



# THE KEYNOTER



**ABRAHAM LINCOLN vs. JOSEPH LANE**  
**THE REAL ELECTION OF 1860**

**ALSO: MCKINLEY • EISENHOWER • TAFT • JR. KENNEDYS**

## Managing Editor's Message

In 1948, there were four national political parties, two major and two semi-major parties, vying for the presidency, although only two had a realistic chance of success. Eighty-eight years earlier, in 1860, there were also four parties, but as Charles Allen points out in our lead article, only the Republicans, in their second campaign, had a real chance to elect a president outright. The strategy of the other three parties, in one form or another, depended upon stopping Abraham Lincoln. Many of the turning points in history have occurred by chance rather than effective planning, by plans gone awry in place of conscious choice. Too often, historians look upon historical events as a string of "givens" instead of happenstance. We think it can be worthwhile to look behind the "headlines" of these major events—in this case, the election of Abraham Lincoln—and see not only what happened, but what might have happened, and why.

Current publishing plans for the Keynote this year are June, for the Spring-Summer issue, August for the Fall issue, and November for the Winter issue. We hope that you find them interesting, and that, whatever your special interest, we will have an article or illustration to please you. If we miss, perhaps you would like to contribute an article yourself, so others will be able to share your interest.



Robert A. Fratkin  
Managing Editor

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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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**Illustrations:** The Editors wish to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Charles Allen, Jr., John Buechler, James Gifford, Christopher Hearn, William Kirsner, John Koster, Neal Machander, Michael Meiring, John Pendergrass, and Fred Strickland.

**Covers:** *Front:* Mathew Brady portrait silk ribbons of Lincoln Hamlin and Breckinridge/Lane, Blk-Wh; *Back:* Multicolor 9" button.

**IN THE NEXT ISSUE**

The Summer issue of the Keynoter will feature a special article by Roger Fischer with pictures of some newly discovered satirical ribbons from the campaign of 1880, a cartoon examination of the campaign of 1948 from the States Rights Party's viewpoint, more sheet music from the Gifford collection, and much more.

# LINCOLN VS. LANE

## THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

By Charles Evans, Jr.

The Presidential election of 1860 was the most momentous, complex, divisive, and, in the end, decisive election in American history. Decisive as it was, however, the result was a narrow victory for a minority and sectional party which did not represent mainstream political thought in the country at that time. Election results in the United States of America, the cradle of democracy, were supposed to reflect the will of the majority, but this one did not, with tragic consequences for the next four and one-half years and beyond. The Democratic Party split, and the ensuing four-party contest combined with the electoral college system to severely impact the 1860 election. What follows is a description of what happened, what nearly happened and what might have happened had that election been determined by majority popular vote rather than by the electoral college system.

Extension of slavery was the cutting-edge issue in 1860. Did slaveholders have the constitutional right to take their slaves into the territories? Southern Democrats, the Buchanan administration and the Supreme Court in its Dred Scott decision maintained they did. Or should the people of the territories decide the matter of slavery for themselves? Northern Democrats contended, and the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska Act stated, they should. Or was there a higher law which ought to be invoked to prevent slavery's extension? Republicans and, of course, Abolitionists believed there was. Most of the people of the North opposed extension of slavery out of fear of competing for jobs against slave labor and out of fear of becoming dominated by a southern slave-owning aristocracy. Some opposed slavery on moral grounds and insisted on its abolition. Abolitionists were a sectional minority in 1860, albeit an important and vocal one. They were supported neither by Lincoln nor the Republican Party Platform. In the South, people were fearful of northern political and economic dominance as well as the threat of more John Brown-like raids if federal troops were under the control of a Republican administration. If the southern Democrats were to lose the election to the Republicans, their fall-back position was secession, to which they openly and defiantly asserted their right. Northern Democrats and Constitutional-Unionists as well as Republicans rejected the right of southern states to secede from the Union.

In addition to the great controversy over slavery and the right to secede from the Union there were other important and divisive issues. Corruption in the Buchanan Administration concerned and offended many, particularly in the

North. Free homesteads endorsed by Republicans and opposed by Democrats were important to the people in the new states of the northwest. Federal expenditures for internal improvements were espoused by Republicans and opposed by the Buchanan administration. High tariffs were important to the northern manufacturing states while low tariffs were just as vital to the southern agrarian states. A proposal to purchase Cuba from Spain and admit it into the Union as a slave state aroused passions "for" in the South and "against" in the North. The people of the North were just emerging from the effects of the depression of 1857 which had left the South relatively unscathed and blame was pinned on the Buchanan administration. Discrimination against foreign-born Americans still found political expression. And, ideology aside, after years



of Democratic dominance in Washington the "outs" were induced to combine and dislodge the "ins".

Amidst the turmoil and pressures of these fractious issues, the Whig Party had all but disintegrated, the American Party (Know Nothings) had been reduced to the role of spoiler and the Democrats, the majority party, were split asunder. The Democrats in the South and supporters of the Buchanan Administration in the North comprised one faction and Douglas Democrats, mostly in the North, comprised the other. The Republican Party, consisting of former Whigs, Free Soilers, Abolitionists, disenchanted Democrats, temperance advocates and Know Nothings, now filled what had been an opposition void. The Republicans already had made a strong showing behind Fremont and Dayton in the Presidential election of 1856 and were looking forward to victory in 1860.

As a result of the split between administration and Southern Democrats on the one hand and Douglas Democrats on the other at the Charleston nominating convention in May 1860, two Democratic national tickets

emerged: John Breckenridge of Kentucky, then Vice President in the Buchanan Administration, and Senator Joseph Lane of Oregon were selected as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates of the Southern-Buchanan faction and Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois and former Governor Hershel Johnson of Georgia were selected as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates by the Douglas Democrats. The Republican Party, convening in Chicago after the Democratic split in Charleston, eschewed selection of its leading Presidential contender, the radical William Seward of New York, and picked a moderate who would have a better chance of winning those Northern states that the Republican Party had failed to win in 1856, namely, Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Abraham Lincoln's moderate slavery position and his relative obscurity were to serve the Republicans well in the coming general election. Senator Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was selected as the Republican Vice Presidential candidate. Whigs and Know Nothings who wished to oppose the despised Democrats, but could not bring themselves to join the "Black Republicans", formed the Constitutional-Union Party and picked Senator John Bell of Tennessee as its Presidential candidate and Edward Everett of Massachusetts as its Vice Presidential candidate.

A look at the Presidential election results of 1856 reveals what each party had to accomplish in order to win or what the two Democratic factions and the Constitutional-Unionists required to prevent a Republican victory.

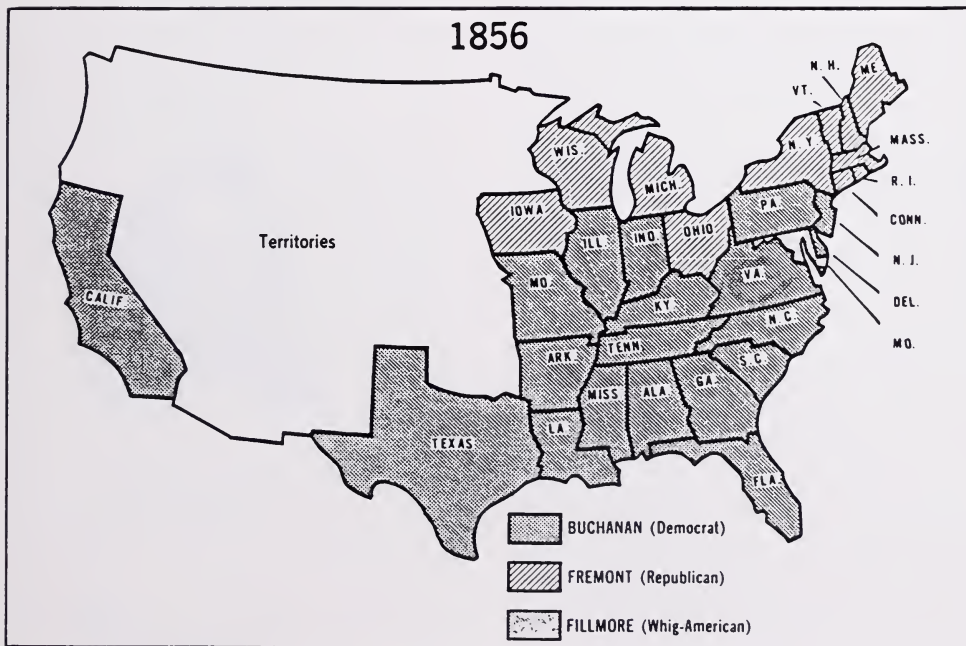
The Republicans had no hope of capturing the electoral



A. Lincoln



H. Hamlin



vote of any southern or border state. The more populous north with a majority of the total electoral vote of 303, presented their only route to the White House. All they had to do to win was hold on to the northern states they had won in 1856 (114 electoral votes) and add at least 38 more from the northern states they had lost. These were Pennsylvania (27), New Jersey (7), Illinois (11) and Indiana (13). At a minimum they needed Pennsylvania and Illinois or, alternatively, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

The Republican challenge was nothing compared to the challenges confronting the other tickets. Breckenridge-Lane could not hope to obtain any electoral votes in the north and therefore could not expect to win an electoral majority. Compounding the problems of the Southern Democratic ticket was the serious challenge it faced from the Constitutional Unionists in the border states and even



J. Bell

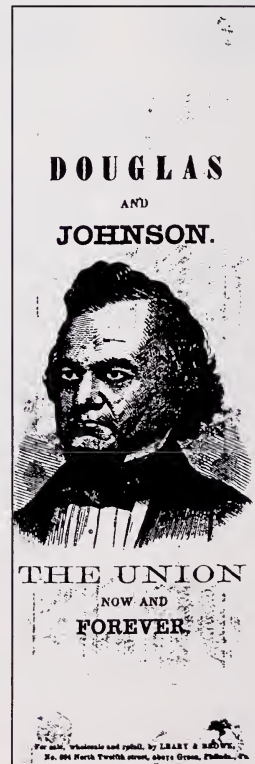
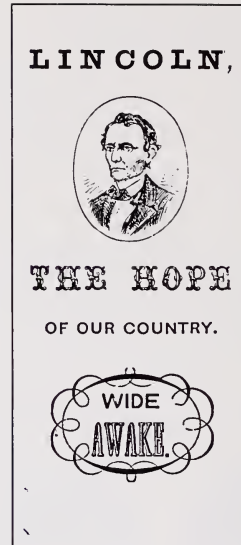


E. Everett

in some of the southern states. The Douglas Democrats had little hope of an electoral vote victory either. Of the slave states only Missouri offered the prospect of a Douglas-Johnson win. That ticket had opportunities in northern states such as Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, but these were not enough to give them an electoral vote majority. Bell - Everett strength lay primarily in the border states, but they had little prospect of winning any others.

Early on, political experts recognized that the campaign boiled down to whether Lincoln - Hamlin would win an electoral majority or plurality. If the Republican electoral vote fell short of a majority, but surpassed the electoral vote of each of the other parties, the election would be decided by the House of Representatives, in the case of the Presidency, and by the Senate, in the case of the Vice Presidency, pursuant to the applicable provisions of the Constitution.

The original Constitution (Article II, section 1) provided a cumbersome, and a less than pure democratic, procedure for the election of a President and Vice President. The framers of the Constitution, conscious of states' rights and the desirability of avoiding the vagaries of a direct popular vote, provided the electoral college system. Every four years each state was to appoint a number of electors equal to the sum of its Federal senators and representatives who would meet and vote by ballot for two persons. Most electors were selected by state legislatures in the early days of the Republic, but by 1860 they were elected by the voters except in South Carolina. Each state was to transmit its electoral vote to the Federal Capital where the votes were to be counted by the



President of the Senate in the presence of the members of both Houses of Congress. The person having a majority and the greatest number of votes would be elected President and the person receiving the next highest number of votes would be elected Vice President. In the event of a tie the House of Representatives would choose a President from the tied candidates, each state delegation having one vote. In case of a tie for Vice President the election would be decided in the Senate where each senator had one vote. If no candidate had a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives was to choose from the five candidates receiving the most electoral votes. Whoever obtained a majority of votes of the states in the House was elected President and whoever obtained the next highest number of votes in the House was elected Vice President.

The framers of the Constitution had not envisioned the possibility of an elector casting his two votes for candidates of the same political party and this was because they



S. Douglas



H. Johnson



J. Breckenridge



J. Lane

had not foreseen the existence of political parties. The framers thought that most electors would vote for favorite sons which would have the effect of throwing the election into the House of Representatives. How wrong they were! Political parties emerged in the 1796 election and have since been part of our election process.

In 1800 the Democratic-Republican electors, who constituted a majority, were fearful of losing the Vice Presidency to the Federalists. This induced each Democratic-Republican elector to split his two votes between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Neither Jefferson nor Burr having a majority the election went to the House of Representatives where eventually Jefferson emerged as President and Burr as Vice President. In order to prevent a recurrence of the 1800 electoral vote result, Congress passed and the states ratified the 12th Amendment to the Constitution in 1804. The Amendment provided for electors to vote separately for President and Vice President. It further provided that in the event no candidate received a majority elector vote, the House of Representatives would select a President from the three candidates who had the most electoral votes and the Senate would select a Vice President from the two candidates who had the most electoral votes for that office. The provisions of Article II, section 1 of the Constitution and the 12th Amendment were to have a profound influence on the strategy of the contending parties in the Presidential election of 1860.

Shortly after the party conventions in 1860, influential members of the Buchanan administration and Congress

attempted to induce the candidates of the Constitutional-Unionists and the two Democratic factions to withdraw in favor of a new ticket backed by all three parties. Many politicians believed that this was the only path available to forestall a Republican candidate's electoral victory. The 1856 Presidential voting results indicated that if Democrats and Constitutional-Unionists could somehow hold together and attract sufficient Whigs and Americans, Lincoln could be defeated in the popular vote and perhaps defeated in the more important electoral vote. This was not to be because, while Breckenridge and Bell agreed to withdraw, Douglas would not. It is arguable that Lincoln still would have obtained an electoral majority because in actuality his electoral victory in 1860 was not dependent on plurality victories in any of the states. Lincoln did have plurality victories in New Jersey (7 votes), California (4 votes) and Oregon (3 votes), but eliminating these, he still had 169 electoral votes, with 152 required to win. On the

other hand, elimination of the destructive rivalry between the two Democratic factions might have dissuaded northern Democrats from voting Republican, which many did as a protest against one wing of the Democratic Party or the other. Whigs and Americans who voted Republican may have been persuaded to vote for a ticket backed by all anti-Republican factions.

Failing the formation of a new national ticket by the three parties opposing the Republicans, efforts were made to fuse their electoral slates in the key states of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and also in Rhode Island. Fusion agreements would distribute electors among the three anti-Republican parties. Consequently, if the fusion tickets won, at best the election would be thrown into the House and Senate for decision. Republicans, alert to this possibility, accused the anti-Lincoln parties of machinations and trickery to thwart the popular will and place the decision with the existing members of the House and Senate. Examining the then political make-up of Congress led Republicans to further declare that the election was essentially between Abraham Lincoln and John Breckenridge's running mate, Joseph Lane. The logic of the Republican assertion, and the anti-Republican hope, lay not only in the political make-up of Congress, but in the application of the provisions of Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution and the 12th Amendment. Absent the winning of an electoral majority by any of the Presidential candidates, the House would choose from the three who had won the most electoral votes. Those, in all probability, would be Lincoln,

Breckenridge and Bell and thus Douglas would be removed from consideration. The Republicans had won the 1858 Congressional elections, but neither they nor the Democrats controlled a majority of the state delegations in the House. Whigs and Americans held the balance of power. Thus, at least the possibility, and perhaps probability, of stalemate existed in the House. If such stalemate occurred, the selection of a Vice President by the Senate would be tantamount to selection of a President. The Senate, which contained a three-to-two Democratic majority, would be limited to voting for the two Vice Presidential candidates with the most electoral votes which were anticipated to be Republican Hannibal Hamlin and Southern Democrat Joseph Lane. Hershel Johnson and Edward Everett would be removed from consideration. Little doubt existed as to how the Senate would vote in these circumstances. As if by magic, Joseph Lane had become the leading opponent to Lincoln's candidacy.

Fusion efforts were inextricably bound up in local as well as national politics and rivalries. Democratic party managers tried to run Breckenridge and Lane tickets where they were strong and Douglas and Johnson tickets where they had good prospects. Agreements were difficult to reach, however. Douglas managers balked because their candidate likely would not be in the top three if the election went to the House of Representatives and they did not want to jeopardize their state organizations. In Pennsylvania, for example, nominal fusion was achieved by the Democratic factions and a fused elector slate allocated 17 to Breckenridge and 10 to Douglas. This allocation might seem strange in a northern state, but President Buchanan, who was a Pennsylvanian, still controlled a good portion of that State's Democratic party machinery. Douglas himself repudiated the fusion agreement unless Breckenridge recanted his position on the right of Southern States to secede. Some Pennsylvania Douglas Democrats rebelled as well and ran a ticket consisting of their 10 fusion electors and 17 more of their own. In the end, Whigs and Americans spurned both factions and the Constitutional-Unionists and voted overwhelmingly for Lincoln. The Republicans gained a 56% popular vote victory compared to 32% for Fremont four years earlier. 27 electoral votes were safely in the Republican column.


In New Jersey, the three anti-Lincoln parties fused their electoral slates, allocating three to Douglas, two to Breckenridge and two to Bell. Douglas Democrats, however, sabotaged the fusion ticket by voting only for the electors allocated to them and crossing off the names of the electors pledged to other candidates. If they had adhered to the fusion bargain, the fusion slate would have carried New Jersey and captured all of its seven elector votes. As it was, only the three electors pledged to Douglas were elected and Lincoln won the other four with a popular vote less than that of the fusion ticket.

Gubernatorial victories by the Republicans in Pennsylvania and Indiana in October presaged Republican victories in those states in the Presidential election in

*Republican Ticket!!*

# REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS!

Election—Tuesday, Nov. 6.



FOR PRESIDENT,  
**ABRAHAM LINCOLN,**  
OF ILLINOIS.  
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
**HANNIBAL HAMLIN,**  
OF MAINE.

FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS:  
AT LARGE,  
GEORGE MOREY, of Boston;  
RUBEN A. CHAPMAN, of Springfield.

FOR THE DISTRICTS.

1st District—	ALFRED MACY.
2nd " "	JAMES H. MITCHELL.
3rd " "	JOHN M. FORBES.
4th " "	CHAS. H. HALL.
5th " "	PELEG W. CLANDLER.
6th " "	JOHN G. WHITTIER.
7th " "	GERRY W. COCHRANE.
8th " "	JOHN NESMITH.
9th " "	AMASA WALKER.
10th " "	CHARLES FIELD.
11th " "	CHARLES MATTOON.

FOR GOVERNOR,  
**JOHN A. ANDREW,**  
OF BOSTON.  
FOR LIEUT. GOVERNOR,  
**JOHN Z. GOODRICH,**  
OF Stockbridge.

*Sec. of State—*OLIVER WARNER, Northampton.  
*Att. General—*DWIGHT FOSTER, Worcester.  
*Treasurer—*HENRY K. OLIVER, Lawrence.  
*Auditor—*LEVI REED, Abington.

Representative of Ninth Congressional District,  
**ELI THAYER,** of Worcester.

For Senator—Western District,  
**FREEMAN WALKER,** of North Brookfield.


Councillor for the Fourth District,  
**HUGH W. GREEN,** of Northfield.

For County Commissioner,  
**VELOBUS TAFT,** of Upton.

For Representative to General Court,  
**ALBERT H. ANDREWS,** of Ashburnham.



**LINCOLN**



AND

**HAMLIN.**

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**UNION**

AND

**VICTORY!**

November. All parties now looked to New York as the final battleground in which a Lincoln victory might be thwarted. New York was a cauldron of political turmoil in 1860. On the Republican side, the Thurlow Weed - William Seward branch of the Party was furious at Horace Greeley for his efforts against Seward at the Republican convention in Chicago. Fortunately for Lincoln, however, both factions were able to suppress their differences which permitted the well-oiled Weed machine to go about its work efficiently and effectively. Nevertheless, the Republicans still had major problems in New York, not the least of which was a proposal on the ballot to amend the New York State Constitution to eliminate a \$250 property qualification imposed on Negro voters. The challenge for the Republicans was to attract Whigs and Americans to their ticket in the face of the proposed State Constitutional Amendment and at the same time hold on to the Abolitionists and Free Soilers who had proposed it. Fremont had taken New York in 1856, but only by a plurality. Millard Fillmore, former President and then Whig-American candidate for President, had taken 21% of the vote, giving Fremont the victory with 46%. If anti-Lincoln parties did not fuse their electoral slates, a Lincoln plurality victory was probable. If anti-Lincoln fusion was achieved, only a Majority electoral victory by the Republicans would put Lincoln in the White House.

The Democratic Party in New York was in organizational shambles. Earlier attempts to achieve fusion had failed and the Party was finding it extremely difficult to extract political contributions from New York City commercial interests. New York Mayor Fernando Wood and his Mozart Hall faction of the City's Democratic Party, which had fought the Douglas wing of the Party in Charleston, made overtures to the Albany-Regency and Tammany Hall factions (both for Douglas) to unite behind Douglas. Agreement among these factions was effected, but overtures to the Breckenridge faction in the State were rebuffed due to disagreements between it and Albany-Regency arising out of the Charleston convention. With certain mercantile interests in New York City serving as catalysts, all Democratic factions as well as the Constitutional-Unionists finally were brought together in October and consequently the three anti-Lincoln tickets were fused in New York. Electors were allocated - 18 to Douglas, 10 to Bell and 7 to Breckenridge. Cooperation between the anti-Lincoln factions was lukewarm at best, however, and the fusion ticket suffered as a result. The Democrats estimated that there was a natural anti-Republican majority in New York of about 50,000. This estimate was supported by the 1856 popular vote in New York when Fremont polled about 55,000 votes fewer than the combined vote of Buchanan and Fillmore. The political mix in New York, however, had undergone changes during the pre-election upheaval in 1860. Many Democrats of each faction preferred to see Lincoln elected rather than the candidate of a rival faction. Substantial numbers of Whigs and Americans were attracted to the Republican ticket because of the corruption in the Buchanan administration, because the Democrats were

**DEMOCRATIC TICKET.**

FOR PRESIDENT:  
**JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky.**

FOR VICE PRESIDENT:  
**JOSEPH LANE, of Oregon.**

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**DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL TICKET.**

1st District—WM. LAMB, of Norfolk City.  
 2d District—THOS. F. GOODE, of Mecklenburg.  
 3d District—JNO. R. EDMUNDS, of Halifax.  
 4th District—T. T. TREDWAY, of Prince Ed.  
 5th District—JAS. L. KEMPER, of Madison.  
 6th District—JAMES LYONS, of Henrico.  
 7th District—R. A. CLAYBROOK, of Northumberland.  
 8th District—B. B. DOUGLAS, of King Win.  
 9th District—EPPA HUNTON, of Prince Win.  
 10th District—THOS. M. ISBELL, of Jefferson.  
 11th District—JAS. W. MASSIE, of Rockbridge.  
 12th District—W. H. ANTHONY, of Botetourt.  
 13th District—ISAAC B. DUNN, of Washington.  
 14th District—JOHN G. NEWMAN, of Kanawha.  
 15th District—Z. KIDWELL, of Marion.

seen as espousing a policy of fighting discrimination against foreign born Americans and because the Republicans were very circumspect about the slavery issue during the campaign. The result was that while the fusion ticket won New York City by 30,000 votes it lost the State to the Republicans by 50,000. With New York in the Republican column, Lincoln had been elected President. The proposed New York State Constitution Amendment to eliminate discriminatory voting qualifications for Negroes went down to a two-to-one defeat. Republicans may have opposed slavery, but stopped short of supporting political equality for Negroes.

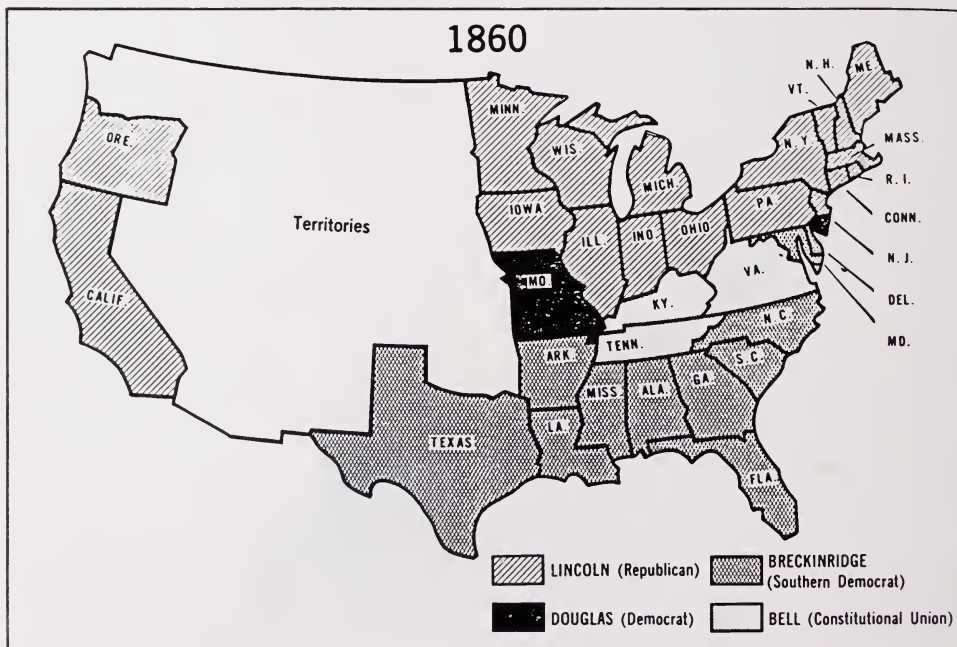
If the fusion ticket had prevailed in New York, the election would have been thrown into the House and Senate. Out of a total of 303 electoral votes Lincoln needed 152 for victory, but with New York he won 180. If New York's electoral vote had gone to the fusion ticket, Lincoln would have had 145 votes - 7 short of a majority. With a shift of about 25,000 votes out of 675,000 cast in New York, not only would Lincoln have been denied an electoral majority, but very likely the Presidency. Samuel Tilden, a New York City Democrat who would learn even more about close elections in the future, lamented the New York election result:

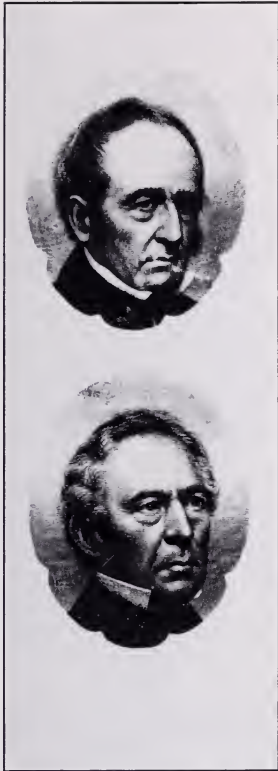
Masses went for Lincoln, from habit and association, - as a lineal succession from Whiggism. Masses from mere opposition to the Democratic party - and from all causes which gradually operated to make a revolution between the ins and

the outs. The drift created by the disorganization of the Democratic Party - and our inability to present any single candidate as a point of union to the conservative sentiment - and the concession from April to October that we must inevitably be beaten; I say this drift alone might (have caused) fail(ure) by 24,000 out of 675,000 votes or 3½%, which would have changed the result in New York and the Union.\*

\*Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1944) 218.

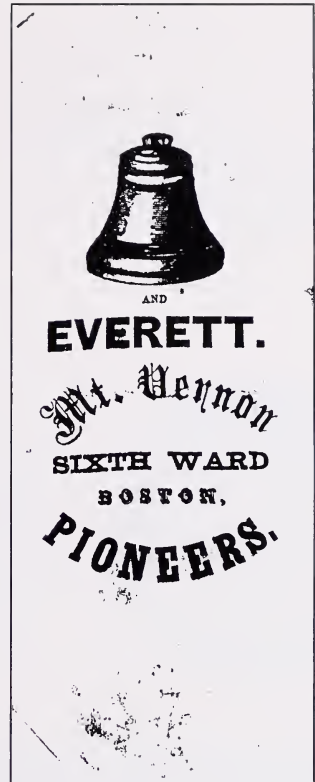
Following the conventions up to November 6, Election Day, it was anticipated by most political observers that Lincoln would win the Presidency. They were proven right, but by a very narrow margin. Not only could Lincoln have been defeated by a relatively small shift of votes in New York, he could have been defeated by a combination of even smaller shifts of votes in other states. A shift of 5,974 votes from Lincoln to Douglas in Illinois (11 electoral votes), 11,763 votes from Lincoln to Douglas in Indiana (13 electoral votes), 368 votes from Lincoln to Douglas in California (4 electoral votes) and 128 votes from Lincoln to Breckinridge in Oregon (3 electoral votes) would have denied Lincoln his electoral victory. To put it another way a shift of 18,233 votes in Illinois, Indiana, California and Oregon as described above would have thrown the election into the House and Senate with the probable election of someone other than Lincoln.





Lincoln's electoral victory was marginal and his popular vote of 39% was far from a majority, but he had polled a third more popular votes than his closest competitor Douglas with 29%. A win was a win and the Republicans were jubilant, but the fact that 61% of the voters had voted for candidates other than Lincoln, the fact that the electoral victory was narrow and the fact that almost all of Lincoln's popular and electoral vote was concentrated in the North furnished the Republicans with, at best, a fragile base for governing.

If the 1860 Presidential election had gone to the House of Representatives for resolution, no one could predict with certainty how every state delegation would vote, particularly with the turmoil and conflicting pressures which would attend such an event. What was known, however, was that Republicans controlled 15 of the 33 state delegations in the House, the Democrats controlled 14 and the American-Whigs controlled Tennessee. Kentucky was divided 5-5, North Carolina 4-4 and Maryland 3-3 between Democrats and American-Whigs. The House would have had to choose from the three candidates with the most electoral votes, Lincoln,



Breckinridge and Bell, with Douglas, the second-highest in popular vote, eliminated from consideration by the Constitution. It is difficult to envision Lincoln's election in these circumstances. The Americans and Whigs of the southern and border states would not have voted for him and it is very doubtful that Douglas Democrats would either even if so inclined because of fear of alienating their constituencies. John Bell's age, he was 63, and his Party's small minority position (it polled 13% of the popular vote in 1860) probably would have kept him out of contention. John Breckinridge's selection by the House was a possibility. It would depend on the willingness of the Whig and American Representatives to support a Democrat and Vice President in the despised Buchanan administration and on Douglas Democrats rejoining their southern brethren — a very "iffy" situation. The prospect of deadlock in the House could not be discounted.

If the House were to fail to elect a President, the decision would pass to the Senate and its selection of a Vice President would then succeed to the Presidency. With the Democrats holding a 3-2 majority and Senators voting individually, it is difficult to see how the Senate could fail

to elect Joseph Lane over Hannibal Hamlin. Interestingly, John Breckenridge, as incumbent Vice President, would have presided over the process of electing his successor who would then ascend to the office for which he, Breckenridge, had campaigned.

The Republican Party did not represent mainstream political thought in the United States in 1860. Over 60% of the popular vote was cast for other parties. The Southern Democrats were even less representative of mainstream political thought. Joseph Lane's election to the Presidency would have been a victory for only 18% of the voters, mostly in the south. One can speculate, however, that Lane's election might have at least deferred secession or might even have created the opportunity for the contending factions to reach a *modus vivendi* over the slavery question and thereby avert a tragic civil war. If the function of the political process in a democracy is to reflect and implement the will of the majority and thereby effect changes in the administration of government without bloodshed or disorder, then our electoral college system failed us in 1860. It narrowly produced a sectional and minority President, and, with slight changes in circumstances and or votes, could have produced a sectional and minority President from the other end of the political spectrum. Either result was bound to bring widespread dissatisfaction, and, in the actual event, brought secession and civil war.

By 1860, as previously noted, all states, other than South Carolina, chose electors, who were pledged to particular candidates, by popular vote. Under such conditions the electoral college system could not improve the process of giving effect to the will of the majority, but it could thwart that will. If Congress, prior to 1860, accepted the thesis that election of our President and Vice President by popular majority vote best serves our Country, it should have discarded our electoral college system by Constitutional amendment and substituted the requirement that our two highest national officers be elected by majority popular vote. In the event of more than two candidates and no one receiving a majority vote, a run-off election between the two candidates receiving the most popular votes would produce the winner. By use of the majority popular vote system, the majority will have spoken and only the majority will have decided who shall govern them.

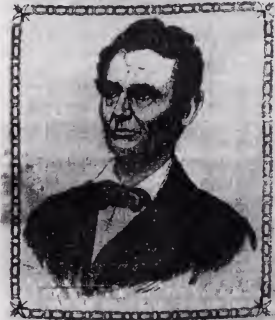
If a majority popular vote system had been utilized in 1860, there would have been a run-off election between Lincoln and Douglas. This would have been appropriate given that together they had received better than two-thirds of the popular vote. In the run-off, it seems likely that Douglas would have received most of the votes which had gone to other anti-Lincoln candidates. And he probably would have picked up some of the Democrat, Whig and American vote that had gone for Lincoln. It is difficult to see how Lincoln could have improved his 39% popular vote to over 50% in a run-off. Southern and border state voters would not have supported him and he probably had reached the limits of his northern support on November 6. Thus, with a majority popular vote system in place Douglas and Johnson would have been the likely winners in 1861. And with a majority popular vote mandate, a Douglas-Johnson administration would have been in a much better position to bind the Union and possibly avert

civil war than any of the other candidates. With Douglas' death late in 1861, however, Hershall Johnson would have become President of the United States. The will of the majority, important as it is, is still subject to a higher authority.

We have speculated on what the 1860 Presidential election results would be had a majority popular vote system been utilized. It is not, however, speculation to say that the secession of the southern states was a direct and immediate result of the election of a President whose party was sectional and composed of a minority of our voting citizens. The electoral college system gave effect to the will of a minority in 1860 and in so doing changed the course of American history. ★

PEQUEA, PROVIDENCE  
AND  
MARTIC DELEGATION.

FOR PRESIDENT,  
**Abraham Lincoln.**



VICE PRESIDENT,  
**Andrew Johnson.**

PEACE COMMISSIONERS,  
ULYSSES S. GRANT,  
D. G. FARRAGUT,  
WM. T. SHERMAN,  
PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

1864

**ARE YOU MOVING?**  
BE SURE TO NOTIFY  
JOE HAYES  
P.O. BOX 340339  
SAN ANTONIO, TX 78234

# FOR THE RECORD:

These seven buttons were produced for a magazine article about the possible political futures of the Kennedy children, and appeared in the Washingtonian Magazine. The cover illustration is reproduced below. These are "fantasy" buttons; as far as we can determine, there were less than 50 sets made for publicity use by the magazine.

Kathleen Kennedy  
**TOWNSEND**  
for Congress  
1990

Ted  
Kennedy Jr.  
Massachusetts  
Governor  
★

John F.  
Kennedy Jr.  
President  
2004

Kathleen Kennedy  
**TOWNSEND**  
for Congress  
1990

Robert F.  
Kennedy Jr.



★  
NEW  
YORK  
SENATOR  
2000

Joe  
**Kennedy**  
MASSACHUSETTS  
SENATOR



Rhode  
Island  
Senator  
1998

**PATRICK  
KENNEDY**

WASHINGTONIAN

Confessions of a Cat Lover • The Senator and the Girl  
Special Report on Violent Crime: Where Are You Safest?

# WASHINGTONIAN

NOVEMBER 1968 \$1.95

## THEY'RE BACK!

The Kennedy boys are back in the news. How do you think they'll fare? Will they be getting back? And if they do, how do you think they'll do?



Elect  
John F.  
Kennedy Jr.,  
President  
2004



Joe  
Kennedy

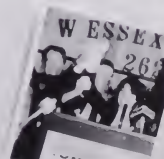


Rhode  
Island  
Senator  
1998  
**PATRICK  
KENNEDY**



Robert F.  
Kennedy Jr.

NEW  
YORK  
SENATOR  
2000



TOWNSEND

**Editor's Note:**

William Kirsner was the Smithsonian/Mark Jacobs Intern at the Museum of American Political Life. We asked both our interns to write an article for the

Keynoter on the internship and on a topic of historical interest developed from their internship experience. The Smithsonian intern will appear in the next issue.

# The APIC Summer Internship at the Museum of American Political Life

By William Kirsner

I told my parents that I discovered the perfect summer job. In Marc Sigoloff's book, *Collecting Political Buttons*, I read of the Mark Jacobs/APIC Smithsonian Internship. Since I have been interested in political memorabilia for over 10 years (about 1/2 of my life), I could not imagine a more enjoyable summer than one spent working with a major museum's collection. As a sophomore history major at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, I hoped to find a summer job more enjoyable than flipping hamburgers at a fast food restaurant. I heard that The Museum of American Political Life was opening in West Hartford, Connecticut, and thought that between these two museums I had a chance at a great summer internship. Norman Loewenstern sent me an application, and I returned it, and also sent off a letter to Dr. Edmund Sullivan at The Museum of American Political Life.

As April turned into May, I was worried over the fact that I still did not have a summer job. Mr. Loewenstern told me that The University of Hartford's Museum was another possible Mark Jacobs Internship location. Ed Sullivan told me that the internship was mine if I wanted it. I was thrilled! I was to start the two month internship on the fifth of June, and since Wesleyan is only 40 minutes away from Hartford, I decided to live on campus and to commute. The internship covered rent, food, gas and gave me a stipend.

From the first time I stepped into the Museum of American Political Life, I was in awe. This museum is a fantastic tribute to J. Doyle DeWitt, one of the first major political memorabilia collectors, and to the recognition that political memorabilia can be used as a tool to teach American political history.

The credit for the museum's success belongs to Ed Sullivan, who took the DeWitt's collection, formerly stored in boxes in a mansion in West Hartford, added to it and created this museum. This collection contains such diverse items as hair from George Washington, Abraham Lincoln's stove pipe hat, and more political buttons than I ever could have imagined. If you want to see political memorabilia and learn about political ephemera, a visit to this museum is a must.

Working here has given me a different perspective on my collection and collecting political Americana in general. I am learning that the importance of a political memorabilia

collection is not, for many collectors, derived from the number of buttons collected, their monetary value, or the possession of certain "classic" buttons. Instead it is found in how a collection can be used to illustrate ideas and themes about political personalities, trends, and events. The knowledge that *I WANT TO BE A CAPTAIN TOO* is a Willkie slogan is only truly useful if that knowledge suggests further inquiries into the slogan's origins. The results of such questions can be seen in my discussion of the Taft-Wesleyan button.

I had several duties at the museum, including sorting and cataloging the collection and new acquisitions. The museum has only been open since April 1989, and a good part of the behind the scenes work still needs to be done. I organized the sheet music collection, worked on preserving the newspaper collection and readied items for shows and student use. I spent a large amount of time learning about proper conservation methods.

I studied the current exhibits in order to lead tours. I also helped to plan future exhibits, which range from *The Bizarre, Odd and Curious* to a *Celebration of the 19th Amendment*. In preparation for the latter show, I went to auction previews and to the State Museum of Connecticut to view their collection of Connecticut suffrage material.

After participating in staff meetings, I now know how much time, effort, money, and imagination it takes to create and maintain a museum and its collection. Discussions range from membership, to computers, to plants in the lobby; all must be thought about, discussed and problems resolved.

I also did research projects which required a considerable amount of writing. The Museum hosted a program for local history teachers which dealt with helping them to create projects using political Americana for the classroom. For this two week long program, I delivered a slide lecture about the history and evolution of the political button. Reading about the history of buttons, finding the right slides to illustrate my points, and delivering the lecture were all new experiences for me.

Being able to work with such a collection is a great privilege and I owe a large THANK YOU to all of the members of the APIC who made this internship such a rewarding experience for me. ★

# WESLEYAN-TAFT DAY

## THE STORY BEHIND THE BUTTON

By William Kirsner

*"There remains a memory, a looming, smiling memory of the nation's chief executive, a memory of imposing ceremonies, of guests learned and dignified—and a formally installed president of Wesleyan University, Dr. William Arnold Shanklin."*

*The Hartford Current, November 13, 1909*

This memory has long faded since the inauguration of the 9th President of Wesleyan University and of Wesleyan-Taft Day on November the 12th, 1909. It lives now only in the minds of the few who witnessed the event, and in the hands of those collectors who possess the postcards or the Wesleyan-Taft button. As a student at Wesleyan, and a collector of political memorabilia, it is my hope that the memory of the event lasts at least as long as the physical artifacts.

The inauguration and Taft's visit was, as the Middletown Sun stated on November 4th, 1909, one of the biggest events in the history of Middletown. "As the time approaches and the excellence and magnitude of the Wesleyan-Taft observances become apparent, an intense feeling of loyalty toward our home university and local pride in the public spirit of the city prevails in every section of the community. The one chief sentiment which is promoting the great success of this magnificent undertaking is the future welfare of Wesleyan and Middletown."

The inauguration brought President William Howard Taft and Vice-President James Schoolcraft Sherman to Middletown. Other guests included the Governor and five past Governors of the State of Connecticut, Senator Elihu Root, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and the Presidents of almost every major college and university on the Eastern Seaboard.

It was, by all accounts, quite an inauguration. "I've seen four of Wesleyan's presidents installed," said 'Doc' Raymond, "but all other installation exercises have been mere Sunday school affairs compared to this." The festivities were supposed to start with the arrival of Vice President James Sherman on Thursday the 11th of November. Sunny Jim was an old friend of Dr. Shanklin's, and he said in a letter dated July 2, 1909 that "Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to attend the exercises incident to the installation of my friend, Dr. Shanklin; nothing would give me less pleasure than to make a speech. However, I should be glad to undergo the discomfort of making a speech in order to experience the pleasure of witnessing the ceremonies..." The only discomfort Sherman felt was in missing his train connection; he arrived, however, in time for the festivities. (A fainting

spell by Harry Garfield, President of Williams College and son of James Garfield, disrupted the lunch and got Sherman out of delivering his speech).

The city of Middletown decked itself out with banners, red, white and blue bunting, hundreds of pictures and paintings of the President and Vice President, and forty triumphal arches of flags. The Middletown Sun, on Monday, the 8th of November, stated that "the city is beginning to get into spick and span condition for Friday's big events. Today the Street Commissioner and his force of men began the tedious process of scraping the muddy surface of dirt off the Main street..."

The President arrived by train at 8:45 AM on Friday the 12th of November. His escort consisted of eight hundred and twenty men and two bands. The parade had in total 3030 participants including the Odd Fellows, the Young Italian American Association, and the Middletown Fire Department. The blowing of factory whistles and the ringing of factory bells for two minutes signaled the start of the parade. Thousands witnessed the spectacle, lining the streets and crowding around the windows of the buildings along the route. The school children massed along the route waving flags, and cheering as loud as their lungs could allow.

The formal installation exercises started promptly at 10 A.M. in the Middlesex Opera House. An extra large chair, supposedly used by George Washington, was loaned by the Middletown Historical Society for the hefty Taft to sit



Enlarged - Actual Size 1 1/4"

upon. Professor Andrew Campbell Armstrong, the faculty marshal for the ceremonies, felt that "he was personally responsible for the safety of the President of the United States for three hours". The memory of the McKinley assassination lingered in the minds of the students and alumni who were present. Burton Camp, Wesleyan Class of '01 sat on the podium behind Taft's aide, Major Archie Butt, and (as recalled in the Wesleyan Alumni magazine of February 1960) wondered what Butt "would do in case, as had recently happened to McKinley, somebody in the audience pulled a revolver from beneath his coat. Would he up and spring at him?" Fortunately, the ceremonies went off without a hitch. (Archie Butt later was to lose his life in the sinking of the Titanic in 1912).

In his speech Taft spoke of the importance of college presidents being educators, and not just administrators. He also compared the Presidency of the United States to the Presidency of a College or University. "The president of your board of trustees has made a comparison between the powers of a college president and the powers which the Constitution accords the President of the United States. I

have had some experience in college administration and might tell you that the powers you are to exercise as president will be the powers you choose to exercise. I do not wish to be understood as advocating any change in the Constitution of the country, but for the control of an institution such as this, it is proper that the controlling power should be great."

After the speeches and the formal installation ceremonies adjourned, it was off to either the official "invitation only" luncheon or to one of many banquets given for the thousands of marchers in the parade. The evening festivities included music played in public concerts, and to cap off the inauguration, two hundred dollars was appropriated by the Taft Day Committee for fireworks.

It was, with little doubt, a successful inauguration. The attendance of William Howard Taft and James Schoolcraft Sherman lent an air of dignity to the installation of William Arnold Shanklin as President of Wesleyan University. The Taft-Wesleyan button serves as a reminder of that event — a way to preserve the story behind the button.★

*(Red Herrings, continued from page 19)*

asked the President if he still believed the investigation was a "red herring". Truman replied. "I do. My position hasn't changed. Period." When later questioned by one of his aides, the President noted, "Of course Hiss is guilty. But that damn committee isn't interested in that. All it cares about is politics, and as long as they try to make politics out of this communist issue, I am going to label their activities for what they are—a 'red herring'."

For Truman, things only got worse. By 1952, the communism issue had become a main part of the Repub-

lican campaign strategy of Korea, Corruption, and Communism. The growing success of Joe McCarthy forced the issue to the forefront. Dwight Eisenhower, annoyed at Adlai Stevenson's glib remarks during the campaign, asked, "Is it funny when evidence was discovered that there are Communists in government and we get the cold comfort of the reply, 'red herring?'"

Ike and the Republicans could afford to complain loudly about "red herrings." The Democrats had no rebuttal. Harry Truman, unlike modern politicians, never learned "damage control".★

## ITEMS OF INTEREST



CIVILIANS  
FOR  
STEVENSON



Paper Disk





# The “RED HERRING” In American Politics

By John Pendergrass

A “red herring” is a distraction or side issue that diverts attention from the main issue. Many politicians have used this expression over the years, but none as disastrously as Harry Truman. In 1948, the President made the mistake of labeling the investigation of the communist espionage in government circles as a “red herring”. In doing so, he provided the Republican party with an issue they would use to attack the Democrats for the next four years.

The term “red herring” is as old as the sport of fox hunting. When a herring is cured with saltpeter and then slowly smoked, it turns red. If dragged across a fox’s trail, the strong smell irritates the nostrils of the chasing hounds and destroys the scent, thus diverting the dogs to a false trail or “faulting the hounds”.

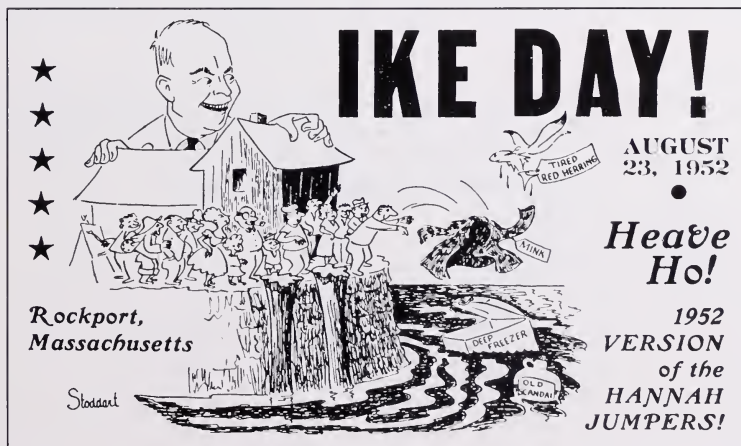
One of the earliest political uses of the phrase came during the 1928 presidential campaign when Al Smith told an Oklahoma City audience, “The cry of Tammany Hall is nothing more nor less than a red herring that is pulled across the trail in order to throw us off the scent.” The real issue, according to the New York governor, was not Tammany Hall but his Catholic religion.

The Republicans in 1940 sometimes asserted that Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal was a red herring that distracted the masses from the country’s shaky economic condition. After having experienced the Hoover depression several years earlier, few voters were convinced by this argument.

Harry Truman is responsible for establishing “red herring” as a permanent part of the language of politics. During his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in July 1948, the President lashed out at the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, (a group he later labeled the “Do Nothing Congress”.) “I am going to call Congress back,” Truman said, “and ask them to pass laws to halt rising prices, to meet the housing crisis—which they said they are for in their platform.... They are going to try to dodge their responsibility. They are going to drag all the red herrings they can across this campaign....”

As political lexicographer William Safire notes, the expression “red herring” made no big impression at the time because there was no double meaning to the word “red”. This changed a few weeks later when the House Un-American Activities Committee heard testimony from Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers. These witnesses implicated a number of high government officials and former officials such as Harry Dexter White, Lauchlin Currie, and Alger Hiss as Communist spies and collaborators.

On August 5, just two days after Chambers had accused Hiss, a reporter asked Truman at a press conference, “Mr. President, do you think that the Capitol Hill spy scare is a “red herring” to divert public attention from inflation?” “Yes, I do,” replied Truman and he followed with a prepared statement saying that the hearings served no



1952 Postcard

# AMERICANS THINK!

## BEWARE OF RED HERRINGS

Franklin D. Roosevelt has created a *Department of Hysteria*.  
He does not want the people to *think*.

To stop you from thinking about the tragic incompetence of the New Deal he uses his high position to create hysteria and keep the people in a state of fright.

He makes *Dagger-in-the-Back* speeches.

For political purposes he keeps the nation in a state of turmoil.

## That is not the road to Peace.

**Remember** that in seven years the only jobs he has provided are political jobs. He has not put one man back to work at his trade. Nine million were unemployed when he took office. Nine millions are unemployed today.

**Remember** that he has squandered the country to the verge of bankruptcy.

**Remember** that billions of dollars that should have been spent for defense have been frittered away on boondoggling.

*He has built swimming pools but not tanks.*

*He has wasted millions in a silly effort to harness the tide, but he has not built aeroplanes.*

---

**He talks about Humanity, but he stifles Prosperity at its source.**

He Strangles Business, Large and Small. He Makes Impossible the Employment of Millions of Men.

**The Unemployed have The New Deal to thank for their Unemployment.**

But His Department of Hysteria Keeps You from Thinking About These Things by Dragging Red Herrings Across the Trail.

---

## AMERICANS THINK!

**THINK** why you have no job.

**THINK** why we have no Prosperity.

**THINK** why we are unprepared to defend America.

**THINK** of the incompetence, the blundering, the wastefulness of The New Deal.

**THINK . . . THEN VOTE Against a Third Term AND FOUR MORE YEARS OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND DISASTER**



*Distributed by Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C.*

useful purpose. Then ad-libbing he continued, "and they are simply a 'red herring' to keep from doing what they ought to." The reporter asked Truman for permission to quote him on the ad lib and the President agreed.

For the next four years, Harry Truman had to bear the increasingly heavy political burden of having called the investigation of communists in the government a "red herring". His allowing a reporter to put words in his mouth was a major blunder that contributed greatly to his eroding popularity.

One of the first to note the political gains to be reaped from the communists-in-the-government issue was Congressman Richard Nixon, a member of the Un-American Activities Committee. Nixon told John Foster Dulles, then a foreign policy advisor to Thomas Dewey, that the record of the administration was vulnerable and should be attacked. "If it could be handled properly," he noted, "it would be the ideal answer to Truman's 'red herring' charge."

However, the communist issue never really crystallized in the Truman-Dewey contest. Richard Nixon was still a minor figure; the pumpkin papers had not surfaced and

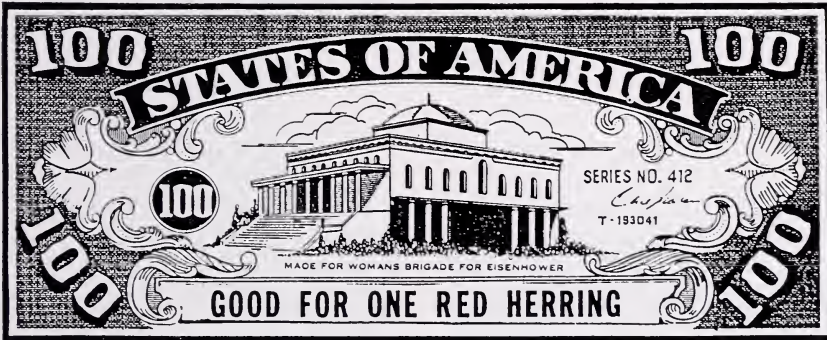


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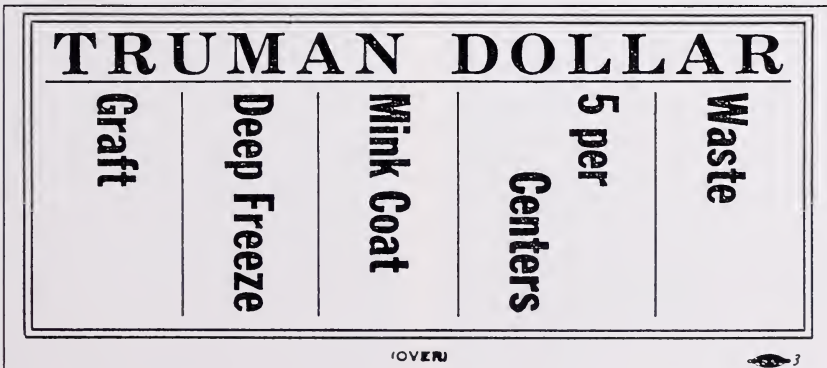
Alger Hiss had not been indicted or convicted; China had not been lost to the Communists; Joe McCarthy had not yet launched his Red-hunting investigations. Most of the voter's anti-Communist wrath was focused on Henry Wallace, a man clearly in bed with the Reds. More importantly, Dewey and his advisors were certain he would win and felt no need to stoop to Red-baiting.

As the events unfolded, Truman, with characteristic stubbornness, refused to back down from his "red herring" statement. After Hiss was indicted, reporters

*(Continued on page 16)*



Anti-Truman Dollar 1952 - Face



Reverse

# “IN SPITE OF ALL”

## McKINLEY'S CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS

By Michael Meiring

Before Marcus Hanna decided to make McKinley President, William McKinley was making a name for himself, bringing him national notice. McKinley was successful in his first try for congress. His first campaign, like all his congressional races, was a test of strength and endurance. Despite his wife's continuing emotional and physical illnesses, McKinley skillfully blended the social demands of politics with his message of jobs for workers, and protectionism. In spite of his support of high protective tariffs, McKinley's message to workers was heard... Jobs and high prices are better than no jobs and low prices. McKinley was being noticed and talk clearly centered on a congressional seat in his future.

However a labor dispute with coal miners in his district turned violent. McKinley's old military commander and friend, Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, sent in the militia. Rumors spread that the miners were papists - sent by the Pope or Russian Nihilists.

Mark Hanna was the chief of the coal miners association and thus charged with the task of prosecuting the rioters. Hanna had warned the operators that continued reductions of pay would lead to riots. Now Hanna had to clean up the mess. Forward came William McKinley, in spite of warnings from all his friends, to defend the miners. His new clients needed cigars and chew in quantity to convince them of his sincerity. Ultimately McKinley did not greatly feel the sting of anti-papist sentiment. More importantly, he earned the respect and attention of Marcus Hanna.

McKinley won his first election in 1876 and continued winning until 1884. In 1884 he held office until May 27, when he was unseated briefly in a contested election with Jonathan H. Wallace. McKinley returned to his seat March 3, 1885. He continued to win re-election despite several attempts to gerrymander McKinley out of office. By the time of his last congressional race "in spite of all" seemed to be his campaign slogan of necessity.

McKinley's congressional years proved him to be a capable orator and champion of protective tariffs. In 1889 McKinley challenged Tom Reed for Speaker of the House. Though losing, he still received the chairmanship of the all-powerful Ways and Means Committee. Interestingly enough, during his early years in Congress he supported silver and voted for the Bland bills to promote silver coinage. But "sound" money soon became his motto.

James Campbell, a Democrat, finally broke the Republican stronghold on the Governor's office in 1889. Winning big, the Democrats accepted a challenge by



## MCKINLEY



## IN SPITE OF ALL.

Campbell to make Ohio a Democratic state forever. The gerrymandering was unabashed. McKinley was virtually the lone Republican in his "New" district. The fascinating geometry of his district looked more like a modern day "Tetris" puzzle block than a congressional district.

The Democrats won the seat despite losing the state by a 20,000 vote plurality. In all, the Democrats won 14 of 21 congressional seats. McKinley found himself pitted against J. G. Warwick, who had been elected the state's Lt. Governor in 1883. Local, state and national Democratic resources were marshalled to defeat McKinley. The election was carefully reported by the national media.

McKinley almost rose again "in spite of all." Incredible as it was, McKinley lost by only 302 votes.

The expense and effort focused on this campaign was unparalleled at the congressional level. Democrats played to the fears of the large working class in the "new" district. They sent in peddlers with outrageously priced goods to show what "McKinley's tariffs" had done to prices (25¢ tinplates and 05¢ tincups). The campaign totally revolved around the tariff issue.

McKinley's unwillingness to shrink from his protectionist views and his near win in an all Democratic district

would soon help him capture the Governor's office in 1891... "In Spite of All."

The ribbon illustrating this article is most likely from 1890. Large sums were spent on political advertising. The ribbon graphically states and visually reinforces McKinley's position in his absurdly gerrymandered district. This is one of the best ribbons in the hobby from a sheer historical perspective if not for the uniqueness of its design and statement. (White ribbon, black picture/print. Gerrymandered district in Red.)

**NOTE:** It was Bob Fratkin who first recognized the historical significance of this ribbon. Passed over by dozens of Ohio collectors and McKinley specialists, Bob spotted it and encouraged me to add it to my collection of early McKinley items. It has found a loving home and has been much enjoyed, appreciated, and researched.★

#### The Election Campaigns of William McKinley

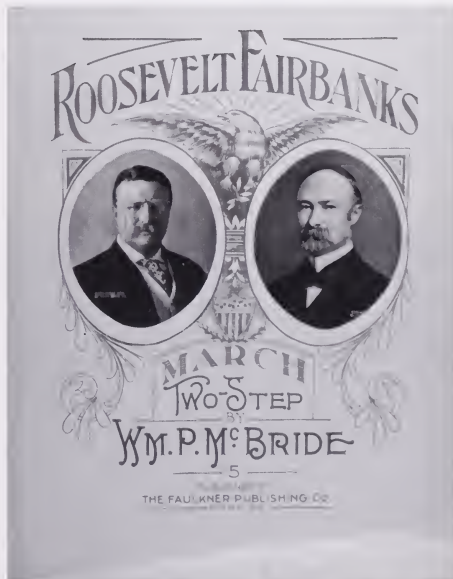
*House of Representatives:* \*1876, \*1878, \*1880, \*1882 (1884), \*1886, \*1888, 1890

*Governor:* \*1891, \*1893

*President:* \*1896, \*1900

\*elected to office

## APIC SHEET MUSIC PROJECT - (Continued)



# APIC SHEET MUSIC PROJECT - Continued

**ABRAHAM the GREAT**  
AND  
**GEN. GRANT**  
HIS MATE  
**T. BRIGHAM BISHOP.**  
AND TROUPE

Respectfully Dedicated  
to the  
**WOMEN of the REPUBLIC**

Great Compliments to the Ladies of the  
BY  
**W. T. ROGERS.**

REPRODUCED BY

**NATIONAL MARCH**  
**GEN. FRANKLIN PIERCE**  
**GRANITE CLUBS OF THE**  
**NO. 111**  
**T. MORITZ SCHWAB.**

Copyright, 1862, by  
T. Moritz Schwab.  
Philadelphia, LEE & WALKER, 202 Market St.

**Calliope's Wedding March**

BY  
**E. MACK**

Boston, OLIVER DITSON & CO. 451 Washington St.

**THOMAS POWELL, ESQ.**  
**Wings of the United States.**

Copyright, 1862, by  
Thomas Powell.  
Philadelphia, LEE & WALKER, 202 Market St.

It is with  
pleasure  
that we  
publish  
this  
book  
and  
trust  
it will  
be  
found  
interesting  
and  
valuable  
to  
all  
who  
read  
it.

Philadelphia  
**LEE & WALKER, 202 Market Street.**

**GEN. GARFIELD'S**



**GRAND MARCHEL,**  
 W. M. A. G. M.  
 CHICAGO, ILL.

**W. M. A. G. M. AND LOOK**



**BLAINE AND LOOK**  
**CAMPAIGN SONG**

**CHICAGO'S CHOICE.**

**GEN. JAS. A. GARFIELD'S**  
**CAMPAIGN GRAND MARCHEL.**  
 BY A. H. ROSEWIG.



**With Garfield We'll Conquer Again.**  
 BY GEORGE MORLEY.  
 Philadelphia: LEE & WALKER, 1115 Chestnut St.

**ALL BLOW UP THE BUBBLES**



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 150 North Fourth Street

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**OUR AMONG'S CHOICE.**

Published by Rosewrig, Garfield and Beecher Co.

**WE'LL NEVER FORGET OUR GARFIELD'S NAME**



**J. CALVIN BUSHEY.**  
 ASPEN, CO.


GROVER CLEVELAND'S



CAMPAIN MARCH.  
FOR THE GRAND OR CABINET ORGAN.  
BY  
RALPH ROLAND.

Price 10 CENTS

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SONGSTER

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT



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By *Robert Johnson*

**TEDDY DA ROOSE**



March by  
ED. MORAN  
J. FRED HELF

By *Alphonse*

COLLECTING HISTORY

# THE FALCÓN DAM DEDICATION

By John Pendergrass

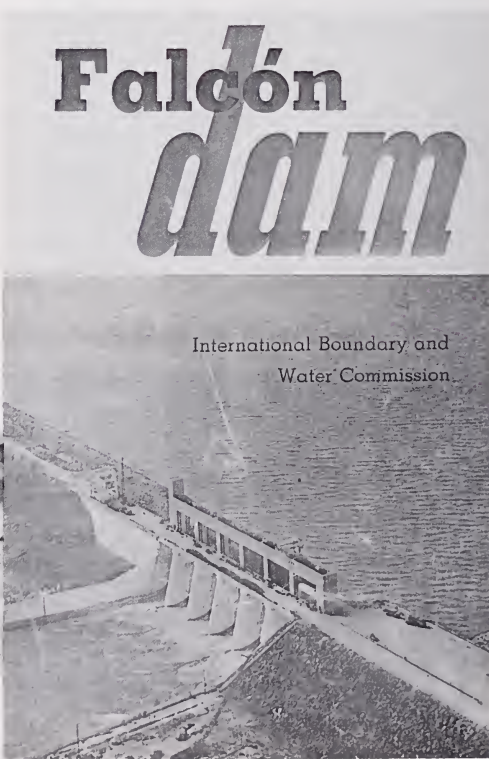
On October 19, 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adolfo Ruiz Cortines met on the Rio Grande, along the United States-Mexican border, to dedicate the Falcón Dam. The two presidents, both in their first year of office, used the occasion to establish an enduring personal relationship and to foster a good neighbor policy.

The dam, named for an old Texas village that was inundated by the impounded waters, is located eighty miles downstream from Laredo, Texas, and provides irrigation for over a million acres of farm and ranch land. At the time of construction, the five mile long structure was the longest dam in existence. The reservoir it created is 50 miles long and saves 3 million acre-feet of water a year.

Flood control and hydroelectric power are added benefits of the project.

The price tag for the Falcón Dam, some \$60,000,000, was shared by the two countries in proportion to the water they used - 58.6 per cent for the United States and 41.4 per cent for Mexico.

Eisenhower arrived at the border following a weekend stay at Sharyland, the country estate of Texas governor Allan Shivers. Large crowds greeted his motorcade as it crossed the dam into Mexico, along a route lined by an honor guard of United States and Mexican soldiers. The party continued to Nuevo Guerrero, a newly built town that housed the four thousand Mexicans displaced from



their old village. There, Eisenhower was greeted by Ruiz Cortines and the two leaders were treated to a fiesta with Mexican songs, dances, and costumes.

Many of the spectators had traveled miles by horse, burro, and



wagon to cheer the leaders. The *New York Times* noted that the Mexicans gave Ike "a warm ovation as he drove into the square and if he looked closely he would have seen that all wore buttons carrying pictures of both him and their own president."

After the festivities, Eisenhower returned to the United States side and hosted a dinner for Ruiz Cortines and 500 other special guests. Following the requisite exchange of toasts, the two presidents drove to the dedication site, located at the international border atop the dam.

Ruiz Cortines, speaking first, urged peace based on nuclear disarmament and a respect for the rights of others. Eisenhower praised the spirit of cooperation and friendship between the two nations and cited the International Boundary and Water Commission as an example of neighbors working together to solve problems. The Falcón Dam was built under the auspices of the commission and was authorized by a 1944 treaty between the two countries.

Although the two leaders talked warmly and the crowds were excellent, not everyone left the border happy. Mexican newsmen felt slighted by United States hospitality. The U.S. Secret Service enforced stiff security, allowing little close contact with Eisenhower. In addition, the Mexicans provided a well stocked press booth with liquor and caviar, while their U.S. counterparts had only an old shed with no typewriters and a soft drink machine that only took nickels.

For Eisenhower, his first trip out of the country since taking office proved to be a modest success. He was always at his best on occasions like this when he served as head of state. The everyday grind of politics had little appeal to him.★

## ITEMS OF INTEREST



The FDR-Wallace jugate is silver metal with glossy photos and simulated jewels on the eagle's shield. The Eisenhower-Nixon jugate is a RWB lithograph larger version of the 1 1/2" RWB litho, the mate to the 1 3/8" and 3" full color versions. Note that the large version is missing the "Ike & Dick" found in the lower ribbon on the 1 3/8" button.



# “NORMAN”

## THE CARTOONS OF WILLIAM NORMAN RITCHIE

By John Buechler

“Norman,” nom de plume of one of New England’s most respected political cartoonists, was the signature over which William Norman Ritchie drew cartoons for the *Boston Post* for over fifty years. Born in 1866, Ritchie began his long tenure with the *Post* in July 1892 as an illustrator, and early in his career established himself as a resourceful reporter cartoonist. During the trial in Fall River, Massachusetts of Lizzie Borden for the ax murder of her parents, Ritchie was present in the courtroom, where no one except the judge, jury and the officials in the front of the room could see the defendant’s face. Ritchie wanted desperately to see her and make a sketch for the paper. Feigning illness, Ritchie collapsed in the courtroom. When an officer came to his aid, Ritchie asked him for help in getting to an open window. This the officer did, thereby giving the inventive cartoonist an opportunity to see Lizzie Borden’s face long enough to allow him later to make a drawing of her which appeared in the next morning’s *Post*.

But Ritchie is best known not for his documentary and news drawings but rather for his numerous political cartoons by which he satirized officials and politicians from all parties and all levels of government from Boston Mayor John F. Fitzgerald and Governor James Curley to Presidents Cleveland, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and FDR. He was a friend of both Theodore Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge. When Coolidge was still governor of Massachusetts he approached Ritchie one day and said to him, “Norman, I think I shall have to send you one of my latest photographs. You don’t seem to get the proper expression in my cartoons.” Ritchie knew Coolidge well enough to reply, “Well, Cal, this is the first time I ever knew you had any expression.” It was reported that Coolidge laughed!

Ritchie was a self-taught artist who possessed the uncanny ability to draw with both hands simultaneously, and it was said that he could draw two persons at the same time! Ritchie also took to writing for the *Post*, and some of his most interesting pieces

are contained in a series entitled “Meeting the Big Shots,” in which he recorded some of his experiences with prominent figures in government and politics.

Although he obviously delighted in satire, Ritchie seems never to have been offensive nor vindictive, and several of his eminent targets not only sought his advice but also asked him for the original cartoons. William Norman Ritchie died on June 15, 1947 at age 81.★

1928

### The Real Whispering Campaign

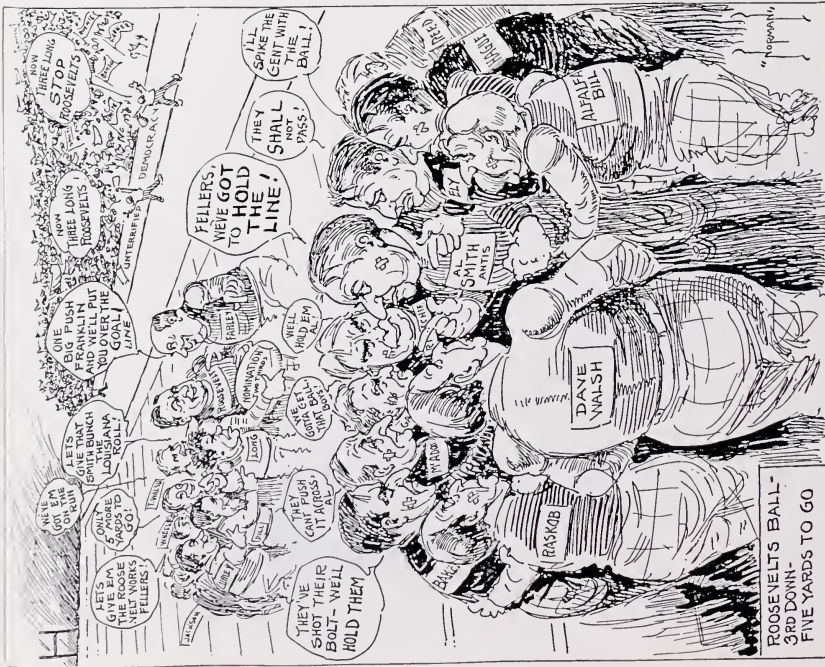
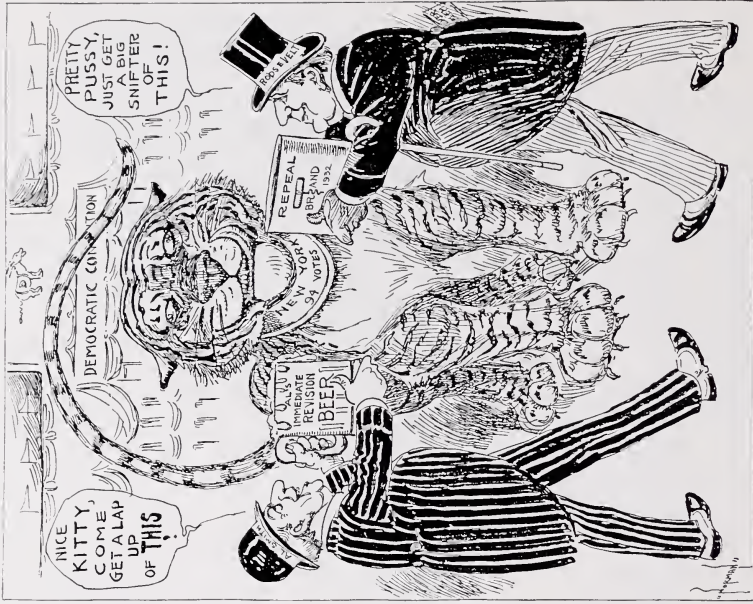


1932  
The G.O.P. Pussyfoot Trail



They're Off!  
1928

1932  
No Pussyfooting Anticipated

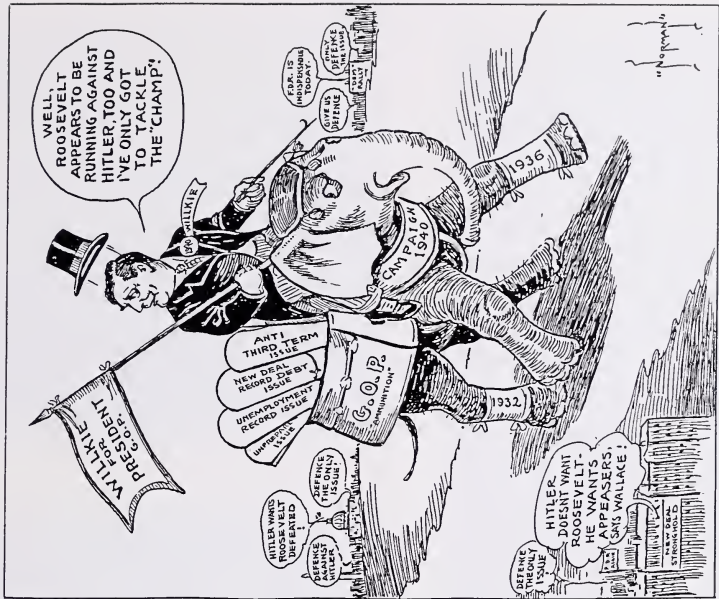


Can They Hold The Line?  
1932



1940

Hitting The Trail

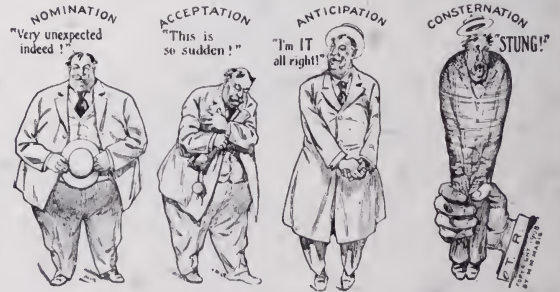


Counting Their Hatch Too Early?  
1932

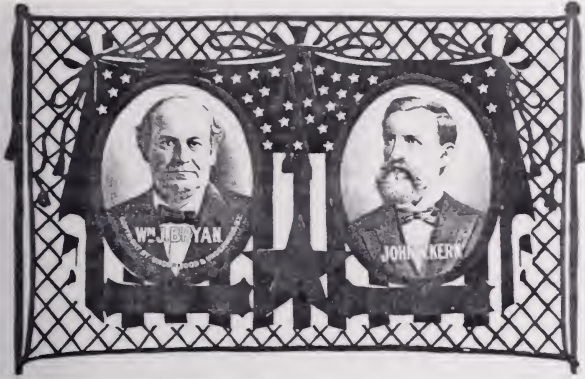
# APIC POSTCARD PROJECT: 1908



B. P. Waggener, some of the children at his annual treat, and President Taft who came to see.



EVOLUTION OF THE BIG STICK.



# BAGK TO THE FARM!

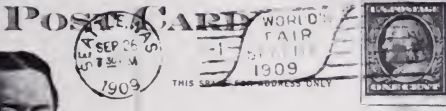


*3 strikes she made up to the world.*

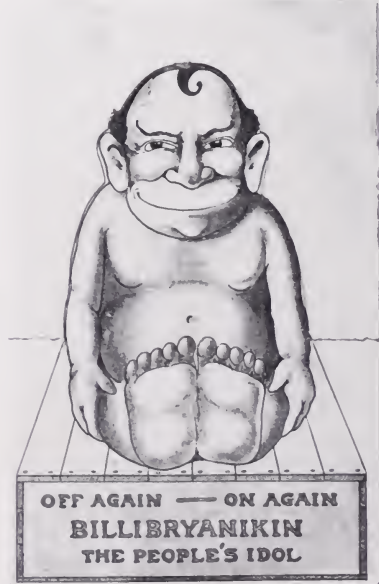
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*Mrs. Hattie Ely  
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