Volume 88, Number 1 Spring 1988

AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

THE KEYNOTER

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1916

Managing Editor's Message

This is the first issue for 1988, the Keynoter is pleased to present an outstanding article on Charles Evans Hughes and several smaller pieces by Michael Kelly, an examination of cartes de visite by Stephen Ackerman and the first of several articles by poster collector and first time contributor Jonathan Binkley. This issue also offers the first of an occasional series giving tips on the preservation and handling of material collectibles, and the proverbial "much more."

Again in this issue, a number of new contributors are represented, with more on the way. If you have done your share, thank you. If not, there is no time like NOW to get started. Give me a call at 1-800-336-0156 weekdays to discuss your ideas.

I hate to admit that I have been collecting political items for over 25 years, but I know that I am still learning new things about the items we collect. In my view, a great deal of the pleasure in collecting comes from what we learn. For instance, in gathering the pictures for the Hughes article, I discovered that there are two versions of a button that I have seen in both versions at different times, but always thought I was seeing the same item. Worse yet, I own one and probably have passed on the other one, never realizing it was different.

Mine is pictured on this page, the other one is on page 8. Take a look.

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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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Covers: ***Front:*** 6″ celluloid button, red, white, black; ***Back:*** paper poster, black and white.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Summer Keynoter will feature articles on Alice Roosevelt and Prince Henry of Germany, the National Recovery Administration, the America First movement before World War II, and more.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

REUNITING THE REPUBLICANS IN 1916

By Michael Kelly

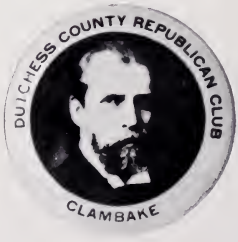
Charles Evans Hughes was one of those rare figures in American politics for whom a race for the presidency was not the high point of his career. In fact, he was far better known as having served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court than as a presidential nominee who lost the White House in a painfully close race.

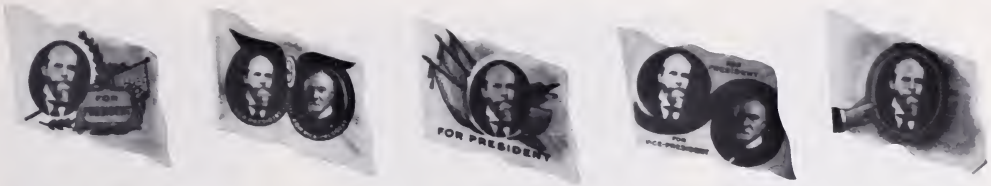
Hughes held a string of impressive posts -- Governor of New York, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Secretary of State and finally Chief Justice -- yet he fell just short of the presidency itself. Nothing in his life indicates that this one failure bothered him much. Hughes never sought the presidency with the eager ambition of most who pursue that goal and was far happier in the calm chambers of the high court than on the rough playing field of electoral politics.

Charles Evans Hughes was born in Glen Falls, New York on April 12, 1862 during the travail of the civil war, the son of a minister who preached the abolition of slavery. He was raised in a strict, moral home and would carry an austere sense of personal integrity with him throughout life. He gave evidence of a sharp intellect from childhood and at the age of six designed a plan of study for himself and persuaded his parents to let him study at home instead of attending school. School eventually became an attraction, however, as Hughes began to chafe under the strict home environment and at 14 he was accepted at Madison University, transferring to Brown University at 16 in search of even more freedom and a more stimulating atmosphere. While at college, Hughes came to the opinion that the occasional card game, cigar and even glass of beer were not the gateways to damnation his parents had taught him, and decided not to follow his father into the ministry. He chose law instead and earned his degree Magna Cum Laude from Columbia Law School entering private practice and devoting himself to his profession for the next 21 years.

One of the many unusual aspects of the political career of Charles Evans Hughes was that he was uninvolved with politics until the age of 42. No one in his family had been involved in party politics and nothing in Hughes' life to that point had indicated that he would eventually have a brilliant political career. In 1905, however, attorney Hughes was asked to serve as counsel to a special investigation of the gas monopoly in New York City. His piercing, if inevitably polite, investigation and interrogation unearthed a scandal in the gas industry. Hughes was then pressed into service as a counsel for a much broader investigation into the insurance industry, where Hughes revealed massive corruption and became a heroic figure to the public. Hughes was seen as a brilliant and intensely honest man, much in the way that another Columbia law graduate, Thomas E. Dewey, would electrify New York a generation later. Exposing corruption in both parties, Hughes was very unpopular with the bosses in New York's Republican Party as well as the Democrats, but the GOP had a more serious problem to face: William Randolph Hearst.

Hearst was a fabulous character—wealthy, bright, innovative, and unprincipled. The son of California Senator George Hearst, who had discovered a fortune in silver in Nevada's Comstock Lode, the younger Hearst was expelled from Harvard after he had thrown a "wild party" in celebration of Grover Cleveland's election in 1884. Departing Harvard, he returned to California to take control of his father's newspaper and would eventually rule a publishing empire built on a racy and ruthless style of journalism that emphasized decapitated nude corpses and made up the political news to fit Hearst's opinions.





Celluloid Flags

Hearst soon wanted political power as well, winning a seat in Congress and narrowly losing a race for Mayor of New York City. In 1904, he made a serious bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, running second to Alton Parker. Hearst decided that the Governorship of New York would be the perfect stepping stone to the White House and cut a deal with Tammany Hall to give him the Democratic nomination in 1906.

President Theodore Roosevelt, himself a former New York governor who had tangled with the state's Republican bosses, invited Hughes to the White House in the Spring of 1906 and urged him to run for governor. By the time of the state nominating convention in September, Theodore Roosevelt was publicly backing Hughes, whose nomination became irresistable despite the opposition of party bosses.

Hughes wired his acceptance to the convention with the blunt words, "I shall accept the nomination without pledge other than to do my duty according to my conscience. If elected, it will be my ambition to give the State a sane, efficient and honorable administration, free from taint of bossism or of servitude to any private interest." His prickly independence was evidenced by his refusal to follow party advice in choosing candidates for judicial office, even bucking the suggestions of President Roosevelt, and turning the selection of judges over to an independent committee of lawyers.

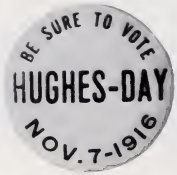
The campaign that followed was vigorous and bitter. Hughes sometimes attended five or six rallies in an evening, making as many as twenty speeches in a single day.

William Randolph Hearst headed the Democratic ticket and guaranteed that his party was well financed and well-publicized. The Hughes-Hearst battle was one of the most colorful and fiercely contested races in New York history. Numerous items reflect popular interest in the two men. A postcard pictures both on either side of the legend "H & H." "Hughes - Hearst," it reads, "Heaven or Hell? It's up to you." This exists in two versions, one listing Hearst with heaven and the other giving Hughes the honor. A button pictures two fighting roosters labelled Hearst and Hughes while a wide range of buttons and ribbons for both candidates are available.

President Roosevelt sent Secretary of War Elihu Root, a veteran of New York politics, into the state as his personal representative to speak on behalf of Hughes. The result was a narrow victory for Hughes over Hearst, although the rest of the Democratic state ticket won by large margins. Clearly the Republicans would have lost the governorship had their candidate been anyone but the respected lawyer.

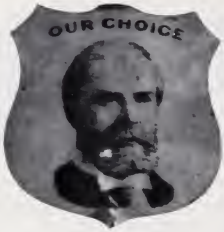
Hughes proved to be an excellent chief executive for the Empire State in the progressive Republican mold that his predecessor Theodore Roosevelt had set, and which subsequent GOP governors like Tom Dewey and Nelson Rockefeller would follow. He launched a series of investigations into political corruption that resulted in the removal from office of the borough presidents of Manhattan, the Bronx and Queens as well as others. He was an efficient administrator and spearheaded passage of a substantial progressive legislative program. Despite a temperament more closely aligned with conservatism, Governor Hughes proved to be a progressive in action.

Re-elected to a second term in 1908 by a large margin, Governor Hughes soon was offered a position he found even more attractive than the governorship of New York. President William Taft offered Hughes an appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and to the lawyer that Hughes would always be at heart, the political world had nothing to compete with that. In 1910, Hughes was nominated to a Supreme Court that was not at one of its better moments. Four justices were over 70 and a fifth was ill. Chief Justice Melville Fuller was far past his prime and the arrival of the 48-year-old Hughes was a breath of fresh air to the highest bench. During his six years as an associate justice, Hughes was responsible for wide-ranging decisions that extended the progressive vision of the era into government, commerce and civil rights. He fought for the rights of Black Americans and in the infamous Frank case Hughes declared, "Lynch law is as little valid when practiced by a regularly drawn jury as when administered ...by a mob intent on death."

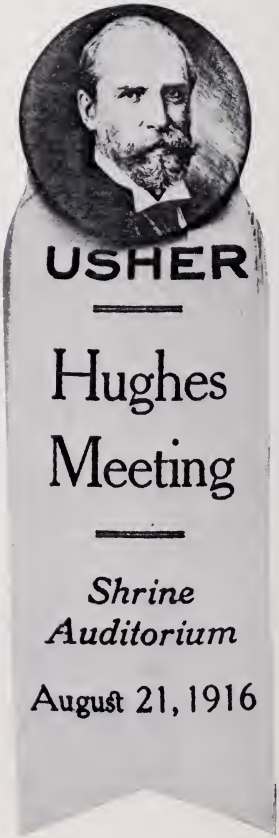

BE SURE TO VOTE
HUGHES-DAY
NOV. 7-1916


EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
For President
CHARLES E. HUGHES
HUGHES
AND
FAIRBANKS
NOV. 4, 1916


HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS
1916


OUR CHOICE


CHARLES E. HUGHES
OUR GUEST
HAMILTON CLUB
AUG. 8.
1916.


USHER
Hughes
Meeting
Shrine
Auditorium
August 21, 1916


HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS
HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS
HUGHES
FAIRBANKS
CONVENTION
PENNSYLVANIA
STATE LEAGUE OF
REPUBLICAN
CLUBS
YORK, - PENNA.
SEPT. 26 - 27 - 28, 1916
JOINT
OUTING
WORCESTER
COUNTY
REPUBLICAN
CLUB
AND
CITY
SEPT 9, '16
DELEGATE.
CLUBS
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES 1916
GOOD LUCK - GOOD TIMES
VOTE THE REPUBLICAN TICKET

During the brawling battle in 1912 between President Taft and former President Theodore Roosevelt, many Republicans hoped to avoid the split in their party by nominating Hughes. He refused to allow his name to be used, however, and the Grand Old Party split asunder as the regular organization nominated Taft and Roosevelt created the Progressive Party. With two Republicans in the field, it was assured that the Democrats under New Jersey Governor Woodrow Wilson would prevail and prevail they did, winning the White House with less than 42% of the popular vote.

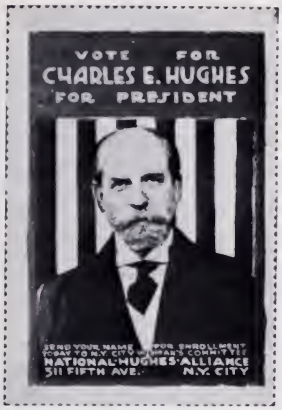
The hefty Progressive vote declined in the 1914 midterm elections and the two Republican groups began to drift back together. As 1916 approached, Republican leaders searched for ways to avoid another split in their camp. William Taft's poor third place showing in 1912 plus his own distaste for politics eliminated him from consideration, although Theodore Roosevelt's supporters were still determined to nominate their hero again. The GOP organization, embittered at seeing only the second Democrat since the civil war in the White House, were determined to nominate anyone except Theodore Roosevelt. There was the usual list of hopefuls that year, ranging from the admirable to the awful. The key requirement for the eventual nominee was that he somehow be able to draw support from both the regular Republicans and the Bull Moose bolters. As almost every officeholder and well known Republican in the country had been forced to choose either Taft or Roosevelt in 1912, it was difficult for any to fulfill the requirement. This made Hughes the ideal candidate. His progressive record as governor plus the support of Theodore Roosevelt in his gubernatorial races made him acceptable to the Progressives while his appointment to the court by Taft qualified him with the regulars. Being on the high court during the 1912 split, he had avoided making a public choice between Taft and Roosevelt and consequently was able to reunite the party.

Hughes never made a public statement or lifted a finger to help himself during the preconvention period but didn't really have to.

In early 1916 New York Republican leaders announced for Hughes. Although Hughes took legal action to remove his name from all primary ballots, he couldn't stop them all. On May 3 the Michigan Republican Convention endorsed Hughes, on the 16th he won the Vermont primary and on the 20th he won Oregon by a landslide. Senator William Borah stated that Hughes would have carried every state primary if his name had been on the ballots.

Hughes continued to resist the drive. "I seek no new titles," he told a newspaper editor, "and I do not want the work that is before the next president. He may wear a crown, but it will be a crown of thorns." That was a prophetic statement in light of the fate of Wilson. When his wife encouraged him to run, he told her, "When you see me in my coffin, remember that I did not want to take this burden on myself."

President Wilson feared Hughes as a potential opponent and sent him a message through the ailing Chief



Justice Edward White that, if Hughes refused the nomination, Wilson would make Hughes the new Chief Justice. Although Hughes' personal preference was clearly the judicial rather than the executive position, Hughes declined to participate in what would have been a dangerous and potentially scandalous agreement.

The Republican convention opened with one of the broadest distributions of delegate votes in history. No fewer than 17 candidates received votes on the first ballot, 8 of them receiving 65 votes or more. Hughes led from the start with 253½ votes followed by Massachusetts Senator John W. Weeks with 105 and former New York Senator Elihu Root with 103. Some of the others receiving votes included: Iowa Senator Albert Cummins, 85; former Vice President Charles Fairbanks of Indiana, 74½; Theodore Roosevelt, 65; Pennsylvania's Philander C. Knox, 36; auto industrialist Henry Ford of Michigan, 32; Wisconsin's Robert LaFollette, 25; William H. Taft, 14, and Delaware's Coleman duPont (72 years before his descendent Pete would try again) 12. The second ballot showed a sharp advance for Hughes up to 328½, with Root in second place but dropping to 98½. Weeks fell to 79 behind Fairbanks, who rose to 88½, with Cummins rising slightly to 85 and Teddy Roosevelt rising to 81. Others receiving second ballot votes included Knox, holding steady at 66; LaFollette, holding at 25; duPont, picking up 1 to 13; Pennsylvania's John Wannamaker, making his first appearance at 5, and Ohio's Warren G. Harding getting 1 vote. At this point, the anti-Hughes forces voted for a recess and the delegates headed out for refreshments and feverish politicking.

During the recess, the Republicans sent a five-man committee to meet with a similar committee from the Progressive Party, whose convention was meeting in the same city simultaneously. The two committees tried to work out a common nominee that both groups could unite behind. Hughes was the obvious name being discussed, but the Progressives held out for Theodore Roosevelt. A message from Roosevelt at Oyster Bay stunned both parties when he suggested the name of Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Lodge was a close personal friend of Roosevelt but was a staunchly conservative Republican, a man few Progressives could support. Some observers believe that Roosevelt was actually attempting to head off the Hughes nomination with the Lodge ploy in an effort to force the GOP to nominate himself. Whatever his intentions, the Republicans went back to nominate Hughes and the Progressives proceeded to nominate Roosevelt.

The Republicans, still hopeful of winning Theodore Roosevelt's support, held a third ballot that gave Hughes the nomination easily with 949½ of the 987 votes. They then nominated Roosevelt's old vice president, Charles Fairbanks, as Hughes' running mate in an attempt to bring some of Theodore Roosevelt's magic to the ticket and passed a platform that echoed Theodore Roosevelt's criticism of Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy.

The Progressives received the disappointing news from Roosevelt that he would be supporting Hughes. Many would remain embittered at their leader's refusal of their nomination but his grasp of political reality was accurate. By selecting the Hughes-Fairbanks ticket, the Republicans confirmed the reunification of the Taft and Roosevelt wings of the Republican Party and went into the Fall election more or less united.

One nice button from 1916 portrays the reunification, picturing an elephant and a bull moose and urging, "Republicans, Bull Moosers, Get Together."

Although the nomination of Hughes was very popular, the fact that he had spent relatively little time in active politics was evident in his first few actions. Immediately upon receiving news of his nomination, he sent a brief note to President Wilson resigning his seat on the Supreme Court. Although the note was in keeping with Hughes' sense of decorum, its brevity struck Wilson as rude and started the campaign on a sour note. Hughes'

choice for campaign manager, William Willcox, was as far removed from the regular grind of politics as the candidate and was unable to effectively interact with the party organization on which the Hughes campaign would have to depend.

Nonetheless, the Hughes campaign appeared to be in fine shape. Soon after the convention, Hughes dined with Theodore Roosevelt and won his complete support. The Progressive Party's national committee followed its leader and endorsed the Republican nominee as well. Two days later, Hughes lunched with former President Taft, symbolizing the reunification of the Grand Old Party. During July, Hughes crammed like a student during final exams, bringing himself up to date on the issues and details of politics from which his six years on the court had kept him. His sense of humor survived all this. When viewing a film produced for the campaign, Hughes criticized the appearance of his clothes, walk, haircut and whiskers, telling the film's producers that it had convinced him to vote for Wilson.

Wilson, meanwhile, was enthusiastically renominated by the Democratic convention. At the Democratic gathering, keynote speaker Martin Glynn found the audience uninspired by his speech until he reached the part about how Wilson had handled foreign crises without going to war. The wild response on the part of the delegates was the first clue as to what would be the theme of the Democratic campaign in 1916. Speaker after speaker began to play the same theme and by the convention's end Wilson's issue was clear; "He kept us out of war!"

The Republican campaign kicked off on a sweltering July 31 before a packed crowd at Carnegie Hall. Senator Warren Harding officially notified Hughes of his nomination and Theodore Roosevelt, attending his first Republican meeting since 1912, delighted the crowd. T.R.'s speech overshadowed Hughes' lengthy, cautious speech, which seemed judicial rather than presidential. It lacked a gripping issue with which to electrify his listeners and the public.

The War issue proved to be the hardest for Hughes to control. Opposing the incumbent president, he somehow had to straddle those who disliked Wilson for being too hard on Germany and those who disliked him for being too soft. His job was complicated by the fact that Theodore Roosevelt was typically outspoken in his denunciation of Wilson as being weak and pacifistic toward Germany. As the campaign proceeded, Roosevelt's bellicose statements drew more attention that Hughes' calmer comments and created a general impression that the GOP was the war party.

While Wilson practiced the time honored role of incumbent presidents that has become known as the "rose garden strategy" and stayed aloof from mere political campaigning, Hughes launched a vigorous campaign. He travelled throughout the nation, often on campaign trains that wound up stopping at hundreds of small towns for unscheduled talks to small gatherings. It was on just such a campaign swing that Charles Evans Hughes made one of those seemingly small mistakes that have tremendous ramifications and may have cost him the presidency.

California Governor Hiram Johnson had been a leader in the Progressive movement and was T.R.'s running mate on the 1912 Bull Moose ticket. Johnson won control of California by fighting the Old Guard Republicans as hard as he fought the Democrats. He attended the 1916 Progressive convention in Chicago and left angered by Roosevelt's rejection of the nomination. Nonetheless, he thought well of Hughes in New York.

However, Johnson was in a battle out in California to win both the Republican and Progressive nominations for U.S. Senator. Opening his campaign, he stated that his support of Hughes was personal and that each Progressive was free to "measure the candidates" for himself. When Hughes arrived in California, arrangements for his visit were handled by one of Johnson's bitter enemies, GOP national committeeman William Crocker. Crocker made certain that Hughes' schedule had no meeting with the popular California governor although at one point both Hughes and Johnson were staying in the same hotel. A political observer from the era claimed that Hughes lost the White House for the lack of one dollar. "If someone had invited them both down to his room and ordered three scotches, that's 25¢ each for three drinks and a quarter tip for the waiter, they would have shared a moment of fellowship and everyone would have left in good spirits, but it didn't happen." Johnson went on to win both nominations and the senate seat while Hughes lost the state by an eyelash.

Despite his hard campaign, Hughes had a difficult time finding an issue with which to effectively attack Wilson. This lack of issues was reflected in the Republican campaign material. Items bravely called for "Undiluted Americanism" or put Hughes on the side of "Law and Order." Some buttons spelled his name with an enlarged U and S or showed him wearing an Uncle Sam hat with the assurance "It Fits Hughes." Other items took such controversial stands as calling for "Duty Without Fear." "America First and Efficient" or "American Rights Respected and Protected, American Industry Promoted and Protected" affirmed others.

Democrats, noting the beards worn by both Hughes and running mate Fairbanks, suggested "Win With Whiskers" as a snappy slogan but the Republicans were not amused.

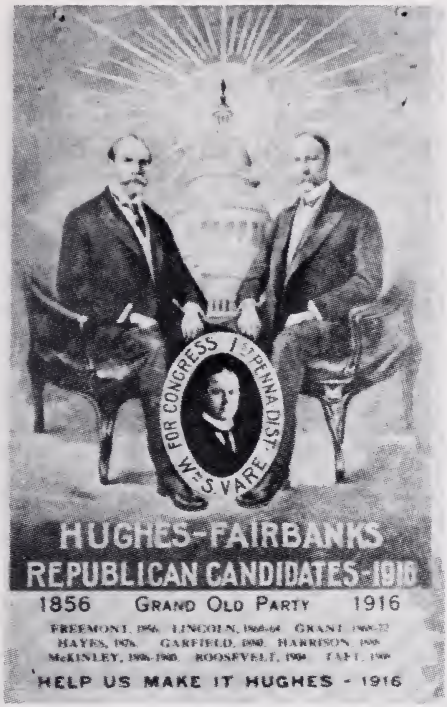
Most Hughes items were fairly predictable, although a number of handsome buttons feature various state chapters of the Hughes Alliance, a group promoting Republican/Progressive harmony. A pretty red oval calling for "Hughes and Direct Nominations" is likely from his 1908 race for governor as this issue marked that campaign. A number of items feature Hughes with Ohio leaders Frank Willis and Myron Herrick, ironic in that he would fail to carry that usually Republican state in the Fall. At least one button makes a clever use of his name by calling for voters to "Be Sure to Vote Hughes-Day, Nov. 7, 1916."

One of the nicest buttons promotes party reunification. It features a large photo of Hughes between smaller photos of T.R. and Taft. Above T.R. is "Security," a


FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES
HUGHES AND BRUCE
GOVERNOR'S DAY, AUG. 28, '08
HUGHES AND BRUCE
HEARST
HUGHES
HUGHES
AND
DIRECT
NOMINATIONS
FOR PRESIDENT
CHAS. E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR
CHAS. E. HUGHES
HUGHES' NOTIFICATION MEETING
CLAREMONT RINK
SATURDAY, SEPT. 26, '08
FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR
CAPTAIN
KINGS COUNTY
REPUBLICAN
AMPAIGN
MITTEE
906
FOR GOVERNOR CHARLES E. HUGHES
HUGHES DEMOCRACY
FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR GOVERNOR
CHARLES E. HUGHES


OUTING
JULY 19, 1916
YONKERS REPUBLICAN CITY COMMITTEE
For President CHARLES E. HUGHES
CHARLES E. HUGHES
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHAS. E. HUGHES
CHARLES E. HUGHES
HUGHES
CHAS. E. HUGHES FOR PRESIDENT
CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHAS. E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHAS. E. HUGHES
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COLLEGE LEAGUE
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHARLES E. HUGHES
FOR PRESIDENT CHAS. E. HUGHES
CHARLES E. HUGHES

Lithograph



Postcard

reflection of his call for preparedness. Above Taft is "Justice," a reference to his stand for peace through law. Above Hughes is "Harmony."

Harmony, however, is not an issue to stir the blood of patriots and the lack of an issue was the main weakness of the Hughes campaign. The war issue was a straddle and left Hughes weakened when Germany suspended its hated submarine warfare (only, it turned out, until after the election). Other issues, such as Wilson's Mexican policy or his stance on labor, never caught the public imagination. Hughes was left, in essence, with being the candidate of the nation's traditional majority party and with his own reputation for intelligence and integrity. Wilson, meanwhile, was the president who "kept us out of war."

Shortly before election day the following full page advertisement appeared in leading newspapers around the country:

You Are Working - Not Fighting!
Alive and Happy - Not Cannon Fodder!
Wilson and Peace with Honor?
or
Hughes with Roosevelt and War?

As election day approached, the Republicans anticipated victory. Hughes wound up his campaign at Madison Square Garden, where 62,000 supporters paraded and shouted their devotion. Appearing with him at the end of his campaign as at its beginning, Theodore Roosevelt again excited the crowd as much as did the candidate himself.

In those days election results often took days to come in and the final outcome was often not known for some time. On election day, Hughes treated himself to a late sleep and awoke after dark. Looking out at night in Times Square, he noted the huge lighted billboard reading "U.S. Tires" and commented, "Perhaps they will complete that tomorrow by adding 'of Wilson.' "

As the candidate dined with his family, friends repeatedly burst in with good news. Hughes had carried New York by 100,000 votes. Early returns showed state after state in the Hughes column; Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and most of New England. Excitement grew among the crowd estimated at 100,000 in Times Square awaiting the returns. State after state reported for Hughes; Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. It looked as though he had carried almost every state outside the Democrats' Solid South. Newspapers announced a Hughes victory and reporters begged for a statement.

"Wait till the Democrats concede my election," Hughes replied, "the newspapers might take it back."

Out in Times Square the illuminated newsboards flashed the news of Hughes' election to the cheering throngs. A giant American flag was hung from the roof of the Hotel Astor with spotlights playing on it. Beside it a giant electric sign reading "HUGHES" shone out all night. Delegations from various Republican associations called on the "President-elect" and asked him to appear on the balcony and acknowledge the cheers of the crowds in the streets. "If I have been elected President," he told them,

"it is because the people of this country think that I'll keep my shirt on in an emergency. I'll start right now by not yielding to this demand when I am not positive that I have been elected."

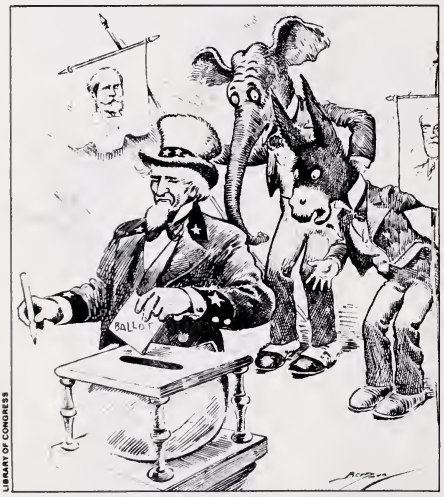
Mrs. Hughes awoke her nine-year-old daughter to share in the exhilarating moment, taking her out on the balcony to see the *Times* electric newsboard flashing the news of Hughes' election and a sea of humanity chanting, "Hughes! Hughes! Hughes!" The child wiped the sleep from her eyes and soaked in the scene with delight.

At midnight, Hughes decided to go to bed. The popular myth that he went to bed assuming he had won is untrue as is the delightful but false story of the reporter who called to talk with Hughes and was told that "the President is sleeping" and could not be disturbed. "When he wakes up," the reporter is said to have replied, "Tell him he isn't the President anymore."

In fact, when Hughes awoke about 8 am he was still being addressed as "Mr. President" by the morning papers but the returns arriving from the West told a different tale. President Wilson had swept the nation outside of the East and Midwest, carrying every Southern and border state plus every Western state except South Dakota and Oregon. The final deathblow was the loss of California by 3,775 votes while Hiram Johnson was winning his Senate seat by a landslide. Losing some states by as few as 100 votes, it was nearly the end of the week before Hughes' defeat was finally clear. The electoral vote stood at 277 for Wilson and 254 for Hughes, the popular vote less than 600,000 votes apart.

In a profound sense, Hughes and the Republicans were fortunate in their narrow loss. Woodrow Wilson, who campaigned on the theme "he kept us out of war," wound up bringing America into World War I a scant four months after his second inauguration, becoming the war president and destroying his health and government in the process. After a period of bipartisan support for the war effort, Wilson shattered the coalition by calling on the nation to give him a Democratic Congress in the 1918 midterm election. The people responded by giving the Republicans majorities in both the Senate and House. In 1920, the Republicans swept back into the White House and wouldn't leave until after the onset of the Great Depression.

Hughes would go on to a wonderful career after his defeat, serving as Secretary of State under Harding and Coolidge and finally winning his dream to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, appointed by President Hoover. Despite losing the election, Charles Evans Hughes successfully performed a most difficult task. He reunited the Republican Party after its disastrous 1912 split and in doing so left a political legacy that would last a generation.★



Anxious moments: Uncle Sam dropping ballot into box.

FAIRBANKS FOR V.P. *(continued from page 15)*

During the election campaign Roosevelt followed the McKinley tradition and remained aloof, allowing his ticket mate to do most of the work. In fact, his contact with Fairbanks during the campaign was the last time President Roosevelt paid any attention to his Vice President. In 1896, Teddy had declared that the Vice President would be better able to serve the nation if given a seat and vote in the Senate. Once re-elected, however, he forgot all about the suggestion and acted almost as if Fairbanks did not even exist. Because of his refusal to make use of his Vice President's talents, Roosevelt condemned Fairbanks to becoming one of the more notable failures as a V.P.

Nevertheless, Charles did not give up his hopes for the Presidency. He sought the nomination with fervor in 1908, but lost out to T.R.'s personal choice of William Howard Taft.

Fairbanks did not give up easily. He actively supported Taft in the 1912 Republican/Progressive split to spite Roosevelt; He again accepted the second spot in 1916 with Charles Evans Hughes against Wilson and fellow Indianan Thomas Marshall. This election was a real cliff-hanger and Fairbanks came up short.

After March 4, 1909 he was not to hold public office again. Though he maintained influence in Indiana politics and continued as a respected member of the Republican Party, he lost much of his zeal. He continued to work for the party and its candidates, but more quietly than in the past. He retired from active political life following the 1916 defeat. Had he been elected Vice President a second time, he would have served only fifteen months: Charles W. Fairbanks died on June 4, 1918 of a chronic intestinal disorder.★

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS

THE ONCE AND ALMOST FUTURE V.P.

By Harvey Goldberg

Charles Warren Fairbanks served his nation and his party in many ways. One of our last "log cabin born" statesman, the future Senator and Vice President began in the Lincoln tradition, overcoming poverty and hardship to seek his lofty goals. Fairbanks, a direct descendant of the first settlers of the 1636 Massachusetts Bay Colony, rose from his farmboy heritage to become a lawyer of note and a man of wealth.

The man was an Indiana Republican, giving his time and money to GOP efforts. In 1888 he managed the unsuccessful campaign of Walter Q. Gresham for the party's Presidential nomination. Though his candidate's efforts were fruitless, the election provided Charles Fairbanks with a gateway into national politics. His support of Benjamin Harrison in 1888 was openly enthusiastic. Showing an ability and desire to support the party first, Fairbanks worked for McKinley's nomination in 1892 but switched back to incumbent Harrison with no loss of enthusiasm after the convention.

When William McKinley was nominated four years later, the earlier support given him by Charles Fairbanks did not go unrewarded, and the Indiana lawyer was named temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention and Keynote Speaker at the St. Louis gathering. The future Vice President campaigned throughout the North for McKinley and Hobart, all the while keeping a close watch on his home state.

Selected almost unanimously by the GOP caucus as their candidate for U.S. Senate in 1898, Fairbanks became Senator with a relatively easy victory. From this point on, control of Indiana state Republican politics was virtually the private possession of Charles W. Fairbanks. As the only GOP Senator from a marginal state, he became the idol of his party and a close friend of President McKinley.

In the Senate the man quickly became influential and well known. He became the unofficial spokesman for the President in the upper house, served on important committees — including Foreign Relations — and was appointed American Chairman of the Joint High Commission of 1898, which was created to solve Canadian-American disputes.

By this time, thoughts of the Presidency began entering Fairbanks' mind. McKinley, he reasoned, would seek and probably win re-election in 1900 and tradition was against a third term. So Fairbanks set his plans for the 1904 nomination. He would support President McKinley with as much enthusiasm, effort, and money needed to gain the backing and support of the McKinley people for his own future nomination. Vice President Roosevelt was not looked upon as a threat to these plans. McKinley's

assassination threw a curve ball at the Fairbanks game plan. T.R. emerged as a strong and popular leader, forcing a change for 1908.

Meanwhile Senator Fairbanks gave all his visable efforts to public service. He served as president of the Benjamin Harrison Memorial Association, raising and donating a large sum of money to erect a monument to the late President. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association benefitted from Fairbanks' efforts as well, and the man was a trustee for the McKinley Memorial Association, giving the dedication speech in Toledo, Ohio at a monument. All this kept Charles Fairbanks very much in the "Washington eye" and in the news — and very much in the minds of the Republican Party leaders.

To further his ambitions and move closer to his goal, Fairbanks made it known to the right individuals that he wanted the second spot on the 1904 GOP ticket. What better place to seek the Presidency than from the office of Vice President?

Theodore Roosevelt had no great affection for the Indiana Senator, but unwittingly boosted his candidacy. T.R. selected his close friend George Courtelyou for Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, alienating a number of party "professionals". The thought of an amateur politician such as Courtelyou running the GOP for four years left many Republican leaders with a "get even" attitude. If Roosevelt insisted upon having his personal friend serve as chairman, they would deny him his own choice of a running mate and select one of their own, a die-hard, trusted Old Guard Republican who saw things their way and did not approve too openly of Roosevelt's somewhat progressive ideas. They selected Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. Roosevelt would much rather have had someone else, but conceded because he, who had held the office, considered the vice presidency to be a useless and isolated position.

Less than one hour after T.R. was unanimously nominated for his own term as President, Fairbanks was selected with equal unanimity as the running mate. A conservative, true Republican, and a representative of the often unpredictable state of Indiana, Fairbanks pleased the GOP chiefs.

(continued on page 14)

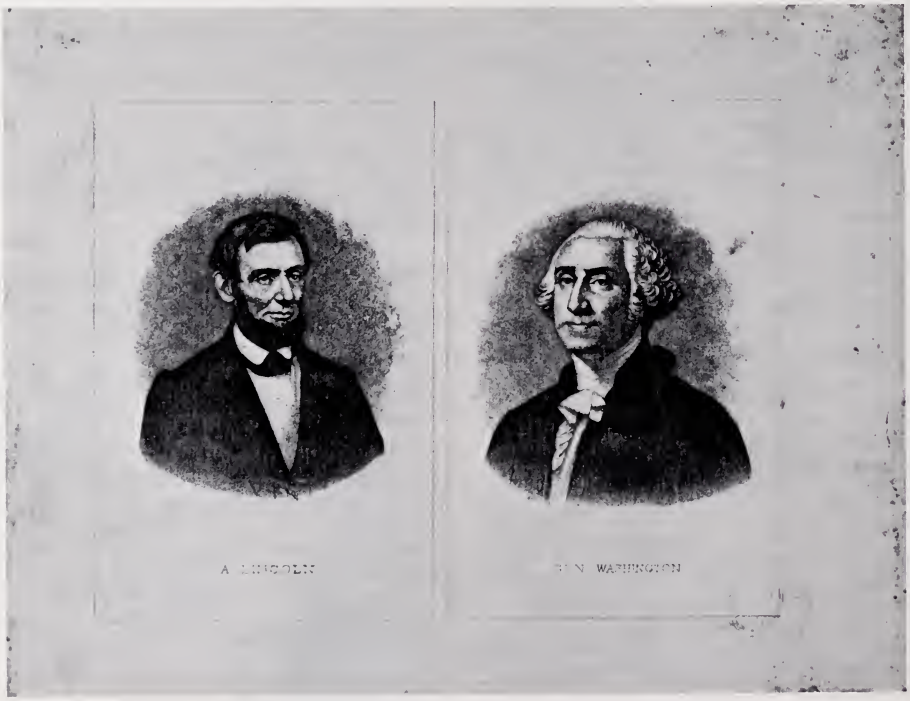
The Political Carte-de-Visite

by Stephen J. Ackerman

Photography was an exciting new technology in the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1850s, when multi-lens cameras and paper negatives had been devised to lower the cost of reproducing pictures, the stage was set for a major fad, one the politicians were quick to exploit: the *carte-de-visite* or *CDV*.

As the name implies, *cartes-de-visite* were photographic visiting cards which originated in France in the early 1850s. By the late summer of 1859, they were available in the United States. You could sit for a photographer, who would produce eight images of you at once, sometimes for only a dollar. These were then cut into separate strips and pasted onto thick cards of about 2½″ by 4″—about the dimensions of a playing card—often with an advertisement for the studio on the back. You could then leave the CDVs as calling cards at your friends' homes or send them to distant relatives. The 15-40 cent cost per card was within the means of the middle class, and CDVs became a staple of the income for American photographers, whose numbers more than doubled between 1860 and 1870, from 3,154 to 7,558. Albums especially designed to hold CDVs were introduced in 1860, also selling well. The rate of increase in photographers fell off after 1870, and larger "cabinet photos" came into favor, but the old CDVs kept being produced as late as the mid-1920s. In the last few years, personal CDVs have been reincarnated in the form of photographic business cards, now popular in some parts of the country.

It wasn't long before politicians exploited the initial fad, or more properly were drafted into it. In Europe, CDVs of rulers, authors, and theatrical personalities were big sellers among the general public, and American cameramen sold (sometimes pirated) *cartes* here. For homegrown products, it was natural for them to seize on politicians in a country where civic activity was a kind of popular sport. Politicians recognized a new means of



Uncut Engraved Paper For Two Cartes-de-Visite

Engraved Campaign Card For CDV Album

Edward Everett - 1860
Union Party Candidate
For Vice President

President Lincoln's first Home in Illinois.

Log Cabin CDV
Copyrighted in Illinois 1865

getting their images before the voters in a controlled way; the candid, off-guard snapshot and the photo-expose did not emerge until David Graham Phillips did in Senator Chauncey Depew in a 1906 *Cosmopolitan* magazine article called "The Treason of the Senate." Shots of Gary Hart on the *Monkey Business* testify that such journalism endures. For the politicians of the Gilded Age, however, the decorous poses of the photographer's salon allowed for exposure without risk of ambush.

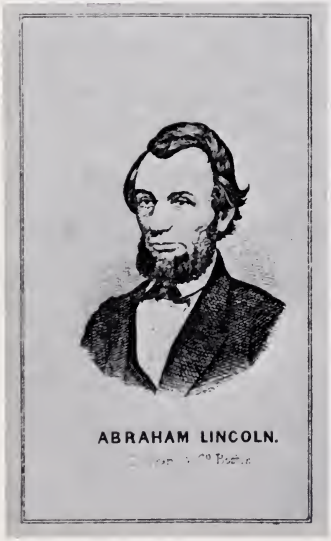
The first CDVs featuring contemporary American politicians appeared in time for the elections of 1860, although photographers could secure images of earlier statesmen by photographing old photographs, paintings, or prints. The earliest contemporary CDVs were pasted on thin cardboard, usually white or ivory in color, with the corners cut square. After 1868, the stock was a bit thicker; it ranged from white to beige, with the corners more likely rounded. From 1880, the stock tended to be thicker and in a greater variety of colors, with the corners still rounded. While CDVs of private individuals often display the photographer's logo or advertisement on the back, those of politicians rarely do, probably because such cards were made up by the original studio for wholesale distribution to other shops throughout the country.

In time, photographers became more inventive, even playful, adding backgrounds, making composite pictures, experimenting with captions and designs. Political caricatures and broadsides in CDV format flourished in the 1860s but dwindled in the '70s. Actual photographs and artwork are combined in many of the cartes, often to the point that a viewer can't tell where one leaves off and the other begins. While adequate for a portrait, the small CDV format was far less satisfactory for a busy broadside or composite of many small photos.

Ironically, the success of photographic CDVs seems at first to have increased the popularity of engraved ones, which had long been around; sometimes new engravings were based on photographs. Prang Company in Boston was prolific in engraving politico-military CDVs during 1864. Unfortunately, Prang helped perpetuate an error started in the illustrated newspapers and not corrected for a year when it published as a portrait of General U.S. Grant an image of a beef contractor named William Grant, whom an artist had mistaken for the general when he was traveling with the army. In general, though Prang and others made a dent in the market, the newer technology prevailed. Like the trick photos and the cartoons, the engraved CDVs seem not to have caught on so significantly as the basic photographic portraits.

The Civil War greatly expanded the demand for CDVs and for cheap photography in general, not just for the Matthew Brady-type battlefield scenes we tend to value,

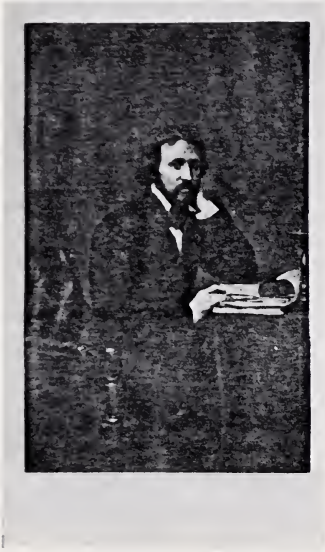
Mary Todd Lincoln



Meat Contractor William Grant
Misidentified As Ulysses S. Grant
on Prang CDV

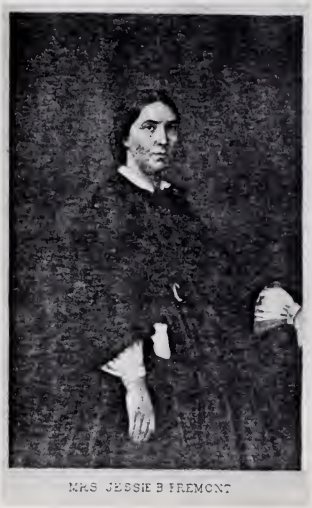
Salmon Chase — Potential Lincoln Running Mate in 1864

Pendleton 1864



John C. Fremont

Jessie Benton Fremont



One of a Number of Bogus Mary Surratt CDVs

"Copperhead" Clement L. Vallindigham, Candidate For Governor of Ohio 1863

Governor Horatio Seymour
1862

Daniel Dickinson
Another Potential Lincoln
Running Mate in 1864

Hon. Schuyler Colfax,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SEYMOUR AND BLAIR.

but—perhaps primarily—for the images that families and sweethearts separated for the first time treasured. As Johnny went marching off to war, his first stop after the quartermaster's, where he got his new uniform, seems to have been at the photographer's, where he posed in it. There the family joined him, to make keepsake CDVs for his knapsack. While waiting, they could pick up mass-produced CDVs of their favorite politicians. Many did.

When Ellen Marcy McClellan, the general's wife, let it be known that she was a collector, she was showered with CDVs from the obscure as well as the famous. Companies and batteries in her husband's command vied with luminaries like Admiral Porter in filling her albums, even after Little Mac had been removed from command in 1862. Hundreds of less famous collectors formed a ready market for CDVs of public figures.

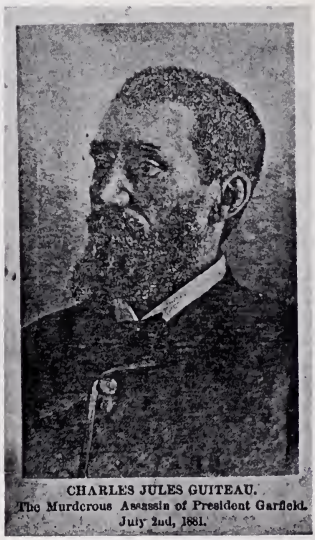
There was also a market for infamy. After Lincoln's assassination, the curious demanded CDVs of the conspirators. Lacking photos of the unfortunate Mrs. Surratt, enterprising lensmen simply slapped her name on such pictures of middle-aged women as happened to be lying around their shops and pawned them off on an unsuspecting public. Garfield's assassin Guiteau hawked autographed CDVs of himself to raise funds for his defense trial.

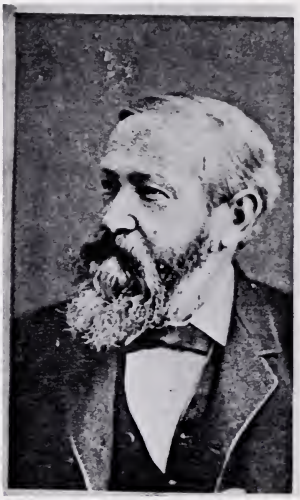
The connection between this collecting phenomenon and practical politics was closer than has been supposed. Having examined hundreds of thousands of CDVs, William C. Darrah [in his essential *Cartes de Visite in Nineteenth Century Photography (Gettysburg: W. C.*

Darrah, 1981), p. 155.] admits being unable to find carte images of candidates campaigning for office, particularly the presidency of the United States. He suspects that some were issued for the elections of 1868-1876. While a CDV picturing a well-known politician is not necessarily an election artifact, the existence of some of the clearly campaign-generated items pictured here suggests that many CDVs were just that, and probably as early as 1860. Certainly the White House isn't peeping over General Grant's shoulder by accident.

The state house is also represented, and not just by CDVs of individual governors or legislators. Darrah shows one busy CDV of the entire Kansas Legislature for 1869 (p. 20, fig. 31) as well as the "State Government of Massachusetts," with pictures of the governor and cabinet officers ranged in a design around the State House (p. 142, fig. 318). Other cramped composite CDVs gather all U.S. presidents from Washington down to the incumbent of the day.

Political collectors naturally value CDVs of presidents and nominees, but there are other prizes as well. Pictures of political wives and families, homes and birthplaces really convey the *ethos* of politics. Apparently the first candidate's wife to be mentioned on a political token in 1856, the celebrated Jesse Benton Fremont also put in early appearances on CDVs during her husband's abortive candidature in 1864. With a little ingenuity, Brady's famous photo of Lincoln reading to Tad could be combined with a homey background and photos of other family members to make a winning domestic scene.





These are *bona fide* campaign items just as surely as their contemporary ribbons and tokens. For one thing, newspaper advertisements of the period mention them in the same breath with ferrotypes, badges, and other political wares. In an era when partisans had to buy their own campaign gear, CDVs were part of the ward heeler's shopping list. Just as some political tokens were produced for sale to collectors as well as to campaigners, CDVs did double duty.

The unique advantage of CDVs for political collectors stems from their relative cheapness at the time of manufacture. A look at Edmund Sullivan's *American Political Badges and Medalets, 1789-1892* (Lawrence, Massachusetts: Quarterman Publications, 1981) will demonstrate how scarce items are for the campaigns of hopefuls who never got their parties' nominations. Vendors of relatively expensive badges and ribbons generally awaited the wide sales a party nomination would guarantee. The less expensive CDVs, on the other hand, probably exist for all important candidates from 1860 to the early 1880s, whether nominated or not. It is not difficult or expensive to assemble CDVs from, say, the contenders to be Lincoln's running-mate in 1864 (Dickinson, Johnson, and Hamlin) or to be the Democratic nominee in 1868 (Chase, Pendleton, Seymour). Moreover, elusive minor-party nominees like Ben Butler can also be captured on what served as inexpensive campaign devices. Collectors with local or regional interest will find them rich souvenirs of the 1860-1900 era.

Until the 1970s, CDVs were largely disdained by serious collectors of photography, so they were little studied. In addition to Darrah's work mentioned above, other sources include Lou W. McCulloch, *Card Photographs, A Guide To Their History and Value* (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 1981) and Oliver Mathews, *The Album of Carte-de-Visite and Cabinet Portrait Photographs, 1854-1914* (London: Reedminster Publications, 1974). While growing interest has raised the prices of CDVs, they remain, in general, affordable. However, prices vary wildly. At a recent bourse of Civil War material, one dealer was asking $68 for a common CDV of U.S. Grant, not autographed. A dealer a few stands away had the identical item for $2.50. Political collectors, who in general have shown as little interest in CDVs until recently as photographic or Civil War buffs, seem equally uncertain of their value. Ironically, some of the toughest politicians to find items for—the Pendletons, Seymours, and Dickinsons—can come as the biggest bargains. Maybe that's because, despite the "immortality" which photography gives these once-famous faces, today they are largely unrecognized.

The political CDV can add depth and interest to any historical collection embracing the later decades of the last century. It was an integral part of the political story.★

SOAPY'S BOW TIE

By Michael Kelly

American politics is full of political symbols that conjur up the image of a candidate without words. Barry Goldwater's glasses, Teddy Roosevelt's teeth and William Henry Harrison's barrel of hard cider are just a few of the many such symbols that have brightened campaigns for the presidency. This year Illinois Senator Paul Simon's campaign has tried to make his bow tie a symbol of his independence and even put out buttons adorned with a stars-and-stripes version of the bow tie.

It reminds me of the bow tie symbol of G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams, six term governor of Michigan and a favorite son from his home state in the 1950's. William's bow tie was so completely identified with him that at times he put out campaign material that even omitted his name in favor of simply picturing a green bow tie with white polka-dots.

Soapy Williams was given his nickname because he was the scion of the Mennen family known for men's toiletries. A millionaire, Williams took it on himself to revitalize the nearly defunct Michigan Democratic Party in 1948 when he first ran for governor. The Michigan GOP had dominated state government since the civil war so totally that there were often less than five Democrats in the state legislature and even the Mayor of Detroit was usually a Republican. Williams, however, challenged the Republican establishment, brushing aside the tired Democratic machine in the process. In 1948 he narrowly won the governorship in a campaign marked by hard personal campaigning. When preparing for his first inaugural ball, his brother gave him a green and white polka dot bow tie as a joke but Soapy wore it to the ball with his tuxedo and so enjoyed the response that soon he wore nothing else. He would order the bow ties by the gross from a Detroit haberdasher and had them marked with his signature. Williams was reelected by a small margin in 1950 and soon Michigan Democrats were touting their governor as a presidential prospect. Williams himself admitted that he would like to be president and his name was widely discussed in the open battle that emerged for the Democrats that year. Williams won a third term in 1952 and his leadership began to show results for the Democrats in races across the state. With the help of Walter Reuther's U.A.W., the Michigan Democrats began winning legislative and congressional races in larger numbers.

A fourth term in 1954 set Williams up for a presidential race in 1956 and he won the endorsement of his state party as a favorite son. By this time his green and white bow tie had become a symbol of the entire party in Michigan. There is a series of buttons issued by the Michigan Democrats in the 50's to boost straight Democratic votes ("Make it emphatic - vote Straight Democratic" was the slogan). At least four 1" green and white buttons were put out to boost the ticket. "STEVENSON - WILLIAMS - MOODY" states one from 1952 that tried to add Williams' coattails to Adlai Stevenson and the new Democratic U.S. Senator Blair Moody. Soon the Williams Democrats began to dominate statewide elections in what had been a Republican state. 1954 saw the "WILLIAMS - MOODY - HART" button that added Lieutenant Governor (and later Senator) Phil Hart to the ticket. 1956 created "WILLIAMS - STEVENSON - KEAFAUVER" and 1958 saw "WILLIAMS - McNAMARA - HART," a button celebrating the complete victory of the Michigan Democrats with the governorship and both U.S. Senate seats (held by Phil Hart and Pat McNamara) in Democratic hands.

Another nice item from this era is a Williams/Stevenson flasher showing Soapy and Adlai. Williams flashers also exist from a later Senate race showing Soapy with hapless gubernatorial candidate Zoltan Ferency (who had the thankless job of challenging Gov. George Romney at the height of his power) as well as a small 1¾" flasher with a picture of Soapy and the slogan "Now More Than Ever" years before Nixon used it.

Picture on Green Background
"Now More Than Ever"
Flasher

"G. Mennen Williams For U.S. Senator"
"Zoltan Ferency For Governor"
Flasher

Anti-Williams
Tab

"Make It Emphatic - Williams"
"Vote Straight Democratic - Stevenson"
Flasher

By now, the Republicans were issuing green and white tabs reading "I'M SICK OF SOAPY." The triumphant Democrats responded by wearing little metal tabs in the shape of green and white polka dot bow ties. No words were needed as everyone in Michigan recognized the symbol.

Soapy still hankered after the White House and lined up his delegation for another favorite son nomination but then-Senator John Kennedy flew out to visit him at his summer retreat on Mackinaw Island to plead for his support. Williams' decision to throw his support behind Kennedy was a major boost for the Massachusetts hopeful and it was widely expected that Kennedy would offer Williams a prestigious federal post if successful.

In 1960, Williams was an active floor leader for JFK at the convention but the Michigan delegation let its affections be known by mounting a giant green and white polka dot tie atop their standard on the convention floor. Williams completed his sixth term in 1960 and helped carry Michigan for JFK that year and also elected Democratic Lieutenant Governor John Swainson as the new governor. After the election, Williams' supporters were shocked when Kennedy offered him only the relatively minor post of assistant secretary of state for African Affairs. Many urged Williams to reject the post, but Soapy's optimistic attitude prevailed and he soon was racing around the African continent as if it were an ethnic festival in Detroit.

While Soapy was in Africa, things began to change back in Michigan. A new political giant was rising in the person of Republican George Romney. After organizing a constitutional convention to rewrite the state's antiquated constitution, Romney swept aside Williams heir, John Swainson, to win back the governorship for the Republicans in 1962. Romney reenergized the Michigan GOP and, bucking the LBJ landslide of 1964, easily won a second term. The Michigan Democrats sent out distress signals to their hero and brought Soapy back from Africa to run for the U.S. Senate in 1966. Never had Soapy's bow tie been more evident. Billboards appeared with nothing but the bow tie and the words "You Can Trust Him." His campaign bumper stickers were just the bow tie and his campaign buttons were the little metal bow ties. Williams never really understood the extent of Romney's impact on the state until election night when Romney led the GOP

(Continued on page 33)

THE WINNING
Mondale-Ferraro Posters of 1984

By Jonathan A. Binkley

The Mondale-Ferraro Democratic Presidential Campaign may have been unfortunate for politicians but a winning bonanza for collectors. The large outpouring of buttons from many sources was well-matched by the quality and variety of posters from many origins. Certainly the traditional Democratic interest groups and unions came through for political collectors of posters as well as those of buttons.

The coalition of labor, minorities, poor and various interest groups put together in the Franklin D. Roosevelt years has not held firm in recent years for Democratic nominees. Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter both fell victims to the onslaught of the middle class and more conservative-type voters.

There were many union-oriented posters for Mondale in the 1984 presidential primaries. Hoping to knock out all Democratic competitors to Mondale, unions tried to "front-load" the primary endorsements and aid early victories. But Colorado Senator Gary Hart laid those plans to waste as a bruising primary battle ensued between these two candidates (with Rev. Jesse Jackson also drawing interest). Mondale would eventually go to the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco with the "victory edge" for the nomination.

The "bad blood" between Mondale and Hart was not allowed to be fully healed with a joining of forces as other past nominees have had, with both serious contenders on the ticket. (In both 1956, with Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver, and in 1960, with John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, this was done.)

Pressure was building in 1984 to put a minority member or woman on the ticket. This was partly due to politicians present and past who dangled such ideas before the same groups, as a "showcase" tactic to demonstrate open-mindedness or to curry favor. In the end, "practical politics" would dictate a white male, usually of obvious geographic and political advantage. Not so in 1984, as Mondale overreached public opinion and invited a "near-have to" situation or face losing credibility and coalition strength. Under pressure from women's organizations, Mondale interviewed a number of prominent Democratic women politicians. Also interviewed were prominent minority leaders. In the end, the National Organization of Women (NOW) and Geraldine Ferraro, congresswoman from New York City got their way; it would be an ethnic woman for the Democratic ticket in the Vice Presidential spot. The decision resulted in the colorful group of posters herein illustrated.

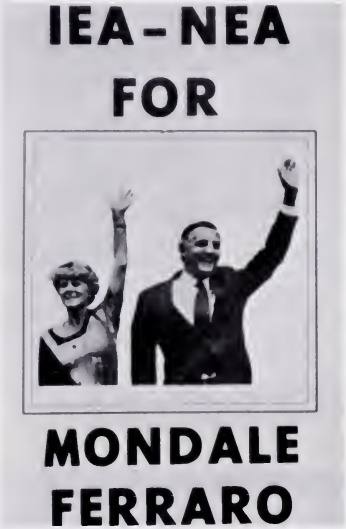
Campaign 1984 pitted the returning team of Ronald Reagan and George Bush against Mondale and Ferraro. (#1 is a 13½ x 21″ light cardboard newspaper rack poster from the Los Angeles, Ca. Herald-Examiner, Blk./W./Lt. blue). Both major teachers' unions endorsed Mondale and

#1

#2

NOTE: The posters in this article are not sized proportionately.

#3



#4

#5

#6

#7

#8

#9

later the new ticket. The American Federation of Teachers put out poster #2 (17 x 28″ in R/W/B/Blk. in light slick paper, uncommon and usually found folded). The rival and highly visible National Education Association put out #3 (17 x 21½″ light slick paper or heavy paper as a folded newsletter mailout, full color). Recently, teacher unions have been especially politically potent for their membership network, permitting constant contact and communication with their members, and the number of volunteer activists they are able to field. Their most successful year was 1976 when they first threw their heart, soul, membership and EPAC treasury into the Carter-Mondale effort that year. The 1984 election would be their worst national endorsement defeat. Items #4 (11 x 17″ medium card stock, R/W/Blk) and #5 (11 x 17″ medium

#10

#11

paper, brochure poster) are from local affiliates in Illinois and Ohio respectively.

One thing the Mondale strategists advised that generally showed in the posters was no hand, "arm around" or general contact between the candidates that would appear too endearing. Hence, the posters all showed distance, or, at best side by side standing poses. One rally picture was used in a number of union-related posters. Poster #6 from

Mondale / Ferraro: for the Family of America

Vote and Organize—for the Future
United Steelworkers of America

#12

Mondale / Ferraro: for the Family of America

#13

#14

#15

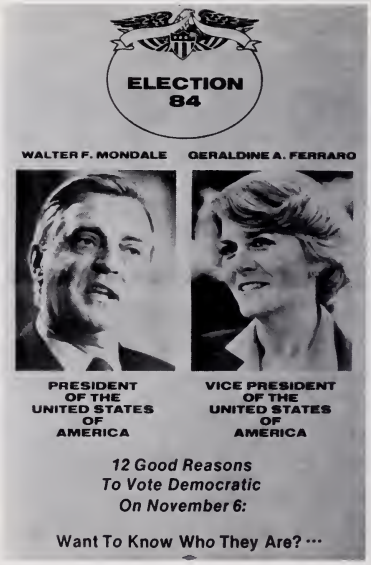
the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME, 17 x 21", light slick paper, light blue border, full color) has a picture used on the following three posters. Poster #7 is similar in most regards and is from the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW, 17 x 20", full color, white borders, light slick paper). Poster #8 is typical of many of the "home-made" posters occurring laterin the campaign as finances or local EPAC money became issues. It was used at the Boston Commons rally in Boston, Mass. and was a combination of a cannibalized UFCW poster, a standard bumper sticker and the back of a UFCW strike poster. It was stapled to a tree or bulletin board (14 x 22", medium cardboard and paper). Later in the campaign, even name posters would be locally hand screened. Poster #9 (14½ x 18½", very light card stock, full color) was made in the south for use in national Spanish-speaking areas. This brightly colored one is from a telephone pole in New York City.

Poster #10 is unique in that it was later withdrawn from use (14 x 22", B/W, slick card stock). When Ferraro's tax

#16

#17

#18



#19

and financial disclosure problems surfaced in the campaign, they further added to the undesirability of this poster. The problem is rather obvious, as it looks like Mondale is about to punch Ferraro. The staged "dynamic" look of Mondale was a pose used on other single posters in the primaries to help him look "forceful." However, this combination was a media "blooper" and was soon "shelved." Besides tax-financial problems, the implied mafia-connection by ethnic heritage and the Catholic church-abortion position issues began to take their toll on the Democratic campaign. These problems, coupled with the weakened and bruised position in which Mondale entered the fall election from the spring primaries did not help. Neither did the fact that Mondale was perceived as "whining" in his oratory, harping on the negative and "promising" to unavoidably raise taxes gave further

impetus to the falling public opinion Mondale needed to change. Poster #11 shows the need for support late in the campaign — a few weeks before the election (17 x 22", heavy paper, official rally poster, B/W).

Another attractive union poster is the large United Steelworkers of America poster (#12, 24 x 30", medium card stock, full color, slick surface). Poster #13 was a generic poster produced for headquarters by the same Indianapolis, Indiana company (same, except for slight graphics change and size, 17 x 22"). Poster #14 was a nice one from the United Auto Workers (UAW) and was published by the same company that did #3 for the NEA (17 x 21¼", slick, full color paper). It too came in newsletter-poster form on heavy paper. Poster #15, put out by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU, R/W/B, 17 x 22", light card stock) had a Spanish counterpart (#16). The Sheet Metal Workers put out #17 (17 x 22", R/W/B/, light card stock), a very rare poster.

The Montana Citizens for Liberty, Inc. of Missoula, Montana put out #18. It is a take-off on the French artist Delacroix's masterpiece, both pieces entitled "Liberty Leading the People."

The last poster, #19, is a fold-open instruction ballot/poster combination (11 x 17" unopened, heavy paper, B/W) from Illinois, but no such aids would help noticeably.

When the election results came in November, the Mondale-Ferraro team would carry only Mondale's home state of Minnesota and the District of Columbia. The Reagan-Bush win would be by the most states (49) and electoral votes (525 to 13) ever received in an American presidential election. (The only 100% elections were for George Washington in 1789 and 1792, when all electors voted for "The Father of the Country." However, at the time only 13 and 14 states were involved, respectively.)

The 1984 Presidential Election still has not proven whether a woman can help or hinder a major party presidential ticket. More women voted for the Reagan-Bush ticket than for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. Gender did not appear to be the issue as much as the negatives haunting the Democratic team and the staggering popularity of the Republican incumbents.

The following factors have been commonly mentioned when assessing the 1984 election:

(1). No Democratic candidate could probably have defeated the popular President Reagan.

(2). Walter Mondale went into the fall a weakened candidate after his bruising primary fight with Senator Gary Hart.

(3). Walter Mondale's campaign style and personality were outmatched by a media-skilled President.

(4). Vice Presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro hurt the ticket on her tax and financial disclosure difficulties; her ethnic background did not carry as expected and the abortion/Catholic-background controversy would not die.

(5). Youth who could remember only two Presidents: Carter and Reagan backed the incumbent President in vast numbers.

(6). Women voted on factors other than gender opportunity.

(7). A nation with prosperity, a cheerleading patriotic and popular President and a new national pride saw no compelling reason to give away "the diamond" to wear a new ring.

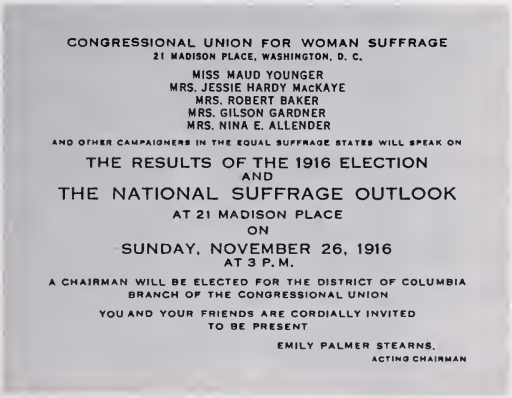
If you have additional information on these and other Mondale-Ferraro jugate posters, please contact:

Jonathan Binkley, APIC #4340
1786 Buckkew Drive
Toledo, Ohio 43613

MARCHING FOR DICK YATES (Continued from page 33)

parking area for the Post Office. The Opera House, located near the electrical spelling of Yates, is now a furniture store. Sadly, Norval Hicks, and most of the other citizens who were there, have passed into history.

I have in a small case, visual, tangible proof that a small event in that series of events we call the presidential campaign of 1900 took place near where I live; that in surroundings I experience everyday, future Governor Lowden, Senator Mason, and soon to be Governor Yates bespoke the virtues of what we now call the "Golden Age" of the Republican party.★


CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
21 MADISON PLACE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MISS MAUD YOUNGER
MRS. JESSIE HARDY MacKAYE
MRS. ROBERT BAKER
MRS. GILSON GARDNER
MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER

AND OTHER CAMPAIGNERS IN THE EQUAL SUFFRAGE STATES WILL SPEAK ON

THE RESULTS OF THE 1916 ELECTION
AND
THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE OUTLOOK

AT 21 MADISON PLACE
ON
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1916
AT 3 P. M.

A CHAIRMAN WILL BE ELECTED FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BRANCH OF THE CONGRESSIONAL UNION

YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO BE PRESENT

EMILY PALMER STEARNS,
ACTING CHAIRMAN

Button Used At Golden Gate International Exposition - 1939

Reflections On Campaigning

By Drexell R. Davis

The following is reprinted from an article by Susan S. Harmon, Frankfort, KY. *Buyers Guide* newspaper staff writer:

It seems strange that the name of Drexell R. Davis is no longer attached to the office of Secretary of State or Treasurer of Kentucky. Drexell retired from the Secretary of State's office January 4, 1988.

Having served two terms each as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury, plus a term as clerk of the Court of Appeals as well as deputy clerk, he seems to have found the right ingredient for success. "I really enjoy people," Drexell said smiling. "If you're going to be in it, you must enjoy people. If you can't have a friendly smile and handshake, you should just forget it."

Recently, the editor of this magazine asked me to write something about the changes in political campaigns through the years. Specifically, he asked me to write about the differences between my first campaign and my last one. My thoughts rolled back to the first time I threw my hat into the political ring — the year was 1963, and the race was for Clerk of the Kentucky Court of Appeals. I won that race, and although I didn't win the next one, I learned a lot by losing. Thanks to the knowledge I gained then, and especially to the hard work of my supporters and the loyalty of Kentucky voters, I am proud to say that I haven't lost a race since. Thereafter I served as State Treasurer twice and Secretary of State twice, until I retired on December 31, 1987.

But, the way political campaigns are conducted has changed a lot from 1963 to today. The traditional political campaign depended most heavily on family, friendships and footwork. The campaign of 1988 is dictated by method, money, and multi-media. I spent $6,000 on my first campaign, $10,000 in my next race. These amounts are very small by today's standards when all candidates, even those for the smallest local offices, spend much more. I remember passing through a rural farming community a couple of years ago during a campaign for judge between two political newcomers. I noted with interest the large numbers of expensive signs and posters distributed throughout the county. When I stopped to chat with one of the county's older citizens, himself a veteran of many political races, I found I wasn't the only one marveling at the changes which have taken place throughout the years. "Drex," he said shaking his head, "I'm damned if I thought I'd ever see the day when a county judge candidate in this county would hire a billboard as big as the Holiday Inn's."

I don't criticize the way today's candidate conducts his campaign. In every race, be it for jailer or governor, the candidate does what it looks like he has to do in order to win. He makes an effort to "keep up with the Jones." However, I can't help but remember how much in my early campaigns I traveled from one end of Kentucky to the other, visiting every one of our 120 counties. It was exhausting, but it was exhilarating, it was fun! I depended upon myself and the loyalty and hard work of my friends and family. I met the voters. I talked with the voters. My friends around the state asked their friends and neighbors to support me. I never paid a cent for television time. My "image" was made up of the character traits (some good, some not so good) which I had acquired in a lifetime of living. When a voter met Drex Davis, candidate, on Main Street in a small Kentucky town, what he saw was what he got.

Today, it is different. Today's candidate often hires a professional political advisor to help him "fix" his image. These advisors figure out the best way to present the candidate to the voter on television, radio, and in the

newspapers. First, they decide what they think the public wants, and then they alter the candidate's image as much as possible to fit the bill. The old style campaign was "Meet the Candidate," the new style is "Meet the Press." I believe that the biggest difference between my first campaign and those of today is the arrival on the political scene of the television ad known as the "30 second spot." Because the time frame is so short, the successful ad often relies on gimmicks which seize the viewer's attention and remain fixed in his mind long after the ad is over. The candidate with the handsome face, the commanding voice, the clever slogan, has an even greater advantage now than in the past.

Also, the viewer or listener who is paying attention can't help but notice that the 30 second spot makes it easier for a candidate to imply that, if elected, he will accomplish things which are, in reality, totally beyond his power. The eye-catching image, the ear-catching phrase become more important than experience and real leadership qualifications. In reality, a "visual vignette" of only half a minute cannot convey anything but the most superficial information about a candidate. Nevertheless, the 30 second spot plays an ever increasing part in the modern political campaign.

I know that the "old-style" politics and campaigns of the past had their drawbacks. I also know that television, radio and newspaper have played an enormously important role in informing the voter about candidates and issues. However, I do feel that the emphasis of today's campaigns on media image may be leading voters to rely too much on form instead of substance.

I don't know the best way to overcome this trend. Some people have suggested placing a legal limit on campaign spending - others say this would violate the candidate's constitutional rights. I don't know if it would be a good idea to limit the time before a race during which a candidate can campaign as they do in England. What I *do* know is how much I have enjoyed and appreciated my life as a politician.

The people I met on the campaign trail were a constant source of information and interest to me. I learned from them, they supported me, and I tried to repay that support with the most conscientious public service of which I was capable. I never found it necessary to choose whether to campaign as a "friendly" or a "serious" candidate. I was always free to be myself, and this is a luxury which I feel is largely responsible for my political success, and one for which I am very grateful. As I said before, what people saw in me was what they really got.

Today it would be all but impossible for a political newcomer to campaign as I did and win a statewide race. It saddens me that someone can't come along and have the fun of running the type of campaign that I did and be successful.★

SOAPY'S BOW TIE (Continued from page 25)

with a 67% landslide that pulled in five new GOP congressmen and helped Senator Robert Griffin give Williams his only election defeat.

Williams took his loss quietly and soon accepted a post as LBJ's ambassador to the Phillipines. His time in Asia was brief as LBJ was soon out of office and Williams returned to Michigan and won a seat on the state supreme court. Soapy served on the state court for fifteen years, the last four as chief justice. He left only after reaching the mandatory retirement age.

Upon his retirement, the new Democratic governor James Blanchard held an official "Soapy Williams Day" at the state capitol complete with Blanchard donning a green and white bow tie of his own and a ceremonial planting of a tree on the capitol lawn in Williams' honor.

The tree was marked with a giant green and white polka dot bow tie.

Soapy Williams died on February 2, 1988 an honored figure in his home state. Every newspaper tribute featured pictures of Soapy and every picture featured his famous symbol; a green and white polka dot bow tie.★

MARCHING FOR DICK YATES (Continued from page 35)

It is of historic interest to note that Bryan carried White Hall in the election 422 to McKinley's 420. Yates lost out to Alschuler 417 to 416. Where I live, in Roodhouse, there was no splitting the vote. Bryan and Alschuler got 564 votes and McKinley and Yates 267.

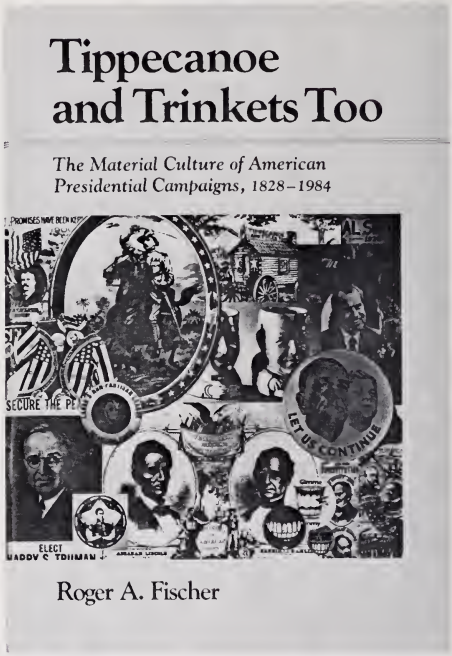
White Hall has changed. I couldn't find anyone who knew where Fanning's lot was once located. The hitching rack area for securing the Rough Riders' horses is now a

(Continued on page 31)

BOOKS IN THE HOBBY

By Michael Kelly

Roger A. Fischer. *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns*, 1828-1984. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois. 314 pages, 247 illustration plates.



Only once or twice a decade does a book of lasting significance to the hobby of political americana appear and Roger Fischer's *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too* is such a book. In his work, Fischer does not attempt to catalogue all examples of items from presidential campaigns as he and Edmund Sullivan did in their excellent work on ribbons. Rather, in *Tippecanoe*, Fischer looks at the big picture, what sort of items appeared and what issues or personalities they reflected. This work shows the way in which political memorabilia tells the story of changing politics in America and even the changes in the broader culture. It is an ambitious goal which Fischer accomplishes in a lively and interesting fashion. The book divides American political history into eight eras. The first ("Genesis") briefly acknowledges the limited material from the early days of the Republic before focusing in on the elections of 1824 through 1836 that produced the first real political campaign memorabilia. This is followed by an era described as "Down to the People" beginning with the fabulous Whig campaign for William Henry Harrison in 1840 when political memorabilia reached a heyday unrivalled until 1896 or even 1940, a full century later. This era continues through 1854 and is followed by an intensely issue-oriented period designated by Fischer as "Liberty and Union." Starting with the "Free Speech, Free Soil, Free Men, Fremont and Victory" campaign of 1856 through the "bloody shirt" campaign of 1872, few periods of American politics rival this for attention to issues of great social significance. 1876 through 1892 is the time of "Lapels Festive and Flamboyant" followed by the triumph of the celluloid button between 1896 and 1916 ("What Hath Amanda Wrought," a tribute to Amanda M. Lougee, the Boston woman who first covered a clothing button with a transparent sheet of celluloid). The modern era is divided, a bit arbitrarily, into three periods; 1920 - 1948, 1952 - 1972 and 1974 - 1984.

With all this, there is also an abundance of illustrated items. Over 700 items are well-illustrated but rather than grouped as 35 examples of Willkie buttons, they are grouped as examples of how an issue was evident in a campaign, such as Ben Butler's spoons from 1884 or FDR items featuring mugs of beer from 1932. This gathering of thematic illustration serves to highlight the story Fischer tells in the text. It is nice to see a grouping of FDR buttons all depicting him as the wartime commander-in-chief rather than a mere presidential candidate or a group of McKinley and Bryan buttons on the theme of the solar eclipse visable over America on May 28, 1900.

Fischer attempts to tell the story behind such items and even the most advanced collector will find plenty of explanations in *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too* to heighten his understanding of items that may even have sat in his own collection.

Along with the issues, Fischer describes the evolution of the technology that brought medals, ribbons, ferrotypes and eventually celluloid buttons into prominence for passing phases. Illustrations feature almost every conceivable vehicle for political propaganda from combs and thread boxes to license plates and cloth patches.

One of the great benefits of this book is the placing of political memorabilia in a more substantial academic perspective. Fischer is a professor of history at the University of Minnesota as well as having been an active member of his hobby. *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too* contributes to raising the perception of the collector as an historian and in doing so will benefit the entire hobby.★

Marching For Dick Yates

By John Bowen

Near and dear to the hearts of most collectors of political memorabilia are items with a tie to local history. Some months ago, I became the owner of a small collection of items gathered during the campaign of 1900 by a lad named Norval Hicks. Norval had attended a Republican rally for Richard Yates Jr. and the national ticket. Yates was considered almost a hometown boy, as he lived in Jacksonville, 25 miles north of White Hall, Illinois, where the rally was held. Young Norval's collection consisted of several Yates picture pins, a ¾" McKinley picture pin, a beautiful 1¾" McKinley-Roosevelt sepia jugate, and a gold colored ribbon.

For 80 years, the collection was packed away in a trunk suspended from the rafters of the Hicks family barn. When the barn was cleaned and the items discovered, they were offered to me along with the story of who collected them.

White Hall is located 3 miles south of my home and is part of our school district. I have coffee in White Hall every morning before work. I drive the same streets where 87 years ago they marched for Yates and "4 Years More of the FULL DINNER PAIL." I wanted to learn more about this small piece of local history, so I visited the local office of the *Greene Prairie Press*. By the way, a one time part owner of the *Roodhouse Record*, a paper that merged with 2 others to become the *Greene Prairie Press*, was Senator Paul Simon. What follows is a rather biased account of the rally from the Oct. 26 issue of the *White Hall Register - Republican*.

REPUBLICAN RALLY
THOUSANDS HEAR YATES, MASON, AND LESSER LIGHTS
BANDS, DRUM CORPS, & PARADES

"The White Hall Republicans are in the midst of a big rally as we go to press this Thursday afternoon. Our city is in holiday attire. Flags, bunting, pictures, banners, bands, drum corps, and thousands of people throng our streets in honor of Yates and the national Republican ticket.

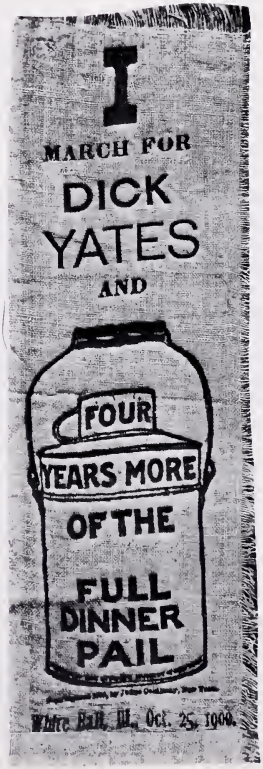
The committee has worked hard and spent a great deal of money to prepare for the event. It fought the county seat Republicans off the field to get Yates for the meeting (The county seat of Greene is Carrollton, located 12 miles south). All the neighboring towns are under obligation to the brethren here, and they come from far and near to pay off the debt and interest. We were glad to see them come in such numbers to demonstrate. This may be the last chance they will have for 4 long years to jubilate. The Democrats, however, expect to be smiling for some time after Nov. 6 over the result, just to dispel the gloom of the disappointed Republicans.

The program provides for a band concert at 9:00 am, speaking by A. J. Lester at 10:15, parade 11:15 til noon, concert by band and glee clubs at 1:00, speeches by Col. James R. Campbell, O. J. Lindly, Col. Frank Lowden, and others at 1:30 pm, evolutions by the Winchester Drill team at 4:15, concerts by bands and glee clubs from 5:00 to 6:30. The night parade starts at 7:30, Judge Yates, and Senator Mason begin speaking at 8:00. Stands at the junction of Main and Sherman Streets, and Main near the M.E. church were used in addition to pavillions on Fannings lot for speakers and bands.

All the churches served meals. It's the biggest day the Republicans ever had here. Two watering troughs supplied from the city water works on the west side of Jacksonville Street, next to the hitching racks, sufficed to quench the thirst of Rough Rider horses and others.

The electrical spelling of Yates, suspended across Main Street near the Opera House, will attract much attention. The test Wednesday night was entirely satisfactory."

(Continued on page 33)



ELECTION DAY COVERS

By Edward Krohn

Every four years, voters all over the United States elect their president. It's an exciting time for everyone concerned - the candidates, the campaign workers, the voters, and the media. Cover collectors also become involved, much more so in recent years than previously.

Although some election day covers existed prior to 1928, they were usually one-of-a-kind, prepared on the spur of the moment, and generally not a commercial item made for sale. Professional cachet makers entered the picture in 1928 with the presidential election campaign of Herbert Hoover and Al Smith. Harry Ioor prepared a cover with the Republican candidates, Herbert Hoover for President and Charles Curtis for Vice President (figure 1). While this writer has not seen a cover with the Democratic candidates, he assumes Mr. Ioor prepared one with them on it.

Mr. Ioor used a similar design for his inauguration day cover in 1932 (figure 2).

Many early election day cachets were of similar design to inauguration covers. Aeroprint (Horowitz) or Hacker in 1932, and Roessler in 1940, prepared covers for the election day that resemble their inauguration day covers.

Linprint in 1932 produced a cover that was later used as an inauguration day cover (Noble number FDR-1-15), but added an interesting touch. After the cover was canceled on November 8, 1932, the popular and electoral votes were typed on the face of the cover (figure 3).

Another interesting cover produced for the 1932 election was postmarked in President, Pennsylvania. The cachet is a printed drawing of the then current president, Herbert Hoover (figure 4).

A cover prepared for the 1936 election carried a message that Congress did not heed until 1964 (figure 5). The message read: "Their fellow-Americans should be ashamed of such injustice," referring to the disenfranchisement of District of Columbia residents. Washingtonians were first permitted to vote in the Lyndon Johnson/Barry Goldwater contest.

In the election of 1948 there were four major party candidates instead of the usual two. Harry Truman had succeeded to the presidency when Franklin Roosevelt died in 1945 in Warm Springs, Georgia. Truman wanted to be elected in his own right, but members of his party, mainly Southern Democrats, were not happy with him. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina led a walkout of Southern Democrats at the Democratic Convention. In addition, Henry Wallace's Progressive party was finding much support. Because of all these factors, Thomas Dewey of New York was considered a shoo-in.

We all remember the famous picture of Harry Truman laughing at the *Chicago Tribune's* headline "Dewey defeats Truman" Harry had defied all the odds and won! A cachet maker wasn't so sure, or at least wanted to hedge

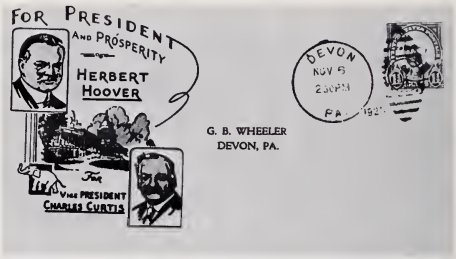


Figure 1

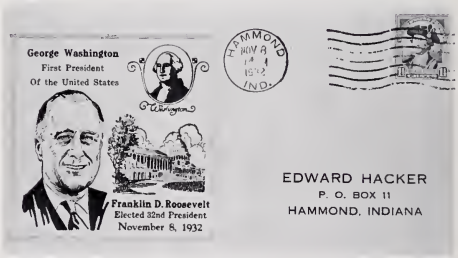


Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

his bet. He prepared a cachet asking, "Who will be our next president?" and had it canceled on various ships of the Navy (figure 6).

A Brown Brothers photo was used in a cachet for Dwight Eisenhower's first election in 1952. It was also later used as an inauguration cover (Noble number DDE-I-2) (figure 7). Clyde Sarzin produced his first election day cover in 1956 by adding a cachet of Ike's election to a cover that was canceled in New York on November 6, 1956 (figure 8).

In recent years, large cachet makers (Artcraft, Colorano, American Topical Association, Sarzin, and others) have produced a number of designs for various election days. Two later-day cachets that may be of interest to collectors are the ones prepared by Sarzin in 1972, and an unknown cachet maker in 1976.

Clyde Sarzin prepared a cachet depicting Richard Nixon and his running mate, Spiro Agnew. He then had Governors from various states autograph the covers. The popular vote and the state's electoral votes that Nixon won were added to the cachet (figure 9).

A cover was prepared for Gerald Ford's election day. It depicts his Presidential medal, and was canceled in Mr. Ford's hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan on election day.

Election day covers or cacheted covers postmarked on election day afford a collector an unusual opportunity. At the present time, these covers can be purchased for a few dollars, or even picked up in a dealer's miscellaneous "fifty-cent box." The covers represent an interesting sidelight to the collecting of Presidential Inauguration covers—an area that with each election/inauguration produces many more covers and collectors. Election day covers will be included in the next edition of NOBLE'S CACHETED PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL COVERS.

If you have any interesting election day covers, the author would appreciate a clean photocopy of them. HAPPY COLLECTING!

EDITOR'S NOTE: Edward Krohn has compiled the 1984 and 1986 editions of NOBLE'S CATALOG OF CACHETED PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL COVERS. It lists over 900 cacheted covers and is fully illustrated. For each cachet listed, it includes the cachetmaker, the amount produced (if known), the color of the cachet, the type of cachet, the type of cancellation, and in what cities the covers were canceled. The catalog is available from Subway Stamps, 111 Nassau Street, New York, NY 10038 or your local dealer. The list price is $15.95.★

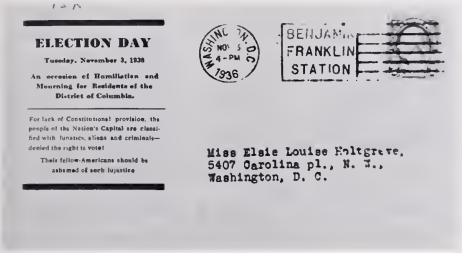


Figure 5

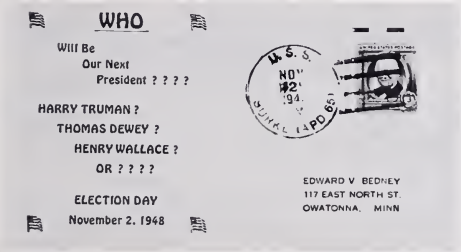


Figure 6

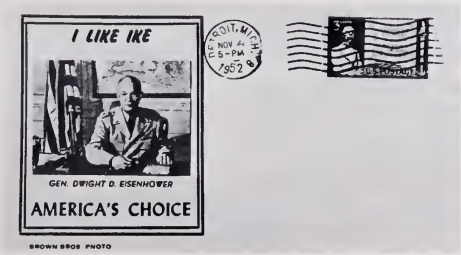


Figure 7

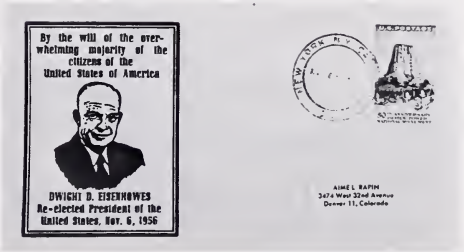


Figure 8

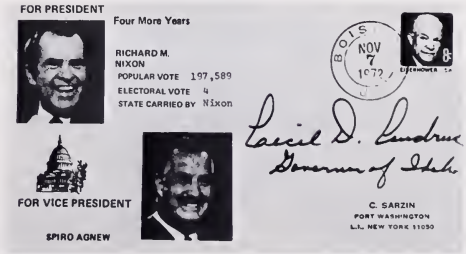


Figure 9

NEWS

AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS

1987 Financial Statement

January 1, 1987 Balances:		
Checking Account		$ 4,869.54
Money Market Account		682.87
		$ 5,552.41
INCOME		
1987 Regular Dues	$ 34,555.00	
1987 Family Dues	310.00	
1987 Youth Dues	256.00	
Big Apple Chapter (close of bank account)	535.36	
Donation to APIC Book Club	575.00	
Donations	361.80	
Interest	398.32	
Mailing Labels	809.40	
Mailing Supply Service	1,617.20	
Miscellaneous	8.00	
National Convention	2,400.00	
Return of Nat'l Conv. Advance	500.00	
1988 Dues	535.00	
	$ 42,861.08	$ 48,413.49
EXPENDITURES		
APIC Book Club	$ 575.00	
Advance on 1989 Nat'l Convention	500.00	
Awards (HOF, President's, Service)	439.12	
Computer Expenses	884.88	
Mailing Expenses	1,317.63	
Mailing Supply Service	587.97	
Miscellaneous Expenses	343.00	
Nat'l Conv. Exhibit Awards	225.00	
Newsletter Editors Expenses	424.19	
Newsletter Expense	2,248.00	
Office Expenses	1,132.27	
Postage Expenses	4,579.41	
Printing Expenses	$ 24,691.54	
Purchase of APIC Binders	960.00	
Secretary's Compensation	3,928.00	
Service Award Pins	146.30	
Storage Expense	375.00	
Telephone Expense	116.24	
	$ 43,473.55	
December 31, 1987 Balances:		
Checking Account	$ 3,129.77	
Money Market Account	1,810.17	
	$ 4,939.94	$ 48,413.49

1987 APIC MARK JACOBS INTERN FUND FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1987 Balance		$ 13,245.64
1987 Income		
Donations	$ 1,386.50	
Interest	411.26	
Dividends	420.58	
	$ 2,218.34	$ 15,463.98
1987 Expenditures		
Summer Intern	$ 1,200.00	
	$ 1,200.00	
December 31, 1987 Balance	$ 14,263.98	
	$ 15,463.98	$ 15,463.98

Respectfully Submitted,

Joseph D. Hayes

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Secretary/Treasurer

CONSERVATION:

Tips On Protecting Your Paper Collectibles

By Peggy A. Dillard

Unfortunately, many paper collectors in our hobby inadvertently contribute to the damaging of paper items by such methods as shrink wrapping posters against highly acidic cardboard, or by displaying paper items on acidic black construction paper. Commonly used poly bags often have chemicals which are injurious to paper on a long term basis. Even professional framing may not have been done with an eye on preservation.

Anyone who has ever had a treasured poster or document crumble in his hands can appreciate the enthusiasm I feel for a product I recently discovered.

The product is "Wei T'o," which is a nonaqueous solution containing an organic solvent and an alkaline deacidifying chemical agent. Documents treated with this solution—by immersion, spraying, or brushing—are protected against acidic attack, and their life expectancy is prolonged indefinitely! (Wei T'o was an ancient Chinese god who protected books against destruction from fire, worms, and insects).

Although the company making Wei T'o has a vast array of products and elaborate equipment, the one I have used simply and successfully is the 1 pint Wei T'o aerosol spray can. It is moderately expensive,.between $13.50 and $17.00 a can, depending on the dealer and the quantity ordered. However, one can goes a long way unless treating large posters.

The company issues free of charge a packet of information regarding their product. (Wei T'o Associates, Inc. P.O. Drawer 40, 21750 Main Street Unit 27, Matteson, IL 60443) The information includes a long list of historical documents treated, as well as organizations that use the product. Be sure to carefully read the informational packet before treating any delicate paper items such as autographs. Simple ink tests are recommended and some solutions are preferable for certain inks.

The use of Wei T'o will not visibly alter the paper item. For example, a yellowed paper ballot will remain yellow. It will, however, reduce the brittleness of the paper, allowing it to be handled safely for framing or for another process of protecting your paper—encapsulation.

Encapsulation is a process by which valuable documents are placed between sheets of polyester (mylar) and are sealed together with a special double-coated tape. Paper treated with Wei T'o and subsequently encapsulated is completely protected from future deterioration which is caused by handling, humidity, contact with acidic materials, and other harmful elements. The process is also reversible, leaving the document in its original state.

Light Impressions, an archival supply mail order company, (439 Monroe Ave. P.O. Box 940, Rochester, New York 14603-0940) has many products which can be helpful for the collector who truly wants to preserve his collection for future generations. Some products which I have found helpful are: For paper display albums, they have the three hole top load polypropylene sheet protectors. Acid-free inserts to replace those destructive black construction papers are also available. Acid-free mounting board paper can be ordered for framing purposes, so that your posters, once treated, can be protected against future attack. A "ph" testing pen is available to test the acidity of your paper items and mylar film sheets are available in both rolls and different sized sheets, along with double coated film tape.

Finally, another product I have found useful is Filmoplast, a pressure-sensitive adhesive which is soluble in water and "ph" neutral. I have used this very thin and highly transparent tape to mend tears in posters and other documents—something which should never be done with scotch-tape products.

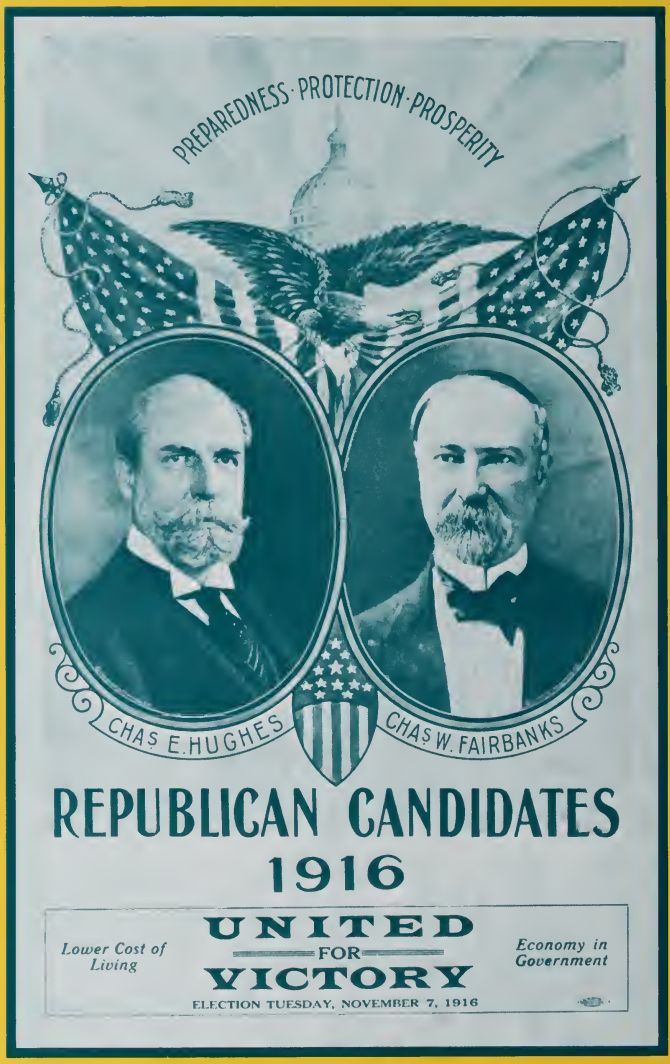
Wei T'o can also be ordered from Light Impressions, which has many other products which may appeal to those with even more do-it-yourself leanings.

Conservation of paper products can be an expensive process. However, there is no better way to protect your investment, not only now, but for the future.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST:

This attractive brown on white celluloid button was found recently by Peggy Dillard. The piece was probably issued for an early Rough Rider reunion (see also Hake—T.R. 67 and 277). Whatever the use, it is another exciting reminder that unknown pieces are still out there waiting to be found.

MOVING? Be sure to notify APIC: Joseph Hayes, Secretary P.O. Box 340339, San Antonio, TX 78234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