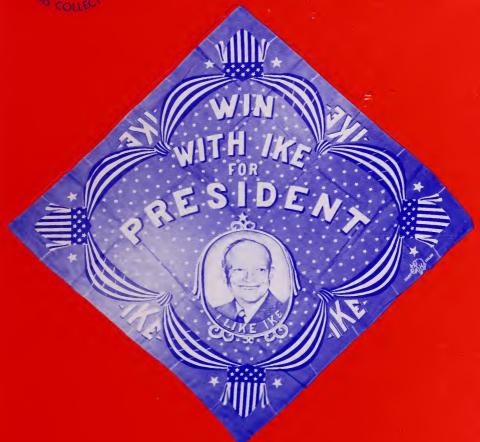


# THE KEYNOTER



1952 • THE CAMPAIGNS OF • 1956

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

### Managing Editor's Message

Welcome to the Winter 1986 Keynoter. This is a special issue encompassing the campaigns of Dwight D. Eisenhower. There were more campaign items for Ike than for any candidate since F.D.R. We have tried to picture almost all known buttons, although space limitations forced us to delete various sizes of the same buttons, and the standard very similar "I Like Ike" large buttons. We also have shown some representative 3-D, cloth and paper items, sheet music and posters.

None of this could have been done without the extensive personal cooperation and generous support of Dr. John Pendergrass, whose Eisenhower collection is easily the finest ever assembled. Like the Jacobs' Roosevelt collection, there will always be a few pieces left to add to John's collection; but what is shown here—all but a dozen pieces are his—illustrates an inspiring example of one man's passion for collecting.

Robert A. Fratkin

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

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# THE APIC KEYNOTER

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### **FEATURES**

Dwight D. Eisenhower	
APIC Interview: Dr. Stephen Ambrose	Page 4
Powell Likes Ike	Page 16
"Ike Day"	Page 20
Ike's Truth Squad	Page 24
Salute to Eisenhower	Page 26
Hamburgers and Politics	Page 32
Signs of the Times	Page 34
I Want a Mink Coat	Page 40
"I Shall Go To Korea"	Page 42
Sing Along for Eisenhower	Page 47
Eisenhower's Coattails	Page 48
Ike and Chris	Page 54

### DEPARTMENTS:

APIC News		age 58
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**Illustrations:** The Editors wish to thank Alan Anderson, Joseph Brown, David Frent, Theodore Hake, John Pendergrass and Robert Rouse for providing items and photographs for this issue.

Covers: Front - Cloth bandanna, red/white blue; Back - Paper sales brochure, red/white/blue.



#### IN THE SPRING ISSUE

As currently planned, the Spring Keynoter will feature the 1908 and 1912 campaigns of William Howard Taft.

## Dwight D. Eisenhower

### AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. STEPHEN AMBROSE

Stephen Ambrose has devoted a major portion of his life to the study of Dwight Eisenhower. Starting in 1964, Ambrose worked directly with Ike, serving as the associate editor of *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, War Years.* This relationship continued until Eisenhower's death in 1969.

During the next decade, Ambrose authored *The Supreme Commander*, a study of Ike's World War II career, and *Ike's Spies*, a fascinating portrayal of Eisenhower and the intelligence community.

Ambrose's definitive two volume study, Eisenhower: Soldier, Statesman and President-Elect and Eisenhower, the President, firmly established his position as the leading Eisenhower biographer. He currently is at work on the second of a projected three volume biography of Richard Nixon.

Eisenhower collector and APIC member John Pendergrass interviewed Ambrose on the University of New Orleans campus. Currently serving as Alumni Distinguished Professor of History, Ambrose's office



Stephen Ambrose (left) and John Pendergrass

walls are lined with inscribed photographs and other momentos from Eisenhower and his family, politicians, historians, and other notables of the lke era. A poster highlights a recent foreign policy symposium at Texas A&M, where Ambrose matched wits with Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and George Will. Hanging directly over Ambrose's desk is an autographed photo from an old college roommate, Colorado Governor Richard Lamm.

As the following interview shows, Ambrose is just as direct and straight forward as his ex-roommate.

APIC: Dr. Ambrose, at age 50, Dwight Eisenhower had an excellent reputation as a staff officer in the Army but he had risen no higher than the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was simply one of many career Army officers. Is there anything in Ike's first 50 years to suggest the greatness he would later achieve as a soldier, a statesman, and a president?

SA: Oh yes, a very great deal, but none of it came to people's attention. He never held a position of prominence, which was difficult for an Army officer in peace time in any case, but even more so for Ike because he was a Major for some 16 years. Within that confine though, he established a reputation among the men who counted in the Army that was absolutely top of the mark. Marshall thought of him and McArthur thought of him as the best officer in the Army. McArthur said that directly in a "201 personnel report" on Eisenhower, "the best officer in the Army." He had been working as an aide to McArthur. Before that he was one of the first tank commanders, along with his friend, George Patton. He had been doing things that had brought him to the attention of the people who were at the top in the Army and would determine, if and when another war came and the Army expanded, that Ike would be one of the key officers in the new Army.

APIC: As you mentioned, Eisenhower spent ten years before World War II working for General Douglas

McArthur, first in Washington, and then in the Phillipines. After the war, Ike was the Army Chief of Staff while McArthur governed Japan. What type of relationship did the two men have?

SA: Complex and volatile, marked by frequent tiffs and spats and arguments; generally with Eisenhower complaining about McArthur's decisions, his cavalier attitudes and McArthur just taking it all very lightly. It was not a father-son relationship. It was certainly not a friendly relationship, but it was a very effective relationship. They worked well together. McArthur with all of his grand eloquence needed somebody to keep his feet on the ground, and Ike did that. Ike maybe needed a little of McArthur's grand eloquence and learned it from the man. APIC: What about the other outstanding military leader in Ike's career, General George Marshall.

SA: Well, Ike didn't know Marshall during the period before the Second World War. He had only met him twice, very briefly on both occasions. In 1941, when America got into war, Marshall called him to Washington on the basis of his reputation. The people that Marshall knew in the Army, the people that he trusted, all told him Eisenhower is tops, get him right away. Marshall pulled him into Washington one week exactly to the day after Pearl Harbor. They immediately struck up a rapport that was to last through their lifetime. It was very close. It did have a



father-son characteristic to it, much more so than McArthur. Even though McArthur was older than Marshall, Marshall became more of the father figure to Eisenhower. Eisenhower trusted him completely and admired him without stint, and Marshall felt pretty much the same way about Eisenhower. It was a mutual admiration society in many ways.

APIC: In 1952 during a campaign swing through Wisconsin, Eisenhower, at the request of Wisconsin political officials, deleted a paragraph defending George Marshall from a speech he was to deliver there. Marshall had been previously attacked by Joe McCarthy. Did Marshall ever indicate his feelings on this issue?

SA: No, he never did. I do have a lovely story from Forrest Pogue (Marshall's biographer) who told me I could not use it because he wanted it. The story is that Mrs. Marshall, after the General's death, told Pogue, "Ike made

up for that a hundred times over." He pressed her on this, well what did he do? She wouldn't say. From that, I speculate Ike must have come to him at some time and begged his pardon, but neither man ever revealed it. So, as far as we know, as far as there is any documentary evidence, General Marshall never mentioned the incident and Eisenhower never brought it up.

APIC: Ike became President of Columbia University in June of 1948. He was frequently out of town and had little contact with the academicians. One biographer noted Eisenhower "was not a bad President, because he was no President at all." Is this a fair assessment?

SA: No, not at all. That's academic superciliousness, nose in the air. Columbia had a lot of very distinguished scholars who were really pretty disgruntled with the idea of a general being the head of this great educational institution and intellectual establishment. They were quite foolish, really, because they didn't quite understand at all the function of the president of a university, as is true of most faculty anyway. They thought he ought to be an intellectual leader who is finding new areas of exploration and research and so on. In fact, his job is to raise money and keep the alumni happy and Ike was very, very good at that, of course. He was terrific at raising money. Who could resist him? Who could turn him down? All the scholars at Columbia who were so scornful of Ike got a lot better laboratories and a lot better libraries and a lot better salaries and a lot better graduate students and a lot better working conditions thanks to Ike's raising money. So, he did what college Presidents ought to do; he raised money, and he did it well.

APIC: Both Republicans and Democrats alike wanted Ike as their candidate in 1948. Truman offered the top spot to Eisenhower. Why didn't he run in 1948?

SA: He really had no ambition to be a politician. He had been a lifetime soldier and thought he deserved an opportunity to retire. He really had to be talked into taking the job at Columbia. He didn't run in 1948 for another reason; he was pretty sure, like everybody else, that Tom Dewey would win. That was acceptable to him. One of the biggest arguments that persuaded him in 1952 to run was that, if you don't run, the Democrats are going to nominate Truman, and if you don't run. the Republicans are going to nominate Bob Taft, so you are going to have either Taft or Truman, and you won't be happy with either of them. Ike felt he had to step forward to save the country from Taft or Truman. Well in 1948, it looked like Dewey was going to win and Dewey was a man that Ike knew and respected, so he was willing to accept that.

APIC: You once told me that the one aspect of Dwight Eisenhower's life that you were most asked about by the general public is Ike's alleged affair with Kay Summersby. Harry Truman and Kay Summersby both say it took place. What is your view?

**SA:** Well, Harry Truman had no basis for making any such statement. He had no idea at all. I know more about it than Harry Truman ever did. Kay doesn't really say that there was an affair. Kay wrote two books. The first one, called My Three Years with Eisenhower, made no



mention of a romance. The second, Past Forgetting, My Love Affair with Dwight D. Eisenhower, was written when she was dying with cancer and Ike was dead. It was written through a ghost writer and did claim a felt intimacy but made no claim to a consummation. She explicitly describes the one time they came closest, when they undressed together in front of a fireplace at Telegraph Cottage around the time of Overlord, a very romantic kind of setting. Kay then says that Ike backed off. He wouldn't go through with it. The only people who ever claimed an affair were people who knew nothing about what they were talking about. Kay never did claim one. Outsiders sometimes thought there was something going on or there was a possibility of something going on. If there was something going on or not, I don't know. They only people who ever did know are both dead and they never really told. The supposition I have is that there was no affair, primarily because they lived in such a fishbowl. He was simply never alone. His waking hours were spent at work.

APIC: Reading The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower, The War Years which you helped edit, confirms that Ike's every hour was accounted for during his years with Kay Summersby.

SA: Yes, there was always somebody around. He was in a conference, at a meeting, studying papers in his office, with people that were presenting papers, meeting visitors. There were always people around.

APIC: Following World War II, Eisenhower became close friends with a number of successful, wealthy business-

men. Investment banker Cliff Roberts, Coca-Cola Chairman Robert Woodruff and New York Herald-Tribune executive Bill Robinson were part of a group that Ike called "the gang". How did these millionaires help shape Eisenhower's life?

SA: I don't think they shaped it. I think they made it a lot more comfortable. It's nice to have millionaire friends. You fly on private planes. You don't have to worry about parking places. You go to the best quail hunting that there is in North America. You go fishing at the best trout streams there are anywhere. You eat the best food at the best clubs. It's not so much a case of even millionaires buying influence. When does friendship become influence buying? What are you going to do? What are you going to tell the President. All of these guys were friends of Ike's, as you know, from the time that he got back from the war, at a time when he was saying he would never be President. They remained very good friends. So, what are they supposed to do when he becomes President? Obviously, they had large dealings with the government. Clearly, the publisher of the Herald-Tribune, the leading Republican paper on the East coast, has important connections in Washington. Are they supposed to drop his friendship? Clearly not, they're not going to do that. Mainly, what I think millionaires did was to make life more comfortable for Ike. I don't think they shaped his views. In fact, he frequently found himself in disagreement with a lot of the people that you just mentioned. A number of them, for example, wanted to go back to the gold standard, which Ike thought was just ridiculous. So,









to sum up, the view of Ike as a captive of the millionaires is one that I don't agree with.

**APIC:** Following Tom Dewey's defeat in 1948, pressure grew on Ike to become a candidate for the presidency. When did he finally arrive at the decision to run?

**SA:** At the end of '51 when it was clear that if he didn't run, Bob Taft would get the Republican nomination.

APIC: The 1952 campaign marked the beginning of one of the most unusual and perplexing political alliances of the 20th century, Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon. How did Ike feel about Nixon?

SA: I have just completed the first 1500 pages of a life of Richard Nixon, volume one. Of that 1500 pages, I would guess that at least 150 pages, or 10% of the total, deal with the Eisenhower-Nixon relationship and its complexities. So, a short answer is impossible. It was a very complex relationship with layer after layer to it; nuance piled upon nuance; each man using the other; each man in some degree having a genuine admiration for the other, Nixon more for Ike than the other way around. Still, Ike had some admiration for Nixon, no doubt about that. Some pretty cynical playing went on between the two, outfoxing each other. It was two very high-powered personalities, two very intelligent men who had different positions that gave them different strengths in their relationship, playing off against each other. For the biographer, it is absolutely fascinating material and it's the kind of a situation where the novelist envies the biographer.

APIC: It is. It is most extremely interesting.

**SA:** Oh God, as I say I just go into such extreme detail. There is such a great detail about it, and I still feel like I don't cover all of it. I can't give short answers.

**APIC:** A major factor in Eisenhower's success in elective office was his appeal to independents and to Democrats as typified by the Citizens for Eisenhower movement. How did Ike deal with the Republican regulars, the patronage of the presidency and the demands of being the head of a political party?

**SA:** Complex again. You are right to emphasize the Citizens for Eisenhower movement, and I would suppose from your point of view that's the most interesting group, because that is where most of the buttons must have come from.

**APIC:** A substantial number were produced by this organization.

SA: There was a great tension between Citizens for Eisenhower and the Republican National Committee. That tension was almost palpable, and it almost drove the party apart at the time of the Checkers speech. Generally speaking, Ike's supporters were loyal to Ike and not the Republican Party. Citizens for Eisenhower was a group somewhat like the ones you have mentioned earlier (i.e., wealthy businessmen). Lucius Clay was a very prominent figure in the Citizens group, Bill Robinson, and so on. They wanted Ike for President. They weren't so much interested in the Republican Party and the Republicans knew it. They wanted to put their money, time, organizing effort, and campaigning into Ike, not into the Republican Party and Republican candidates. Of course,







Page 8







RNC had the opposite perspective. The RNC was much more dependent on the congressmen, much more interested in their local and state races. Obviously, they were also interested in the Presidential race because of the hoped for coattail effect. The tension between the RNC and Ike's men came to a head over Checkers. Nixon, at the end of the Checkers speech, indicated that he wanted the people to make their decision on whether he should stay on the ticket by sending their ballots and telegrams to the RNC, not to Ike or the Citizens. Eisenhower never really did have very good relations with the RNC, even in 1956. Even Nixon in 1960 organized his own group. All of these guys, when they are not running for the Presidency, say it is terrible to organize these extra-party units and not to use the party machinery. When they become the candidate, they all do it; they don't trust the party machinery. Nixon did it himself in '60. In 1952 though, Nixon was the great favorite of the RNC. Eisenhower turned patronage over pretty much to his department heads, and generally his department heads were not professional politicians. It didn't strike me until I was writing about Nixon, but when Ike's cabinet met, guess how many men in that room had ever won an election to an office in Washington.

APIC: How many?

SA: Two, Ike and Nixon. Brownell had run a campaign twice for Dewey, but he never ran himself. Dulles had run for the Senate but had been defeated, so he had never won an election. There was not another elected congressman, or senator. There was a governor, Sherman Adams. Also McKay came to Interior from the Oregon governorship. It's remarkable how few politicians there were in this cabinet. Ike turned the patronage over to them and that

lead to bad feelings with the RNC which wanted to control patronage, of course. Then you get into more complexities. Republicans simultaneously wanted to reward the party faithful as every party does when it gets in, especially after the kind of drought they had been through. On the other hand, they wanted to cut down on the size of government. The whole philosophy of the party was to cut down on the size of government. They were fortunate in that they had the Commies or the supposed Commies to go after. They obviously had to clean out. that is they had to eliminate a hell of a lot of jobs in the process of trying to get every security risk, and to get the most publicity for it they could find. They actually never found any Communists to throw out. They did get drunks, homosexuals, and guys on drugs and so on. They would throw them out as security risks and would never say that these were Communists that the Democrats had hired. They would just say they were security risks. Actually, they were playing dirty. This is where Nixon learned some of his dirty tricks. It was pretty much just a dirty trick. These weren't security risks. They were drunks. You ought to fire them for being drunk and don't pretend you're doing it because they are Communists.

APIC: Senator Joe McCarthy's methods and tactics today are universally denounced. That wasn't the case though in the first two years of the Eisenhower administration. McCarthy had a huge following in the early 1950's. How did Ike handle McCarthyism?

SA: Well, by trying to ignore it and hoping it would go away. It didn't work, and it didn't go away. As you know, there is a lot of controversy about this and there are a lot of different theories and ideas and suggestions. My own view

































is that the best you can say about Ike on this is the argument that he gave McCarthy enough rope to hang himself with. That is not a hell of a good argument it doesn't seem to me. That's a lot to accomplish, because Joe wrecked a lot of havoc before he finally hanged himself.

APIC: I think Eisenhower once said he didn't want to get into a pissing contest with a skunk. Wasn't that one of his phrases?

SA: Yes

APIC: Many historians date the start of the United States involvement in Vietnam to the Eisenhower years. How did Ike react to the French crisis at Dien Bien Phu in 1954? Would he have allowed the escalation of U.S. involvement that occurred under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations?

**SA:** Well, the first part I can answer. The second part is speculation and I can only speculate. He refused to intervene at Dien Bien Phu either with nuclear weapons or with conventional forces on a number of grounds. He did not want to be seen as rescuing the French colonial effort. He did not want to go into that kind of a battle

without the whole support of the American people and with Congress behind him. He knew he couldn't get it. He didn't want to go into it if he didn't have the British on his side, and he knew they weren't going to come in. So, for a very wide number of what seemed to him to be overwhelmingly powerful reasons, he did not intervene at the time in Dien Bien Phu. He did have his Vice-President urging him to do so, his Secretary of State urging him to do so and some of his Joint Chiefs, but by no means all. urging him to do so. He turned it down flat. Now what would he have done in the years of the Kennedy presidency, say 1960 to 1963, if we had had a third Eisenhower term, which was a possibility if the Republicans had not been so dumb as to punish FDR (the Twenty-Second Amendment). That was so dumb of them. Anyway, had he served a third term. I don't know what he would have done. The principles that he laid down in 1954 were such that he would have had to violate them to send American troops to Vietnam. He was not a man ordinarily to have violated those principles.

**APIC:** He appeared to have set up a number of conditions that would prohibit him from doing something that he





probably did not want to do and that was commit to a land war in Asia.

SA: That puts it exactly right.

APIC: Ike suffered a heart attack in September of 1955 and it appeared he was through with politics. Yet his recuperation was uneventful and in February of 1956 he announced for a second term. Was there ever any doubt that he could win going away, no matter who the Democrats nominated?

SA: In the 1956 campaign? Not the slightest I shouldn't think. His popularity was so high, the state of the economy was so good, and there was peace. It would have taken a catactysmic event, it seems to me, to have knocked him off. Now we damn near did have a catactysmic event. I don't know if any of this shows up in the buttons or not. but two great crisis came on in the middle of the 1956 political campaign, the crisis of the Russian intervention in Hungary and their rebellion there and the crisis of the British, French, Israeli intervention in the Suez Canal. These came right on the eve of the election. In fact, less than a week before election day both of them broke. I don't suppose this was ever reflected in the buttons.

APIC: To my knowledge, there is possibly one button that might reflect this problem. It is the Eisenhower-Nixon jugate "Don't Change the Team in the Middle of the Stream". This may also refer to the effort to drop Nixon from the ticket in 1956.

SA: "Don't Change the Team" was a theme that did work out very welf for Ike. Of course, you never know why people vote the way they do; you're always guessing. If you watch the fluctuation of the polls with the coming of those overseas crises, the "doubtful" column people said, "I'm going to stick with Ike. This General Ike, he's the man who defeated Hitler. He's the man who first headed up the NATO forces. He brought us peace in Korea. We have a world crisis. I think Ike's the man to handle it." Evidently the undecided went overwhelmingly in Eisenhower's direction as a result of the events of the last week. So, these two potentially cataclysmic events in fact worked to his benefit. He would have won anyway, though.

APIC: Perhaps the man Eisenhower admired more than anyone, at least for potential for public service, was Robert Anderson. Ike offered Anderson the vice-presidency in 1956; he said he would work actively to secure the Republican nomination for president for him in 1960. Why did he become enamored with Robert Anderson, a Democrat from Texas?

SA: You know, I asked him that myself. I have also asked Milton Eisenhower, who feels the same way about Anderson. The reply in both cases was an awesome confidence in the man's ability.

**APIC:** Eisenhower is sometimes criticized for his record on civil rights, yet he did sponsor the first successful civil rights bill since reconstruction, he did appoint the first black ever to the White House staff, and he did call out the 101st Airborne when push came to shove in Little Rock. What do you think of his civil rights record?

**SA:** Well, as you say, there is a lot that you can point to with satisfaction and pride in Ike's record and then there

are places where he isn't so strong. The criticism that I think is most telling, one that I share, is his refusal to publicly endorse Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education, the principle involved there. It's a moral thing, and it's a thing that can't be measured. I first moved to the South as a Yankee abolitionist in the year 1960. So, we were still very much in the Ike era and under the influence of Ike. I heard so many southerners say that they weren't about to give up their belief in segregation because the President of the United States believed in segregation. I think that the moderation and the slowness with which he proceeded after Brown beat Topeka was absolutely essential. I have lived in the South long enough to know that that was essential. A kind of a bull in a china shop approach to that problem in 1955 would have resulted in all hell breaking loose in this country. It had to be taken slowly. I also think he was probably right in one of his basic objections to Brown vs. Topeka, in that he thought that the schools were the wrong place to start. Ike feared it was going to ruin the public school system in the South. It's a terrible thing to say, but here we are now 32 years later and you could make the point that a chief result of Brown beating Topeka has been the ruination of the public school system in the South. On the other hand, it wasn't all that good in 1954. Leaving the moral principle of segregation aside, and considering the question of whether we begin the process of desegregating our society in the schools, I think in that respect Ike was right. It was the worst place to start instead of the best. The principle of segregation he never denounced, and I am not personally happy with that. Were I his adviser back in the early 50's, I would have urged him to speak out on this question. It's important to remind ourselves here that Eisenhower was the last president born in the 19th century. He was also born in the year Plessey vs. Ferguson was handed down as the law of the land and he had lived with Plessey vs. Ferguson as the law of the land for 64 years.

APIC: I believe that Ike made that point. The South had lived with Plessey vs. Ferguson as the law of the land up until 1954 and you could not expect them to automatically change overnight.

SA: Right.

**APIC:** In the years immediately following his presidency, Eisenhower was pictured as having been a golf playing, chairman of the board, who left the real work to Sherman Adams and John Foster Dulles. How accurate is this view? SA: Well, that view was popular and prevalent among the Democrats while Ike was president. The Democrats do better with intellectuals than the Republicans. Intellectuals tend to be very wordy people, and they get things into print a lot sooner than others do. The consequence was that the Democrat view of Eisenhower as a donothing, big smile, golf playing president became the generally held reporter's view in the years immediately following Ike's leaving office. This view was presented in magazines like the "New Yorker," "New York Times Magazine," "Atlantic Monthly," "Harpers" or any of the big national opinion makers in that way. In fact, as you know very well, the truth is the exact opposite. He was more in command than presidents before or since. What happened in his administration happened because he wanted it to. If it didn't happen, it was because he didn't want it to happen. If there was progress on Civil Rights, it was because he wanted it. Where there wasn't progress, it











was because he didn't want it. The same is true on arms control, on nuclear testing and everything else. He was very effective in keeping the impression that he had delegated authority. It's also true that he did delegate quite successfully. He was a better delegator than most presidents, a much better delegator than Franklin Roosevelt. One of his biggest complaints about the presidency was that most people wouldn't take the authority he was giving them, especially Charlie Wilson at the Pentagon. He also had a very sharp politician's sense. Another charge that goes along with the golf playing, big grin, chairman of the board president is that he was a naive politician. Now Ike had lived in Washington for much of his adult life. He had been in Washington through the first FDR administration, when some of the most intense politicking in the history of our country was going on. He was McArthur's spokesman for the Army before congressional committees. He knew Washington inside and out. He knew politicians better than the politicians did. So, the idea that Eisenhower was naive of politics is absurd. So was the idea that he let others run the administration. He did as a good politician use others, the most obvious being John Foster Dulles. Ike allowed Dulles to present himself as the man making American foreign policy. I think the reasons are pretty obvious why this was to Ike's benefit to have people perceiving things that way. Eisenhower encouraged that perception, but the truth is that Dulles never crossed a tor dotted an i until Ike told him to.

**APIC:** Why didn't Eisenhower and Nixon coordinate their efforts in the 1960 campaign?

SA: That was pretty much built into the structure of the thing. Ike wanted to defend the record of the Republican administration for the past 8 years; however, Nixon felt that the election was not about how good a president Ike had been, it was about who was going to lead us in the 1960's. Nixon wanted to make a lot of changes in the

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Eisenhower program and policies. Nixon wanted to be much more aggressive on foreign affairs than Eisenhower was. Nixon wanted to go after Castro in a way that Eisenhower wouldn't. Nixon wanted to spend a lot more money on arms than Eisenhower was willing to do. Nixon wanted to get tougher with the Russians than Eisenhower was willing to do. Well, Nixon was in the same kind of a trap here that any vice-president gets into in that situation. The next classic case of it was Hubert Humphrey in 1968. Nixon had to defend an Eisenhower record that he didn't believe in. He didn't want to talk about what had happened. He wanted to talk about all the good things he was going to do. How he was going to get tough with the communists, how he was going to build up our defenses, how he wasn't afraid of an unbalanced budget and so on. Everytime he said something like that. Ike would get mad as hell. You couldn't get away from that. There was no way with all the best will in the world. Had they been father and son they couldn't have gotten away from that tension. So, I think that's the key to their relationship in the 1960 campaign. The result was, as you know, that Ike did pull some monumental blunders. The best remembered is his answer to a reporter's repeated inquiry of could he give an example of how Nixon had helped participate in a decision in the Eisenhower administration. Eisenhower said "Give me a week and I might think of one." It was pretty much a disaster for Nixon. Of course, 1960 is so fascinating because you've got that incredibly close vote. Any one little, tiny item could make the difference. You see if that hadn't happened, if Ike's statement changed just a few thousand votes out of the 68,000,000, then that statement was a decisive statement. Of course, you never know. Although I don't think anybody ever voted for Nixon because Ike said that. So, I don't think he balanced out on that one.

**APIC:** Thank you, Dr. Ambrose, for sharing your knowledge and insights with us.★



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ELECTION NIGHT NOVEMBER 4, 1952 FROM 9 P.M.



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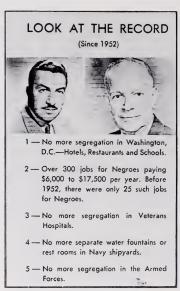
### By John Pendergrass

Politics can sometimes make for strange bedfellows. A classic example occurred during the 1956 presidential

On October 11, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. emerged from a White House meeting with President Eisenhower to announce that he would campaign for the President's reelection. Powell, the flamboyant black Democrat from Harlem's Sixteenth Congressional District had backed Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and had had few good words for the Republican administration.

Political observers looking back over the previous four years had to be surprised at the endorsement of Ike. Never an Eisenhower supporter. Powell had been at odds with the executive branch on several issues. Soon after the President took office, the congressman's critical voice could be heard. He accused Secretary of the Navy Robert Anderson, a Texas Democrat, of undermining the President's orders to desegregate military facilities. On several occasions during Ike's first term, Powell attempted to attach antidiscrimination amendments to appropriation bills. His most noteworthy effort came in early 1956 when he proposed an amendment to the President's school construction bill. The Powell Amendment, as the measure came to be known, would have prevented states that maintained segregated schools from receiving federal school funds. This amendment passed the House and presented Eisenhower, as well as many liberal congressmen, with a problem. Should the bill be supported, thereby linking federal aid for new schools, much needed as the baby boom generation came of age, with school desegregation efforts, or should the bill be opposed, giving de facto support to continued segregation. The fact that poor school districts, mainly in the South, received more of the funds made the measure unattractive to some northern congressmen; southerners were adamantly opposed to anything that tinkered in any way with segregation; and the President did not like joining the two issues in one bill. As a result, the amended bill eventually failed. Once Eisenhower's opposition to the measure became known, Powell denounced the President for "washing his hands, like Pilate, of the blood of innocent men and women in the Southland." Ike wasn't alone in opposing the bill however; Stevenson, Eleanor Roosevelt, and other liberals also refused to support the legislation.

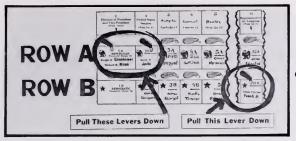
Democrats, frequent allies in the civil rights struggle, were thus quite amazed when Powell recognized Eisenhower's strong record on civil rights as one reason for his endorsement. Powell told newsmen that the President "regarded with a good deal of enthusiasm" a modification of the Powell Amendment that would withhold federal funds only from school districts that defied a federal court integration order. The Harlem Democrat, no stranger to foreign travel, also cited



### Obverse

Reverse





Obverse

Reverse

It is legal to take this card with you when you vote on Tuesday, November 6th

Adam Clayton Powell



Eisenhower's great prestige abroad as another reason for his support.

Civil rights and international prestige undoubtedly were factors in pushing Powell into the Eisenhower camp. Probably much more important were a series of snubs that Powell received from Stevenson and other Democratic leaders. In early October, Powell returned from an extended "European working tour" with an "open mind" on the upcoming campaign. He attempted to arrange a meeting with Stevenson but was unsuccessful; a second try was made through Democratic leader Carmine De Sapio, but again Powell was ignored. The Democratic presidential nominee also came to Harlem to campaign but failed to invite Powell to the rally or to the ballroom reception. Being shunned in his own district proved too much for Powell to swallow.

On the other hand, Stevenson, striving to keep the South solid, was reluctant to embrace Adam Clayton Powell. The congressman had one of the worse attendance records in Congress, was in continuous financial and legal trouble, and exhibited an ostentatious, hedonistic lifestyle that offended friend and foe alike. Powell, whose notoriety irritated the white establishment, had an enormous appeal to black voters but was too great a burden for Stevenson to carry in the rest of the country.

Eisenhower, secure in the White House, was happy to have Powell's help. With less than a month to election day, the congressman quickly organized the Independent Democrats for Eisenhower, headquartered on Park Avenue. With his own district safe, Powell hit the road for Ike, speaking in Chicago, Detroit, and several other northern cities with large black voting blocs.

Two weeks after his White House announcement.

Powell endorsed New York Attorney General Jacob Javits in his Senate race against Democratic New York City Mayor Robert Wagner, noting that Wagner had "unfinished business" to attend to in the field of civil rights in New York City. At the same time, he declined to express a preference for Richard Nixon or Estes Kefauver, pointing out that the two had similar civil rights records and both had purchased homes having restrictive covenants.

The Democratic response to Powell's swing to the Republicans was swift and predictable. Brooklyn congressman Emanuel Cellar called his colleague a "turncoat." Eleanor Roosevelt said she had "never had any great respect" for the Harlem congressman. A group of New York City Democratic leaders charged that Powell had switched to Ike as a result of White House pressure; Acy Lennon, a secretary on Powell's congressional staff, was currently on trial in federal court for income tax evasion. Both Powell and the White House denied the charge.

All of Adam Clayton Powell's efforts on Eisenhower's behalf came during the last four weeks of the campaign. Did Ike benefit from the surprise support? Probably so; the President received a larger share of the urban black vote in 1956 than in 1952. In New York's Sixteenth Congressional District, Eisenhower ran 16 percentage points better than the last election. However, Ike's margin of victory was so great that he would have won easily without Powell's help. In New York City, Eisenhower trailed Stevenson by about 50,000 votes out of over 3,000,000 cast. In upstate New York, the President ran 1,600,000 ahead of his opponent. Javits, a more needy beneficiary than Ike, lost the city by 441,000 but won

(Continued on page 38)

Page 18











# IKE

MIRRORS







REPUBLICAN LEAGUE











The PEOPLE Want

SEAT TEXAS

M D.



FOR



FOR

OFFICIAL EISENHOWER PARTY

> R. I. REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

> > DCT 20 (##2







Republican Women's National Conference



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IKE











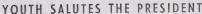
VOTE ROW A...ALL THE WAY Wie for A GREAT TEAM- A GREAT PROGRAM for a **GREATER AMERICA** 

**EISENHOWER-NIXON-JAVITS** 

PEACE ... PROGRESS ... PROSPERITY

# "IKE DAY" By John Pendergrass







Throughout the 1956 campaign, Dwight D. Eisenhower stayed above the fray. While Richard Nixon battled Adlai Stevenson in the political trenches, Ike remained at home at the White House. He made relatively few campaign trips and rarely mentioned his Democratic opponent by name. Eisenhower much preferred the role of a statesman and was quite happy to let his record speak for itself.

The Republicans, well aware of Ike's enormous popularity, were anxious to paint the President as a man above politics. Ike Day was a "nonpartisan" celebration that fit their plans perfectly. It was a dignified tribute to a respected leader that appealed to the voters' nobler instincts.

In early September, the Republicans announced plans for a nation-wide day of community service and celebration dedicated to Dwight Eisenhower. Since October 14, the President's sixty-sixth birthday, fell on a Sunday, October 13 was chosen as Ike Day. Co-chairmen for the event were actress Irene Dunne and Bell and Howell president Charles Percy.

Citizens across the country were called on to sign a pledge to perform twenty-four hours of community service work, preferably in voter registration or get-out-the-vote drives. Birthday cakes were to be baked and sent to the children's ward at local hospitals. As Miss Dunne loftily noted, the candles on the cakes would symbolize the President's "devotion to humanity." Percy called on the state Governors to issue proclamations designating Ike day as a means of dramatizing "the responsibility of all good Americans to vote, regardless of party." Governor Ed Johnson of Colorado, a Democrat, obliged in part. He joined the get-out-the-vote drive, but proclaimed the occasion "Decision to Vote Day" rather than Ike Day.

In addition to the public service aspects of Ike Day. parades, dinners, dances, rallies, and other celebrations were held across the United States. The Army Band serenaded the President from the south lawn of the White House; Ike received a seven-by-eight foot birthday card personally delivered by a Connecticut youngster; a large parade featuring "Youth for Eisenhower" and "Young Republicans" marched past the White House; Helen Hayes cut a 500 pound birthday cake at the Statler Hotel and delivered a piece to the President.

The culmination of Ike Day was a CBS telecast from Hollywood and Washington featuring Gordon McRae. Jane Powell, Nat King Cole, Eddie Fisher, Jimmy Stewart, and other entertainers.

Ike Day was billed as a nonpartisan event, but nothing could be further from the truth. The Eisenhower campaign benefited greatly from the Ike Day celebration. The Democrats could only watch with envy.★

### 20000000 OFFICIAL CHALLENGER REPUBLICAN PARTY

GENERAL ELECTION NOV. 4, 1952

ESSEX COUNTY BOARD OF ELECTIONS ERLE M. HOLBROOK, Chairman EDWARD A. REILLY, Secretary MARGRETTA FORT JOHN A. MATTHEWS, Jr.

Energherrmann



### COMMITTEE



### PLATFORM



Philadelphia, Pa.



The Keynoter

Large Buttons









9" Buttons



IKE in'56







Ovals 7¾"



6" Buttons





Also appears as 4" button









### Larger Buttons 3" to 4" sized proportionally







































IKE IN 1956















START PACKING
THE KENNEDY'S
ARE
COMING

START PACKING

the

KENNEDYS

COMING

MAMIE START PACKING

THE KENNEDY'S

ARE
COMING





Small Vinyl Flag





LET'S CLEAN HOUSE WITH

Window Stickers ▼











# IKE'S TRUTH SQUAD

By John Pendergrass

Politicians love to tell the truth. Each one possesses an ample amount of this noble commodity while his opponent is most always found sadly lacking. "Truth Squads" are sometimes used by politicians to help educate a public led astray by an errant opponent.

A Truth Squad is a group of officials, frequently congressmen, who follow in the wake of an opposition leader to "set the record straight." As political lexicographer William Safire notes, the phrase has a built-in advantage, implying that what the opposition says is not true. The Truth Squad also serves to make the other candidate more careful in his charges and has the added attraction of being the "last word" on a subject, at least for the time being.

The first political use of a Truth Squad may have been in 1919 when a group of Republican congressmen followed Woodrow Wilson across the country as he tried to sell the League of Nations to the American people. Republican Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania led a Truth Squad that shadowed John F. Kennedy during much of the 1960 campaign.

Dwight D. Eisenhower describes his party's success with a Truth Squad in Waging Peace, the second volume

of his presidential memoirs. Early in the campaign, Party Chairman Leonard Hall decided to repeat a tactic that had proved useful in 1952; it had been born out of necessity that year. A "Truth Squad," usually including about four senators and congressmen, was to follow the principal Democratic speakers around the country. Wherever they stopped a Truth Squad would stop, hold a news conference, and as quickly and emphatically as possible publicize data and explanations that refuted Democratic statements "not based on fact."

In the 1956 campaign, I urged the squad to repeat the truth tirelessly and forcefully on every issue, large



or small. Again the tactic worked well, psychologically as well as factually. Truth on the trail of a candidate who is careless in his statements and charges is always menacing.

Adlai Stevenson obviously felt otherwise, noting that a Truth Squad bore the same relationship to truth as a fire department did to a fire. "It will", he said, "extinguish it if it can."★





IKF 10 WASHINGTON







Page 25 The Keynoter



I LIKE IKE BUTILOVE **TERRAMYCIN** 







LIKE IKE





















NEED HIM?































































EISENHOWER FOR NIXON DAY

IKE **DEMOCRATIC CRUSADERS** 

FIGHT DWIGHT









## Salute to Eisenhower

### By John Pendergrass

By anyone's standards, it was a night to remember for Republicans. On January 20, 1956, over 70,000 people assembled in 52 cities across the United States for a Salute to Eisenhower dinner. The participants enjoyed a leisurely meal, listened to Republican notables, and then watched a 30 minute closed circuit television broadcast featuring an address by the President. The gatherings stretched from Maine to California and were variously described as "the greatest town meeting in the history of our country" and "the biggest single fund-raiser in political history."

The idea for a nation-wide salute originated with a group of the President's supporters in the summer of 1955. The project was well underway when Ike suffered a heart attack in September of that year. Plans continued, however, with two main goals in mind. First, the Salute dinner would raise money for the Republican party. Secondly, organizers hoped the tribute would persuade the President to run for a second term.

Whether the affair persuaded Ike to seek reelection is open to question. It may have had much the same effect on Eisenhower as did the late night Madison Square Garden rally in February, 1952. In both cases, the President was overwhelmed by the outpouring of public support and good will. In both cases, he very shortly decided to run for the presidency. On one point though there can be no doubt, the Salute dinner did raise money, and lots of it. With many of the 70,000 participants paying \$100 a plate, over 5 million dollars was taken in. After expenses, approximately 4 million dollars remained to be split among national and state Republican organizations. Never before had one day's event garnered such a large sum of money.

In many ways, the Salute to Eisenhower dinner, with it's wide scale use of closed circuit television, was a key turning point in the history of political campaigning. In 1952 and in many prior elections, candidates traveled across the country in trains to reach the public. Newspapers and magazines were dominant while television when it arrived, was not a significant factor. By 1960, air travel had replaced the railways and American politics was firmly rooted in the age of television. This age can well be said to have begun on January 20, 1956.

Today, when cable television, satellite discs, videocassette recorders and such are commonplace, closed circuit television is rarely given a second thought. In 1956, however, the logistics involved and the technology employed were most impressive. Theatre Network Television handled the broadcast, with George Murphy, actor and later U.S. Senator from California, serving as coordinator for the event. The nerve center for the telecast was studio 5-H in Rockefeller Center in New York, leased from NBC. The signals traveled along 30,000 miles of television line

rented from AT&T. The cost of the closed circuit broadcast, nearly \$250,000, was funded by a special committee headed by hotel magnate Conrad Hilton. In addition to the closed circuit audience, thousands of other people heard Ike speak on the ABC radio network.

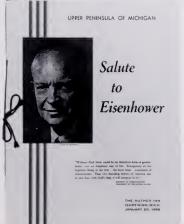
Across the nation, the evening's program was basically the same. Dinner came first and was Republican all the way. In Spokane, guests enjoyed "First Lady Salad," at Cleveland "Fresh Asparagus Spears Nixon" was served. No dish was too big or too small to avoid a party label. At Madison Square Garden in New York, over 17,000 were treated to box lunches, leaving the caterer to describe the event as "the largest mass feeding under one roof." Most of the Garden crowd had paid \$100 and received cold Maine lobster in their boxes. About 5,000, though, were young Republicans who were admitted free and were given a beef and cheese sandwich. Anger and confusion resulted when a thousand of the big contributors were accidentally seated in the beef and cheese section.

After the meal and a few local introductions, a prominant Republican figure addressed the crowd. Each of the 52 cities needed a different speaker, so cabinet members, senators, and other administration officials turned out in mass to cover the country. Vice President Nixon spoke to 4,000 in Chicago at the International Amphitheater, the site of Ike's 1952 nomination. The Vice President was forceful, noting that, "The only way you can avoid risks in waging either war or peace is to surrender, and surrender is not in the vocabulary of the Eisenhower administration." Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey reached the large audience in New York with his call for continued peace and prosperity. Thomas Dewey reviewed Ike's foreign policy successes at Baltimore, while Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson extolled military preparedness in Los Angeles. And so it went, across the United States - Ezra Taft Benson in



Friday, the twentieth of January, 1956 Madison Square Garden The Keynoter





Houston, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. in Pittsburgh, Harold Stassen in St. Louis, Sinclair Weeks in Milwaukee, Leverett Saltonstall in Philadelphia. The Republican stars shone brightly on the night of January 20, 1956.

Following the local speeches, the closed circuit telecast took place. This portion of the Salute dinner, seen around the country, opened with Fred Waring and his Orchestra in Chicago with a musical prayer played against a backdrop of 10,000 lighted candles. Audiences across the nation joined in lighting a candle as a sign of friendship for the President. Next, the telecast skipped to different cities for eleven one-minute messages of welcome to Eisenhower, Actor Jimmy Stewart, a former bomber pilot in World War II in Ike's theater, told the President from Los Angeles, "We have faith, Mr. President, that Almighty God will give you the strength to go on serving all the people and preserve the peace for all the people of the world." In Atlanta, golfer Bobby Jones invited Ike to "come see us soon again. The course is in perfect shape." Glen Stephens, the engineer on Eisenhower's 1952 campaign train and a member of Local 508 of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, conveyed his thanks to the President for a "full dinner pail" and let Ike know that he was ready to "go train-riding again." A farmer from Iowa, a small businessman from Cleveland, a housewife from Texas, a Medal of Honor winner — all had genuine, warm and sincere words of praise for President Eisenhower. California Governor Goodwin Knight later observed with wonder, "what it is that could cause so many people to express so much devotion? The man isn't handsome. He's almost bald. He is not an orator. He is not a politician in





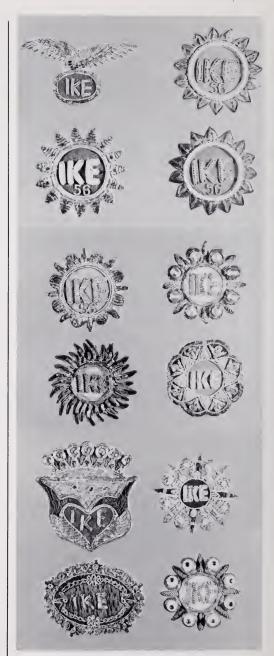
the sense of being skillful at the calling."

After the cross country greetings, the cameras went back to Chicago where Nixon introduced the President as a man who had restored "faith in God and faith in America and dignity and respect to the greatest office in the land." Eisenhower, speaking in front of 2,000 guests at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington, D.C., addressed a nationwide audience of admirers. Many hoped the President would announce his intention to seek reelection. At a press conference the previous day, Ike had inched in that direction, telling reporters he would not officially object to the entering of his name in any of the early Republican primaries. Eisenhower's consent was not necessary in order to place his name on the ballot in New Hampshire; however, he did have the right to ask that his name be withdrawn if he so desired.

The President was deeply moved by the tributes he heard. Wrestling now, as he had in 1952, over whether or not to seek the office of President, Eisenhower said he wished "that there was some method by which the American people could, under the circumstances, point out the path of my true duty. But it appears that this is a question that first I alone must answer. That answer will be forthcoming as quickly as it is firmly in my mind." Republicans would have to wait another 40 days to hear Eisenhower commit to seeking a second term in office.

After a standing ovation, Ike and Mamie led the audience in singing "God Bless America."

The closed circuit telecast ran six minutes and five seconds overtime. No one complained, though. Republicans enjoyed the evening.\*



Hand-Embroidered Patches Made in India 1956 Campaign

### Eisenhower-Related Buttons

























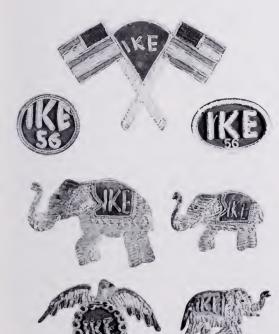




















Hand Embroidered Patches Made in India













Page 30

### Foreign Language Buttons



The Keynoter









# Hamburgers and Politics

# I LIKE IKE

What do hamburgers and politics have in common? One unlikely answer is paper caps.

The "I like Ike" cap is one of 40,000 produced for the 1956 Republican National Convention by the Paperlynen Company. This company was started by E. W. Ingram, founder and president of the White Castle hamburger chain. Ingram, in the days before McDonalds and Burger King rose to power, was known as the "Hamburger King." His restaurants were found across the United States and were manned by workers in military, overseas-style caps.

By the late 1920's, Ingram was looking for a paper, disposable cap to replace the linen ones then being used by his countermen. No one at the time was capable of producing the disposable paper models, so Ingram went to work.

After several years of consultation and development with a Wisconsin engineering firm, Ingram had a cap-making machine ready and production began. In just a few days, the device

had made enough caps to last White Castle for a year. With excess production capacity available, Ingram formed the Paperlynen Company in 1932 to manufacture and market his paper cap. His idea proved most successful. Food vendors, soft drink companies, meat packers, bakeries, soda fountain workers and countless other businesses have used the Paperlynen cap over the years. This inexpensive headgear adusts to fit any size and seems made to order for political conventions.

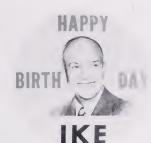
Today's collectors owe a small debt of gratitude to the Hamburger King, E. W. Ingram.★



The Keynoter













I'M VOTING REPUBLICAN BUT I'M NOT GOING TO H ---!!



Don't be





IKE LIKES ME















IF IKE GETS SICK ... YOU'RE STUCK WITH DICK











## Signs of the Times

By Robert Rouse

There were two recessions during the Eisenhower Administration and, unfortunately for the Republicans, they occurred during the Congressional election years of 1954 and 1958. These recessions produced several unusual buttons:



President-elect Eisenhower drew most of his cabinet appointees from the American business community. When he announced his initial choices, Richard Strout commented in the *New Republic*, December 15, 1952, "Ike has picked a cabinet of eight millionaires and a plumber." This description was picked up by other columnists and quickly ingrained in the public consciousness.

The "plumber" was Martin Durkin, a Stevenson Democrat from Chicago, who was the head of the journeyman Plumbers and Steamfitters Union. Eisenhower named him Secretary of Labor. Although he had served two governors in Illinois, he was conspicuously out of place on Ike's team. His presence served to accentuate the business orientation of the cabinet rather than counterbalancing it as the president intended. Durkin resigned a mere eight months after taking office.

The millionaries proved more durable. One of them was Charles E. Wilson, the outspoken Chairman of General Motors, who was named Secretary of Defense. During his tenure, several of his more pointed remarks were quoted or misquoted as symbols of the arrogance of power. "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," a misquote, and "The trouble with you men is



Anti-Republican Brochure

that you don't understand the problem" to a US Senate Committee, are two of the more infamous examples. Referring to US Senators in committee as "you men" — as if they were a group of employees — irritated many people. On another occasion Wilson called the National Guard a bunch of "draft dodgers." These comments embarassed the administration and thus Wilson was not tabbed for a single campaign speech by the Republican National Committee in 1954. Three weeks before the election he went home to Detroit for his annual physical checkup and a speech at a fund-raising dinner for Senator Homer Ferguson. He had agreed to make a speech in Chicago two days later. After his checkup, Wilson met nine or ten local reporters in the Statler Hotel for a news conference.

When it began, he talked freely and answered all questions. Many of the questions were about the possibility of more defense contracts for Detroit - Southeast Michigan was one of several pockets of serious unemployment in late 1954; in near-by Flint 22 percent of the labor force was idle! Wilson predicted that Detroit would have full-employment by Christmas, and said that defense was too serious a matter to be used to make work: "When a whole community gets to leaning too much on military business and gets a vested interest in war, that's not good." He deplored governmental policies which seemed to promise a job to every man in every area. He said he would like to see more self-reliance, typically he made his point with a story about two dogs.

This turned out to be the blooper of the year but the blooper was not immediately apparent. The Associated Press did not put it on the wire for some eight hours, and the New York Times buried it at the bottom of a story. It





took Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers and the C.I.O., to proclaim that Charlie Wilson had delivered an insult without parallel to the American workingman. Union leaders declared his remarks showed the heartlessness of an Administration run by big businessmen. One declared that workingmen "wear no leash and will not be muzzled." Demanding Wilson's resignation or apology, Reuther wired President Eisenhower: WORKERS ARE NOW DOGS TO YOUR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

Suddenly, light dawned upon the national media, which had failed to find much interest in the congressional campaign. When a London paper said that Wilson



had "referred to the country's unemployed as dogs," it did not need the excuse of distance. Many U.S. papers and radio commentators and Democratic party publicists went just as far in distorting his remarks.

Wilson had taken a theme from Aesop's fable, "The Two Dogs." According to the transcript, this is what he said: "This defense business is too serious a business to look at as though it was to make work... I would like to tell you a story that happened to me...down in Washington. A group of people came in, like you, from a distressed area, a so-called labor-surplus area... One of them made a complaint - that was a little over a year ago - and he said, you have just reduced the draft in our district. There are 110 more young men that won't have to go to Korea and fight and that will add to our unemployment. And that idea that a 19 year old boy could be drafted and sent to Korea to be shot at, and he didn't have enough gumption to go 100 miles to get himself a job — I don't go for that. I've got a lot of sympathy for people where a sudden change catches them, but I've always liked bird dogs better than kennel-fed dogs myself. You know, one that will get out and hunt for his food rather than sit on his fanny and vell."

As it turned out, a great many Americans agreed with Wilson's main point — that it is dangerous to use defense spending as a means to prosperity and full employment. But few bothered to check what Wilson had said; instead they took Walter Reuther's cue.

Democratic National Headquarters in Washington burned the wires to candidates, urging them not to play Wilson for laughs but to take the same earnest, humorless line as Reuther.

Democrats called Charlie Wilson "revolting..in-human...brutal." South Carolina Senator Olin Johnston said, "he makes me sick with fear." At week's end. in his only speech on the campaign, former President Truman labeled Wilson's words "the attitude of too many big business spokesmen in the Republican Party." In Buffalo the C.I.O. handed jobless men cans of dog food.

But what fed the headlines more than the Democratic gags and diatribes was the Republican panic. G.O.P. candidates all but trampled Charlie Wilson in their rush for the nearest exit. Kentucky's Senator John Sherman Cooper: "inexcusable, and I criticize it with all my strength." Massachusettes' Senator Saltonstall: "Unfair!" New York's Irving Ives and New Jersey's Clifford Case also turned their backs on Charlie Wilson. In South Bend, Indiana, hard hit by Studebaker lavoffs, Congressional candidate Shep Crumpacker demanded Wilson's resignation. In Illinois, Governor Stratton refused to attend the large G.O.P. fundraiser in Chicago if Wilson insisted on honoring his commitment to speak there. Then G.O.P. national headquarters was on the phone, asking Charlie Wilson to back out of his remarks. "What do you want me to pull back on?" he asked. "What is wrong?"

For hours the Denver White House hummed with activity, but it did not panic. After a flurry of transcontinental telephone calls, President Eisenhower issued a steadying statement: "I have never found him (Wilson)

in the slightest degree indifferent to human misfortune. In spite of record peacetime employment there are areas suffering from economic dislocation as the aftermath of war and inflation. Every one of these is engaging the earnest and persistent efforts of the Administration."

Before leaving for Chicago, Charlie Wilson told reporters: "The rumor around Washington is that I have foot-in-the-mouth disease." When he arrived in Chicago, reporters surrounded him: "Can I tell another story?" he asked with a grin.

At the Conrad Hilton Hotel, 25 C.I.O. pickets barked and yelped as Wilson arrived. They were parading three dogs rented from a local pet shop. At the scheduled dinner hour, Wilson was still hard at work revising his speech; to lull the packed crowd, the organist played *How Much is that Doggie in the Window?* 

At last, Charlie Wilson got up before 1500 people to eat his words — and he did it without choking: "Some of the advance publicity for this meeting was not planned. I made a mistake — an unfortunate mistake — by bringing up those bird dogs at the same time I was talking about people...Right here, right now, I want to say to the American people that I am sorry..."

"But", he said firmly. "I will not let our political assailants get away with the charge that I am unsympathetic to the problems of workingmen." He noted that he began working at 18 for 18¢ an hour, that "fortunately his pay kept pace with his growing family, and that while hospitalized with a broken hip, he thought up G.M.'s model five year contract. "I'll match my labor record with anyone," said Charlie Wilson. "I know what it is to work for a living."

Asked about Republican chances in the November election, he grinned, "I think I've proven I'm not a politician." But he could not resist adding that 85 percent of the people he had heard from by mail and telegraph agreed with his original point illustrated by the dog story.



The next four paragraphs are reprinted from Phillip J. Longman's excellent article "The Fall of the Idea of Thrift" which first appeared in the January, 1985 issue of *The Washington Monthly* magazine.

During the early months of 1958, as the unemployment rate approached a new postwar high of 6.8 percent and business profits slumped, the Eisenhower administration found itself besieged from all quarters with demands that it take drastic action to avert the coming depression. Ike listened to the prophets of crisis and chose his course: Twice he went before the public to admonish that it was the patriotic duty of Americans to save less and to "Buy Now."

Advertisers across the country immediately seized upon this happy new presidential theme, launching hundreds of "confidence" or "prosperity" drives to reinforce Ike's message to the consumer. An association of Cleveland auto dealers invested the slogan YOUAUTOBUY - later adopted by the whole industry - and was quickly rewarded with invitations to the White House and a favorable mention at Ike's weekly news conference. Businessmen in Boston offered POPS, for "Power of Positive Selling"; Cleveland city fathers elected a Miss Prosperity to reign over antirecession parades.

In April, The Wall Street Journal reported that "a massive antirecession psychological offensive...is just getting under way in nearly every major city in the U.S. Already in existence are 'Operation Optimism', 'Keep Detroit Dynamic', 'Crusade for Confidence', 'Buy and Be Happy', and 'O.K. Ike'. Even the banks joined in the siren call, abandoning their usual admonishments to thrift. "Ah, g'wan," the Bank of St. Louis urged in the Sunday newspaper ad, "buy that new car."

Out of such raw material was woven that great, wooly socio-economic paradigm of the 1950's: the idea of the Mass Consumption Society. Ike's faith in the power of positive selling was evidence of a powerful new bipartisan consensus in American economic thought: that, for better or for worse, the nation's future prosperity no longer depended much on individual savings, but more on the present population's propensity to consume.



President Eisenhower suffered a heart attack Saturday evening September 24, 1955 after playing 27 holes of golf in Denver, where he was vacationing. Sunday papers proclaimed the startling news to the nation and on Monday the stock market sustained a 30 point drop-at the time it was the largest one day decline since 1929!

In the aftermath of these shocking events several buttons appeared. The first was probably the RELAX item, as the nation became better informed about the seriousness of Ike's attack and the stock market recovered.

Through the fall, speculation mounted on whether the president could or would seek a second term. In later October speculation increased that Ike would not seek reelection, and various "Stop Nixon" factions began to jockey for advantage. But several prominent "names" were unavailable or undesirable. Chief Justice Earl Warren was determined to remain out of politics. Dewey did not wish to seek a third nomination and Stassen did not provoke any enthusiasm. Massachusett's Governor Christian Herter was mentioned, but he was born in Paris so his nomination would invite controversy; his health was poor, and he was a dull tedious speaker. George Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury also enjoyed a brief boomlet.





Some Republicans who were enamoured of the Eisenhower name and its power at the polls promoted the president's youngest brother Milton for President if Ike chose not to run, or Vice President if Ike did run. Individuals in the Citizens for Eisenhower movement dropped hints of an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in 1956 but with Milton rather than Dwight heading the team. When Ike learned of these machinations for his brother, he dismissed them. Another party leader commented, "Ike would never stand for it. It smacks of the 'crown prince' idea ...I can forsee no chance that the president would have anything to do with the nomination of his own brother. Without active backing from the President, Milton will get no support."

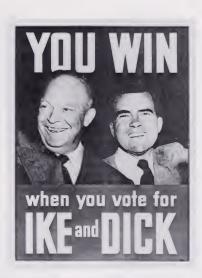
Milton had served as President of Kansas State and Pennsylvania State Universities. He had helped shape agricultural policy in the Coolige and Hoover administrations, handled sensitive war assignments for FDR, and aided Truman with post-war labor problems. Thus his experience in the federal government was much greater than his more famous brother's at the time Ike took office. So it was thought Milton would provide a strong shoulder for the President to lean on and continuity in the horrible event Ike did not live out his second term.

SETTEA A PART-TIME PRESIDENT THAN A FULL TIME PHONY

At length, on February 29, 1956, the president announced he would seek reelection while explaining in detail the limitations he would place upon himself in the campaign and in the White House. This speech was probably the inspiration for the BETTER A PART TIME PRESIDENT THAN A FULL TIME PHONY button. Denigrating the intellectually distinguished Adlai Stevenson as a "Phony" may be seen as an example of the anti-intellectualism which was prominent during the 1950's.



The PAT and MIKE button was inspired by a popular 1952 comedy starring Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn. With Hollywood's most powerful box office draw at the time and cameo appearances by leading sports figures, the film played to large audiences during the campaign. \*\*





# **VOTE FOR**



IKE TO-DAY

Paid for by New Jorses Youth for Eisenhower



EISENHOWER

ANSWERS

AMERICA

ON THE
HIGH COST
OF LIVING



EISENHOWER: A few years ago, those same groceries cost you \$10.00. Now twenty-four! Next year, thirty! That's what will happen, unless we have a change!



CITIZENS FOR FISENNOWER NITON Walter Williams Chairman Mrs. Osepid B Land Co-Chairman Sidney J Wembern Iron-

VOTE FOR A CHANGE WE LIKE IKE EVERY INCH OF THE WAY:



Paper Disks





Cork Coaster



Plastic Clasp Pin



(Powell Likes Ike, continued from page 17) upstate by over 900,000. Powell outdid them both, receiving over 70 percent of the vote in a race with two black opponents, a Republican and a Liberal Party nominee.

The city Democratic leaders tried to gain revenge in 1958, challenging Powell in the Democratic primary. The incumbent warned De Sapio and black Manhattan borough president Hulan Jack to stay off the streets of Harlem, or else. Powell won the primary and later made peace with De Sapio. He went on to establish a record most notable for junketeering, financial flim-flam, and beautiful women - to the apparent delight of his constituents. In 1967, he was expelled by the House of Representatives following an investigation of misuse of committee funds. Powell was promptly reelected by a 7-1 margin, but his seat lay vacant for two years until the U.S. Supreme Court ordered him readmitted. In 1970 Powell lost a close primary race to Charles Rangel. He died of cancer in 1972.

Adam Clayton Powell's role in the 1956 presidential campaign was a small slice of a very colorful controversial career. \*\*



Sorry to miss you

I came to ask your help in

putting a great American leader
IKE EISENHOWER
In the White House
Signed:
Address:
Telephone No.

Door Hanger





























Cloth Golf Cap



Citizens For EISENHOWER

TIME FOR A CHANGE

VOLUNTEER TO HELP I K E CLEAN UP THE MESS IN WASHINGTON

PET BIRB WATER CO. CHICAGO. B.S. A.







Military District of Washington Security Button For Eisenhower Funeral



GOLF'S TRIBUTE TO IKE









#### I WANT A MINK COAT

#### **By John Pendergrass**

I WANT

One of the key issues in the 1952 presidential campaign was corruption in the Truman administration. For several years, Republicans had been hatping on the need to "clean up the mess" in Washington. "Influence peddlers", "five percenters", and "deep freezers" were several of the more common epithets hurled at the Democrats by the opposition party. All related, in one way or another, to the political favoritism shown by the White House and the Democratic National Committee. Loans, contracts, and other favors were granted to those who knew the right people. One of the main symbols of alleged government corruption in the early 1950's was the mink coat.

In February 1951, Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas issued a preliminary report of an investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation conducted by his Senate Banking and Commerce subcommittee. The report criticized the RFC for mismanagement and political favoritism. It cited Truman's administrative assistant Donald Dawson and Democratic National Chairman William Boyle for improperly influencing the granting of loans by the RFC.

Truman, intensely loyal to political associates, lashed back. He publically labeled the subcommittee's findings as "asinine" and later called Fulbright an "overeducated s.o.b." Fulbright responded to the President's charges by conducting public hearings on the RFC. For weeks dozens of witnesses paraded before the subcommittee with stories of influence peddling and other irregularities.

One disclosure heard by the Senators dealt with White House stenographer Lauretta Young. Mrs. Young had received an \$8,540 pastel mink coat as a gift from her husband, E. Merl Young. Merl Young was a former chief examiner at the RFC and a close friend of Donald Dawson. The coat had been bought for Young after he left the RFC by Joseph Rosenbaum, an attorney who represented applicants for RFC loans. The implication was that Rosenbaum bought the coat for Young in return for past favors at the RFC.

The subcommittee heard a variety of charges, countercharges, and conflicting stories throughout its hearings, but no incumbent member of the Truman administration was ever indicted as a result of the investigation. Young was later charged and convicted of perjury for his testimony before the subcommittee. Still, Truman's blind loyalty to friends and associates produced an aura of scandal. The Youngs were from Missouri and had known Truman for many years. Mrs. Young served as a secretary





for Senator Truman while her husband worked in his 1948 campaign. While the Senate investigation was in progress, Young continued to use his White House pass to visit his wife at work. Truman's reluctance to disassociate himself from old cronies was one reason his popularity rating dropped to 26% in the spring of 1952.

Republicans were grateful for the opportunity to keep the corruption issue before the public. With the Truman administration already being criticized for harboring communist sympathizers, some signs at Republican rallies read, "No Minks, No Pinks." Richard Nixon made reference to the mink coat in his 1952 "Checkers" speech. Defending himself against charges of maintaining a "slush fund," Nixon noted that his wife Pat "doesn't have a mink coat. But she does have a respectable cloth coat."

The Democrats would have their day though. In 1958, the shoe was on the other foot when Assistant to the President, Sherman Adams, Ike's chief of staff, was forced to resign, in part, for having accepted gifts from industrialist Bernard Goldfine. One of these gifts was a vicuna coat.



YCERSOYA - You Can't Elect Republicans Sitting On Your A \_\_











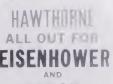


NATIONAL CONVENTION 1956 SAN FRANCISCO









NIXON



for Governor

WHO PLEDGE A

EISENHOWER

CHANGE to constructive foreign policy.

and

NIXON

CHANGE to an aggressive program against com

CHANGE to sound government management and

CHANGE to leadership we can respect and trust!

VOTE REPUBLICAN From Courthouse to WHITE HOUSE!

Page 42 The Keynoter

### "I SHALL GO TO KOREA"

#### By John Pendergrass



In retrospect, the 1952 presidential contest was never really close. Dwight D. Eisenhower defeated Adlai Stevenson by over 6 million votes, losing only nine states. Throughout the entire campaign, Ike's margin of victory in the various polls was substantial. However, as Labor Day faded and November 4 approached, no one was completely sure of the outcome. Stevenson had begun to edge a little closer in the polls and after the 1948 upset, who could be certain

On October 24, at Detroit's Masonic Temple, before a national television audience, Eisenhower sealed the outcome of the election with a dramatic statement. He announced that after his election, he would "forego the divisions of politics and concentrate on the job of ending the Korean War --- That job requires a personal trip to Korea. I shall make that trip. Only in that way could I learn how to serve the American people in the cause of peace. I shall go to Korea."

Eisenhower's speech was just what the campaign needed. As Ike's biographer, Stephen E. Ambrose noted, "The response was enthusiastic. The nation's number-one hero, her greatest soldier and most experienced statesman, was promising to give his personal attention to the nation's number-one problem. It was reassuring, it was exciting, it was exactly what people wanted to hear. He had not, it is important to note, made any promises about what he would do once in Korea. Those who thought a military victory still possible could imagine that General Ike would find a way to achieve it; those who wanted an early end to the war could believe that Eisenhower was the one man who could deliver it. This ambiguity was not only helpful

in the quest for votes; more important to Eisenhower, who was going to win anyway, it kept his options open. The truth was that he did not know what he was going to do about Korea. He wanted to reserve judgement until he had seen for himself; in the meantime, his pledge was a dramatic and effective way to use his prestige and reputation to win votes while retaining flexibility."

A commitment to visit Korea had been considered by the Stevenson forces, but the idea was rejected. The pledge of a Midwest governor to go to the battlefront would have paled in comparison with the Supreme Commander's attention. The Democratic candidate kept silent and hoped the thought wouldn't occur to Eisenhower.

Once Ike made his announcement, Stevenson was obligated to respond. Speaking at Mechanics Hall in Boston on October 25, he noted, "The General has announced his intention to go to Korea, but the root of the Korean problem does not lie in Korea. It lies in Moscow. If the purpose of the General's trip is to settle the Korean War by a larger military challenge, then the sooner we all know about it, the better." Harry Truman echoed Stevenson's feelings in a less kind way, calling Ike's announcement a "gimmick" and urging the General to go to Moscow if he really wanted peace.

The origin of the idea to visit Korea is somewhat controversial. The man generally acknowledged to be responsible was Eisenhower's speech writer, Emmett John Hughes. Hughes, a Princeton graduate, Time-Life reporter, and true-blue liberal, was brought into the 1952

"FLANDERS FIELD" - Woodrow Wilson
"PEARL HARBOR" - Franklin D. Roosevelt
"KOREA" - Harry S. Truman
Three Democratic Presidents

IKE Got The Boys Out Of Korea

THREE WARS

Let's Back Him With A Republican Congress

**VOTE REPUBLICAN** 

campaign on Claire Boothe Luce's recommendation. He was the author of many of Eisenhower's best speeches. Hughes became progressively disenchanted with John Foster Dulles and American foreign policy. He was in fact turned down for a high position in the State Department by Dulles.

Hughes eventually published America the Vincible, highly critical of Dulles, and later The Ordeal of Power, criticizing Eisenhower directly. Needless to say, Dwight Eisenhower came to hold a very low opinion of Emmett John Hughes.

When writing volume one of his memoirs, Mandate for Change, Ike was happy to note that Harry Kern, the foreign affairs editor of Newsweek, had first suggested the idea of a visit to Korea to Bob Humphreys of the Republican National Committee in August 1952, two

months before the Detroit speech. Shortly after Kern's suggestion, Humphreys heard the same idea from Frank Hilton, a leading Pennsylvania Republican. According to Ike, these men, not Hughes, first suggested the idea. Emmett John Hughes is not mentioned in Mandate for Change. C. D. Jackson is credited in the book with actually bringing the idea to Ike. Literally speaking, this is true. Hughes' Korean visit speech was considered so important by Eisenhower aides that Jackson carried it from Manhattan to Ike's train at Buffalo. Eisenhower does state in a footnote in his memoirs that the "specific origin of such an idea is nearly impossible to establish."

Regardless of who first thought of the idea, Eisenhower's announcement that "I shall go to Korea" was a masterful stroke that assured victory in November. \*















953























































Northampton County PENNSYLVANIA





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BIE

PRESIDENTIAL

INAUGURATION WASHINGTON, D.C.

JAN. 21st.

#### APIC SHEET MUSIC PROJECT

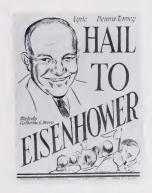
## SING ALONG FOR EISENHOWER





















## **EISENHOWER'S COATTAILS**

#### By Robert Rouse

Eisenhower ranks with FDR and LBJ in his ability to attract coattail candidates. Ike's pluralities in 1952 and 1956 certainly seem to warrant the confidence Republican candidates demonstrated when they linked their names to his in 1952, 1954, and 1956. But, Eisenhower, like many others before and since, found it virtually impossible to transfer remarkable personal popularity to fellow candidates. However in Ike's case this is not surprising. After all, he was not a partisan in any sense of the word. Furthermore, it is questionable whether he ever voted prior to being nominated. He was a popular war hero courted by both parties for the presidential nomination. As indicated below, people voted for the man not the party label. Herblock's memorable 1956 cartoon marks the fact that Ike was the first reelected President in more than a century who did not carry House and Senate majorities with him. As an Indiana farm wife commented in 1954, "We like lke, but we spend 24 cents a pound to raise broiler chickens that are now selling for 18 cents. Maybe we'll keep on liking Ike as a man without backing candidates just because they like him too." Essentially, the same comment was made all over the land, although the local issue cited after the word "but" varied from region to region.

There was almost an inverse relationship between Ike's popularity and the Republican party's success at the polls. In fact, as the table below demonstrates, the nation's political preference changed dramatically during the Eisenhower years. This chart shows the number of Republican office holders in 1951, the year before he was nominated and early 1959, shortly after the heavily Democratic Class of '58 was sworn in:

1951	OFFICE	1959
25	Governor	14
47	US Senator	34
199	US Representative	153
754	State Senator	592
2566	State Representative	1942

In summary, after six years in office, the popular President's party had lost 24% of the important offices it held before his first nomination. Commenting on the strength of Eisenhower's coattails years later, Phyllis Schlafly, a prominent right wing author and activist wrote, "The ultimate impotence of Eisenhower's coattails were seen in 1960 when his loyal vice-president and hand picked successor could not defeat a little known Senator from a small state."

The numbers show the trend but they hide the fact that Ike had the unexpected benefit of a barely Republican Congress during his first two years. The House had 221 Republicans, 213 Democrats and one independent, the Senate had 48 Republicans, 47 Democrats, and Wayne Morse of Oregon who frequently voted with the

Democrats, after resigning from the Republican party on October 24, 1952. Vice-president Nixon cast the deciding vote to permit Republicans to organize the Senate, chair the committees, etc. Republicans also won 20 of the 30 statehouses contested in 1952 to raise their total to 30. But that was the high-water mark.

In 1954 they faced the traditional Congressional losses in "off year" elections, a tradition reinforced by the recession of 1954. There was considerable stress in the White House as some aides counseled Ike not to risk his prestige campaigning for Republicans in state and local races. The President was in sympathy with this "stand above the battle" approach since he wanted to leave the door open for a reasonable degree of cooperation with the Democrats in the event the worst did happen. But party regulars, who adopted the slogan "Let's Back Ike" for this campaign, argued the "Eisenhower magic" could make the difference in several close races — thus stemming traditional losses. To encourage these losses - which averaged 42 seats in the House and 7 in the Senate in the six preceding off-year elections — Democrats adopted the slogan, "Ike needs more Democrats in Congress."

Finally the president agreed to pose for pictures with Republicans who called on him and he agreed to make several speeches calling for the election of a Republican Congress — but the speeches would be on a high plane, discussing issues, not candidates! Then on the Saturday







before election day, he surprised Republicans and Democrats alike with two bold, unprecedented initiatives. In the morning he made personal telephone calls to ordinary citizens around the country who had sent letters of praise to the White House. The first call went to the cook in a fraternity house at Bradley University in Peoria, Illinois. He asked each person he called to call ten friends and urge them to vote Republican, he also asked that each friend be asked to call ten more friends with the same message, etc. Aides called this the telephone pyramid campaign.

In the afternoon, he made a four city fly-around to speak for four Senate candidates: Herbert Warburton in Wilmington, Delaware, John Sherman Cooper in Louisville, George Bender in Cleveland, and Homer Ferguson in Detroit. Bender's opponent said this last minute blitz cost him the election. The other three lost.

Republicans lost two seats in the Senate and 20 in the House in 1954 — good in view of the average losses cited above but enough to lose control of Congress. They held their own in 1956 (lost 3 seats in the House, none in the Senate) with Ike at the top of the ticket, but in 1958 they lost 47 House seats and a record 13 in the Senate. Republicans did not regain control of the Senate until 1980 when the Reagan landslide enabled them to gain twelve seats, including seven where the winning margin was less than two percent. Democrats have controlled the House for 32 years.

Collectors can see that mounting frustration induced Republican campaign officials to revive and expand the use of generic coattail pins; some carried direct traditional appeals like "ELECT A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS" but others were more direct: "GIVE IKE YOUR SENATOR/CONGRESSMAN" and "FOR THE LOVE OF IKE VOTE REPUBLICAN" These show how Republican strategists tried to personalize the campaigns in 1954 and '56, i.e. they wanted to make Ike the issue rather than the economy, etc.

In Washington, Tacoma Congressman Thor Tollefson was re-elected throughout the Eisenhower years, he served from 1947 to 1965. In Seattle, banker Tom Pelley won the first of his ten terms in 1952. Al Canwell was not as fortunate; as the candidate for Congressman-at-large, he lost a very close race to Seattle *Times* reporter Donald Magnuson. Magnuson won a rematch in 1954 by a substantial margin.

Down the coast, veteran Congressman Ernest Bramblett of Pacific Grove, California issued a coattail sticker in 1952.

In Utah, political novice George Clyde, an engineering professor working for the Soil Conservation Service, defeated three candidates including the incumbent governor, in the 1956 Republican primary. He went on to win two terms in the statehouse.

The seemingly ambiguous ED/IKE/PAT button is from New Mexico. Edwin Mecham broke the Democrats twenty year tenure in the governorship in 1950. He was re-elected in 1952, 1956, and 1960. Patrick Hurley, Secretary of War in the Hoover administration and an emmissary to the Soviet Union and China for FDR, lost the 1952 Senate race to three term incumbent Dennis Chavez by less than two percent of the vote.

In neighboring Oklahoma, Douglas McKeever lost the 1956 Senate race to incumbent Mike Monroney.

Middlewest Republicans were more successful. John Davis, a banker and rancher who entered politics as the mayor of McClusky, North Dakota from 1946 to 1952, was elected governor in 1956 and 1958. He barely lost a special election for the Senate seat vacated with the death of William Langer in 1960.

In Iowa farmer, pharmacist William Beardsley won his third two year term as governor in 1952. Illinois candidates produced several coattail items. State Treasurer William Stratton was elected governor in 1952 and 1956. His campaigns produced a scarce button, an IKE and BILL paper "ribbon" and an unusual rigid hot pad. Elbert Smith was elected state auditor in 1956 following the indictment and conviction of Republican Orville Hodge on charges of embezzlement. In Chicago Ralph Goodman lost the 9th CD race to Sidney Yates in 1954. The durable Representative Yates is currently serving his nineteenth term in the House.

Indiana Congressman Charles (Charlie) Halleck of Rensselaer served from 1935 to 1969. He was prominent in the Eisenhower conventions and as the House Majority Leader during the 80th and 83rd Congresses and Minority Leader of the 86th - 88th Congresses. Homer Capehart was elected to the second of his three terms in 1956. His colorful career was described in the Spring 1984 Keynoter. Lieutenant Governor Harold Handley was elected Governor in 1956. He defeated Ralph Tucker, a Stevenson coattail. Handley ran for Senate in 1958 but he lost to Vance Hartke.

Michigan Republicans were stunned when two term incumbent Homer Ferguson, the chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, lost his seat to Patrick McNamara in 1954. McNamara, a 60 year old pipefitter's union president and AFL official, was nominated at the last minute following the unexpected death of former Senator Blair Moody. Moody died while campaigning in Ann Arbor in late July. McNamara owed his narrow victory to the coattails of G. Mennen Williams, (250,000 vote plurality), a popular governor who was elected to six two year terms; the unemployment in the auto industry; and "Secretary Wilson's unfortunate remark" according

to Ferguson (See the "Kennel Dog" story elsewhere in this issue). In 1956 Detroit Mayor Albert Cobo unsuccessfully challenged Williams for the governorship.

Ohio Congressman-at-large George Harrison Bender was elected to fill the unexpired term of Senator Robert A. Taft — "Mr. Republican" — who died July 31, 1953. The isolationist Congressman, boss of the Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) Republican machine, is best remembered as a cheerleader in the 1948 and 1952 Taft for President campaigns. He defeated the appointed incumbent Tom Burke, a former mayor of Cleveland, by 9,355 votes out of more than 2.5 million cast in 1954. Bender lost the seat to Governor Frank Lausche two years later.

Northeastern coattail candidates were less successful. In Massachusetts, Vernon Bradley lost to incumbent Edward Boland of Springfield in 1954. But Joseph Martin of North Attleboro was re-elected repeatedly. He served from 1925 to 1967 and for many of those years he was Speaker of the House or the House Minority Leader. In addition he was the chairman of the Republican national conventions from 1940 through 1960.

In Rhode Island, Bayard Ewing lost Senate races to John Pastore in 1952 and 1958. James Watts lost House races to John Fogarty of Harmony in 1952 and 1954. Walter Sundlun suffered the same fate; in 1954 he lost to the long-time chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Theodore Green, who won a fourth term at the age of 87. And in a rather unusual turn of events Newsweek reported that Christopher Del Sesto, Republican candidate for governor of Rhode Island in 1956, "put in a bid" for the Ike — Chris items made for Stassen's promotion of Christian Herter for Vice President at the convention. I don't know whether he obtained any of these buttons or tabs for use in his own campaign, which was not successful.

Several New York Republicans allied their names with Ike's on promotional items. The trigates picture Ralph Gwinn, a Congressman from Bronxville from 1945 to 1959 and Joseph Periconi, who was elected to the state senate in 1956. In congressional races, Jacob P. (Louie) Lefkowitz was defeated in New York City while Otis Pike won the first of several terms in 1958. In Senate races, Irving Ives was elected in 1952 and Jacob Javitz was elected to the first of his four terms in 1956.

In Pennsylvania Democrat George Leader defeated Lloyd H. Wood for governor in 1954. Senator James Duff lost to Philadelphia mayor Joseph Clark by 4 percent of the vote in 1956. In congressional races James Bertolet lost to incumbent George Rhodes in 1952. Francis McCusker lost in 1954. Willard Curtin of Morrisville won the first of several terms in 1956 and Carroll Kearns of Farrell served six terms from 1947 to 1958.

In New Jersey, Alexander Matturi lost to Peter Rodino in Newark in 1952. Rodino, who gained national attention as chairman of the House Watergate Committee, is now serving his 20th term. In other Newark races Hugh Addonizio defeated Phillip Insabella in 1954 and Chester Ligham in 1956. In south Jersey, Florence Dwyer of Elizabeth won the first of her eight terms in 1956. She



defeated Congressman Harrison Williams in a close race. Williams had won the normally Republican district in a special election in 1952. He surprised many when he easily won re-election in 1954, helped in part by a non-descript Republican opponent and recession-induced unemployment throughout the state. In 1958 he rode another recession to a Senate victory. He served for 23 years until 1981 when he resigned under threat of expulsion following his Abscam conviction.

The New Jersey Senate contest was easily the most dramatic race of 1954. After 10 years in the House Clifford Case sought to move up to the Senate. Pro-Taft Republicansignored him because he had supported Ike at the 1952 convention. Pro-McCarthy Republicans objected to "his leftish views" and the support he received from the Americans for Democratic Action, Senator McCarthy categorically stated Case was the one Republican he would not support. To underscore their antipathy the right wing of the party sponsored a write-in campaign for conservative Congressman Fred Hartley in the Senate race. For his part, Case had spoken out against the junior Senator from Wisconsin and, like many Democrats, he was waging his campaign against McCarthyism. Thus in mid October, despite endorsements from the White House, Vice President Nixon, and the Republican National Committee, his campaign was stagnant.

Then on October 14, the right wing Newark Star Ledger, which bitterly opposed Case, published a six column headline: CASE'S SISTER MAY BE VOTE ISSUE: LINKED TO RED FRONT GROUPS IN THE '40's. Surely this revelation would convince the public of the Case family's leftist affiliations. The story alleged Cases's sister Adelaide, who suffered a mental disorder, had worked for several communist groups in the 1940's. Case denounced the story as "gutter politics" and went into seclusion. His sister, who was teaching at an exclusive girl's school in Michigan, returned to New Jersey and subsequently entered a sanitarium. The story was a political bombshell but by the end of the week reporters established it was a case of mistaken identity based on similar names. When Case resumed his campaign the crowds were much larger. In a dramatic television speech he defended his hospitalized sister as a "loyal American" and denounced the "vicious smear campaign." Sympathetic voters gave him a narrow victory — the first of four in Senate races.

Kentucky Republicans sent Thruston Morton, a former Congressman serving in the administration as assistant Secretary of State, and John Sherman Cooper, a scholarly lawyer, to the Senate in 1956. Cooper had won a special election in 1952, then lost to Alben Barkley when he reclaimed his former seat in 1954. Barkley died April 30, 1956 at the age of 78, and Cooper won the right to complete his term. Congressman John Robston of Louisville won his third term in 1956.

In West Virginia Cecil Underwood left a public relations job at a small college when he was elected governor in 1956. The state constitution precluded him from succeeding himself but he waged unsuccessful comeback

Page 52



attempts in 1964 and 1976. Chapman Revercomb, a former Senator (1948-1949), won a special election to complete Senator Harley Kilgore's term in 1956. In the 2nd CD Mary Elkins lost to veteran Congressman Harley Staggers in 1956. Staggers served from 1949 to 1981. His son currently holds the seat.

Virginians had not elected a Republican since 1930. But in 1952 they voted for Ike and he carried three congressional candidates with him. In the newly created 10th District - the DC suburbs - real estate developer Joel Broyhill won by 322 votes. He won nine more terms but fell victim to the Watergate backlash in 1974. In the 6th CD, Lynchburg, Roanoake and the Byrd family, conservative Richard Poff won by 2000 votes without notable opposition from the Byrd machine. Roy Cabell was not so fortunate; he lost to five term incumbent Vaughn Gary of Richmond in 1956.

In Maryland Senator John Marshall Butler was reelected in 1956. But Arthur Sherwood and Edward Dukehart lost 1954 House races in the fourth and seventh CD's respectively. In neighboring Delaware, Herbert Warburton, former head of the national Young Republicans, was elected to the House in 1952. Buoyed by this success he entered the 1954 Senate race. The incumbent, Allen Frear, a conservative Democrat who ran as "friendly to Ike," defeated him.

In other southern states George R. Blue lost to veteran New Orleans' Congressman Hale Boggs in 1956. Boggs was elected in 1940 and 1946. He served until 1972 when he was killed in a plane crash while campaigning in Alaska. His wife has held the seat since his death.

In 1952 William Cramer of St. Petersburg waged a very strong campaign in an effort to become Florida's first Republican Congressman since Reconstruction. He lost on the strength of the absentee ballots but he never stopped campaigning. In 1954 he defeated the incumbent by 1500 votes and served the district until 1971.

And a few candidates remain unidentified. Kansas, Missouri, and New York elected congressmen named Cole in 1952. Were any of them nicknamed Ike? Three Republican Allens ran for Congress in 1956. Incumbent John Allen from Oakland, California, and Leo Allen of Galena, Illinois were reelected. Calhoun Allen of Shreveport, Louisiana lost. The Birr, Bruce, Krause, McCaffrey, Marty Snyder, and Steven V. Eigenberg items are also of unknown origin. \*\*











I K E







DEMIKECRAT

#### EISENHOWER RALLY BLACKSTONE THEATRE SO LAST SALED DRIVE IKE'S MEN — MEDAL OF HONOR WINNERS

SUNDAY JULY 6, 1952 8:00 P. M. ADDITIONAL TICKETS AVAILABLE AT BOX OFFICE AIR COOLED

CONVENTION HALL PHILADELPHIA THURS. | GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

I TOLD YOU SO

IKE

\*.\*.\* EISENHOWER \*.\*.\* FOR PRESIDENT CITIZEN'S RALLY

FR. LUY APRIL 18 1952 8 PM ACADEMY OF MUSIC BROAD & LOCUST STS PHILA PA



DONALD Schuler

COMMI



## A Great Team

VOTE REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT

EISENHOWER

**GOVERNOR** STRATTON

PRIMARY APRIL 10, 1956 ELECTION NOVEMBER 6, 1956

COMPLIMENTS OF 45th WARD REPUBLICAN CLUB CHARLES J. FLECK, Word Committeemen





CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

MABEL ROBINSON

IN RECOGNITION OF OUTSTANDING SERVICE IN THE SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN TO ELECT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER AND RICHARD NIXON AS PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

check therman CHARLES & DUCONINUN LOS ANDELES OSUNTY CHARRINA

Benadhema

## Ike and Chris

#### By John Pendergrass

In 1956, the Republican National Convention was supposed to be a routine affair. The delegates would meet in San Francisco in a spirit of unity and harmony to sing the praises of Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Grand Old Party. Ike, the popular war hero and first-term president, had recovered from a heart attack sustained the previous fall and had announced for reelection in February. The incumbent vice-president, Richard Nixon, a solid team player and a favorite of the party regulars, was certain to be named the number two man. The delegates would simply confirm the obvious.

Harold Stassen, however, had other ideas. Stassen, serving in the Eisenhower cabinet as Special Assistant on Disarmament, proposed at a July 23 press conference that Massachusetts Governor Christian A. Herter replace Nixon as the Republican vice-presidential candidate. Less than a month remained before the convention opened.

Stassen's move to dump Nixon can in part be attributed to Eisenhower's indecision and ambiguity in dealing with his vice-president. Ike never completely and unequivocably endorsed Dick Nixon. Had he done so, Stassen would never have dared to challenge the Vice President.

Beginning with Eisenhower's February 29 announcement to seek another term, constant attention was focused by the press on the President's choice for a running mate. Ike responded with measured words of praise for Nixon, noting his vice-president was "a loyal and dedicated associate" who was "well-versed in the activities of government." Still, the president felt it would be inappropriate for him to talk about the vice-presidential choice before the convention had selected the presidential rominers.

When questioned about "dumping Nixon" at a March 7 press conference, Eisenhower noted "if anyone ever has the effrontery to come and urge me to dump somebody that I respect as I do Vice President Nixon, there will be more commotion around my office than you have noticed yet." When questioned further, Ike revealed that he had asked Nixon to "chart his own course and tell me what he would like to do."

The President did not feel comfortable with the idea of Nixon as his successor. On several occasions he remarked to associates that the Vice President was an "immature" man who "needed to grow." In fact, Eisenhower had previously, in private, urged Nixon to take a cabinet post, such as Secretary of Defense, in order to gain more administrative experience. Ike would have much preferred Robert Anderson as his running mate. Anderson, a Texas Democrat who had served as Secretary of the Navy, was greatly admired by the President. Eisenhower offered Anderson the vice-presidential slot in 1956 and later pledged his support for an Anderson bid for the presidency in 1960. Anderson refused all of Ike's overtures.

Eisenhower's comment for Nixon to "chart his own course" was interpreted by the vice president as a lack of

support for his candidacy. Nixon drew up an announcement that he would not be a candidate for vice-president in 1956. Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall convinced him to withhold the announcement, noting, "That's not what he meant at all. We all know that if this was anyone else, it'd be different. But this is Ike, and you can't apply the kind of politically sophisticated standards to him that you do to anybody else."

The Vice President's stock rose greatly with the results of the March 13 New Hampshire primary. Eisenhower, the only presidential candidate listed, received 56,000 votes. There were no candidates on the ballot for vice-president, but over 22,000 voters wrote-in Richard Nixon's name. This strong Nixon sentiment surprised most everyone. At his next press conference, the President observed:

"Well, I will make this comment; apparently there are lots of people in New Hampshire that agree with what I have told you about Dick Nixon---

Anyone who attempts to drive a wedge of any kind between Dick Nixon and me has just as much chance as if he tried to drive it between my brother and me---"

# THE WINNING TEAM



EISENHOWER

RESIDENT EDVERME





# EISENHOWER HERTER

Nixon continued to draw favorable comments from Eisenhower but no outright endorsement. On April 26, Nixon met with Ike and told the President that he wanted to stay on the ticket. Ike immediately called in Press Secretary Jim Hagerty and arranged for Nixon to make his announcement to the press. He also told Hagerty to point out to the reporters that he "was delighted to hear of the Vice President's decision." Still, the President said only that he was happy that Nixon wanted to remain on the ticket. He did not say that Nixon was his choice for the number two spot. While refusing to give complete support to Nixon, Ike also refused to endorse or even speculate publicly about other candidates for the job. The Vice President's decision to seek reelection coupled with the lack of another viable candidate with Eisenhower's blessing seemed to settle the ticket - Ike and Dick in 1956.

In early June, Eisenhower suffered a recurrence of ileitis, necessitating an ileo-transverse-colostomy at Walter Reed Hospital. Once again there was doubt about the President's ability to carry on. Ike recovered quickly, recuperated at Gettysburg, and was back at the White House by July 15. The President's second major illness in less than a year had no effect on the Republican slate. In fact, Leonard Hall told the press, "You can paste the names of Eisenhower and Nixon in your hats. That will be the ticket."

However, while Ike was recovering from surgery, Harold Stassen was starting to act. Stassen had been considering attempting to force Nixon off the ticket long before his July 23 press conference, but several developments caused him to act promptly. On July 13, Hall, Hagerty and Nixon called Governor Herter and asked him to nominate Nixon for the vice-presidency at the San Francisco convention. Stassen learned of the call and two days later approached Herter to run for the second spot. Herter was surprised but agreed to hold off committing to nominate Nixon until Stassen had checked with Eisenhower. Herter, like most everyone else, felt that Ike should have whoever he wanted on the ticket.

Stassen and Eisenhower met on July 20, just prior to the President's departure for Panama to attend the Inter-American Chiefs of State meeting. At this meeting and at his July 23 press conference, Stassen cited two main reasons for supporting Herter. First, he felt an Ike-Chris ticket would run six percentage points ahead of an Ike-Dick slate. This gap would be crucial in many house and senate races and could even be the difference in the presidential election. Secondly, Stassen stated that independent voters here at home, as well as many of our foreign allies, would have more confidence in an Eisenhower-Herter administration.

Eisenhower could have ended the whole affair by simply telling Stassen that he wanted Nixon again for his vice-

president. Stassen would have had no choice but to drop his plan. Instead, Ike lamely told Stassen that while he liked Nixon, the convention chose the vice-presidential nominee. "You are an American citizen, Harold," he noted, "and free to follow your own judgement in such matters." One can hardly blame Stassen for thinking that Ike supported an open race for the vice-presidency.

On July 23, the same day as Stassen's press conference. Nixon received a letter from Stassen stating, "I have concluded that I should do what I can to nominate Governor Chris Herter for vice-president at the coming convention. I sincerely hope that after careful reflection during the coming weeks, you will conclude to join in supporting Chris Herter."

Stassen's press conference announcement produced an immediate outcry from Republican regulars. Hall delivered a strong statement of support for Nixon, noting, "My own prediction is that the ticket will again be Eisenhower and Nixon." Hagerty, traveling with the President in Panama, issued a press release pointing out that Stassen was speaking as an individual, not as "a member of the President's official family." Nixon stated would be "happy to abide by any decision the President and the delegates to the national convention make."

Herter, meanwhile, checked with Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams to find out Ike's true feelings on the subject of a Herter vice-presidency. Adams told Herter that Eisenhower held Herter in high regard and hoped to have a high level position available for him at the State Department. If Herter chose to become a vice-presidential candidate, this position "would not be possible." With this apparent negative response from the President, Herter committed on July 24 to Hall to deliver the nominating speech for Nixon. He formally endorsed Nixon at a press

STASSEN STOP HARASSIN







Press Secretary James Hagerty, Harold Stassen, President Eisenhower and acting Secretary of State Christian Herter, in the oval office March 13, 1957.

conference in Boston the following day.

With Herter on Nixon's side, along with Hall and the party regulars, Stassen's dump Nixon movement seemed doomed, less than 24 hours after it became public. However, the Minnesotan remained undaunted. He stated that he selection of Herter to nominate Nixon confirmed Chris Herter's standing as a candidate who could appeal to all wings of the party. Stassen, at the urging of Sherman Adams, took a four week leave of absence without pay to promote Herter's candidacy. Adams did not feel it appropriate for Stassen, while a principal member of Eisenhower's staff, to be campaigning against Eisenhower's vice-president.

The response to Stassen's efforts to promote Herter for the vice-presidency was lukewarm at best. Ike and Dick had formed a winning team in 1952 and Republican officials had no desire to break up a victorious ticket. Dumping Nixon would surely cause bitterness and dissension. In addition, those opposed to Nixon would not make a move until Eisenhower's wishes were known. Ike sat squarely on the fence.

On August 1, the President met the press for the first time since his intestinal surgery. His support of Nixon remained equivocal. Eisenhower noted, "there should be no doubt about my satisfaction with him as a running mate." However, he also pointed out "the right of the delegates to the convention to nominate whom they choose." Reporters repeatedly pushed Eisenhower to either endorse Nixon as his choice for a running mate or to name other men who would be acceptable to him as a vice-president. Ike would do neither. Since Nixon was the incumbent and any change in the ticket would require Eisenhower's approval, Ike's neutrality actually favored the Vice-President.

When convention time rolled around, Hall and the party regulars were firmly in charge. Of the 201 Republican congressmen, 180 had endorsed Nixon. Hotels and meeting halls across San Francisco were covered with posters urging delegates to elect Ike and Dick. If there was a contest

for the vice-presidential nomination, it was not obvious to the casual observer. The Stassen organization had set up headquarters on Market Street, but they had few workers and only a smattering of visitors. Stassen arrived in town on August 17 on the same plane as Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey and Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks. City officials greeted Humphrey and Weeks with keys to the city, but had none for Stassen.

Never one to give up easily, Stassen held a press conference on August 18 to present the results of an Advertest poll. His data showed that any vice-presidential candidate detracted from Eisenhower, but that Herter did so less than Nixon.

The Republican regulars immediately followed Stassen at the press conference with a rebuttal. Senator Styles Bridges was the spokesman. Bridges presented the results of a poll entitled, "The Truth About Nixon and the Voters. A Non-Secret Poll---". This sampling showed that 47 percent of those questioned didn't know who Chris Herter was. Furthermore, an Ike-Dick ticket was preferred over an Ike-Chris slate by a 54.3 percent to 25.7 percent margin. This poll was somewhat suspect, however. It was paid for by conservative publisher William Loeb of the Manchester Union-Leader and was conducted by Robert Maheu Associates of Washington. Maheu employed "only former FBI agents" and apparently these workers stopped citizens randomly on the streets to obtain their data. On one point though, the poll was amazingly accurate; it predicted Ike would win 57.7 percent of the popular vote in November.

With Nixon in the driver's seat, Hall and party officials were most anxious to promote an "open convention." The previous week, the Democrats had staged a contested election for the vice-presidential nomination and the Republicans wanted to avoid the appearance of a closed



Anti-Herter Comic Book









shop. Nixon stated, "I asked President Eisenhower and National Chairman Hall not to do or say anything that might seem to prevent the convention from being free and open." The vice-president, taking nothing for granted, was very diligent in courting support, making regular calls on most delegations.

Eisenhower arrived in San Francisco on August 21, the second day of the convention. He met with Stassen the following morning, prior to a scheduled news conference. Stassen had requested the meeting with Ike. Adams agreed to let the Minnesotan see the President only on the condition that he announce that he was dropping his bid to nominate Herter and would second Nixon's nomination. Stassen, at long last seeing the futility of his efforts to dump Nixon, agreed. Eisenhower, relieved, announced Stassen's decision to back Nixon at his press conference. No one was surprised. As Adams later noted, "The only problem that Stassen brought to the convention, really, was the question of how he would be able to close up his Herter project with the least embarrassment to himself and all concerned.'

The Ike and Chris episode was over. That afternoon,

Richard Nixon was renominated by a vote of 1,323 to 1 with Terry Carpenter of Nebraska (alias Joe Smith) being the lone dissenter.

Christian A. Herter the unwitting candidate for vicepresident, offers a sharp contrast to the winner, Richard M.

Born in 1895 in Paris, the son of expatriate American artists, Herter became the quintessential patrician Republican. He was a member of the U.S. delegation at Versailles in 1919 and later served as an assistant to Commerce Secretary Herbert Hoover in the Harding administration. Elected to the Massachusetts House in 1930, Herter served for twelve years before winning a seat in Congress. Throughout his ten year career in Congress, he was known as an internationalist and was a strong supporter of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan. In 1952, Herter was elected governor of Massachusetts and two years later won reelection.

During Eisenhower's second term, Herter was named undersecretary of state. His appointment was initially opposed by Secretary John Foster Dulles, but eventually the two developed a close relationship. Dulles, dying of cancer, designated Herter as his successor, and in April 1959 Herter took over the reins of the State Department. During the last 21 months of the Eisenhower administration. Herter handled several major foreign policy problems including Kruschev's demand for an allied troop withdrawal from Berlin, the disarmament negotiations, the U-2 affair and Geneva summit, and Cuban relations. In general, he projected much less of an austere, cold-warrior image than did his predecessor.

Afflicted severely with arthritis throughout much of his life. Herter's final service to his country came in 1962 when he was named by President Kennedy as the chief planner and negotiator on foreign trade.

He died in December, 1966.★





















## John W. Barkley - APIC #2

By Joseph Brown #95

All of us envy a person who has lived an interesting and varied life. John W. Barkley was able to do this and live to a remarkable age. One of the founders of our organization and a member of the APIC Hall of Fame, he passed away September 30, 1986 at the age of 97 in Cleveland.

John W. Barkley was born on September 3, 1889, in Braceville, Ohio. In the fall of 1896, his father, who was township GOP chairman, came home with some McKinley celluloids. These new fangled collectibles of the future attracted Mr. Barkley and started him on the way to develop his fine collection.

He attended Warren High School, Alleghany College, and Harvard Law School, and received his LLB at Western Reserve in 1914. In 1927, he joined the firm of Squire, Sanders and Dempsey in Cleveland, and in 1939 became a partner in the firm.

His first wife, Margaret, a member of the Ohio House, died in 1948. His second wife. Marie, died in 1971.

From 1950-1955, Mr. Barkley was mayor of Shaker Heights, his only run for public office. He had helped out in many political campaigns in the state of Ohio.

In the year 1945, a small group of avid collectors including Joe Fuld (#1), John Barkley (#2), Monroe Ray (#3), and F. Joseph O'Neill decided that an organization for collectors of political Americana was needed. Mr. Barkley wanted Monroe Ray to take #1, but instead he accepted #3 very modestly. Joe Fuld took #1 and became our first president. Mr. Barkley became member #2. His last APIC convention was in 1972 in Milwaukee. Starting with that convention, he often made contributions to help defray our expenses. Poor health has kept him away from our recent conventions and confined to his home.

Mr. Barkley's collection was strong on the GOP side because of his close involvement with many Republican campaigns. His 85 years of collecting are now part of the fabulous collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland. His contributions to forming the



APIC and the donation of his collection for all to enjoy will long stand as his memorable contribution to the benefit of our hobby.\*



This "Eisenhower related" button is not a campaign piece, but was issued as a souvenir for the nuclear carrier USS Dwight D. Eisenhower.







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