic fliers, and victorious generals. As his ship, the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria, steamed into New York harbor the morning of June 18, it was met by six flag-bedecked battleships and innumerable destroyers, pleasure boats and harbor craft. The forts and naval vessels fired a twenty-one-gun salute as he transferred to the government cutter which took him to the Battery. A sea of humanity, including more than 2500 dignitaries, Congressmen, Senators, and governors, met Roosevelt at the dock. Cabinet members and New York city fathers were treated to his firm handshake and exuberant greeting. A giant parade followed to City Hall, and then up Fifth Avenue to 59th Street, with flags and bands and Rough Riders and Spanish War veterans marching through the cheering crowds. It was the most fervent reception of TR's career. Editorial cartoonists, national magazines and novelty makers carried the exuberance into print. All America was glad to have its hero home and quickly the press and the public began to speculate about his future.★



Encourage a Friend
To Join APIC

TR in 1916

By Robert Rouse

This article is abridged by Robert Rouse from *The Bull Moose Years: Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party*, pages 240-250, by John Allen Gable, Kennikat Press, 1978. Dr. Gable is Executive Director of the Theodore Roosevelt Association.

By 1915 Theodore Roosevelt had definitely decided he wanted to be president again. In May, when the German embassy warned Americans not to travel on Allied vessels, he wrote Cal O'Laughlin: "It makes my blood boil to see how we are regarded....All the European nations look down upon us; but the Germans are the worst....Lord, how I would like to be President...." Roosevelt was certain, however, that the Republicans would not nominate him so soon after the battles of 1912 and 1914.

Throughout the year and during the first half of 1916, Roosevelt devoted most of his energies to preparedness. In July, 1915 he was in California to preach the need for national defense, and during the next twelve months he spoke in Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and other states. He also regularly contributed articles on defense and the issues of the war to the *Metropolitan* magazine, publishing them early in 1916 in a collection entitled *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*.

The Progressive Party sounded the keynote for the election of 1916 at a meeting of the Progressive National Committee in Chicago in January. Forty-six states were represented at the Chicago meeting and many of the familiar Bull Moose leaders were there. Telegrams of support were read from T.R., Hiram Johnson and various state leaders. Referring to one of Wilson's most quoted remarks, George Perkins declared: "Of late we Americans have been hearing a new and strong doctrine; it is that men can be too proud to fight. Thank God, no one has been able to say that of the Progressive Party." Under Wilson he continued, "Our honorable name and our flag are dishonored and dragged in the dust."

A public statement unanimously adopted by the national committee affirmed allegiance to the 1912 platform, and declared that Progressives favored "a broader Nationalism, to make possible an effective program of social and industrial justice at home and the protection of American citizens and rights abroad." This "broader Nationalism" required "complete preparedness". The need of the hour is "leadership of the highest order and most courageous character," and thus it is vital that the Wilson administration be defeated in 1916. The national committee announced that the Progressive convention would meet in Chicago at the same time the Republicans met. "We take this action, believing that the surest way to secure for our country the required leadership will be by

having, if possible, both the Progressive and Republican Parties choose the same standard-bearer and the same principles." Such a result would be possible if the two parties rose above petty partisanship. "In this turning-point in world history, we will not stick on details; we will lay aside partisanship and prejudice. But we will never surrender these principles for which we stand and have stood. We will follow only a leader who, we know, stands for them and is able to put them through."

Nobody doubted that the Progressives had Roosevelt in mind as the man to unite the two parties. It had earlier been announced by the Progressive executive committees that he would not permit his name to be entered in the Republican primaries, and that "so far as possible delegates to our convention should go uninstructed..." The Progressives found no use for the primaries in 1916, the system they had promoted in 1912. Roosevelt would not enter divisive factional fights with Republicans in primary states—primaries he might well lose—but would be presented to the conventions as a statesman above the political battles involved in a traditional campaign for a presidential nomination. All knew, of course, that uninstructed or not, the Bull Moose delegates would favor their party's acknowledged chief.

After the 1912 election Roosevelt had realized that the Progressives would want him to run again in 1916. "I have had too much experience in the past to make any definite promises even to myself; so all I can say is that it would be a real misfortune if we did not develop someone else to lead the fight in 1916," he wrote to George E. Miller of the Detroit News on November 8, 1912. In 1914 he thought that either Johnson or Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana would make a good candidate in 1916. But Beveridge's defeat in Indiana that year eliminated him as a possibility. In 1916 Johnson entered the California G.O.P. presidential primary, hoping to win a nucleus of delegates to the Republican convention, but he was defeated, and all hopes for his candidacy then faded.

Although he declined to enter the race formally, Hughes attracted much support and attention as a potential nominee. He had been a reformer as governor of New York from 1907 to 1911, and had won T.R.'s praise for his work. Appointed to the Supreme Court by Taft, he had been able to avoid the fights of 1912 and 1914. Moreover, his position on the Court had kept him from stating his views on the 1912 Progressive platform, preparedness, and other issues. As a man with a progressive but not a Bull Moose past, and a candidate whose views were unknown, Hughes seemed the perfect choice to many Republicans. Yet Roosevelt opposed him precisely because his views on the issues had not been made public. "We do not want to find that we have merely swapped Wilson for another



Wilson with whiskers," T.R. explained to a friend. The movement for Hughes was a "politician's movement," Roosevelt wrote, "made for the very reason that no one knows where he stands, and therefore (he) represents the ideal, dear to the soul of the politician, of the candidate against whom no one can say anything..."

At the beginning of 1916 Roosevelt still thought the odds were against his being nominated by the Republicans, but he sensed that public opinion was changing in favor of preparedness, and by May he thought popular sentiment was building for his nomination. "My own judgment is that among the rank and file of the Republican voters...there is very much more sentiment for me than for any other candidate," he wrote a friend on May 6. "But- I think- the convention at Chicago will be in the hands of a very sordid set of machine masters..." He explained to his English friend Arthur K. Lee on June 7: "I do not believe the Republicans have any intention of nominating me. I now have a considerable following, whereas a year and three-quarters ago I had none. But I do not think I have the majority of the people with me as yet, nor do I feel that a sufficiently deep and widespread impression has been made on them to reflect itself among the politicians."

Yet if Roosevelt's candidacy did not seem destined for success in June, it was not because of lack of effort on the

part of his supporters. George Von H. Meyer, T.R.'s Postmaster General, became president of the Roosevelt Republican Committee, and enlisted such Republicans as Ogden Reid of the *New York Tribune*, George B. Cortelyou, Senator Albert B. Fall of New Mexico, and J. Ogden Armour. Meyer's group was complemented by the Theodore Roosevelt Non-Partisan League, and by Alice Carpenter's Women's Roosevelt League. T.R.'s Harvard classmate Charles G. Washburn prepared a campaign biography, and the magazine writer Julian Street published *The Most Interesting American*, another campaign document. Pamphlets were distributed and advertisements placed in newspapers and magazines. Meyer claimed that his organization had "no relations whatsoever with the Progressive Party," but in fact he was in close contact with the Bull Moose leaders.

But these efforts were doomed because until the last minute Roosevelt had refused to work on his own behalf. On March 9 he had issued a statement declining to allow his name to be used in the Republican primaries, adding "that it would be a mistake to nominate me unless the country has in its mood something of the heroic..." He spent the final months before the conventions, not trying to round up delegates, but in preaching preparedness in cities like Detroit, the home of pacifist presidential hopeful Henry Ford, where he thought the sentiment for national defense was weakest.

The two conventions opened in Chicago on June 7. William Draper Lewis, the Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, heads of the respective platform committees, had been in close consultation, and both platforms emphasized the preparedness issue while giving brief if definite endorsements for reform. Each convention appointed a committee to confer on a joint nominee, and Roosevelt talked by private line from Sagamore Hill with Hiram Johnson, Nicholas Murray Butler, and other members of the committees. But no agreement was reached. "We'll take any one you offer but Roosevelt," Utah Senator Reed Smoot said on behalf of the Republican committee. But the Progressives refused to offer any candidate but Roosevelt. Roosevelt himself suggested several names which were rejected.

The outcome of the Republican convention was obvious as soon as the first ballot was cast on June 9. Hughes with 253½ votes was far ahead of Elihu Root, John Weeks, and the other candidates; Roosevelt received only 65 votes, and it was clear that the Justice would be nominated. But the majority of Progressive delegates had come to Chicago for one purpose—to nominate Roosevelt. They had hoped that lightning would strike and the G.O.P. turn to their leader, but whatever course the Republicans took, they were determined that Roosevelt be a candidate.

On June 10 the Progressive convention nominated Roosevelt minutes before the Republican convention chose Hughes. John M. Parker, a Democrat who had made a strong showing in Louisiana's gubernatorial primary, was then nominated for vice president, and the



T.R.—"THIS HURTS ME WORSE THAN IT DOES YOU"

Progressives began to raise pledges in the hall for a campaign fund. Soon a telegram arrived from Sagamore Hill: I AM VERY GRATEFUL FOR THE HONOR YOU CONFER ON ME BY NOMINATING ME AS PRESIDENT. I CANNOT ACCEPT IT AT THIS TIME. I DO NOT KNOW THE ATTITUDE OF THE CANDIDATE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TOWARD THE VITAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY. THEREFORE, IF YOU DESIRE AN IMMEDIATE DECISION, I MUST DECLINE THE NOMINATION. BUT IF YOU PREFER IT, I SUGGEST THAT MY CONDITIONAL REFUSAL TO RUN BE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.... THEY CAN CONFER WITH ME AND THEN DETERMINE ON WHATEVER ACTION WE MAY...DEEM APPROPRIATE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE COUNTRY.

William Allen White recalled the scene: For a moment there was silence. Then there was a roar of rage. It was the cry of a broken heart such as no convention ever had uttered in this land before. Standing there in the box I had tears in my eyes. I saw hundreds of men tear the Roosevelt picture or the Roosevelt badge from their coats, and throw it on the floor...

A resolution empowering the national committee "to fill any vacancies that may occur on the ticket" was rushed through by Perkins's cohorts, and then the second and

final Progressive national convention adjourned.

Hughes issued statements pledging himself to preparedness and progressivism, and Roosevelt then endorsed the Republican nominee. The Progressive National Committee met in Chicago on June 26. A letter from T.R. was read asking the committee to back Hughes. After six hours of debate, the committee voted 32 to 6 (with nine abstentions) to endorse Hughes. Roosevelt campaigned without much enthusiasm for Hughes, whom he had described as "not an attractive personality...." "a very very self-centered man" and "Wilson with whiskers." John M. Parker, who would have been T.R.'s running mate, returned to the Democratic party and worked for the reelection of Wilson.

By 1918 Roosevelt was again the most prominent leader of the Republican Party and the odds-on favorite for the nomination in 1920. The Colonel made plans for 1920, chose a campaign manager, and began drawing up a new progressive program. The dream of a reconstructed, progressive G.O.P., however, was not to be. Roosevelt died on January 6, 1919, and the progressive Republicans then divided their support among Hiram Johnson, the old Rough Rider Leonard Wood, Miles Poindexter, and the other candidates. In the resulting convention deadlock the Old Guard was able to nominate dark horse Warren G. Harding.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST:

NIXON WHITE HOUSE LUGGAGE TAGS

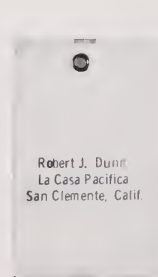
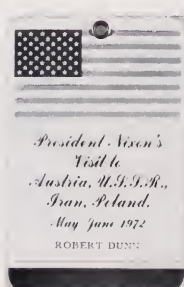
One of the more interesting untold stories about the hours before the flight to California after President Nixon's resignation in 1974 involved the baggage tags for that final trip.

Robert Dunn, medical aide to Nixon, travelled with the president on Air Force One. For each trip, he was issued official luggage tags by the Secret Service office in the White House. Several of these are shown below (left: domestic travel; center: foreign travel).

However, for the final trip to California, in which Nixon would cease to be president before the plane

landed, the Secret Service had a protocol problem. The use of the presidential seal on a flight that started as official White House business, but ended as personal travel, had never been addressed by the service.

After much deliberation, the Secret Service issued smaller baggage tags without any design. The tags were of lesser quality and not stiff nor properly heat sealed as are the other White House tags. This may be one of the rarest of all Nixon collectibles — sets were issued to only 10 persons.



IN FAVOR OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE

A Handwritten Letter From 1914

Like most national movements, the effort to pass a constitutional amendment for woman's suffrage had its share of famous names speaking and writing on its behalf. But there were also many grass roots supporters who may not have been as well spoken, but certainly shared their

fevor for the cause. This letter was written at a time when the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives was "bottling up" the suffrage amendment HJR 1, and seeks to invoke a link between the committee chairman, Robert L. Henry, and American patriot Patrick Henry.

Mrs. Mary MacKenzie Byrne
1100 "O" Street Southeast
Washington, D.C.

To Honbl. Robert L. Henry, Chairman
Committee on Rules H.R. U.S.

In accordance with the expressed wish of my sister members of the Congressional Union for Womens Suffrage, respectfully ask you to favor an immediate report to the House of Representatives of the "Mondell Suffrage Amendment" recently reported to the House by the Judiciary Committee. You will honor yourself by favoring such a course; and add new luster to the honored name of Henry, as it was that noble patriot who wrote that just and historic expression into the history of our beloved land, that heroic expression "Give me liberty or give me death." That sentiment is now burning in the hearts and brains of our loyal and intelligent sisters; our brave and patriotic husbands and men kindred who are not jealous of our desire to be placed on a par with themselves for all privileges which our laws should guarantee to all free and loyal citizens of this glorious republic which is the hope of the just and liberals of the whole intelligent world. Give added luster to the name of "Henry" by advocating and working for a law which gives your sisters, wives, mothers and daughters the same rights as your brothers, sons and comrades enjoy under the just laws of the Nation.

I am respectfully your humble servt.
May 28th.

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

(1420 F STREET, NORTHWEST)

INVITES YOU TO ATTEND A

HEARING

BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE UPON THE

Woman Suffrage Constitutional Amendment

(HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 1)

on Tuesday, March 3, 1914

FROM 10 TO 12 A. M.

IN THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ROOM OF THE HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

SPEAKERS:

MRS. GLENDOWER EVANS, MASS., CHAIRMAN; MRS. DONALD R. HOOKER, MD.;
MRS. HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH, N. Y.; MRS. MARY BEARD, N. Y.; MRS.
CRYSTAL EASTMAN BENEDICT, N. Y.; MR. GIFFORD PINCHOT, PA.; DEAN
WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, PA., AND OTHERS.

My 1920 Campaign For President

By Eugene V. Debs

It may or may not, according to the point of view, be an enviable distinction to be nominated for the high office of President of the United States while in the garb of a felon and serving a term as such in one of its penitentiaries.

I am reminded of an editorial paragraph appearing in one of the eastern dailies at the time of my imprisonment at Moundville which read something like this: "Debs started for the White House, but he only got as far as the federal prison". I was not the least perturbed by this comment for I knew in advance that my course led, not to the presidential mansion, but through the prison gates. I had already been the candidate of the socialist party in four previous campaigns for President—1900, 1904, 1908 and 1912.

Having had almost a million votes cast for me in the latter campaign and as many more that were not counted, and feeling that I had been more than sufficiently honored, I concluded not to be a presidential candidate again, and in the national political contest of 1916 I did not permit the use of my name in the nominations. However, in the congressional convention of my district (the fifth Indiana), which followed a little later, during my absence on a speaking tour, I was unanimously chosen as the candidate for Congress and stood as the nominee in that campaign, my supporters refusing to permit me to withdraw my name from the ticket.

When the time came for making the nominations for President in 1920 I was serving my sentence in Atlanta prison, and in response to urgent solicitations from the membership at first positively declined to be considered a candidate. Later, however, when I was assured that the nomination would be made irrespective of my views in the matter, and that it would be unanimous, I yielded to the wishes of the delegates. The nomination followed and, as predicted, was made by acclamation in the convention held in New York City.

During the year previous to the convention many of the party papers carried the slogan, "From the Prison to the White House", and I was told by many of my visitors and correspondents that I would be the choice of the rank and file of the party for President. This was an honor which I had never sought; in fact, I had my own personal reasons for not wishing to be the standard bearer, reasons which dated back to the time when I was a member of the Indiana legislature. I made a resolution to myself that I would never again be a candidate for a public office, preferring to devote my energies to tasks immediately identified with the industrial side of the labor movement. The party to which I gave allegiance chose otherwise, thus setting aside my personal wishes.

Men had been nominated for President who were born in log cabins to testify to their lowly origin, but never

before had such a nomination been conferred upon an imprisoned convict. It was indeed an unprecedented distinction which had been bestowed upon me, and the reader may place his own interpretation upon its significance.

Next in order was the visit to the prison of the committee on notification, the department at Washington having granted the necessary permission for such a committee to call upon me. In due time the committee arrived, consisting of both men and women, and the ceremony occurred in the warden's office, Mr. Zerbst and other officials of the institution being interested spectators.

The nomination address was in the nature of a most complimentary tribute to which I responded in an expression of my thanks and appreciation. The occasion was altogether as impressive as it was unique and created a lively interest throughout the prison.

To have a presidential candidate in their midst was a thing the nearly three thousand prisoners had never experienced before and they seemed to feel a thrill of pride as if they, too, shared in whatever distinction was bestowed upon me, which indeed they did, for I can say in all sincerity that there is among men in prison a fellow-feeling that in some respects is less selfish and more refined and generous than that which commonly prevails in the outer world.

The representatives of the press were in the prison at the time of the notification ceremonies and gave good accounts to their readers of the very unusual proceedings at the prison. The film photographers were also in eager evidence, as is their wont, to pictorialize the event, and a few days later the scenes were reproduced on screens in thousands of motion picture theaters throughout the country. The warden permitted me to be escorted by the committee outside the prison gates where informal conversations were held, more pictures taken, and where a group of Atlanta children presented me with a bouquet of red roses caught at the stems by a splash of scarlet ribbon. In this instance, as in a number of others, Warden Zerbst exhibited toward me personally a friendliness for which I am grateful to him.

Never in all of my experience as a presidential candidate had I been so deeply touched and so profoundly impressed by the congratulations of friends as I was by those I received that day and in the days that followed from the inmates of the Atlanta federal prison. The hands, black and white, were extended to me from the cells and from all directions, while faces beamed with a warmth and sincerity that found expression from eager lips.

The little speeches made by some of these poor broken brothers of mine to whom no nomination had ever come,



Celluloid 7½" standing oval button issued by
New York City newspaper



save that issued by the judge who pronounced their doom, voiced genuine pride and joy in the honor which had come to me, evincing a beautiful and generous human spirit that, in spite of its hardening and degrading conditions, the prison could not extinguish.

To be perfectly candid, I felt more highly honored by these manifestations of my fellow convicts, on account of their obvious unselfishness, their spontaneous and generous enthusiasm, than any congratulatory occasion I had ever before experienced. Many were the convicts of the various hues and shades of intelligence that made up the prison population who actually believed from the enthusiasm at the moment surrounded them, augmented by the items appearing from time to time in the daily press about me, that my election was at least probable, and that with my induction into the White House a new era would dawn for them and other prisoners confined in penitentiaries and jails in the United States.

My fellow prisoners were not only much impressed by the political delegations that came to see me, but they followed closely the daily papers seeking for items that might have some reference to me. When these appeared they seemed to have the effect of an affirmation of the simple belief held by many of the prisoners that I was due to be inaugurated President in the March following the election. Not a few of the more naive convicts came to look upon their liberty as being restored to them, not when their sentences would have been completed, but when I should be placed in the executive mansion.

Among the colored prisoners it was current that they were to share equally with the white convicts in whatever beneficial change that was to take place under my administration.

One of the popular comments heard in the course of the prison campaign was that I was certain to sweep every precinct in the penitentiary, and that neither Mr. Harding nor Mr. Cox, my political adversaries, would receive a single prison electoral vote.

It seems, and to my mind it certainly is, a pathetic commentary upon our social life that a faith so simple and child-like as was here manifested should have been sealed and crowned by a cruel and debasing prison sentence.

I was amused by the wit of a newspaper wag who said at the beginning of the campaign that Cox would make his speeches from the tail end of a train, Harding would appeal for votes from his front porch, while I would make my bid for the support of the electorate from a front cell. To this it was added that my political conferees would have the advantage of knowing where I stood, and that they would always find me in when they wanted to confer with me.

I was certainly saved from one embarrassment to which other presidential candidates are uniformly subjected; I was not called upon to promise a postoffice to each of several candidates of rival factions. Neither did the matter of a presidential candidate's political expenses cause me any annoyance, for under the rules of the prison to which my campaign activities were confined, a chap, even though a nominee for the highest office, caught with so little as a dime in his pockets is ruthlessly pounced upon by a guard and the culprit haled before the prison magistrate in the person of the deputy warden and punished as if he had robbed a bank.

Not a penny is a prisoner permitted to have in his possession, and I wondered about the consternation there would be among my rival candidates for office in the outer world if they were deprived of the use of money at election time.

During the campaign the attorney general permitted me to issue a weekly statement in limited form discussing the political issues. I wrote these statements in my room in the hospital, and each week mailed them to my home in Terre Haute where they were typed and sent to the national office of the party in Chicago from whence they were distributed to the press associations and party newspapers. In this manner the convict candidate's



Postcard

messages were given a wide and oftentimes sympathetic reading.

Strange as it may appear, I received but two or three uncomplimentary letters during the entire campaign. The mail of nearly every candidate for an important office is burdened during his campaign with all sorts of insulting and threatening letters. One of my correspondents said that I should be shot, and the other wrote that I was at last where I belonged, and he hoped I would not leave there alive; he concluded with the hope that the warden would have my naked back lashed until it bled every day I was there. This benevolent writer also advised me in the same letter that he had written to the warden to the same effect.

Of course all these mercifully-inspired epistles were from anonymous writers who declared their implacable hatred of all things un-American, and vouchsafed their red-blooded loyalty to American ideals.

There was no attempt made at any time either by the prison officials or the department at Washington to restrict my little campaign messages. As the weeks lengthened into months I became more than ever a curiosity to casual visitors to the prison, and they employed every ruse and subterfuge with the attaches to get a glimpse of the man who had converted a federal penitentiary into his campaign headquarters.

Notwithstanding that I was clothed in the faded and frayed garb of a felon, I felt aware of a certain dignity that my peculiar position as a candidate imposed, expressive as it was of a confidence that remained unshaken in the face of all the denial it had encountered. Certainly no candidate could have been shown more respect or treated with greater courtesy than was I by the prison population and all others with whom I incidentally came into contact.

Election night is vividly recalled as a pleasant and interesting special occasion. Soon after the supper hour I

was sent for and received by the deputy warden who conducted me to the warden's office to hear the returns that were being received by telephone and in the form of special messages. The warden and his wife were present as were representatives of the press. The bulletins came in rapidly and the table was soon covered with these returns.

Early in the evening I conceded the election of Warren G. Harding and my own defeat, which apparently excited no surprise among those in the office and beyond the walls; the only surprise, if not chagrin, that was felt came from the prison cells. An interesting question arose while we sat there in the warden's office as to a pardon to myself in the event of my election, and we all found some mirth in debating it. I am sure the question did not disturb my slumber in the nights preceding this particular one.

We remained in the office of the warden until the election of Harding was assured, when I once more breathed a sigh of relief as a defeated presidential candidate. I was not in the least downcast that I had not been elected President of the United States. In the next hour I was in dreamland sailing the seven seas in quest of new worlds to conquer.

The sincere regret expressed the following day by my prison mates that I had not been transferred from Atlanta to Washington by the American people would have compensated me for any disappointment I might have felt over the conduct of the campaign and its final results.★



Postcard

THIS ARTICLE IS A CHAPTER FROM *WALLS AND BARS* BY EUGENE V. DEBS, PRINTED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY PRESS, 1927.

Attractive Campaign Pillows

Reprinted from Needlecraft, November 1920

Surely there could not be a more effective and pleasing way of "showing one's colors" than to have a "comfy" pillow - or more than one - bearing the emblem of the political party favored, and the names of the presidential candidates, displayed invitingly on hammock, or piazza-chair, or couch. Such a pillow is almost certain to open the door to a pleasant discussion of party issues with friend or neighbor, and if we keep our temper, as of course we will, and present our views convincingly, who can say how many votes we may be able to win for "our side"! And when the campaign is over, and the ballots counted, and we are ready to shake hands all around and valiantly support the winning ticket, whichever it may be, our pillow will yet remain a souvenir of the memorable contest in which woman cast her maiden vote for President of the United States.....

Our third pillow has a most significant design, representing the real issue of the campaign. Whatever our political preference, we are all vitally interested in the high cost of living, and in discovering the best and speediest means of reducing it; and the platform or speech-maker offering a simple, practical solution of the problem is pretty sure to receive the commendation - and so the votes - of the most intelligent men and women. Our H.C.L. pillow will serve as a reminder of the issue, and will match either of the presidential pillows, since both the Republican and Democratic party must have an equal interest in bringing down living-expenses. The inscription at center of pillow is worked in satis-stitch with red, and outlined with black, which is used also for the two circles. The modest home at the bottom has a very realistic chimney of red bricks in fine outline, the remainder of the little house being done with heavier thread, in brown; the latter is used also for the package of sugar, eggs and ham,

while the coal-bin and shoes are outlined with black. The coal itself is represented by French knots, rattling down within reach of the shovel! and somehow we cannot help wondering whether there will be enough to keep the owners of the little home comfortable through the winter days that are coming! The pillow tells a story, and tells it effectively. We are interested to know what we can do to lessen H.C.L. for our neighbors and the whole world, as well as for ourselves. We are ready to listen to any suggestions that may be offered, and weigh them intelligently. This pillow of ours will start many discussions, and help us to get other people's ideas; and that is what we want, for we are all working to the same end.



“I Know Nothing But My Country...”

THE SEDUCTION OF MILLARD FILLMORE

By John D. Pfeifer

A recurrent theme running through American politics since Colonial days has been popular opposition to newly arrived aliens. In the 1830's protestant fears of immigrant Irish Catholic settlements in the mill towns of the Northeast led to the formation of local "native American" associations organized to encourage stricter immigration policies, longer naturalization periods, and opposition to public funding for parochial schools. Dedicated to the preservation of white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant values which the Nativist clubs identified as "100 percent American," these Zealots found a focus for their hysteria in 1850 when Archbishop John Hughes of New York boasted that the Pope planned to convert all inhabitants of the United States to Catholicism! By 1853 the anti-Catholic sentiment in some sections of the country ran so high that when the Papal Emmissary, Cardinal Bedini was sent to America to patch a growing rift in the American Catholic Church, the result was a series of riots and church burnings in almost every city that he visited as well as being burned in effigy and nearly assassinated.


The early Nativist clubs had never considered politics their primary weapon until 1852 when the New York-based Order of the Star Spangled Banner under the leadership of James W. Baker, began to secretly shape Nativism into a potent political force. All new members were required to take an oath of obedience and secrecy pledging to oppose foreigners and Catholics for all public offices regardless of the candidates' qualifications or party affiliation. Once admitted to the membership of a local club, the initiate learned the secrets of the order including passwords, secret grip, signals of distress and ritual activities borrowed partly from the Masonic Order. As branches of the New York order began to spread to surrounding states a new name was adopted, the Order of the United Americans. Under this guise an effort was begun to control local elections by instructing the membership to support designated candidates from the regular tickets who were either sympathetic to the cause or already secret members of the order. With the exception of early Masonry in New York, this concept of a secret, Oath-bound fraternity was new in American politics and later served as an example from which the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan drew their strength in the rural south and mid-west nearly a century later. The real objectives of the order remained unknown to its own members until they progressed through the several degrees required to reach the higher ranks and to all questions concerning the order the standard response was, "I Know Nothing About It"

hence the popular term the "Know Nothing Party." Another nickname was "Sam" as the members admitted to having "Seen Sam" delighting in the confusion caused by these patent responses. Ostensibly the motive of the party was to curtail both the increasing power of the Catholic Church in America and to curb the flow of unnaturalized citizens running for public office across the country. Its motto and secret greeting was "Americans must rule America" with the countersign given in words ascribed to George Washington, "Put None but Americans on duty tonight."


The Nativists held strong feelings toward patriotism, conservatism, and respect for the constitution, and in time drew the attention of the disaffected wing of the old Whig Party, the "Silver-Greys" who derived their name from several old line Whigs who wore their grey hair shoulder length and led a walkout of the Syracuse Convention in 1848 when an anti-slavery resolution was adopted. They had held firm for the strict Constructionist view of the constitution during the debates over the Wilmot Proviso prohibiting slavery in the territory acquired from Mexico after the recent war. As a result of the walk-out, two distinct and bellicose factions of the Whig party came into being, the "Woolly-Heads," progressive in their politics and led by William Seward of New York and the aforementioned "Silver-Greys," conservative and championed by Seward's bitter enemy, former Congressman Millard Fillmore. While Whig leaders from both camps were able to hold the shaky coalition together long enough to elect a compromise ticket of Mexican War hero, General Zachary Taylor and Fillmore in 1848, the president's sudden death less than two years later left the party still divided over the slavery question while fiery debate raged across the country over the admission of California to the Union as a free state. Southern and pro-slavery Whigs were violently opposed to the proposition claiming with some justification that over half of the territory gained from Mexico would be closed to slavery forever resulting in the political supremacy of the North being further enhanced. Henry Clay's compromise bill had been opposed by President Taylor and while Vice-President Fillmore had privately informed the President that he would vote in favor of the bill, in truth, his personal views were very similar to those later held by Abraham Lincoln as President. He was strongly opposed to slavery on any grounds but feared the prospect of civil war and would favor any course of action necessary to preserve the Union from dissolution. As President, the resolute Fillmore was able to guide a

"If there be those either north or south who desire the union of the north against the South, and if there be those in the north who should give their aid to the South, for my part, I know only my country, and I will do nothing but my country."—*Acceptance Speech of Millard Fillmore.*

NATIONAL AMERICAN TICKET.



For President,
Millard Fillmore,
OF NEW YORK.



Vice-President,
ANDREW J. DONELSON,
OF TENNESSEE.

compromise package through the Senate temporarily easing the tensions dividing the country. Fillmore recognized that his role in obtaining Congressional passage of the compromise of 1850 had irrevocably damaged his position among the abolitionist elements of the party. This fact, coupled with his apparent lack of interest in leading the Whig ticket in 1852, led to further party confusion bringing about the nomination and crushing defeat of General Winfield Scott in the fall. If the framework of the Whig Party had been unraveled by the rift between the Seward-Scott coalition and Fillmore's "Silver-Greys," the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 splin-

tered the party beyond repair. Its blatant rejection of the Compromise of 1820 opened up old sectional wounds and became a wedge that finally drove the Fillmore faction to look toward the Nativist movement as a new political engine. They hoped to gain control of it, re-name it and alter its goals to make it an anti-sectional party in which the Union-loving Nationalist Whigs might find a new home.

The "Know Nothings," now formally called the American Party, with Silver-Gray Whigs deeply entrenched in positions of power, opened their 1856 nominating convention in Philadelphia on February 22. They promptly fell into the old Whig trap of angry controversy over slavery with the Northern faction offering a resolution that no candidate be nominated who did not favor prohibiting slavery north of a latitude 36° 30' N. With this reaffirmation of the original Missouri Compromise laid on the table, most of the Anti-slavery advocates withdrew from the Convention. The remaining delegates, now primarily a southern body, proceeded to nominate Millard Fillmore for President and Andrew J. Donelson, nephew of Andrew Jackson, for Vice-President on a platform emphasizing loyalty to the Union and restraints on foreigners. Now with only Fillmore's acceptance in question, the Convention adjourned, confident in its choice and optimistic about their chances in the coming election.

President Fillmore cheerfully turned the reins of government over to Franklin Pierce on a cold and blustery day in March, 1853. As a result of over exposure to the weather Mrs. Fillmore caught cold and died suddenly on March 30. Fillmore returned home to Buffalo and after a year of political inactivity, was again called upon to take up the cause of the Union traveling throughout the south pleading for sectional cooperation and the need for national unity. Later that year he suffered another personal tragedy when his daughter died, leaving the former president at loose ends, still very much interested in politics but feeling it inappropriate to depart from the role of elder statesman to return to active political life. He sought a change of scenery and sailed for Europe in May, 1855, becoming the first former chief executive to travel abroad after his term of office. He was so well received by the European dignitaries that many of the precedents established by him in matters of protocol and etiquette have subsequently been followed by American presidents since that time.

It was during his stay in Italy that word reached Fillmore of his nomination for President by the American Party. On May 21, 1856 he accepted the tendered nomination informing the committee by letter and stating,

"This unsolicited and unexpected nomination has imposed on me a new duty, from which I cannot shrink; and therefore, approving as I do, the general objects of the party which has honored me with its confidence, I cheerfully accept its nomination, without writing to inquire of its prospects of success or defeat. It is sufficient for

me to know that by so doing I yield to the wishes of a large portion of my fellow-citizens in every part of the Union, who, like myself, are sincerely anxious to see the administration of our government restored to that original simplicity and purity which marked the first years of its existence, and if possible, to quiet that alarming sectional agitation which causes every true friend of our country to mourn."

Fillmore's decision to run as the standard bearer of the Know-Nothing Party is at first glance rather amazing. Only four years earlier as an incumbent president who could have easily obtained the Whig nomination and very likely been elected to a second term, he had exhibited little desire to remain in the White House. Historians have long puzzled over the circumstances causing him to radically alter his position and willingly enter a race as the candidate of a splinter party with little hope of success and one embracing a political philosophy regarded by most Americans then and now as opposing the basic tenets of American democracy.

A study of Fillmore's career, however, indicates that the decision was entirely consistent with his long standing beliefs. The most important factor and paramount concern to him was the need to preserve the Union. He sincerely feared that the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, granting the population of each state and territory the right to determine the existence of slavery in their dominion, had broken asunder the carefully negotiated compromise of 1850 which he had come to believe would save the Union when he signed it into law as President. Fillmore was convinced that only he could successfully marshal the forces threatening to split the country and once again ease the tensions of impending disaster to the Union he cherished.

While patriotism was the spur for his campaign, it cannot be denied that Fillmore was in agreement with the American Party concerning its fundamental philosophy. Millard Fillmore had never been a bigot but at the same time, he harbored a deep fear that the large number of foreigners immigrating to the United States would, if they were not thoroughly indoctrinated with American political beliefs, swamp and ultimately destroy the American political system. What he had seen in Europe only served to confirm his opinions as evidenced by the following passage from a letter to his trusted friend, Isaac Newton;

"I have for a long time looked with dread and apprehension at the corrupting influence which the contest for the foreign vote is exciting upon our elections. The evidence for this is found not merely in the shameless chaffering for their vote but in the proportion of offices which are now held by foreigners, at home and abroad, as compared with our native citizens. Where is the true hearted American whose cheek does not tingle with shame and mortification to see our highest and most coveted foreign missions filled by men of foreign birth, to the exclusion of native born?"

Similarly Fillmore was concerned that the Catholic Church would be able to dictate the votes of immigrants and fashion them into unbeatable voting blocs in the big eastern cities. He had always been a strong advocate of the public school system and had opposed the parochial schools favored by many of the immigrants. Fillmore's long standing dispute with William Seward owed its origins, in part, to Seward's efforts while governor of New York, to use state funds to support the parochial schools. In Fillmore's view, the American Party was not founded on foreigners, but against their taking part in politics before becoming imbued with American sentiments, believing the parties motive and purpose was to preserve the purity of American institutions. The foreign residents, holding the balance of power between the two parties, were conscious of their ability to turn the political screw as they pleased and demanded a large share of the important offices to the exclusion of native born citizens.

Holding these views, Fillmore had no problem in supporting the platform of the American Party and endorsing its proposal that the residence requirement for new immigrants be extended to twenty-one years before they could obtain American citizenship. This program, however, was repugnant to many who would have otherwise supported his candidacy. One such supporter Dorothea Dix, social reform advocate and close friend, wrote the former President inquiring as to his membership in the "Order of Know Nothings." His reply to her question may be the most candid explanation of his true feelings concerning his role in the movement;

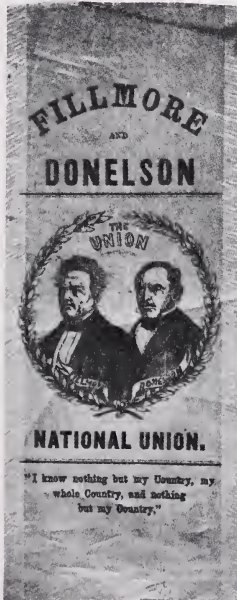
"In answer to your question let me say that when I saw the Whig Party demoralized, and efforts made to convert it, in the North to a sectional abolition party, I advised my friends to unite with the American or Know Nothing Party, and maintain a national organization in favor of the Union. Many did and I was often pressed to follow my own advice and give the influence of my name to the party, which I was reluctant to do, mainly because I had withdrawn from politics and did not like the secrecy of the order. But I finally overcame my scruples and at a council in my own house prior to my departure for Europe, I was initiated into the order and became a member and am one now. While I did not intend to take any public or active part I neither sought secrecy nor to give publicity to the fact of my membership. No one was authorized to proclaim me such at the Philadelphia Convention, though several members of that convention knew me to be a member. I suppose, indeed, the fact was generally known as it had been announced in the papers."

In September, 1856, the tattered remnants of the once powerful Whig Party gathered in Baltimore to declare their support for Fillmore. Unable to accept the Know-Nothing Party platform, they made no direct reference to it and their support during the campaign was hesitant and never really effective. This proved to be true of Fillmore's

supporters in general and on election day he polled some twenty-one percent of the popular vote carrying only the State of Maryland in the process.

"Know-Nothingism" as described by its critics was a sudden tornado of opinion, like that of anti-masonry, blowing across the field of the regular parties and for a little while, confusing their lines. When civil war was impending in 1860, it was as the flicker of a dying flame, that under the name of the Constitutional Union Party, former Whigs and Know-Nothing die-hards from the border states nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President. The last trace of the old Whig Party was utterly lost in the storm of war which burst on the country in 1861 destroying forever an entire way of life and shattering Millard Fillmore's dream of peace, harmony, and the Union. If his association with Know-Nothingism is to remain a blot on an otherwise honest and exemplary record, it must be remembered that few, if any, presidents have been free from some flaws in character, morals, or judgment. Fillmore's fervent desire to dispel sectional discord and preserve the Union at any cost took precedent over personal or political considerations and is best summarized in his own words;

"I know nothing but my country, my whole country, and nothing but my country."★

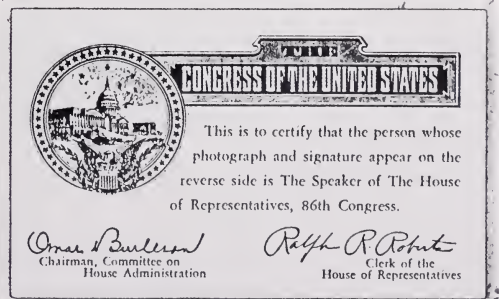
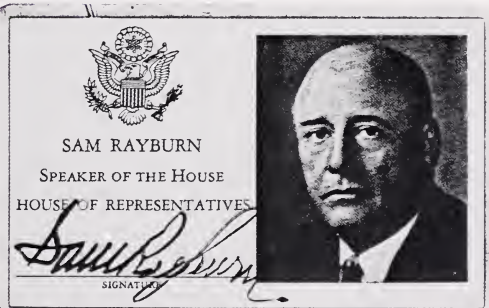


ITEMS OF INTEREST

Photographic Herald



Newsphoto Store Display 1920



Official identification card for the speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn, 86th Congress.

ADM. DEWEY FOR PRESIDENT

By William Alley

Americans have, on occasion, turned to their military heroes when it came time to fill their highest elective office. As the election of 1900 approached, many in the United States began to consider their newest hero, Admiral George Dewey, as a possible candidate.

At the outbreak of hostilities with Spain in 1898, Commodore Dewey, commanding the U.S. Asiatic Squadron at Hong Kong, had already prepared his command for action, thanks to a timely, though perhaps insubordinate, telegram from the young Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt. Fearing an attack on the west coast of the United States by the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, Dewey was ordered to proceed to Manila Bay and engage the Spanish before they could set sail.

Dewey's squadron of seven warships and two colliers held frequent drills while underway and all unnecessary wood, both furniture and paneling, was consigned to the South China Sea in order to prevent fires and splinters in combat. On the night of April 30, 1898, they entered Manila Bay and at 5:40 the next morning Dewey turned to the captain of his flagship, the Olympia, and gave the order "You may fire when ready, Gridley."

After five passes along the line of Spanish ships anchored at their base at Cavite, Dewey ordered a break in the battle to redistribute ammunition and to serve breakfast to his crews; the bulk of the Spanish fleet was in flames. Shortly after the battle was resumed Cavite surrendered. Eleven Spanish ships had been destroyed and over 300 men killed. Dewey's losses were six wounded, none fatally. Manila Bay, thought by many to be impregnable, was in the hands of the U.S. Asiatic Squadron. All that remained was to await the arrival of the troop transports to take the city of Manila.

When word reached the United States of Dewey's great victory, the public reacted with an outpouring of affection and patriotism not seen since the Civil War. On March 2, 1899, while Dewey was still in the Philippines, Congress authorized the President "to appoint by selection and promotion an Admiral of the Navy, who shall not be placed on the retired list except by his own application; and whenever such office shall be vacated by death or otherwise the office shall cease to exist." Commodore Dewey had achieved the highest rank of any man in the U.S. Navy.

The first rumblings of a Dewey for President movement appeared in the pages of the *New York World*, published by Joseph Pulitzer, and Col. Henry Watterson's *Louisville Courier-Journal*. The *World* even went so far as to send a correspondent to the Philippines to query Dewey on the subject. Dewey was not interested, saying, "I am a





Milk Glass Candy Dishes

sailor. A sailor has no politics."

On May 20, 1899 Admiral Dewey began his voyage home on board his flagship, the U.S.S. Olympia. The Hero of Manila Bay's continued absence from home seemed to multiply his appeal and swarms of newspapermen covered his return voyage from each port visited.

In New York City, where Dewey was to return, plans were underway to fete the Hero in a style only New York could achieve. The schoolchildren of the city collected seventy thousand dimes which were to be melted down for a great loving cup. A temporary triumphal arch was erected on Fifth Avenue at 23rd, a model for a permanent arch to be built later. Bleacher seats along the parade route were reported to be selling for as much as twenty dollars and windows along the route were "selling readily" for one to five hundred dollars. There was to be a reception for the dignitaries after the parade at the Waldorf and the evening was to be capped with eleven different fireworks displays, one of them including a one thousand square foot portrait of the Admiral. Dewey's popularity was such

that even President McKinley considered traveling to New York to welcome the Admiral home but was dissuaded at the last minutes by his advisors."

As Dewey was to write in his autobiography, "Dewey Arches, Dewey flags, and 'Welcome Dewey' in electric lights on the span of the Brooklyn Bridge! The great City of New York made holiday... In the presence of this spectacle, which was without equal, my emotion was indescribable.

"My career as a hardworking Naval officer scarcely equipped me for a role as the central figure of public applause... I knew what to do in command of the Asiatic Squadron, but being of flesh and blood and not a superman, it seemed impossible to live up to all that was expected of me as a returning hero."

Dewey's reception in New York, including the parade in front of thirty-five thousand admirers on Fifth Avenue, began to weaken the Admiral's reluctance to enter the world of politics.

The triumphal events in New York were followed by a visit to the nation's capital where the Admiral was given a jewelled Tiffany sword, voted him by Congress and presented to him by the Secretary of the Navy in the presence of the President and the entire cabinet. "Dewey Day" in Washington rivaled the one in New York. Admiral Dewey was at the zenith of his popularity, a fact not unnoticed by many of the political power brokers of the day. As Dewey toured the country the pressure on him and on those supporting his candidacy grew.

The political climate in 1899 was encouraging for those supporting Dewey for president. The Democratic party was split between the faction supporting the 1896 standard-bearer, William Jennings Bryan, who favored the free coinage of silver and anti-imperialism as his major issues, and the conservative "gold Democrats" led by former President Grover Cleveland and William C. Whitney, Cleveland's close friend and advisor and 1892 campaign manager. They saw Bryan as a radical and would greet with great enthusiasm any candidate who could replace him.



The Democrats were not the only ones concerned with the possibility of a Dewey candidacy. While the incumbent President, William McKinley, was very popular and favored to win the nomination for a second term, there were some who perceived a weakness which was to be tested in the gubernatorial race in McKinley's home state of Ohio.

The Republican candidate for governor had been hand-picked by Marc Hanna, national party chairman and friend of the Presidents. The Democratic candidate was John R. McClean, who was running a formidable challenge on an anti-imperialism platform opposing American involvement in the Philippines. McClean was also the brother of Dewey's new wife. It was feared that a McClean victory would be interpreted not only as a failure of the Ohio Republicans, but a repudiation of McKinley's entire foreign policy. Should that happen, there were some who saw Admiral Dewey, who had as yet made no public statements as to his views on the Philippines issue, as a possible alternative to McKinley. After all, it was whispered, no President had succeeded himself in office since Grant in 1872.

The timing of Dewey's arrival in the United States in the year before a presidential election seemed ideal for a run for the Presidency, and had Dewey had the services of the pollsters, image-makers, and public relations men that surround candidates today, his life might have taken a different tack. Dewey, however, not only failed to seize the initiative of the moment, but committed a series of blunders that was to transform the War Hero and Presidential hopeful into the object of jokes and ridicule.

Dewey's first error was his marriage to a wealthy socialite, Mildren McClean Hazen. As Frederick Palmer, one of Dewey's biographers observed, "Dewey's great mistake had been to marry in the first place. The public itself was Dewey's sweetheart and it could brook no rivals." Ill feelings caused by his marriage was greatly multiplied by the Admiral's handling of his new home on Rhode Island Avenue in Washington. The home was purchased by popular subscription and given to the Admiral on his return from Manila. Dewey, wanting to be sure that the home went to his son, George Goodwin, on his death, was advised by his lawyers that he would first have to deed the house over to his wife, who in turn would transfer it over to Dewey's son. The public, however, was not privy to the legal details and saw the transfer of their gift to Mildred as an insult and helped lower their esteem for the Admiral.

In November of 1899 Dewey gave up the one issue that could have been the focus of his campaign when he signed, possibly without even reading, the Preliminary Report of the Philippine Commission, calling for American control of the islands. This tacit approval of McKinley's foreign policy cost him the support of many anti-expansionists in both parties. Shortly after signing the report the Republicans defeated McClean in Ohio, clearing the way for McKinley's renomination.

The remainder of the year 1899 saw Dewey being pressured to declare his candidacy by his many supporters,

Judge



including his wife and his political friend and mentor, Senator Redfield Proctor. The admiral had not, as yet, even declared affiliation with a particular party.

The final chapter of the Dewey saga opened on the night of April 3, 1900. Many reporters had tried to get a statement from Dewey concerning his plans without success, but on this night Horace Mocke of the New York *World's* Washington bureau got lucky. Stopping by the Admiral's house on his way home from work and expecting the usual denials, Mocke was, to his surprise, invited into the Admiral's study where Dewey announced, "Yes, I have decided to become a candidate." Dewey then gave the young reporter an exclusive interview, an interview that was, ultimately, to do more harm than any other event in his bid for the Presidency.

"Yes, I realize that the time has arrived when I must define my position," Dewey told Mocke. "When I arrived in this country last September, I said that nothing would induce me to be a candidate for the Presidency. Since then, however, I have had the leisure and inclination to study the matter, and have reached a different conclusion, inasmuch as so many assurances have come to me from my countrymen that I would be acceptable as a candidate for this great office.

"If the American people want me for this high office, I shall be only too willing to serve them.

"It is the highest honor in the gift of this nation; what citizen would refuse it?

"Since studying the subject, I am convinced that the office of the President is not such a very difficult one to fill, his duties being mainly to execute the laws of Congress. Should I be chosen for this exalted position I would execute the laws of Congress as faithfully as I have always

(Continued on page 35)

MORE F.D.R. COATTAILS

By Robert Rouse

The Person on the other side is requested
to use his influence and vote for the

DEMOCRATIC TICKET

ROOSEVELT HERSHEY
FOR FOR
PRESIDENT GOVERNOR

Thank you



Mirror



Three more FDR coattail items have been found by Chicago area collectors. The 3"x2" mirror promotes Harry B. Hershey, the Illinois Insurance Commissioner who lost the 1940 race for governor to Republican Prosecutor Dwight Green. The lettering on all mirrors is black but nine or ten different background colors are known.

The 2 1/2" RWB celluloid Minute Man and Minute Woman buttons are from 1942 when boss Edward Kelly, who had been mayor of Chicago for nearly ten years, entertained the idea of a term in the Senate to cap his political career. Kelly repeatedly told all who would listen that he would bow to the president's desires on the matter and informed Roosevelt that he allowed his name to be used "to keep the aspirants down." Finally, opposition from within the party, the absence of Roosevelt's blessing, and the prospects of tackling a resurgent Republican party in an off-year election, convinced Kelly not to pursue his senatorial ambition.

Early in February he formally declined. The Cook County Democratic Central Committee then endorsed Raymond S. McKeough, a little-known four-term congressman from the 2nd District on Chicago's South Side and a reliable member of the Kelly-Nash machine. His nomination raised a howl of protest from Democrats around the state, but this was stilled when Benjamin Adamowski, a frequent anti-machine crusader agreed to accept the regular organization's endorsement for congressman-at-large. Paul Douglas (U.S. Senator 1949-1967), a Chicago alderman and Democratic reformer, did contest the nomination but lost the primary to the machine.

Kelly's selection of McKeough, a laconic man of little stature, to oppose incumbent Republican C. Wayland "Curly" Brooks, the darling of Colonel Robert

McCormick, the isolationist publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, paved the way for charges of duplicity. To most observers McKeough shaped up as a straw man for Brooks to topple. Kelly denied such motives and promised an all-out campaign against the isolationist Brooks, whom he referred to as the "spearhead of the opposition" to Roosevelt's war program. "Nazis and Bundists will be voting for Mr. Brooks on election day and not for Mr. McKeough," the mayor predicted, adding that a Brooks victory would cause "rejoicing in Berlin."

The McKeough-Brooks contest, the only senatorial election in the three largest states that year, stirred a considerable amount of interest nationwide. The *Tribune's* incessant references to McKeough as "small potatoes" led Democrats to temporarily adopt the tuber as their symbol. Delegates carted baskets of them to political rallies and contended that McKeough was the friend of the common man, the real "small potatoes" of the elitist Republicans. The *Tribune*, depicting McKeough as a subservient machine underling, turned his initials, R.S., into the sobriquet "Rubber Stamp." The Democrats stressed their candidate's prescient support of Roosevelt's preparedness program in 1940-41 in their rhetoric and on these buttons, and hammered at a Brooks speech, delivered in the Senate shortly before Pearl Harbor, entitled "This Is Not Our War."

The outcome of the election confirmed the Democrats' fears of a Republican victory, for Brooks won by 200,000 votes. Adamowski lost too. Thirteen years later he challenged his old friend Richard J. Daley in the Chicago mayoral primary and lost again.

The three dots and a dash are Morse code for V as in victory, the favorite WWII theme. ★



Small Metal Statuette of Eugene V. Debs
in Convict Uniform 1920

CAMPAIGN MUSIC PROJECT - PART 2:

POLITICAL SHEET MUSIC

The tradition of political campaign music is nearly as old as the Republic itself, dating back to the origin of our first two-party system during the 1790s and such melodic tributes as "Jefferson and Liberty." Early political songs were generally circulated in partisan newspapers or independently as broadsides and were typically rather hackneyed stanzas to be sung to such universally known airs as "Yankee Doodle" or "Hail, Columbia" or popular ballads. Little evidence exists that the vast majority of them were ever performed in public. A major exception was Noah Ludlow's "The Hunters of Kentucky," adapted from a poem by Samuel Woodworth (better known as creator of "The Old Oaken Bucket") and first performed by Ludlow at the old New Orleans Opera House to the air of "Miss Baily" in 1822. A tribute to General Andrew Jackson and his backwoods militiamen at the 1815 Battle of New Orleans, Ludlow's "There stood 'John Bull' in martial pomp, *But here was old Kentucky*" evoked thunderous applause from seated patrons and wild Indian whoops from the river men in the pit. The air became a popular favorite and was a standard feature at most Jackson campaign rallies and meetings in 1828.

Campaign songs tailored to well-known melodies continued to circulate in newspapers and as broadsides well into the nineteenth century, but the 1840 campaign between William Henry Harrison and beleaguered incumbent Martin Van Buren featured two important innovations, sheet music of words and melodies especially composed for political purposes and campaign anthology songsters published for party organizers. In 1840 Harrison became quite literally "the first candidate sung into the Presidency," in the words of New York aristocrat Philip Hone, whose approval of the Whig victory nearly matched his disapproval of the methods used to obtain it. Among the more popular Harrison selections were "Hard Cider Quick Step," "The Log-Cabin or Tippecanoe Waltz," "Soldier of Tippecanoe," "Tippecanoe and Jackets of Blue," and "A Tip-Top Song About Tippecanoe." These and others appeared as individual song sheets and as selections in such songsters as *Blake's Log Cabin Song-book* and Horace Greeley's *Log Cabin Song-Book*.

Campaign rally "singalongs" remained a main component of the participatory politics of nineteenth-century America. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln's quest for the presidency was aided in no small part by campaign music, including "The People's Nominée," "Old Abe's Preliminary Visit to the White House," and Edmund Clarence Stedman's rousing "Honest Abe of the West," the latter sung to the tune of the song that would be declared in 1931 our national anthem. The most renowned of all Lincoln airs, however, was "Ain't I Glad I joined the Republicans?," sung to the tune of "The Old Gray Mare." A favorite of the Republican Wide-Awakes, many of whose marching units performed it while executing a zig-zag step imitating the gyrations of a split-rail fence, it went:

"Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,
Out of the wilderness, out of the wilderness;
Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness,

Down in Illinois.
Ain't I glad I joined the Republicans,
Joined the Republicans, Joined the Republicans;
Ain't I glad I joined the Republicans,
Down in Illinois?"

An unusually witty and entertaining war of the ballads began in 1888 with the Democratic campaign song "His Grandfather's Hat," suggesting rather cattily that Benjamin Harrison was not man enough to fill the hat of his illustrious grandfather William Henry Harrison. The Republican response was a rather contrived air entitled "The Same Old Hat," asserting a perfect fit. This melodic standoff inspired a diverse array of high-hat lapel pins, toothpick holders and other items familiar to political collectors and also an 1890-1892 series of singularly successful *Puck* cartoons by Joseph Keppler in which Harrison shrinks steadily while the hat grows. In the last of the series, published on the eve of Harrison's 1892 defeat, the diminutive Indianan disappeared completely into the hat!

Music has assumed a steadily diminishing role in twentieth-century campaigns and published song sheets have become a rarity in recent elections, as participatory politics has given way to television politics and groups are less and less inclined to congregate around a piano in the family parlor to belt out partisan tunes. Among the better known political melodies in the last half-century have been the exultant Franklin Roosevelt anthem "Happy Days are Here Again," the Trumanite "I'm Just Wild About Harry," Frank Sinatra's "High Hopes" tribute to personal friend John F. Kennedy, and Carol Channing's "Hello, Dolly" adaptation, "Hello, Lyndon."



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GRAND MARCH

CABE RENBORN



CLEVELAND'S

March to Victory

MADE IN U.S.A.

BY
GEO. STEFFENBARTH

NATIONAL MUSIC CO.

GARFIELD & ARTHUR



HOME BOOK

1880.

FOR SALE BY
Republican Congressional Committee, U.S.

HANG ON ENGLISH



JOHN EYER



GENERAL BEARD'S

MARCH FOR THE GRAND

WINNER HANNING'S



CAMPAIN MARCH → **GRAND MARCH**

LE BARON → **WINNER**

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CLEVELAND'S
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CLEVELAND'S
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Respectfully Dedicated to the Democratic Candidate

Published by W. W. Norton & Co., New York, N. Y.

Respectfully Dedicated to the Democratic Candidate

CLEVELAND'S
LUCK & LOVE
GRAND MARCH.



FOR PIANO OR CABINET ORGAN.

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THE OLD ROMAN MARCH.


By ALLEN & THURMAN.



M. H. ROSENFELD.

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

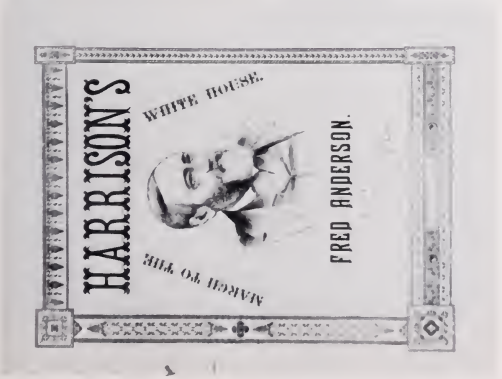
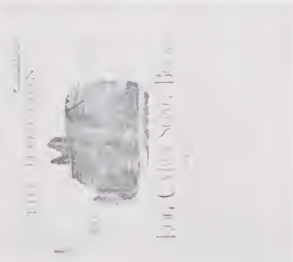
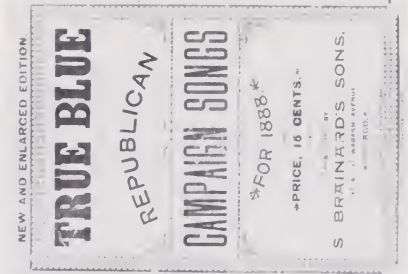
Blaine *Logan*



BLAINE AND LOGAN
VICTORY MARCH.

JAS. J. FREEMAN.

M. H. ROSENFELD & CO.,
NEW YORK.



McKINLEY AND HOBART
GRAND MARCH

BY
 J. W. TURNER

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 J. W. Turner
 101 West 42nd Street
 New York City

BREAD WINNERS - AMERICA

THE LITTLE DINNER BUCKET
 Song
 Gorus.
 Words Music
 BY ANTHONY D'ONOFIO

Published by
 L. F. MESSERSMIDT & CO.

McKINLEY
 IN THE CHAIR

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McKINLEY
 IN THE CHAIR



Don't fail to get the favorite **SILVER KING WALTZ** Same Excellence

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By
JOHN J. FITZPATRICK

MARCH
 AND
TWO STEP

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AS SING AND PLAYED AT THE ST. LOUIS NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION



THE MCKINLEY SONG.
 WORDS BY CAROL KILPATRICK
 MUSIC BY THE ST. LOUIS BAND ARRANGEMENTS

**BEAUTIFUL ISLE
 SOMEWHERE**

BY J. S. FEARS
 MUSIC BY THE ST. LOUIS BAND



**EXCELLENCE
 CHICAGO**


No. 1 **THE NATIONAL
 DEMOCRATIC** for 1900
SONG BOOK
 by **John A. A. A. A. A.**
 H. A. SULLIVAN-BARGER
 Published by **The National Song Co.**



**GIVE US SILVER
 "JOLLY SILVER"**
 PUSHING CAMP-ARISE SONG
 BY **Arnold K. Watson**



**WHAT'S THE MATTER
 WITH UNCLE SAM**



Miss Guss H. Tim

CAMPAIGN MEDALS

RELICS OF POLITICAL CONTESTS THAT WERE WAGED BEFORE THE (CIVIL) WAR

An Article from *Harpers Weekly Magazine* - 1896

Campaign buttons, described recently in *The Star*, are comparatively new features in political warfare. They have made their appearance in recent years. They were preceded by the badge, but before these was the campaign medal, some of which were as famous in the political history of the country as certain utterances of famous men.

These political emblems go back further than the period of Jackson's administration, but there are few older than those of that period in existence. They became a little more plentiful in the campaigns of Jackson, and grew in abundance. There were more in the Harrison campaign of 1840 than in any of the others. So much of the details has been written of that memorable campaign and its incidents that it is unnecessary to repeat them.

The most notable of all the ante-bellum campaigns, however, was that of 1860. The campaign medal figured as conspicuously then as the button does now, and there were hundreds of designs. An interesting fact is that the medals contained more mottoes, more bon mots, more inscriptions than the buttons of recent years. The pictures of the candidates figure more extensively, with now and then an inscription appropriate to the party or the man.

At the National Museum is a collection of these relics, but it is doubtful if the collection is any more valuable or extensive than that owned by Col. William Leggett Bramhall.

Col. Bramhall is the vice president of the National Union of Republican Clubs. He is as ardent an admirer of McKinley as he was of the great man who was first put at the head of the republican party. He believes that there are many similarities in this campaign and in the one in which Lincoln was first chosen President.

Col. Bramhall designed a number of the medals for the Lincoln campaign and that accounts for his collection, although he is noted for his collection of valuable coins and other works of art in that line.

How the Medals Were Worn.

The campaign medals of the times gone by were made in the shape of the coins of that time. They bore the busts of candidates and inscriptions. The customary way of displaying them was to bore a hole in them, through which a ribbon was run and attached to the wearer's coat or waistcoat, as he preferred. The medals were made from dies, like the coin of the country. They were made of different materials—the brighter ones of block tin; the darker ones of brass and copper.

Occasionally a nickel-plated one would be found, and once in a while one of silver would make its appearance. The medals were turned out, like the buttons of today, by

manufacturers, for sale to enthusiastic partisans. In the Lincoln campaign the manufacturers all made money because of so many candidates in the field and because of the intense interest. Nearly everybody wore a medal then and there was no difficulty in telling how a man stood.

The nearest approach to a button in the Lincoln campaign was a medal-like affair, which held in place tin-type photographs of the candidates. Lincoln and his running mate, Hannibal Hamlin, were pictured on opposite sides of the republican medal. The names under the pictures were all the reading matter on the medals. The pictures were good. The same manufacturer also turned out these things for the other parties, presenting Douglas and Johnson, Breckinridge and Lane and Bell and Everett.

The Wideawakes

One of the first buttons of the Lincoln campaign was the size of a cent of that day. The bust on the obverse side was obtained from a profile picture sent to Col. Bramhall. Around the bust was "Abraham Lincoln. Natus Feb. 12, 1809." On the reverse side was this: "Abraham Lincoln. Honest Abe of the West. The Hannibal of America. 1860." This was changed later, and in place of the inscription on the reverse side "Wideawakes" was put in its place. History tells of the "Wideawakes."

It was an organization of marching clubs, formed in the interest of Lincoln. The first one was organized at Hartford, Conn., which got out a unique medal of its own. The members of the Hartford Wideawakes wore oilcloth capes and caps and carried torches. The officers carried a cane and a lantern. One side of the medal of the Hartford men contained a picture of a marching member and his torch, and this inscription: "Organized March 3, 1860." The other side pictures the officer and his cane and lantern, with the inscription "Hartford Wideawakes."

In the same campaign the Douglas democrats organized the "Little Giants," a rival organization of the "Wideawakes." The uniform of the Giants was of orange color. That organization also had its medals.

A republican medal of that time bore an inscription which has gone into history. The medal was of the size and color of a gold half eagle. The inscription on one side was "Millions for freedom. Not one cent for slavery, 1860," a paraphrase of the famous "Millions for defense," etc. The other side bore the imprint of an eagle with outstretched wings and "Success to republican principles."

A Catchy Medal.

The Douglas democrats had a medal bearing a bust of



Illustration from original article

their nominee, with his name on one side, and on the other this inscription: "Intervention is Disunion. 1860. M. Y. O. B." Voters of that campaign still living will remember the meaning of M. Y. O. B.—mind your own business.

A larger Douglas medal bore the bust and name, and on the reverse side, "Popular sovereignty. National Union."

A very catchy republican medal contained, besides the usual bust, name, etc., this inscription: "Protection to American industry. Free homes for free men."

One of the prettiest of all the medals was the "Lincoln rail splitter." It was emblematic of Lincoln's humble origin and the fact that he was a man of the people. His name and bust ornamented one side, and on the other is seen Lincoln splitting rails near the little log cabin of his early days. Over this are the words, "Rail splitter of the west."

A medal of the Bell men contained bust and name of party on one side and on the other "The Constitution and the Union now and forever."

Among the larger Lincoln medals was one with the bust and name, with this on the obverse side: "The people's choice, Lincoln and Hamlin. Freedom and protection." Another of block tin had on the obverse side the following: "Free territory for a free people. Let liberty be national and slavery sectional."

The Lincoln rail splitter medal was something like the Harrison medal in 1840. That medal contained a poor bust of Gen. Harrison, with his name and date of birth on the obverse side. The reverse side contained the famous log cabin and barrel of hard cider, with this inscription: "The people's choice. The hero of Tippecanoe."

When Buchanan was elected in 1856 the sectional issue was running at full blast which is reflected in the inscriptions on the medals of that day. One of these bore Buchanan's bust and name, and "No sectionalism," with the American eagle on the back. In the same campaign the Fremont men were not medalless. One of their medals contained Fremont's bust and name and the inscription, "Free soil and free speech."★

(Admiral Dewey continued from page 26)

executed the orders of my superiors."

Once published the repercussions of this interview were enormous. By giving the *New York World* an exclusive to his announcement of candidacy, Dewey alienated many of the country's other newspapers which, having been scooped, treated the Admirals announcement in the worst possible light, with scorn and amusement.

Many politicians and citizens were amazed at the contents of the interview, seeing in it a naive view of the office of President and a complacent attitude in seeking it. It seemed more like an officer accepting a new assignment or billet than a candidate seeking the nation's highest elective office. Many found the interview so unbelievable that they expected an immediate retraction of it.

Dewey's supporters, however, tried to mitigate the damage caused by the interview and weather out the storm it generated. On April 4, Nathan Strauss, a longtime Dewey supporter and owner of Macy's Department Store, convinced the Admiral to declare that he was a Democrat. John R. McClean, Dewey's brother-in-law and recently defeated candidate for governor of Ohio was appointed campaign manager and a headquarters was established in a Kansas City hotel for the upcoming convention.

As the days turned to weeks, however, no big names came forward endorsing Dewey for the nomination. On May 6 Dewey was the object of more negative publicity

when he admitted to the press that he had never before voted. Although his reasons were valid, being either away at sea or living in the nation's capital, whose residents could not vote, to the public this merely reinforced the appearance of complacency first seen in the *World* interview.

The Bryan faction controlled the machinery of the Democratic convention and they only had to stand pat, knowing that only a major grass roots groundswell could upset their candidate. For Admiral Dewey, his popular groundswell had already come and gone. By mid-May McClean resigned as campaign manager and on the 18th Admiral Dewey withdrew his candidacy saying, "I don't understand how I got the idea in the first place."

The failure of his candidacy so soon after the adulation following his return from Manila was surely upsetting for the Admiral, and when, several years later, he was to write his autobiography, there was to be no mention of this episode of his life.

As with most Presidential hopefuls there is much speculation as to why a candidacy failed. In Dewey's case it appears to be based in the Admiral's naive and inexperience in the world of Presidential politics, poor advice or the failure to heed advice, and a lack of that fire and drive known as "Potomac Fever", as evidenced in his failure to seize the opportunity created by his popularity on his return from Manila, his delay in throwing his hat in the ring, and the feeling of complacency he projected.★



NEWS

“From Torchlights to Television: 200 Years of Maryland Political Campaigns” to Open in Baltimore September 26

As state and local candidates press the flesh for the 1986 elections, the Maryland Historical Society will reflect upon 200 years of campaigning in Maryland through an exhibition and symposium this fall. “From Torchlights to Television: 200 Years of Maryland Political Campaigns” will tell the story of the state’s political culture as it evolved from torchlight parades to whistlestop campaign rallies to television. The exhibition will examine such themes as the evolution of the franchise (women’s suffrage and civil rights), manners of voting and electioneering, and the changing background and nature of our political leaders, with particular emphasis on the ways in which they package themselves and communicate with the electorate.

“From Torchlights to Television” will make use of the Society’s rich collection of political campaign memorabilia, as well as items from local collectors and county historical societies. The Historical Society of Carroll County and Goucher College have made extensive contributions from their collections, and members of the American Political Items Collectors have lent items and provided invaluable background information. The vast array of campaign memorabilia in the exhibition will present the visitor not only with entertainment - by such items as rhinestone Ike jewelry, an Agnew crab bib, and a wall of bumper stickers, but also with an opportunity to ponder how society has changed over the last two centuries while maintaining the continuity of the democratic process.

A day-long symposium to be held at the Society on Saturday, November 1, will offer further study and discussion of Maryland’s political culture with six presentations and commentary. A special feature of the afternoon will be a discussion on political memorabilia. ★



One of Many Early Ribbons
Featured in the Maryland Exhibit

Reliving Politics: Harpers Ferry, W. Va.

By Stephen J. Ackerman

"I deplore these modern political days, not because they are not just as good as the ones in which I spent my young manhood but because they are different," growled Tom Marshall in 1924. "I regret the disappearance of the oilcloth caps and the oilcloth cloaks and the smelly gasoline torches; the music of the amateur drum corps and the long processions." Looking back on his youthful forays in Indiana for the Tilden campaign in 1876, the genial former Vice-President mourned the passing of the rambunctious and colorful electioneering that today's political collectors can only imagine. A few vestiges of old-fashioned campaigning survive in self-consciously nostalgic rituals like local party bullroasts or shad-plankings; President Reagan's "whistle stop" campaign train tour of Ohio in 1984 was a calculated evocation of that imagined political past.

Even those collectors with the most active historical imaginations must admit that collecting artifacts of political Americana is essentially a static pursuit. Contemporary political books and pamphlets, or more recently recordings and videotapes, help evoke images of "what it was like" in previous election years, but a lively sense of participation in our political past is still hard to come by.

Every autumn since 1979, however, historic Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, stages a spectacle that would have warmed Tom Marshall's heart: a full-scale reenactment of the election of 1860 as conducted in the town just a year after it had been ravaged by John Brown's raid. The event is instructive to even the most seasoned political collector,

and it's lots of fun for all ages.

"Living history" in our country grew up around the costumed regiments that reenact Civil War battles, and spread gradually into colonial and pioneer groups. It is no wonder that the kind of bland politics that Marshall deplored in the 1920s has not attracted the "reenactors" (as they call themselves).

Aside from appropriately dressed guides at the homes of former presidents, I've encountered just two other attempts to recreate American electoral history in a participatory fashion. In 1961, Lincoln's first inauguration was reenacted on the steps of the U.S. capitol. Hailing the centennial ceremony as "the greatest epic of its kind in the annals of the capitol of the United States," the official Congressional report noted that "the 1961 audience come to witness this play acting and listen to the contemporary speeches, was twice the size of the audience that originally--on this very plaza--witnessed the actual inauguration." Unfortunately, size was not the only difference. Although Lincoln (actor John C. Collison--from Richmond!) arrived in a period carriage accompanied by the Sharpsburg Rifle Guard and actors representing the notables on the platform in 1861, distractions kept shattering any illusions the spectators might entertain about witnessing a fair approximation of history. Speeches by Speaker Rayburn (himself the son of a Confederate soldier), Carl Sandburg, and others, along with a running commentary by then-local newscaster, Roger Mudd, kept reminding the spectators that this was, after all, just "play acting." Dignitaries seated on the



Main Street on Election Day



Voters Coming to Town

Capitol steps and an armed forces honor guard in 1961 uniform spoiled the visual illusion as well.

In 1984, the National Park Service attempted a fantasy reenactment. This was an imaginary debate among the presidential candidates of a century earlier, staged on the lawn of Clara Barton's house in Glen Echo, Maryland. Though Victorian, the Barton house was not constructed until 1897. Still, the premise seemed like fun, even though some of the speeches had to be fabricated from the candidates' other writings. First, an actress in period dress offered a kind of prologue summary of 1884 issues, marred only by slips like identifying Tammany Hall as a Republican organization. The appearance of the candidates was promising. The lone woman obviously represented feminist write-in candidate Belva Lockwood of the Equal Rights Party. A heavy man with a thick moustache, a slight man with a thin moustache, and an imposing man with a handsome white beard portrayed Cleveland, Butler, and Blaine—unfortunately not respectively. The heavy man was Butler, the slight man Blaine, and the bearded man Cleveland! Although the speeches were done well, even to the detail of Butler's being heckled by a "plant" in the crowd about his alleged penchant for stealing silverware, I found myself too distracted by the wild miscasting to get in the spirit of the event!

Harpers Ferry is much better. In its beautiful setting, the town, restored to its 1860 appearance, conveys to the visitor a striking sense of the atmosphere of that tense election. Festooned with red, white, and blue bunting and the flags of that Commonwealth, the town is populated by some 175 costumed participants. Actors portraying candidates for election "speechify" on behalf of Douglas, Breckinridge, and Bell. Absent from the 1860 Virginia ballot, the radical candidate, Lincoln, is present only as an effigy hanged from an old tree opposite the polling place.

Soldiers in prewar Virginia militia uniforms guard the polls. From storefront headquarters, partisans of the candidates pass out pre-printed party ballots. Sometimes even little boys buttonhole passersby on behalf of their favorites. Carriages, Carrier "Grand National Banners," and handpainted signs add color to the scene, as do female

temperance advocates, drunkards attempting to vote "early and often," marching bands, glee clubs, and inevitable scuffles among the voters. The evening glows with a torchlight parade through the darkened streets, climaxing with an announcement of the local results.

The most compelling experience of the event is voting, 1860 style. I stood in a line of visitors mixed with costumed reenactors in a kerosine-kit general store, shuffling through the preprinted ballots the workers for the various tickets had thrust upon me. Having been captured by the spirit of the event, I weighed the issues and the probabilities presented to me, and decided that the man to preserve the Union and the peace was Democrat Stephen A. Douglas. I approached the ballot clerk with a Douglas ticket. He handed me a pencil and asked me to sign it on the back. There the privacy of my decision ended. "One vote for Stephen A. Douglas!" he cried. "One vote for Stephen A. Douglas!" returned the tally clerk, loud enough to assure me, and everyone else within earshot, that my vote had been thus registered. It was little comfort to note that a "fight" broke out behind me in the line when a prospective Douglas voter was challenged for owning insufficient property to cast a ballot. Rather than help defend my partisan, I made my way out the door as fast as I could. I suppose I gained more insight on the psychology of our early politics, its sense of participation and its potential for abuse, in that one afternoon than I had in over two decades of reading political lore!

Fortunately the campaign artifacts we collect are not conspicuous in the reenactment. Park Service officials are sensitive to the potential of any very good reproductions to be pawned off as genuine articles, so they have moved cautiously in this field. The only lapel decoration evident in 1985 was an authentic-looking cockade on the coat of a well-dressed 1860 man. The (sometimes pastel) magic-marker and poster-paper construction of the signs would fool nobody. The Carrier "Grand National Banner" prints are reproduced in black and white photocopy on thin paper; the 1860 Virginia ballots used in the election are reproduced in such grainy photocopies as to preclude illegitimate sale. Any future attempts to suggest ferro-



Guarding the Polls



John Bell Headquarters



Campaigning on the Street

types, ribbons, or tokens will likewise be unmistakable for the originals as a matter of National Park Service policy for the event.

The parade itself suffers from a lack of authentic-style torches or lanterns, although plans are in the works to introduce these elements. The necessity of getting the ambitious eight-hour "election" event into a single day creates the odd twist of marching to the hotel to hear the results, rather than marching beforehand to urge voters to turn out. Nonetheless, the sight of the parade illuminating the streets to the rhythm of drums is stirring and memorable.

The annual Harpers Ferry election of 1860 is fun for all, but especially for those who treasure our political heritage. I was sufficiently impressed to offer to display items from my own collection in conjunction with the 1986 event. Yet I am still waiting for the ultimate in electoral living history. I have learned that each November, "Old Sturbridge Village" in Massachusetts restages the Tippecanoe log cabin campaign of 1840. The event comes complete with giant rolling balls, glee clubs, and unlimited free hard cider. For further information, contact OSV.★

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Political Parade

AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

1985 Financial Statement

January 1, 1985 Checking Account	\$ 535.43
January 1, 1985 Money Market Account	1716.88
January 1, 1985 Savings Account	330.50
January 1, 1985 APIC Intern Fund	8083.19

1985 RECEIPTS

1985 Regular Dues Income	\$30544.00
1985 Family Dues Income	304.00
1985 Youth Dues Income	168.00
Interest Income	1047.22
Donation Income	4253.07
Mailing Supply Service Income	1395.25
Mailing Labels Income	236.00
Miscellaneous Income	1145.42
1986 Dues Income	<u>285.00</u>
	<u>39377.96</u>
	<u><u>\$50042.96</u></u>

1985 EXPENSES

Computer Expenses	\$ 1109.40
Keynoter Editor Expenses (Photography)	1845.08
Mailing Expenses	1311.61
Mailing Supply Service Expenses	456.25
Miscellaneous Expenses	218.24
National Convention Expenses	405.96
Newsletter Editor Expenses	371.67
Office Expenses	365.80
Photographic Expenses	143.00
Postage Expenses	4679.84
President's Expenses	334.00
Printing Expenses	20847.46
Secretary's Compensation	3042.00
Storage Expense	275.00
Telephone Expense	<u>228.37</u>
	\$35633.68

December 31, 1985 Checking Account	1607.37
December 31, 1985 Money Market Account	682.87
December 31, 1985 Savings Account	349.19
December 31, 1985 Intern Fund	<u>11769.85</u>

\$50042.96

Joseph D. Hayes
Secretary/Treasurer

FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS