



THE KEYNOTER

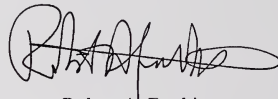


NIXON FOR GOVERNOR
DANIEL WEBSTER • JOHN A. LOGAN

Managing Editor's Message

Welcome to our second potpourri issue of 1991, a diverse examination of political campaigns and artifacts from 1807 to the 1960's.

As we start a new presidential campaign nominating process — the silly season, as some call it — the future of our hobby is in jeopardy. Unless the Democrats come up with a viable candidate soon, President Bush may be running unopposed. We all remember how few campaign items came out of the old "Solid South" when there was only one viable party campaigning — or not campaigning, as was often the case. Let's hope, for our sakes, that a real campaign begins soon. In this issue, John Pendergrass describes the contentious 1962 California gubernatorial campaign between Richard Nixon and Pat Brown, and its "concluding" chapter. Bill Alley examines America's acquisition of the Philippines, of particular interest as we watch the possible final withdrawal of a Philippine-based U.S. presence at Subic Bay on our nightly news. Patrick Brumleve traces the dynamic story of John A. Logan and argues that he deserves better recognition today than his present obscurity. We also visit Boston with Daniel Webster and Wilkes-Barre PA with Teddy Roosevelt.



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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 Donald Ackerman, William Alley, Patrick Brumleve, Chris Crain, Norman Loewenstern, John Pendergrass and Stewart Rubin for contributing the illustrations for this issue.

Covers: *Front:* 9" celluloid button, blue/gold/black; *Back:* sheet music black/white.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Winter issue of *The Keynoter* will feature articles on Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Winfield Scott Hancock, Third Parties and much more.

WIN WITH NIXON

THE CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

By John Pendergrass

Richard Nixon's ill-fated try for the California governorship in 1962 is a low spot in the roller coaster career of one of our country's most complex and durable politicians. The man who had polled nearly half of the votes cast for the presidency two years earlier suffered an ignoble defeat in his home state from an opponent he characterized as a "bumbler". He compounded his loss with a pathetic performance at a disastrous "last press conference." At the time, most considered Richard Nixon finished politically. As has so often happened, he would prove his critics wrong.

Nixon's heart and soul were never in the governor's race. From his first day in Congress through the vice-presidency, he had focused on international affairs. Domestic politics, even in the giant state of California, had little interest for the man who had battled the mobs in Venezuela, debated Nikita Krushchev in Moscow, and conferred with numerous heads of state around the world. Douglas MacArthur, in advising Nixon not to run for governor, may have expressed it best. "California is a great state," he wrote, "but it is too parochial. You should be in Washington, not Sacramento." The real problem, as Nixon noted in his memoirs, was that "I had no great desire to be governor of California."

After his narrow defeat by John Kennedy in the 1960 election, Nixon returned to California while Pat and his daughters stayed in Washington to complete the school term. When he went to Washington as a congressman in 1947, the Nixons had assets of around \$10,000. Fourteen years later, he returned home with a \$48,000 equity in his house in Washington. The former vice-president was 48 years old with two girls to put through college. He needed the financial security that he could never achieve as an elected official.

Nixon went to work for the Los Angeles law firm of Adams, Duque, and Hazeltine, a group that had first offered him a job in 1946. A law income of over \$100,000 a year plus additional money from writing allowed him to later boast that he earned more money in his first fourteen months in Los Angeles than he did in his fourteen years in Washington.

In April 1961, Nixon watched from the outside as the Bay of Pigs fiasco unraveled. When Kennedy asked for his advice, Nixon urged him to find the proper legal cover—such as protecting the American naval base at Guantanamo Bay—and go in. He promised the President, "I will politically support you to the hilt if you make such a decision." Kennedy, afraid that Krushchev would move on Berlin if the United States invaded Cuba, backed down.

Nixon devoted much of 1961 to writing his first book, *Six*

Crises. Like most of his later works, this book proved to be quite successful. Readers were given the Nixon view of the Alger Hiss case, the "slush fund" and Checkers speech of the 1952 campaign, Ike's 1955 heart attack, the 1958 trip to South America, the kitchen debate with Krushchev in 1959, and the close loss to JFK in 1960. The book made the best seller list and earned over \$200,000 in royalties.

Even though Nixon was busily engaged in legal work, writing, and speaking engagements, the lure of political office lurked just below the surface. In fact, the pressure to run for governor began almost the first day he arrived back in California.

Eisenhower urged his vice-president to run for the state office, emphasizing Nixon's duty to the GOP. "It has been my experience," Ike noted, "that when a man is asked by a majority of the leaders of his party to take on an assignment, he must do so or risk losing their support in the future. If you don't run and the Republican candidate loses, you will be blamed for it and you will be through as a national political leader." Tom Dewey and J. Edgar Hoover both thought Nixon should run, as did party pros Len Hall and Cliff Folger. Douglas MacArthur and Herbert Hoover advised running for Congress so that a forum for speaking out on national and international issues would be available. A survey of newspaper editors and publishers revealed that most felt Nixon should not make the race.

More importantly, Pat Nixon did not want her husband to run. After years in politics, she felt the children deserved more time with their father.

Although he had beaten Kennedy by over 35,000 votes in California and early polls showed him defeating the incumbent Pat Brown by a 5 to 3 margin, Nixon felt a race for governor would be an uphill battle. Democrats outnumbered Republicans in voter registration by over a million and Nixon knew he would face the all-out opposition of the Kennedy administration. The Republican party was split into a right wing camp, closely allied with the ultra-conservative John Birch Society, and a moderate group that denounced the Birchites. Just as critical was his opponent. Pat Brown was generally popular and had made no major mistakes. As Nixon noted, Brown "was in the enviable political position of being the man whom no one particularly disliked;" something that never could be said about Nixon.

Throughout the summer of 1961, Nixon waxed and waned on the idea of making the governor's race. He wrote many of his friends asking for advice, he listed the pros and cons of running, he went through the motions of looking for another candidate to run in his place. Finally, with the

reluctant support of his wife, Nixon decided to make the race. Even though he felt "he was running for the wrong office at the wrong time," he could not stay away from his first love, politics.

At a Sept. 27, 1961 press conference, Nixon announced that he was a candidate for governor. He also stated that he would serve his full four year term if elected and would not run for President in 1964. In spite of this declaration, the charge persisted throughout the campaign that Nixon was using the state office as a stepping-stone to the presidency. Brown and the Democrats raised this issue repeatedly and in spite of Nixon's almost daily denials the issue remained alive. An opinion poll in February 1962 showed that 4 out of 10 voters thought Nixon had his eye on the 1964 presidential nomination.

Nixon resurrected a familiar theme during the campaign when he promised to "clean up the mess in Sacramento." In fact, there was very little mess to be attended to. Brown had the good fortune of being at the helm of a state growing by leaps and bounds. During his

first term, California had shown a large increase not only in population but also in agriculture, water projects, and the aerospace industry. So corruption wasn't the issue for Nixon that it had been ten years earlier; nor was communism. Nixon had little success with the old reliable "Red Menace." He noted that Brown was not capable of dealing with the Communist threat within our borders. He also pointed out that the Governor's record showed "not a single item of anti-subversive legislation in four years." One bumper sticker and button appeared during the campaign and asked, "Is Brown Pink?" Another pamphlet called Brown a "Red Appeaser" and included a doctored photograph showing him bowing to Krushchev.

What proved more interesting to the voters than communism or corruption was a loan made by Howard Hughes to Nixon's brother, Donald. In 1956, Hughes, acting through intermediaries, had loaned Donald Nixon \$205,000. As collateral, Donald used a vacant lot in Whittier owned by his mother Hannah. The lot had an assessed value of around \$13,000 and an estimated market

DICK NIXON'S PLEDGES FOR A BETTER CALIFORNIA



AS GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA—I PLEDGE:

★ *To bring to California a State Administration that is worthy of the first and greatest State in the Nation. I will put an end to rule by clique and crony.*

★ *To bring into State Government a team of the best executives and technicians in the State. And I will get rid of the second-raters and political hacks.*

★ *That California will lead the Nation in job opportunities for all our citizens by creating the best climate for new private investment of any State in the Union.*

★ *An Administration dedicated to attracting new industry—not one that can be smug when we rank ninth among industrial states in building new plants since 1961.*

★ *To replace the spineless, soft-on-crime attitude of the present Administration with strong, vigorous backing of local enforcement officials.*

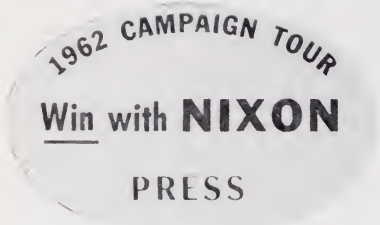
★ *To wage an all-out campaign to make the streets and highways of California safe for our citizens.*

★ *To cut the costs of State Government so that we can reduce the tax burden borne by our citizens.*

★ *To initiate the most effective State program in the Nation for fighting communism—including education, on the student and adult levels, on both the dangers of communism and the positive alternatives of freedom.*

Dick Nixon





value of around \$50,000. Donald Nixon, the wheeler-dealer of the Nixon family, hoped to use the money to expand a chain of restaurants he owned. Business went bad though and less than two years later he went bankrupt. Hughes' agents received \$800 a month income from the pledged property but never foreclosed. In spite of the money owed Hughes, the land remained in the Nixon family.

Shortly after the loan was made to Nixon, Hughes received several favorable rulings from government agencies. The Internal Revenue Service reversed a previous ruling and granted Howard Hughes Medical Institute a tax-exempt charitable organization status, a decision said to be worth millions of dollars to Hughes. Trans World Airlines, a Hughes company, was granted several new routes. In addition, an anti-trust suit against various Hughes' organizations was settled out of court by the Justice Department.

The story of the Hughes' loan first surfaced in a Drew Pearson column during the 1960 contest but created little interest at the time. In 1962, the issue plagued Nixon during the entire campaign. The basic facts were damaging and difficult to refute—Richard Nixon's brother received over \$200,000 from Howard Hughes, who never demanded repayment. Hughes was the recipient of several favorable governmental rulings shortly after the loan was made. Later evidence, including comments by Hughes' associate Noah Dietrich, strongly suggests that the Vice-President was instrumental in arranging the loan. What has never been shown is that Richard Nixon intervened with the

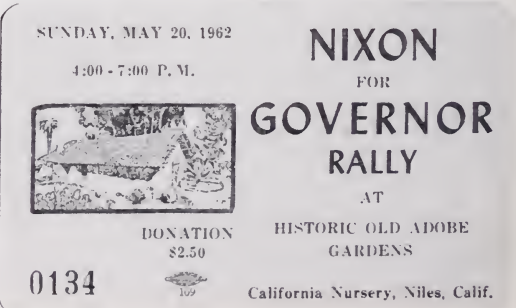
governmental agencies in any way on Hughes' behalf.

Nevertheless, the "loan scandal," as the Democrats called it, sat poorly with California voters and Brown and the press kept the subject on the front page. Nixon tried to defuse the issue five weeks before the election when he and Brown appeared at a joint press conference. A newsman asked Nixon if the loan was morally or ethically proper and provoked a classic Nixonian reply:

"I had no part or interest in my brother's business. I had no part whatever in the negotiation of the loan. I was never asked to do anything by the Hughes Tool Company and never did anything for them. And yet, despite President Kennedy's refusing to use this as an issue, Mr. Brown, in talking privately to some of the newsmen here in this audience, and his hatchmen have been constantly saying that I must have gotten some of the money— that I did something wrong.

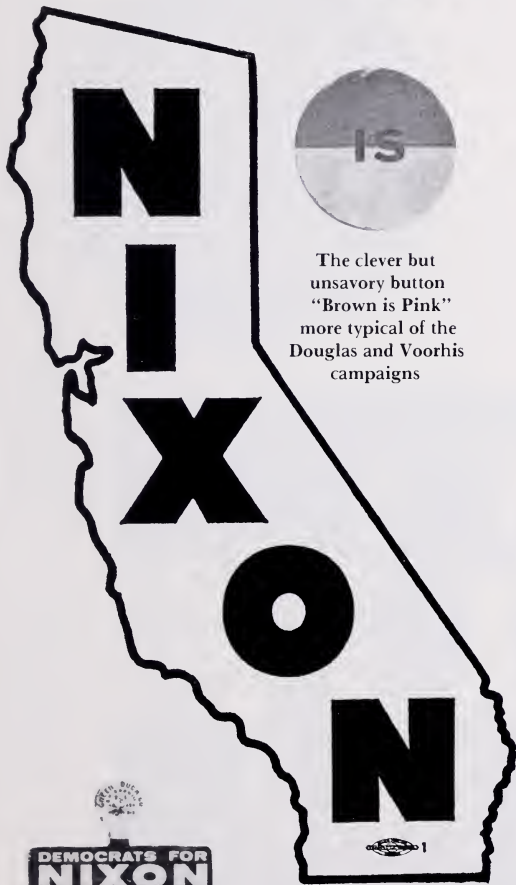
Now is the time to have this out... I have made mistakes but I am an honest man. And if the Governor of this state has any evidence pointing out that I did anything wrong in this case, that I did anything for the Hughes Tool Company, that I asked them for this loan, then instead of doing it privately, doing it slyly, the way he has—and he cannot deny it— because newsmen in this office have told me that he said, 'We are going to make a big issue out of the Hughes Tool Company loan.'

Now he has a chance. All of the people of





The clever but unsavory button "Brown is Pink" more typical of the Douglas and Voorhis campaigns



California are listening. Governor Brown has a chance to stand up as a man and charge me with misconduct. Do it, sir!"

The Governor was undoubtedly taken back and gave a weak reply, Nixon later said that Brown "cringed and went away like a whipped dog." The loan issue stayed, however, with Nixon refusing to answer questions about it unless asked directly by Brown and the Governor refusing any more joint appearances.

Nixon had to deal with the John Birch Society, an organization at its peak in the early sixties, especially in Southern California. Robert Welch, the founder of the Society, had alleged that President Eisenhower was "a dedicated conscious agent of the Communist Conspiracy" and that his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles was "a Communist agent". Nixon publicly disavowed support for or from any Republican candidate who was a member of the John Birch Society but would not repudiate Welch's extremist statements. The right wing discontent with Nixon was evident in June when Nixon outpolled conservative businessman Joe Shell by only a 2 to 1 margin in the Republican gubernatorial primary. With the large Democratic registration, Nixon needed practically every Republican vote.

Nixon's campaign staff included many figures that would become household names during Watergate. Bob Haldeman was campaign manager; Herb Klein served as press secretary; Maurice Stans was financial chairman; Ron Ziegler, John Erlichman, Dwight Chapin, and Rose Mary Woods were all at work in 1962.

Nixon hoped for a strong, early push from Eisenhower, but the former president waited until after the Republican primary to endorse him. Ike did speak at a \$100 plate dinner for his vice-president, telling a closed-circuit television audience, "Everything he has done has increased my respect for him. I can personally vouch for his ability, his sense of duty, his sharpness of mind, his wealth of wisdom." The warm praise caused one of Nixon's aides to note, "If only he'd given that speech two years ago, Dick Nixon would be president."

Brown had plenty of help on the Democratic side. Kennedy campaigned for him in California, as did Lyndon Johnson and six Cabinet members. Several prominent Republicans came out in support of the incumbent, including Earl Warren, Jr. who signed on as vice-chairman of the Governor's campaign. Ex-governor Goodwin Knight and former Los Angeles mayor Norris Poulson also crossed party lines and backed Brown.

Nixon, to his credit, put forth a positive program for improving California. He advocated raising teachers' salaries, increasing funds for police, more water projects and freeways, anti-Communism courses in the classroom, etc.

In the end what sealed the outcome of the race was something entirely out of Nixon's hands the Cuban missile crisis. It began the last week in October and the nation's attention was focused on Kennedy and Krushchev. Brown benefitted immensely. Kennedy called him to Washington to chair a Governor's Conference on

Civil Defense. Nixon had no choice but to rally behind the President in the time of emergency. As he later noted, "Now I knew how Stevenson must have felt when Suez and the Hungarian rebellion flared up in the last days before the election in 1956. I knew that any chance I might have had of narrowing Brown's lead in the polls was now gone."

Nixon was defeated 3,037,000 to 2,740,000. The election was over but there was still more drama to come.

The morning after the election, Nixon sent Klein to read his concession statement at a press conference in the ballroom of the Beverly Hilton. For one reason or another (reports conflict) he changed his mind and decided to personally appear in front of the newsmen.

Nixon began, "Now that Mr. Klein has made a statement, now that the members of the press are so delighted that I lost, I would like to make a statement of my own." A tired, defeated Nixon offered his congratulations to Brown and continued with more revealing remarks. "I believe Governor Brown has a heart, even though he believes I do not. I believe that he is a good American, even though he feels I am not."

He then criticized the press for its bias toward him.

You gentlemen didn't report it, but I am proud that I did that. I am proud also that I defended the fact that he was a man of good motives, a man that I disagreed with strongly, but a man of good motives.

I want that — I for once, gentlemen — I would appreciate if you would write what I say, in that respect. I think that it's very important that you write it — in the lead, in the lead

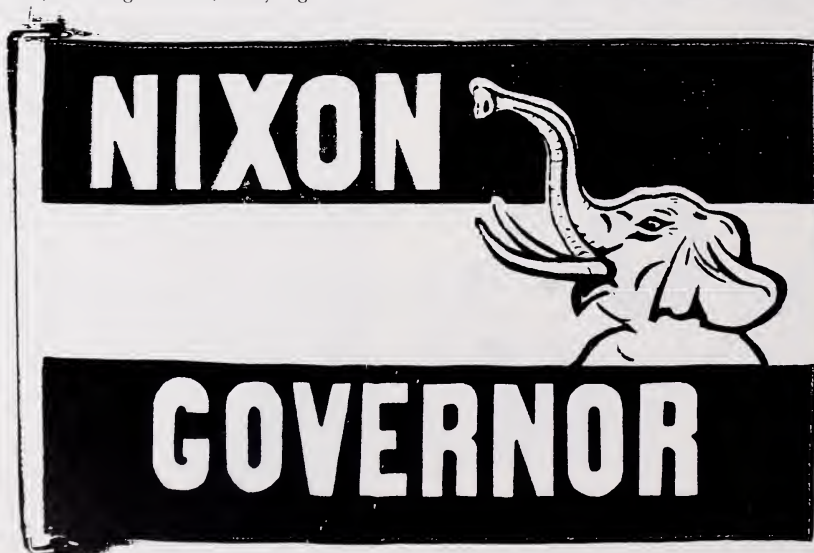
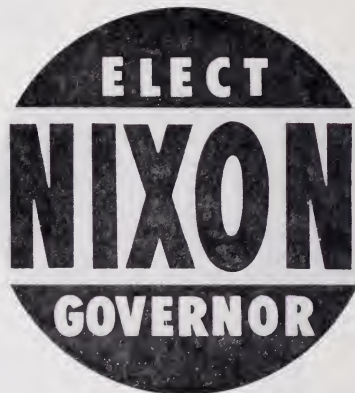
Nixon rambled along, complimenting the work of a "fair" reporter; thanking his staff; analyzing national

election results; discussing the economic outlook; revealing his post-election plans to "get acquainted with my family again." Toward the end of the 15 minute monologue, he returned to the press "And as I leave the press, all I can say is this, for 16 years, ever since the Hiss case, you've had a lot of fun — a lot of fun — that you've had an opportunity to attack me and I think I've given as good as I've taken."

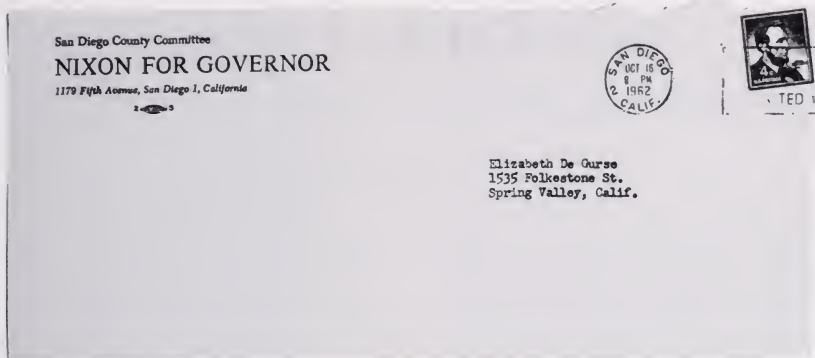
After again deploring the lack of fairness in the written press, he said "And I can only say thank God for television and radio for keeping newspapers a little more honest."

And then came the concluding act of "the last press conference."

"I leave you gentlemen now and you will write it. You will interpret it. That's your right. But as I



Antenna Flag



leave you I want you to know — just think how much you're going to be missing.

You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference and it will be one in which I have welcomed the opportunity to test wits with you.

But unlike some people, I've never canceled a subscription to a paper and I also never will. I believe in reading what my opponents say and I hope that what I've said today will at least make television, radio, and the press first recognize that they have a right and a responsibility, if they're against a candidate, give him the shaft, but also recognize if they give him the shaft, put one lonely reporter on the campaign who will report what the candidate says now and then."

With that, Nixon departed. Everyone agreed he was through with politics. Nixon had violated a cardinal rule of politics, always be a good loser. Pat Brown said Nixon's performance was "something he'll regret all his life." Five nights after the election, ABC News ran a news special entitled "The Political Obituary of Richard Nixon." The network featured no less an authority than Alger Hiss to comment on Nixon's demise.

Nixon apparently never had second thoughts. As he later noted, "I have never regretted what I said at the 'last press conference.' I believe that it gave the media a warning that I would not sit back and take whatever biased coverage was dished out to me. In that respect, I think the episode was partially responsible for the much fairer treatment I received from the press during the next few years. From that point of view alone, it was worth it."

The last press conference was by no means the final one. Two more presidential elections remained, as did Vietnam, Detente, SALT, Watergate, and many other major events. Richard Nixon would prove again and again that he is foremost a survivor.★

The "Win With Nixon" theme dominates the items produced for the 1962 gubernatorial campaign. Perhaps the most desirable buttons are the two ovals, - "1962 Campaign Tour, Win With Nixon" - Staff and Press. These were made by the Western Badge and Trophy Company in Los Angeles. Another rare item is the 9" blue on yellow "Win With Nixon" button, produced by A.G. Trimble.



Bumper Sticker

“I STILL LIVE”

DANIEL WEBSTER’S VISIT TO BOSTON

By John D. Pfeifer

Daniel Webster’s chances of gaining the Whig nomination for president in 1852 had never really been very good, with those slim hopes resting in a solid block of support from the New England delegation. Webster’s single advantage was that he came to the Baltimore convention as everyone’s second choice. In fact, Fillmore supporters had promised to turn over 106 of their votes to Webster if he could secure forty-one elsewhere. Thus he would have the 147 majority of the 293 delegate votes required by the convention. But New England split over Webster, the Webster-Ash Burton treaty having earned him the hatred of Maine’s Whigs, and he was never able to get above 32 votes. The voting dragged on through fifty-two ballots until the supporters of General Winfield Scott finally agreed to accept in principle the Compromise of 1850 and its Fugitive Slave Law, which was despised in the North.

Scott was nominated on the next ballot and Webster, crushed by his failure to be nominated, swore he was finished with politics and simply wanted to go home.

Early in July, Webster planned a trip North to relax for a month. His ultimate destination was New Hampshire, but his route lay through Boston, and inevitably a public reception had been planned to honor New England’s favorite son. Not since Lafayette had visited the city in 1823 had there been anything like it — the crowds, the procession, or the cheering.

Mr. Webster spent the night of July 8 with his friend Samuel H. Walley of Roxbury. The morning of July 9, 1852 dawned insufferably hot. The temperature reached into the 90’s, causing the ceremonies to be postponed until the late afternoon. Shortly after 4:00 p.m. a military escort headed by the National Lancers met him at the line which divided the cities of Roxbury and Boston. There he climbed aboard an open Barouche drawn by six grey horses, and accompanied by members of the committee of arrangements, began the parade to Boston Common.

Long before its destination was reached, the carriage was filled with thousands of flowers thrown by countless spectators along the route; houses were decorated with flags and banners and it seemed that in every doorway and window a bust or picture of the “Great Defender” could be seen. The procession passed through most of the important streets in the heart of the city, finally entering the Common through the Charles Street gate, at the foot of Beacon Hill. About halfway between Boylston and Beacon streets a broad platform had been erected, with elevated ground in front of it. Along the base of the slope were troops of infantry drawn up on line, and behind them a mass of humanity waving handkerchiefs and shouting

incessantly. Women held up their infants so that they might say in later years, they had seen the Defender of the Constitution on his triumphal entry into Boston.

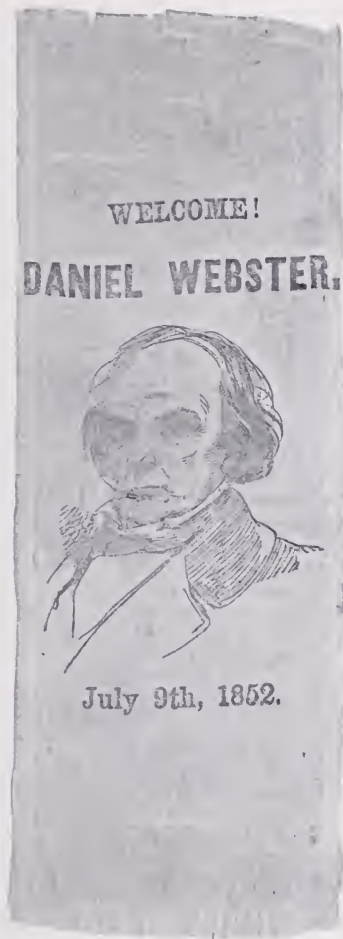
The head of the procession reached the Common at about seven o’clock and Mr. Webster alighted from the carriage, passed in front of the troops and ascended the platform. As soon as the formality of the military salutes was over, all barriers were removed and the crowd rushed toward the platform, which was immediately surrounded by an immense and eager audience.

Quiet having been restored, J. Thomas Stevenson introduced the city’s distinguished guest saying,

“Sir, let us welcome you to the scene of many fond memories. We welcome you to the heart of hearts of a Commonwealth which knows you. We welcome you to armies of friends who are proud of your position. We welcome you to your home and to that temporary retirement which you are seeking, and which we know will not be wholly uninterrupted by public cares. We welcome you as the American Patriot, whose name the people of this community are willing should be associated with that of Washington. And, as we all welcome you, it is “a hundred thousand welcomes.”

Earlier Webster’s physician had expressed a fear that the excitement might be harmful to him, to which he had replied, “I feel as able now to make a speech of two hours duration as ever I did in my life.” Indeed, he did seem extraordinarily robust and buoyed up by the occasion, spoke for approximately half an hour, his remarkable voice still able to be heard across the expanse of the Common. It was an informal address, enlivened by many reminiscences and evincing an affectionate pride in Boston and in Massachusetts. His only reference to the recent Whig Convention was when he said that it had not been his good fortune to be a “successful military chieftain,” but that he was “nothing but a pains-taking, hard-working civilian.” The irony of that remark was not wasted on the audience, as he concluded his remarks saying,

“From the time I entered into the Congress of the United States, at the wish of the people of Boston, my manner of political life is known to you all. I do not stand here tonight to apologize for it. Less do I stand here to demand any approbation. I leave it to my country, to posterity, and to the world, to say whether it will or will not stand the test of time and truth. I have only to say to you that, at my present time of life, I am not likely to adopt any sudden change. What I have been, I propose to be. No man can foresee the occurrences of future life. I profess to foresee



best of my ability, under the providence of God, the liberties of my country.' "

Late in July, "Black Daniel" returned to his beloved Marshfield. His train stopped at Kingston, nine miles from his home. As he stepped from the car, he was astounded by the size of the crowd who greeted him. Overwhelmed by the show of affection, he invited everyone to accompany him to Marshfield as his guest. All along the carriage route to his home, the roads were lined with people cheering him. At Marshfield a makeshift stand was put in place. He stepped forward to speak and for perhaps the first time in his life, words failed him and he was unable to say more than a few sentences. The tribute had touched his heart deeply and this was to be his last speech. In October, unable to rise from his bed he called for his wife and son Fletcher to bring in his friends and servants so that he could say goodbye to them. He asked that everybody file past his bedside and as they did so, he addressed each with personal regards of affection and consolation. He continued to linger for several days until shortly before midnight on October 23 when he lifted his tired head from his pillow and loudly stated, "I Still Live!" Those words were to be the last for America's greatest statesmen as he then drifted into a quiet sleep. At twenty-two minutes before 3:00 a.m. on October 24, 1852, Daniel Webster died.

In Concord, Massachusetts, the great American poet and philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson noted the Nation's mourning for its hero and wiping away a tear, wrote:

"Nature has not in our days, or not since Napoleon, cut out such a masterpiece."

Yet an even more fitting final tribute to the people's champion came on October 29th as ten thousand teary-eyed friends gathered on the front lawn at Marshfield to say a final goodbye. As the long line slowly filed past the bier, a shabbily-dressed man whom no one recognized came to a full stop beside the coffin and for a few seconds looked wistfully down on the still figure. "Daniel Webster" he said softly, "The world, without you, will seem a lonesome place."★

nothing. The future is distant, the present is our own; and, for the present, I am content with expressing my utmost gratitude to you, and assurance of my perpetual regard.

"But I ought to thank you a little more particularly for this generous, spontaneous outpouring of such a multitude to greet me. I thank you for your civic procession; for all the kindness of individual citizens, many of whom are known, and many of whom, especially the young, are unknown to me. I ought also to express a particular debt of gratitude to the military who have accompanied us as escort. You all know, gentlemen, it is not my fortune to be, or to have been, a successful military chieftain. I am nothing but a pains-taking, hard-working civilian, giving my life and my health and my strength to the maintenance of the Constitution, and the upholding, according to the

ITEMS OF INTEREST

During World War II, many newspapers and community organizations sponsored local youth corps. These groups of boys and girls, not yet old enough for military service, did their part for the war effort by running metal scrap and newspaper drives, marching in parades, participating in civil defense activities, washing dishes at USO canteens, etc. Among the best organized was the Pittsburgh Post Gazette's Junior Commandos. Organized on more of a military model than most other groups, the Junior Commandos were "commanded" by a retired Army Major. The two-sided letter on the next two pages probably reflects more the influence of the sponsor than Ike's knowledge of the Commandos. ▶



HEADQUARTERS OF
THE COMMANDO-IN-CHIEF
JUNIOR COMMANDOS

Dear Commandos:

This is your letter from our great Supreme Commander. If given to a soldier in the field of battle, this citation would carry with it a medal. It is an exact reproduction of the original letter written by General Eisenhower. Cherish it in your heart. Frame it to hang in your home so that you may always point to it with just pride in later years. No greater honor could be given to any good soldier in or out of uniform.

I am grateful to General "Ike" for this commendation. I'm profoundly grateful to you for the efforts that won such great praise and every true American will feel the same.

"Too Young to Fight But Not Too

Young to Serve America"

William W. Carroll
Major, Army of the U. S. (Retired)
Commando-in-Chief

Supreme Headquarters
ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
Office of the Supreme Commander

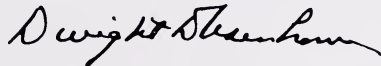
1 November, 1944

Dear boys and girls:

Your Commando-in-Chief has told me something of the fine work you have done during the past two years to further our country's cause in this war. I am truly astonished by the statistics he gives me relating to the vast amounts of scrap metal and waste paper that you have collected and of the other useful and patriotic work you have done.

I am more impressed, however, by the spirit of service that has prompted all your efforts. Your zeal and determination are an example to all of us; an example that I trust you will continue to give us until the last gun has been silenced and peace has returned to the world. We are facing some of our hardest fighting in Europe, while in the Pacific we still have a long way to go to reach final victory. Let me urge you never to slacken your effort until the job is done, because you are truly serving your country and its fighting men on the front.

Sincerely,



Junior Commandos of Pittsburgh,
Headquarters, Commando-in-Chief,
Pittsburgh Post-Gazette,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

READING BETWEEN THE LINES

By Donald Ackerman

While history books tell us the years that candidates ran for office, the task of attributing campaign items to specific elections rests with collectors. Sometimes the decision is simplified by an item that is dated or promotes a one-time candidate, such as Landon in 1936. Othertimes the issue is muddled, especially so in early 19th century items.

One often overlooked factor in determining year of origin is the use of particular slogans. For instance, the slogan "16 to 1" is found exclusively on Bryan items issued in 1896 and 1900. The bi-metallic juggernaut screamed to a halt in 1900 and by 1908 was a non-entity, relegating "16 to 1" to the historical scrap heap.

This basic "slogan litmus-test" is applicable to other campaigns as well. Pictured here is a relatively common Henry Clay ribbon, listed in Sullivan-Fischer as HC-9. What distinguishes this ribbon is the slogan "Champion of the American System" which appears nowhere else among the ninety ribbons listed. Two ribbons do mention the related issue of "internal improvements" but only as part of a litany of platform planks and not the central theme. Conventional wisdom dictates that each Clay ribbon now known (probably 150 in number) dates from 1844, even though Clay ran three times. It seems logical to assume that ribbons were produced for earlier attempts. I contend that HC-9 is probably one such ribbon and dates from 1832.

Clay first propounded the concept of the "American System" in 1824. Its basic premise was that public works projects (canals, roads, etc.) be financed through the federal government. The policy became closely associated with him, even though advocated earlier by John C. Calhoun. Besides the ribbon in question, the slogan appears on four other campaign artifacts. These include a whisky flask produced in Pittsburgh possibly as early as 1824, and listed in McKearin's *American Glass* as G-X-20. The other three items to mention "The American System" are all tokens: DeWitt #'s HC-1832-2, HC-1832-3, and HC-1840-1. I feel that the latter item could just as easily be placed in the 1832 section. It is similar in appearance to AJACK-1832-1. Both tokens are 28mm. in diameter, and both were produced in copper and brass. DeWitt, though unsure where to place it chronologically, was fairly certain that HC-1840-1 did not belong to the 1844 campaign, but predated it.

While we cannot preclude the possibility that HC-9 was issued in 1836 or 1840 as a hopeful item, available evidence prompts a re-evaluation of the 1844 designation. The "American System" was no longer an issue in the 1844 campaign and its use on campaign items from the 1830's reinforces our initial assumption.

By studying campaign items in this manner, we engage in more than an exercise in historical research to which



not all are equally inclined or adapted. More importantly we draw upon two essential characteristics of the serious collector; namely, observation and common sense.

A case in point would be the Van Buren ribbon pictured here, listed in Sullivan-Fischer as MVB-2. I originally purchased this ribbon at a Connecticut auction where the bidding commenced at \$1 and stopped at \$160. Recently a second example showed up at a different Connecticut



auction, going for \$2200 this time around. My first impression was that this unusual ribbon dated from 1836. Its material (satin), the hyphenated "New-York" and odd

spelling of "Favourite" somehow exuded an archaic air. As true in many cases, this turned out to be wishful thinking, quickly dispelled by detached observation.

MVB-2 is the earliest political artifact that I am aware of that makes use of the term "Favourite Son." Favorite sons are synonymous with hopefuls. When was Van Buren a hopeful? Only once, in 1844. Most everyone assumed that Van Buren and Clay would be the candidates that year. Van Buren even paid a secret visit to Clay at his Ashland, Kentucky home around December of 1843 where the two discussed strategy for the upcoming election and agreed to avoid the Texas annexation issue. The firm of Nathaniel Currier issued a lithograph of Van Buren astride a white charger, titled "Martin Van Buren The Champion of Democracy" (Conningham #4029). Though undated, we can reliably ascribe it to the 1844 period because matching prints were issued for Polk and Clay (Conningham #'s 3167 and 2795 respectively).

The specimen of MVB-2 I owned had a frayed, but illegible inscription at the top. The first word looked like "Midland"—the rest "Shall be Redeemed". The second specimen to surface fortunately had a complete inscription ... "New York Shall Be Redeemed." Why did New York have to be redeemed? The obvious inference was that New York did not go Democratic in the previous election, but fell into the Whig column. In 1832 the Jackson-Van Buren ticket carried New York state. In 1836 the Van Buren-Johnson ticket did likewise. In 1840 Van Buren lost in his own home state of New York to the Whig ticket of Harrison & Tyler. The embarrassed and humiliated politician now sought vindication in '44 and redemption for his home state. Like Clay's quest for the Presidency, though, some things were not meant to be.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST

RELICS OF 1840: FORMER OWNERS SENDING THEM TO GENERAL HARRISON FOR LUCK

— From the New York Tribune, July 23, 1888 —

Indianapolis, July 21 (Special)—Relics of the campaign of 1840, when his grandfather was elected President, are received daily by General Harrison from all parts of the country. The most of them come from old Whigs, who were enthusiastic admirers and followers of old Tippecanoe, and with hopes that they will bring him good luck, the cherished mementos are forwarded to the grandson of their old hero. These relics are kept in a large drawer in an upstairs room and are given reverential care. The collection consists chiefly of buttons, coins and badges, emblems of the log cabin and hard cider campaign, all of which bear designs or inscriptions that were popular at that time. Among the oddities is a glass sauce-dish, in which appears a picture of General William Henry Harrison, with the dates of his election and birth. On nearly all of the relics appears the characteristic log cabin, with a barrel of hard cider standing beside the door. A piece of copper, in

imitation of a coin, bears the outline of a pair of scales, the side ascending representative of the Democrats and descending the Whigs. Around it is the inscription, "Weighed in the balance and found wanting." On the reverse side is an outline of General Harrison's head. One of the most interesting things in the collection is an old log cabin song-book published by a Cincinnati printer. In it appear all the popular campaign songs of that time, among which were "The Soldier of Tippecanoe," sung to the dirge "Not a Drum was Heard"; "General Harrison," set to the air "Pizen Sargent"; "What Has Caused This Great Commotion?" to the tune of "Little Pig's Tail" and so on to the number of more than a hundred. Among the modern contributions to the collection is the copper gavel used at the Chicago Convention and an oak gavel presented by some admirers, and specimens of all the new badges that have been issued by dealers in campaign goods.

BEYOND MANIFEST DESTINY

WM. MCKINLEY AND THE PHILIPPINES

By William Alley

At the close of hostilities between the United States and Spain, one newspaper quipped, "Why is the United States like a lady throwing a stone? Because she aimed at Cuba and hit the Philippines". As the United States prepared to negotiate a peace settlement with Spain, the question of what to do with the Philippines was to cause a serious debate that would culminate in the Senate vote to ratify the Treaty of Paris. "If old Dewey had just sailed away when he smashed the Spanish fleet, what a lot of trouble he would have saved us" lamented President McKinley to his friend H.H. Kohlsaet.

When Spain applied, through the good offices of France, for an end to the hostilities, American forces were in control of the Bay and City of Manila. Elsewhere in the archipelago, Spanish forces were on the defensive against the insurgent forces led by Emilio Aguinaldo. While technically still a Spanish colony, actual Spanish sovereignty over the Philippines had drifted away with the smoke from Dewey's guns. The subsequent armistice agreement stipulated that "control, disposition, and government of the Philippines" be determined by negotiations.

President McKinley's cabinet was divided on the issue of the Philippines. Secretary of State William Day proposed that the United States retain the island of Luzon for a naval base, a sort of "hitching post" in the Far East. He was supported by Treasury Secretary Lyman Gage as well as Navy Secretary Long, who well remembered the difficulties encountered by the Asiatic Fleet when denied the use of neutral ports once hostilities had broken out. The possession of an American naval base in the Far East would give the navy greater flexibility of operations free from reliance on other nations. Attorney General Griggs and Interior Secretary Bliss, eyeing the commercial potential of the islands as well as their proximity to China, favored keeping all of the islands.

The make-up of the peace commission suggests that the President was leaning toward the retention of at least parts of the Philippines. To head the delegation McKinley picked Judge Day, who resigned as Secretary of State. Day was replaced at State by John Hay, known to favor expansion. Anticipating the future role of the Senate in ratifying any treaty, the President included three Senators on the Commission, Cushman Davis, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and William Fry, both Republicans who favored expansion, and, to avoid charges of packing the commission, McKinley included George Gray, a Democrat opposed to any expansionist policies. Finally, the commission included Whitelaw Reid, editor of the New York Tribune and outspoken expansionist.

On September 16, 1898, the members of the commission met at the Executive Mansion to receive their instructions from the president. Although Cuba was not to be annexed, Puerto Rico was to be taken as a war indemnity, ending the long Spanish presence in the western hemisphere. As for the Philippines, the least that the United States would demand was the island of Luzon, but more specific instructions would be transmitted later. Thus, the fate of the Philippines was the only undecided issue.

As the negotiators prepared to meet their Spanish counterparts in Paris, there were several options concerning the Philippines for the President's consideration. The islands could be returned to Spain, but this option was discarded almost immediately. Not only would American public opinion turn against such a decision, there was also the strong possibility that Spain might sell the islands to one of the other European powers bent on partitioning the Far East into spheres of influence. Ceding the islands to another nation might also deny the United States any commercial advantages. Finally, it was feared that competition over the islands would destabilize the region, resulting in renewed hostilities.

Another option discussed but discarded was to leave the islands to the Filipinos themselves. Testimony from U.S. officers who had served in the Philippines as well as the "expert" advice of John Foreman, an Englishman who had lived in the Philippines and was considered an authority on the islands, argued against independence. In an article published in *Contemporary Review*, Foreman came to the conclusion that the Filipinos were not ready for self government, and any government they formed, including the one established by the insurgent leader Aguinaldo, would soon collapse and invite the intervention of a foreign power. Almost by process of elimination, the only viable options left open concerned the United States taking part or all of the Philippines.

At a time when the nations of Europe and Japan were attempting to carve China into spheres of influence, which threatened to restrict American trade in the Far East, the McKinley administration decided to insist on a policy of an "Open Door" concerning China. Retention of at least a naval facility in the Philippines would serve as a base of operations to protect American interests. The retention of only the island of Luzon, however, would still leave undecided the fate of the rest of the islands.

The Germans, newcomers in the acquisition of colonies, were quick to try to exploit the opportunities they saw after the war broke out between the United States and Spain, and quickly dispatched a squadron under Admiral Diederichs to "observe" events at Manila. Should the Spanish defeat leave a power vacuum, the presence of

UNION - REPUBLICAN - TICKET



AUDITOR GENERAL
EDWARD B. HARDENBERGH.

CONGRESS AT-LARGE
GALUSHA A. GROW.

ROBERT H. FOERDERER.

VOICE THE WHOLE TICKET
TUESDAY
Nov. 6th
1900

the German squadron would ensure that the Germans would not be left out. As the Anglophile John Hay wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge, "... There is to the German mind something monstrous in the thought that a war should take place anywhere in the world and they not profit by it." Both the British and the Japanese made it known that they would prefer an American presence in the Philippines over anyone else.

In the debate over whether to keep all or part of the islands, the military strategists argued that because of the close proximity of the numerous islands in the Philippine archipelago, it would be easier to defend the whole island group than it would the island of Luzon alone. Those with a commercial interest argued against breaking up the economic entity. Religious leaders pointed out that the United States had a duty to save the souls of all the Filipinos, in spite of the fact that most of them were, after so many years of Spanish rule, Catholics and not "heathen." The intertwining of duty and advantage was a persuasive argument. "Duty first, but then Interest also" was how Whitelaw Reid would put it.

The off-year elections provided an opportunity to gauge public opinion on the issue of the Philippines, as well as secure a healthy Republican majority in Congress to back the President's policies. McKinley broke with tradition and took to the stump for Congressional candidates. He also took this opportunity to sound out public opinion on the issue of the retention of the Philippines. He well remembered the tide of public opinion after the destruction of the Maine, and did not want to be caught unaware. Included among his appearances were stops at the Nebraska Peace Jubilee and the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. Both of these events drew large diverse crowds from across the Midwest, provided the politically astute McKinley with an accurate gauge of public opinion. By having stenographers record the response to various references in his speeches, the President was assured that the public was not adverse to the retention of the Philippines. On October 26 the President instructed his commissioners in Paris that the United States would insist on the retention of all of the Philippines. Subsequent negotiations resulted in the United States agreeing to reimburse Spanish investment in the islands with a payment of \$20 million.

McKinley's decision to annex all of the Philippines was arrived at gradually, after option after option was discarded, almost by a process of elimination. As he later told Jacob Schurman, who was opposed to McKinley's expansionist policies, "I didn't want the Philippines, either; and in the protocol I left myself free not to take them; but in the end there was no alternative." McKinley summed up this process for a group of Methodists, "I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight, and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way— ... That there was nothing, nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift them and civilize and Christianize

them...And then I went to bed, and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department, and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States, and there they are, and there they will stay while I am President of the United States."

Once the treaty with Spain was negotiated and signed, it was transmitted to the Senate on January 4, 1899 and reported on favorably by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was on the floor of the Senate where the debate on American expansion was focused.

Anti-expansionists in the Senate and in the public opened their attack on the treaty and its provision for annexation with a legal challenge. George Vest of Missouri challenged the legality of acquiring any territories that were to be held as colonies and destined for eventual statehood. While the Constitution was silent on this issue, it was, claimed Vest, clearly a violation of the spirit of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Platt of New York countered that the acquisition of territory was inherent in a nation's sovereign rights, and that the treaty provided that the rights and status of the Filipinos were in the capable hands of the Congress.

Although assured a healthy majority in the new Congress that was to convene in March, McKinley and his supporters wanted the vote held during the current Congress, and the vote was scheduled for February 6. Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland, a lame duck, led the opposition to the treaty, and with only 31 votes needed to deny the necessary two-thirds vote, the fate of the treaty was uncertain.

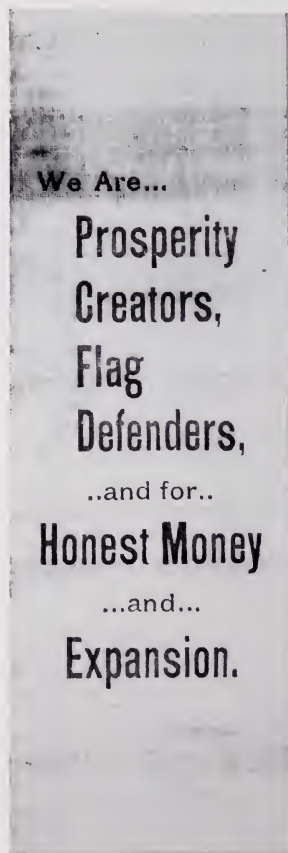
In addition to the legal questions, the various opposition groups offered other arguments. The moral arguments were based on the feeling that annexation of a colony would undermine the basic foundations of American liberty. It was argued that the American experiment in republican government could not co-exist with empire. The uniqueness of America gave her a higher moral standard, and the establishment of colonies would lower the country to the level of the European nations. Annexation would violate traditional American diplomatic policies.

Other anti-imperialists, including the industrialist Andrew Carnegie, argued against annexation on economic grounds. Not only did they fear competition from cheap foreign labor, they also felt it was an unnecessary step in securing foreign markets for America's surplus industrial production. American goods could sell anywhere on their own merits.

The opposition also feared that joining in the rush for colonies would result in increased conflicts with rival powers. As Hugh Dinson, once ambassador to Korea, stated in reference to the annexation of Hawaii, "Suppose we set our feet upon territory in the Orient. From that moment we become involved in every European controversy with reference to aggressions and the acquirement of territory there. No longer will our ancient peace abide with us." The one argument the opposition had trouble



Caricatures of McKinley and Roosevelt
(Holding Gun on Bryan)
"You Shall Not Pull Down The Flag."





answering was the one based on the international climate in the Far East, especially in light of the aggressive activities of Admiral Diederichs and the partitioning of China.

With the outcome of the vote uncertain, the cloakrooms of the Senate were the scenes of fierce debating and arm twisting. By including annexation as part and parcel of the peace treaty with Spain, the President placed the opposition in the difficult position of having to vote against ending the war and bringing home the troops, mostly volunteers, from Manila. Another difficulty faced by the opposition was the executive order issued by McKinley in December. This order extended American military authority over all of the Philippines before the treaty was even signed. This order had the effect of changing the Senate vote from a vote for or against annexation to a question of whether or not to repeal a presidential action. The public at large also supported the President's position. The surge of national pride that swept the nation during the recent war was at its peak. The previous Spring, Chauncy Depew told a gathering of Republicans "I can't help seeing what a strong feeling is spreading over the whole land in favor of colonial expansion. The people are infatuated with the idea... This feeling is getting so strong that it will mean the political death of any man to oppose it pretty soon."

This sentiment must not have gone unnoticed by the titular head of the Democratic party, William Jennings Bryan. While opposed to the idea of colonialism, Bryan surprised everyone when he came out in favor of the treaty and encouraged the Senate Democrats to vote for it. He also urged the Senate to follow the vote with a Congressional Resolution supporting independence for the Philippines when they were ready for it. Bryan apparently hoped that quick ratification would not only bring the troops home, but would clear the way to use the imperialism issue against the Republicans in the upcoming presidential election.

Other prominent leaders opposed annexation, and this opposition crossed party lines. Former Presidents Cleveland and Harrison, representing both parties, were among the opposition, and in New England the opposition gathered together in the offices of Edward Atkinson to form the Anti-Imperialist League, whose platform declared "We insist that the subjugation of any people is 'criminal aggression' and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government." Much of the funding of the League's activities, which included the distribution of over half a million pamphlets, was provided by Andrew Carnegie.

In spite of the support of individuals from both parties, including two former Presidents, the elder Republican statesman Hoar, and the ever popular Mark Twain, the opposition still suffered from a severe lack of unity and was unable to provide a viable alternative to McKinley's policies. Constantly treating the issue as the beginning of an endless policy of colonialism, instead of the isolated case it was, probably affected their credibility.

As the day of the Senate vote approached, the outcome



Insurgency, Corruption and
Bryan—Anti-Bryan Button 1900

still remained uncertain. Administration arguments emphasizing the economic advantages, the strategic proximity to the China markets, and the downplaying of the Aquinaldo government, even with the support of Bryan, still left the treaty four votes short on the final weekend before the vote. It was over this last weekend that events in the Philippines exerted their influence. On the day before the vote, the tensions between the American and insurgent forces erupted in violence, with casualties on both sides. The news that American forces had sustained casualties had the effect of swaying enough votes; the treaty passed with one vote to spare.

After the vote for ratification, the Senate acted on the Resolution introduced by Augustus Bacon of Georgia at

the behest of Bryan. This resolution, calling for eventual independence for the Philippines, resulted in a tie, with the Vice-President, Garrett Hobart casting the vote that killed it. The House of Representatives, after a brief debate, in essence concurred with the Senate when they passed the necessary appropriation to pay Spain the \$20 million.

Opposition claims that passage of the treaty, with provision for the annexing of the Philippines, would be the ruin of American democracy and the beginning of an "orgy" of colonial acquisitions failed to materialize. In fact the President's decision not to annex all of the Marianas and Carolines indicated that the acquisition of territories was not the President's main objective.

With the treaty ratified and the troops engaged in another war in the Philippines, the opposition to the administration's policies shifted to the Presidential campaign of 1900. A lack of unity still plagued the anti-imperialists, and they never really forgave Bryan for his support of the treaty. Economic prosperity and the influx of Alaskan gold tended to neutralize Bryan's economic issues, and he campaigned vigorously against imperialism, but he was defeated at the polls by the President and his running mate, the arch-expansionist Theodore Roosevelt. The issue of anti-imperialism ceased to be a major factor after 1900, but the Philippines were to remain as a linchpin of McKinley's Open Door policy in the Far East. The islands were to loom large again forty years later when they found themselves in the way of Japanese expansionism. It is interesting to speculate just how much trouble might have been saved had Admiral Dewey just sailed away. ★

ELECTIONEERING 1807

From *The Quarto*, March 1983

University of Michigan Clements Library

The Celluloid Campaign Button dates from near the end of the nineteenth century, and coinlike campaign tokens had come into existence in the Jacksonian Period of the 1820's. Could it be that it was not Americans but British entrepreneurs who first grasped the possible profits from American political rivalry?

A recently acquired letter of Senator Samuel Latham Mitchill to his wife, dated 1807, must record one of the very earliest examples of commemorative ephemera aimed at an upcoming Presidential contest:

"The bad condition of my Razors rendered it necessary for me to buy new ones. And I may inform you that these Utensils are made use of for the purpose of Fame and Politics. Orders are sent from this place to Sheffield, the great manufactory of hard ware in England, for Razors to be manufactured to suit the two prevailing parties in the U.S. and they came forth with appropriate Words elegantly

on one side of their Blades. For the Republicans, these instruments are adorned with the Words 'a true Jeffersonian,' and for the Federalists with 'a true Washingtonian,' and more recently to favour the pretensions of the Secretary of State to the Presidential Chair, Razors are sold here in great Numbers with the Words, 'a true Madisonian' superbly legible on the steel."

Mitchill noted that "It is in this way that the Printing of Callico Curtains, the figuring of Staffordshire Crockery, and the casting of Gypsum Medallions have all been instrumental in procuring renown for certain persons." He purchased both a Jeffersonian and a Madisonian model, "observing to the Seller, that the Clintonians & Smithians ought to be manufactured, for the two Candidates nominated by some for President and Vice President at the next Election." ★



RICHARD PARKS BLAND 'SILVER DICK'

By: Larry W. Allen,

A.P.I.C. #2372



Richard Parks Bland, nicknamed "Silver Dick", with twenty-two years experience in the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, was the front-runner as the Democratic Convention opened in July of 1896 in Chicago. William Jennings Bryan was barely mentioned in newspaper accounts of the day and only then as a delegate from Nebraska and a dark horse. In fact, one cartoon showed Bryan as a very small and very dark horse hitched to a sapling at the far outskirts of the political madtrack.

Bland's entire adult life seemed entwined with silver. As a youth, he worked in Nevada silver mines. He sponsored the Bland-Allison Act of 1873 which restored silver temporarily as legal tender, and he enjoyed the backing of most of the influential silver politicians. How, then, did Bland lose the nomination?

At the advanced age of sixty-one, Bland lacked magnetism. He was not physically equal to waging a competitive campaign. He hailed from the South (born in Kentucky) at a time when emotions of the Civil War were still strong. Furthermore, Mrs. Bland was a Catholic; and, because of this, Bland was sure to lose Protestant votes by the droves; and, of course, no one dreamed that a young man named Bryan would sweep the convention with his "Cross of God-Crown of Thorns" speech.

Bland had an elaborate organization at the Chicago convention. The lobbies and corridors of major hotels were plastered with huge canvas crayon portraits of Bland, enclosed in fastoons and bearing a confident emblem of success, a colored paper horseshoe in the lower left-hand corner. "On the lapels of Bland men, rushing hither and yon, was a blue badge with a portrait of 'Silver Dick' on a celluloid medallion suspended from a bar, one-half of which was silver-plated and the rest gold-plated, with the figures '16' on the silver side and '11' beneath the gold". Small pin-back buttons for Bland were also in evidence. The favorite marching song in Chicago was: Ha Ha He! Who are we?

We are the Bland Club of K.K.

We're hot stuff;

That's no bluff;

Vote for Silver

And we'll all have bluff!

I was recently offered the two Bland badges and in the same batch were the small Bland single picture pin and five other Bryan items. The group probably belonged to a delegate from Missouri with some of the items brought back from the Chicago convention. The Bryan badge is of interest because of the words "Vice-President" in the bar at the top. I checked micro-film newspaper records of the National Convention and also of the Missouri State Democratic convention held in Sedalia April 15, 1896, and found no mention where any group of delegates supported Bryan for vice-president. I'm still searching for another Bland item mentioned in those early newspapers. A campaign hat with a blue hat band with the words "Missouri's hero - Richard Parks Bland - '96 to '98"

TR and the Miners

THE MEETING IN WILKES-BARRE

By Christopher Hearn

On August 9, 1905 it was announced at the executive mansion in Washington, D.C. that President Roosevelt would travel to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania to address a joint meeting of the United Mine Workers and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union. The President's special train left Oyster Bay at 8:00 a.m. on 10 August; the President's party transferred in Jersey City to the Lehigh Valley Railroad. They reached Wilkes-Barre at 3 in the afternoon. Brief stops were made in Philipsburg, N.J., Easton, Penn., Bethlehem, Penn., and Allentown, Penn. The President made short speeches from the rear platform of his car at these places.

The main reason why T.R. went to Wilkes-Barre was to address the anthracite miners of John Mitchell's American Mine Workers Association. For more than two and a half years the anthracite miners had been working under an agreement—accepted by the operators and the miners—hammered out by the arbitration commission appointed by President Roosevelt. The commission had been established when T.R. decided to become involved in the 1902 anthracite dispute, better known as the "Great Coal Strike."

In appointing the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in 1902, T.R. expressed the wish that they should "endeavor" to establish the relations between the employers and the wage-workers in the anthracite fields on a just and permanent basis" to the end that causes of difference and of strikes might be removed. At the agreement to end the strike, the Commission expressed their confidence that "the awards we have made will accomplish, certainly during their life, the high aims contemplated" in T.R.'s directions. The arbitration agreement provided for a general increase of 10 per cent in the wages of the miners, and of 11 per cent in the wages of the helpers and other employees. Provision was also made for a further increase of wages on a sliding scale proportional to the increase in the price of coal. It was estimated at the time by Mr. David Willcox, President of the Delaware and Hudson Company, that the increase in wages to the miners and to the mine employees under the arbitration award amounted to \$16,400,000 in 1904.

The Arbitration Commission also made provision for a Conciliation Board, to which complaints, grievances and disputes between the operators and the miners were to be referred. By 1905 the Board had considered 119 grievances submitted by the miners and 6 submitted by the employers.

However, the meeting in Wilkes-Barre may have been

arranged to head off another round of strikes. John Mitchell who had not openly called for a renewal of strikes was, nonetheless, preparing his organization, if needed, for another anthracite strike at the expiration of the arbitration agreement on March 31, 1906. The miners were well prepared. Their strike fund had been replenished by three years of dues. Only a few days earlier in Nanticoke Penn., Mitchell stated that even if he had a guarantee that the present agreement would continue he would still agitate for more wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions. He added that if the union had 150,000 members on the first of April 1906, the union would be strong enough to secure "recognition" and an eight-hour day. On August 9, 1905, *The New York Times* wrongfully characterized "recognition" of the union to mean, "that only union men would be permitted in the mines, that non-union men who attempted to get work would be stoned, shot, stabbed, maimed, beaten, or by other violent means driven away and prevented from earning a living."

The *Times* went on to speculate that T.R.'s speech in Wilkes-Barre would sight the many benefits the miners had received under the Arbitration Commission and it would be well for the miners to "know when they are well off" and hoped that the miners might be swayed by T.R.'s words.

As the President's train arrived in Wilkes-Barre at 3 in the afternoon, T.R. was greeted by the largest crowd ever assembled in the Wilkes-Barre area. From early dawn the people came pouring in from all over the anthracite region by the thousands. Several thousand people gathered at the train station to greet him. As soon as he appeared the crowd began to cheer. T.R. smiled and bowed several times. He stood at the rear platform of the car and as the train stopped the first man to spring aboard and greet him was John Mitchell, President of the mine workers. Congressman Palmer, Mayor F.C. Kirkendall of the city and Father J.J. Curran followed, and T.R. held a brief reception in the car.

T.R. then entered the carriage, accompanied by Mr. Mitchell, and was driven through the city to the River Commons. From the moment of his arrival enormous crowds thronged the streets along the line of parade and packed themselves in the River Commons, a big open area where the speakers stand stood, until there was no room to move. There were so many people in the streets that it was extremely difficult for the President's party to make its way to the platform. Once there the cheers from the



crowd lasted several minutes. The noise of the multitude made it difficult for Father Curran, Cardinal Gibbons, and Mayor Kirkendall to be heard. They were often interrupted by shouts of the police for the crowd to move back.

Father Curran welcomed T.R. with the words: "In behalf of 100,000 Catholic total abstainers of our National Union, I bid welcome to President Roosevelt. God bless him and spare him to his family and country for many years to come and may the efforts that he is now putting forth for the restoration of peace between the two warring nations of the East be crowned with ultimate success, and bring glory to our Nation and an everlasting reward to our President." Cardinal Gibbons added that T.R. had "held out the olive branch to two great nations of the earth, he is discharging the blessed office of peacemaker," and referring to Mr. Mitchell, "he brings the olive branch of peace to you. I have no doubt that his visit will be a potent factor in cementing the good relations between you and your employers." He went on to say that "there should be no conflict between labor and capital. They should be united and inseparable."

When Mr. Mitchell rose to speak he was welcomed by a great burst of applause. He was well received by those in the crowd and those, including T.R., on the platform when he stated: "It is not often that the Chief Executive of a great Nation has found the time or yielded to the inclination to honor by his presence and to participate in a meeting under the auspices of men who earn their livelihood by the performance of manual labor." He went on to say that T.R.'s visit "marks an epoch in the civic, social and industrial history of this commonwealth. It is a pleasure to say that largely as a result of his efforts and namely as a consequence of his actions the conditions of life and labor among the anthracite coal mine workers have been materially improved, and the entire people of this community have enjoyed an era of prosperity unprecedented in the history of the hard coal regions." Mitchell then introduced the President to the anxious crowd.

When T.R. faced the crowd there were fully 80,000 miners and over 100,000 other persons waiting for him to speak. The President's presence aroused the multitude to the highest pitch of excitement. Suddenly the densely packed mass in front of the stand surged forward, a great

human wave which threatened to overwhelm everything in its path. Strong cables surrounding the platform threatened to give way.

T.R. grasped the situation quickly. He saw that the crowd was rapidly becoming uncontrollable and shouted to the people to stop pushing forward and stand in their place. He was applauded, and there was an instant of quiet. Soon, however, the crowd pressed forward again, sweeping its weaker members from their feet. Women were trampled. Men, unable to stand the pressure, fell also. The ambulance corps of the Catholic Abstinence Union was kept busy dragging victims to safety. A panic was in the air. Time and again T.R. called for quiet and finally his appeal won the day. Had the crowd not heeded the pleas of the President there certainly would have been a tragedy.

In his speech T.R. lauded the working man, both above and below the ground, for with their labors the entire community prospers. He stated "I strongly believe in trade unions wisely and justly handled, in which the rightful purpose (is) to benefit those connected with them (and) is not accompanied by a desire to do injustice or wrong to others. I believe in the duty of capitalist and wage-worker to try to seek one another out, to understand each the other's point of view and to endeavor to show broad and kindly human sympathy one with the other." He called for cooperation between the wage earner and the employers. T.R. then addressed the other half of the group and endorsed the need for temperance. T.R. stated he "endorsed any movement which strives to help a man by teaching him how to help himself. But most of all I believe in the efficacy of the man himself striving continually to increase his own self respect by the way in which he does his duty to himself and to his neighbor."

With the conclusion of his speech T.R. was hurried from the platform by the Secret Service and his carriage started on a tour of the city to give the many waiting thousands who could not gain places on the River Commons the opportunity to see him. The crowds were gathered over five miles of city streets, many of them on stands erected specifically for this event. Among them were thousands of school children who sang and waved flags as he passed. After completing his tour T.R. went to the monument erected on the site of the Wyoming massacre. Four hundred school children sang "The Star Spangled Banner." After the brief ceremony the President was taken to the railroad station and bid a fond farewell. The train left at 7:00 pm, and T.R.'s trip to Wilkes-Barre was over.★

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THE LEGACY OF JOHN A. LOGAN

By Patrick C. Brumleve

If one were able to poll Union Civil War veterans during the period after the War and to the turn of the century and ask them to name their favorite and most respected political leaders, chances are that the name of John A. Logan would probably appear after Ulysses Grant and Abraham Lincoln. General John A. Logan—U.S. Representative, Civil War hero, Senator, founder of Memorial Day, G.A.R. leader and a vice-presidential candidate in 1884 was well known and loved by many veterans. He championed and fought for veteran benefits and pensions, which naturally raised his popularity among the veterans and general public.

Historians are rediscovering the importance and significance that John A. Logan played in American politics and the Civil War. John A. Logan deserves the respect and fame that other well known men of that period have received, and his name once again placed in prominence.

John A. Logan was born February 8, 1826 in what is now Murphysboro, Illinois. Murphysboro is located in deep southern Illinois. So deep, in fact, that it is more south geographically than Richmond, Virginia. Most residents of the area have their roots in the South, coming from Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee and Kentucky. This had a great influence on the population's sentiment during the events prior to the Civil War.

The region which shaped Logan was nicknamed "Egypt" by farmers from northern Illinois who came south to purchase grain and seed after their crops were devastated by the harsh winter of 1832. These men likened themselves to the Hebrews of Genesis who had to go "down to Egypt to buy corn."

Logan's father, Dr. John Logan, was a Scotch-Irish immigrant who, after securing himself financially, moved to Jackson County, Illinois in 1824. Dr. Logan was a staunch Jacksonian Democrat who served three terms in the state legislature, was a friend to the young Abraham Lincoln and the namesake of Logan County in Central Illinois. It was in this area that Dr. Logan met and married Elizabeth Jenkins whose brother, A.M. Jenkins, served as Lt. Governor of Illinois.

John A. Logan was raised in a family where politics, education and public service were the order of the day. His father made sure that his pioneer education was supplemented with tutors, and Logan attended two years at Shiloh Academy in Randolph County. Logan enjoyed horse racing, oratory and, above all, politics.

In 1846 a young John A. Logan enlisted in the army. The call to glory and excitement created by the Mexican War was too much for a young man to resist. He was promoted to Lieutenant and marched with his command into Mexico City. By the time he was twenty-one, he was made Quartermaster of his regiment.

Upon returning back home, he found himself to be a

local hero and was recruited to run for Jackson County Clerk, which he won in 1849. But a year later he resigned to go to Louisville to earn a law degree, which was almost mandatory for any successful politician during that period.

After earning his law degree, Logan returned home and entered into a partnership with his uncle, A.M. Jenkins. Logan's reputation as a brilliant orator soon established him as one of the rising lawyers of the state. He had a thorough knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence and was a quick thinker. A good example of his keen mind occurred when he was defending a man on the charge of murder.

The accused had accidentally killed a prominent citizen during a fight, and there was a strong prejudice against the man. The trial generated a lot of excitement, and the courthouse was packed. The courthouse stood in a large grass covered square upon which some sheep stood browsing. As Logan arose to make his speech for the defense, a dog got among the sheep, and one of them bolted away from the flock into the courthouse and up through the aisle to the accused, where it lay panting and trembling. Logan quickly seized the moment and compared it to the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb. Logan made an appeal to the jury that was so powerful and eloquent, that he not only got acquittal of his client, but also the praise of those who had previously believed the accused to be guilty.

During the 1850's, Logan's career rapidly progressed. He served as Prosecuting Attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit, successfully was elected as a state representative, supported Stephen Douglas for the Senate, began a law practice with W.J. Allen, and married Mary Simmerson Cunningham. They set up housekeeping in Benton, Illinois. Logan's political philosophy was developed during this period. Logan adopted the popular position of bitterly anti-abolitionist southern Illinois. He campaigned for a bill to exclude free Negroes from Illinois and favored rigid enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act.

Logan was soon recognized as one of the leading members of the state assembly and became well known throughout the State. In 1856, he was a Presidential elector on the Buchanan ticket and traveled the state on behalf of his party. Logan ended the 1850's by getting elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1858 and took his seat in the Thirty-sixth Congress.

Logan's maiden speech in Congress in defense of Stephen Douglas almost ended in a fist fight. Logan stated that he would never affiliate with the Republican Party "so long as I have a breath in my body." The press labeled him "Dirty Work" Logan because he proclaimed that he was willing to do the dirty work of returning slaves to the South. To understand Logan's positions, one must under

stand southern Illinois, the area that Logan grew up in and represented.

Southern Illinois is geographically and culturally more linked to the South than the North. The rolling hills and valleys of the area match those of Kentucky and Tennessee more than the flat farm land of northern Illinois. Even though southern Illinois was settled first, it was quickly surpassed by northern Illinois economically and population-wise. A story is even told that a large and



At the Battle of Bull Run, Congressman Logan went to view the war and stayed to fight as a private



Logan declares himself for the Union in the Marion, Illinois town square

powerful southern Illinois bank turned down a loan for a group of northern investors who wanted to develop a city along Lake Michigan. The bank felt that the project would not be successful and that the city would not amount to anything. The city turned out to be Chicago.

If Logan was to keep his congressional seat, he had to adhere to the pro-South sympathy of his district. When the talk of secession began, Logan worked for any type of compromise to prevent a war and was regarded as pro-southern. Rumors even went around that he was connected with southern Illinois secessionists and that he was secretly sending weapons to the South. But after Lincoln was elected President, Logan in a passionate speech on the "Crittenden Compromise," stated that he was for the preservation of the Union and denied the right of secession by any state. This was naturally a very turbulent and emotional period for him. He supported the Constitution and the preservation of the Union at any cost, but his home district was pro-South and many citizens, even members of his own family, were for secession.

In the summer of 1861, Logan declared himself firmly for the Union, but he blamed both Northern abolitionists and Southern secessionists for the War. Logan asked President Lincoln for a commission in the U.S. Army, and Lincoln requested that he wait until the special session of Congress on the secession crisis ended. Logan accompanied the 2nd Michigan Infantry, as a special envoy of the War Department, to the Battle of Bull Run. The civilian congressman became embroiled in the battle and fought as a private. A popular print shows Logan running on the battlefield holding a rifle in top hat and suit; showing that Logan had no fear of fighting at the spur of the moment and did not want to be just an observer. Lincoln authorized Logan to command a regiment of the Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Logan returned to a hostile southern Illinois and gave the speech of his life.

Upon hearing Logan's support for the Union and the North, the pro-South citizens of southern Illinois were inflamed. Threats of personal violence were made against Logan. He had been the pride and the idol of his people, but now they spurned and denounced him. One could easily feel the tension and hatred of the crowd when Logan returned to Marion to make a public speech for the Union. Logan bravely mounted a wagon in the city's public square and addressed the vast multitude of infuriated people. When Logan began to speak, he could not be heard above the howling mob. After a few minutes, the crowd gave way and began to listen to Logan's passionate and eloquent speech.

The crowd grew spellbound as Logan explained his position and painted a vivid picture of the inevitable consequences of treason and disunion. Logan closed his speech by saying he was going to enlist in the war "as a private, or in any capacity in which I can serve my country best in defending the old blood-stained flag over every foot of soil in the United States." As the crowd began to cheer and turn their support to Logan, a friend had scouted an old fifer and drummer and had them to play "Yankee Doodle" as he shouted, "Come on, boys! Let's go with



Civil War Period

Logan. Where he leads, we can follow!" Men who had been vehemently opposed to the war began to announce their intentions to enlist, and as the crowd marched around the square, over one hundred men pledged to serve their country.

Possibly, if it had not been for John A. Logan, southern Illinois might have tried to secede from the Union. It is hard to imagine what might have happened if any portion of Illinois lying south of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad joined the South. No one can deny the importance of Cairo, Illinois as an important base for Union armies, when they embarked for Tennessee, Mississippi and the whole Southern field. Logan should be recognized for his gallant and patriotic stand in the face of violent hostility in keeping southern Illinois and the heartland region under the Union flag.

Logan had a very successful and illustrious military career. He was later rated as one of the best civilian volunteer and non-military educated generals who served in the Civil War. Logan organized the 31st Illinois Volunteer Infantry. He was highly commended for having well-trained and disciplined troops, with less than two months of training. At the Battle for Fort Donelson, Tennessee, the Union right flank collapsed, but the 31st Illinois remained on the field and fought alone for nearly an hour. The 31st lost 303 of 606 men, and Logan suffered terrible battle wounds.

During the battle, Logan was severely shot in the left shoulder, but after having his wound packed by doctors, he managed to return to the battle field. His horse was shot from beneath him and his right foot and leg were crushed. Logan was able to remount only to have a Confederate

ball pierce his holster and explode his own pistol, which broke several ribs and caused fragments to rip through his right side. He was shot once more through the right thigh.

Journalists renamed the 31st "Logan's Dirty-First Regiment," and they became celebrities of the Northern press. Logan was originally reported dead but survived his many wounds. He received a battle field promotion to brigadier general from Grant. Logan stayed in a field hospital for three weeks and returned home to Carbondale to recover fully.

In early spring of 1862 he assumed command of the 1st Brigade Division, 17th Army Corps. Logan engaged in several small battles in northern Mississippi, and his brigade moved back to Memphis where he fell seriously ill from his war wounds. After being nursed back to health by his wife, Logan was involved in several more battles and was promoted to major general in the early summer of 1863.

At Fort Hill, in Vicksburg, Logan rode into an exploded crater to rally his men out of it after it was discovered that they could not scale the far side. His bravery was rewarded by Congress who cast a special medal of valor for Logan. It was one of only six of its kind ever awarded. Logan was appointed Military Governor of Vicksburg but was later ordered to return home to rest because of his earlier war wounds.

Logan conducted a highly successful speaking tour of the Union troops in southern Illinois, and after resting, he began an extensive speaking tour throughout the North. Logan's speeches were so effective for the Union cause that President Lincoln extended his leave. Logan returned to his command at Vicksburg and assumed command of the

"Let us have Peace."

For President,

U. S. GRANT.

For Vice-President,

SCHUYLER COLFAX

For Electors for President and Vice President,

STEPHEN A. HÜRLBUT,	JOSEPH O. GLOVER,
GUSTAVUS KOERNER,	JOHN W. BLACKBURN,
THOMAS J. HENDERSON,	SAMUEL C. PARKS,
LORENZ BRENTANO,	DAMON G. TUNNICLIFF,
JESSE S. HILDRUP,	JOHN D. STRONG,
JAMES MCCOY,	EDWARD KITCHELL,
HENRY W. DRAPER,	CHARLES F. SPRINGER,
THOMAS G. FROST,	DANIEL W. MUNN.

For Governor,

JOHN M. PALMER.

For Lieutenant Governor,

JOHN DOUGHERTY.

For Representative in Congress for the State at Large,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

For Secretary of State,

EDWARD RUMMEL.

For Auditor of Public Accounts,

CHARLES E. LIPPINCOTT.

For State Treasurer,

ERASTUS N. BATES.

For Attorney General,

WASHINGTON BUSHNELL.

For Penitentiary Commissioners,

ROBERT E. LOGAN.

ANDREW SHUMAN.

JOHN REID.

For Representative in Congress, Eleventh District,

JAMES S. MARTIN.

For Senator, Second District,

WILLIAM H. ROBINSON.

For Member of the State Board of Equalization,

HENRY STUDER.

For Representative, Tenth District,

GILBERT J. GEORGE.

For State's Attorney,

GREENBERRY WRIGHT.

For Clerk of the Circuit Court,

THEODORE L. LOCKHART.

For Sheriff,

WALTER B. MAULDING.

For Coroner,

JESSE D. ECHOLS.

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J.J. JORDAN, DESIGNER

15th Corps of the Army of the Tennessee after fellow Illinoisian Grant was chosen by Lincoln to lead all Union armies.

During the Battle of Peachtree Creek, Logan gained command of the Army of the Tennessee, when McPherson was killed. The Confederates lost about 11,000 men that day and the Army of the Tennessee around 3,500. Logan rallied the soldiers to avenge McPherson; they responded by chanting "Black Jack! Black Jack!" as they charged. "Black Jack" was a nickname of Logan's which referred to his coal black hair and moustache. Logan's conspicuous valor made him the hero of both the battle and the campaign.

Logan assumed he would keep his command, but Sherman appointed O.O. Howard, a West Pointer, as

commander. Logan said nothing and returned to the command of the 15th Corps., but his bitterness toward West Point officers continued long after the war.

Throughout the war, both parties offered Logan opportunities to run on their tickets for various political offices—including Governor of Illinois. He rejected them to remain in the army. He actively campaigned for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln and was given leave to conduct a speaking tour for the Union ticket.

Logan spent his last year in the military in a whirlwind of activity. He discussed military strategy and politics with Lincoln and Grant, was involved in the Battle of Ezra Church, the Siege of Atlanta, the Carolinas Campaign and was camped on the outskirts of Raleigh, North Carolina when word was received that Lee had surrendered. When news of Lincoln's assassination reached the Union camp, a large group of avengers with artillery formed to destroy Raleigh. Logan rode into their midst and, in front of their

cannons, proclaimed that they would have to fire through him. The crowd dispersed, and after the war, Raleigh honored Logan for saving the city.

Logan once more assumed command of the Army of the Tennessee, comprised of around 60,000 troops. He led the Army in the Grand Review Parade in Washington, D.C. After mustering out his troops at Louisville, Kentucky, Logan returned home, became a private citizen and resumed his law practice.

He was given an offer to serve as Minister to Mexico or Japan but rejected both offers. In 1866 he was nominated by the Illinois Republican State Convention for Congressman-at-large to the U.S. House. Logan realized that the Democratic Party, which he had belonged to before the war, was no longer the same party, and also recognized that if he was to be successful in politics, his chances were better in the Republican Party. He was roundly criticized by pro-southern newspapers for his turnabout, but Logan's conversion was genuine. Logan took his seat in the House and was accepted by the radical faction of the Republicans.

Logan quickly began to criticize President Johnson's Reconstruction plans and gave a series of campaign speeches in typical "bloody shirt" oratory. Before the War Department Crisis, Logan was elected National Commander (a post he would hold three times) of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), a veteran's interest group which he helped establish in 1866.



BUY THE NEW HIGH ARM
DAVIS SEWING MACHINE.
 (Over.)



JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE.

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILL.

Republican Candidates for President and Vice President, 1884.



LOTHARIO LOGAN.—HE CAN'T REACH HER WITH SUCH A LADDER AS THIS.

**BLAINE &
LOGAN.**

October 23, 1884.

Compliments of the,
**YOUNG MEN'S
REPUBLICAN
CLUB.**

When Secretary of War Stanton was fired by President Johnson, Logan and other Radical Republicans saw this as illegal and showed their support by spending the night in the War Department to ensure that Stanton was not forcibly removed from his office. Logan, who anticipated a violent crisis, secretly called the G.A.R. to arms to stand alert. He delivered a speech to the House demanding the impeachment of Johnson, and after the House voted to hold an impeachment trial, Logan was appointed to the committee that drew up formal charges.

The next three years passed very quickly for Logan. He nominated Ulysses Grant for President at the Chicago National Republican Convention in 1868, issued General Order #11 under the G.A.R. to observe the first Memorial Day (earlier in 1866 Logan had spoken at decoration ceremonies at Woodlawn Cemetery in Carbondale,

FOR PRESIDENT, G. BLAINE,
FOR VICE PRESIDENT,
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE &
GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILLINOIS.

THEY WILL WIN
AS THEY BOTH USE
Twine's Corn Cure
YOUR DRUGGIST SELLS IT
MERRELL & RYAN
ST. PAUL.



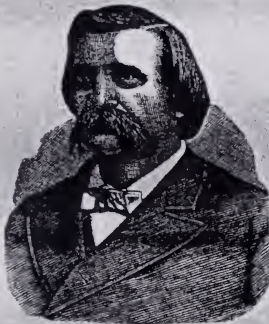
G.A.R. "Backpack" Pin
Note Bedroll on Top of Pack

Illinois, which is recognized as the first Memorial Day observance), became nationally known during the impeachment proceedings, was re-elected to Congress, and supported aid and pensions for Union veterans. Logan began the year 1871 by being elected to the U.S. Senate.

Logan allied himself with Stalwart Republican Roscoe Conkling and continued his fight for veteran benefits. The Senator used his influence to build a powerful patronage system in Illinois, and his first Senate term was considered fairly successful. He was implicated but exonerated in two scandals, the Credit Mobilier Scandal and the Whiskey Ring scandal. Logan lost his party's re-nomination to the Senate in 1877 after the Republican Party lost their majority in the state legislature. Logan was offered the Ambassadorship to Brazil, but turned it down. Using his influence in the G.A.R. and his old patronage connections,

EXTRA!

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., MAY 19, 1885.



THE JOURNAL takes great pleasure in announcing that

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN

was, at 12:40 o'clock to-day, elected United States Senator for the term of six years. Glory, Glory, Hallelujah! Every Republican member voting for him.

❁ 103. ❁

Logan was chosen over incumbent Senator Oglesby in the Republican caucus for Senate in 1879 and regained his seat.

Logan quickly built up his power and prestige, and his reputation as an excellent orator grew immensely. He was very active at the 1880 Republican Convention in promoting Grant's third term bid. Even though Grant did not win the nomination in 1880, Logan actively campaigned for Garfield and after the election, Logan was recognized as a Republican power broker. Logan used his influence to build a power base for his own presidential aspirations.

At the 1884 Republican National Convention at Chicago, Logan had his name placed in nomination for the Presidency. His candidacy was pushed by veterans and the G.A.R. But after three ballots, Logan realized the nomination was not his and announced his support for James G. Blaine. Blaine, in turn, nominated Logan for the

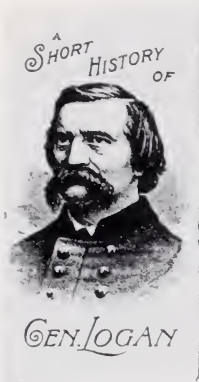
(COMPLIMENTS OF THE)

REPUBLICAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE
G.A.R.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE NATIONAL BULLETIN
OCTOBER 29th 1892
PRINTED BY THE MASS. INTELL. BUREAU

Vice-Presidential spot on the ticket. Logan's nomination was greeted by thunderous enthusiasm by the old-soldier element, which constituted a large block of voters. This was the height of Logan's political career.

Logan, to publicize his vice-presidential campaign, spent \$42,000 to commission "The Battle of Atlanta" painting. Unfortunately, the painting was not begun until after the election. Logan's dashing heroics are still on view in three-D at the Atlanta Cyclorama. The Blaine/Logan ticket was narrowly defeated by the Cleveland/Hendricks ticket in one of the dirtiest presidential campaigns held to that time. After the election, Logan was elected to a third term as Senator only after a three and one-half months' battle that included 104 ballots, because the Republicans did not have a solid majority in the Illinois General Assembly



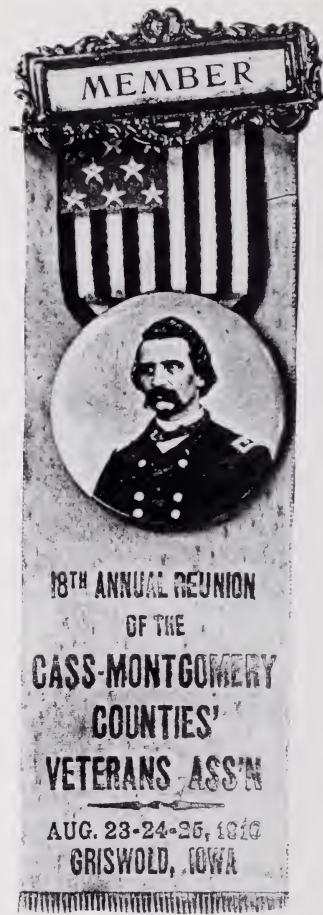
Matchsafe

Logan resumed his active Senate career and was promoted as a possible presidential candidate for 1888. He published "The Great Conspiracy" in 1886, which was his massive history of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Late in 1886 Logan suffered a serious bout with the recurring rheumatic fever caused by his old Civil War wounds. Not able to shake his illness, Logan died at his Washington home, Calumet Place, on December 26, 1886. His second book, "The Volunteer Soldier of America", was published posthumously.

John A. Logan's funeral was in the Senate chambers, and he was buried in the family mausoleum at the Soldiers and Sailors Cemetery in Washington, D.C. He was mourned nationally, and thousands viewed his body in state under the Capitol Dome. The chamber was packed with flowers, wreaths and other mementos to honor the senior Senator from Illinois. Pall-bearers included Roscoe Conkling, Simon Cameron, Robert T. Lincoln and General Sherman. Judges of the Supreme Court, members of the Cabinet, Senators and Representatives, and diplomatic representatives were present at the funeral. Eulogy resolutions were introduced into Congress by over 60 members including Cannon of Illinois, McKinley of Ohio and even members from several southern states.

Logan's fame did not die with him as the towns and counties named for him show. Fine equestrian statues were erected in Chicago and Washington in his honor. Bronze plaques from Arlington Cemetery to Denver attest his creation of Memorial Day. Yet the turmoil of the mid-twentieth century caused Logan's fame to fade. In May, 1986, the Washington Post wrote that this was "pretty shoddy treatment" for the man who founded Memorial Day.

It is best to end with the words of General O.O. Howard,



G.A.R. Reunion Badge 1910

who served with Logan in the Civil War and was later his Commander:

"He had such a striking face that, once seen, it was never forgotten. There was the straight and raven hair ... There were the broad brow, the firm round chin, and strong neck. There was the broad, well-cut mouth, always crowned by a dark, heavy moustache. But the features first seen, and never forgotten, were those black eyes with brows and lashes to match.

He was made for battle; the fiercer, the better; it seemed to suit his temper ... His personal presence was not only striking, but almost resistless. Logan had a good loyal heart; he sincerely loved his country and her institutions. He is justly enrolled as a hero and patriot."★

6,000,000 PIGLETS SQUEAL "HANK WALLACE'S RAW DEAL!" PIN, by Robert Lowe, #174.

The anti-Roosevelt pin has quite a story behind it, and quoting from the NEW FRONTIERS, by Henry A. Wallace (Published by Reynal & Hitchcock in 1934 (see pages 179-181)):

"Finally, it was decided that somehow the corn hog growers must be induced to say precisely what they wanted, and what sort of program they would be willing to push. The best we had been able to work out was a long time program to reduce 1934 corn acreage by a least ten million acres and reduce the hog numbers (by breeding fewer sows) by at least seven million head. From committees of representative Corn Belt farmers came this suggestion: During September (1933), the government slaughter five of six million little pigs, and perhaps a couple million piggy sows, in order to reduce the tonnage of pork to be marketed later in the winter. Those corn hog farmers who looked ahead any distance knew that vast numbers of hogs were destined to come to market during the winter of 1933-34 because the cheap corn of the preceding year had stimulated a great expansion in breeding operations. They forecast \$2.00 per hundred weight for hogs, and in many cases no market at all. They were willing to take a dastic step to avoid a disastrous future. It was a foregone conclusion that the public would not like the idea of slaughtering baby pigs. The most important consideration of all, to my mind, was the understanding that this program was superficial, and that it must be followed in 1934 by something much more fundamental. So in announcing the emergency slaughter program, in the course of an address August 18, 1933 at the Chicago Worlds Fair, I said we were proceeding on the assumption that this program would be followed by a program in 1934 and perhaps in 1935 involving both corn acreage and hog numbers".

There is uncertainty as to which campaign this pin was issued. I have been told that it was made as a fund raiser for the 1936 campaign, rather than one of the many which were issued in the 1940 campaign. Since this was a program instituted in 1933-34, it does seem much more likely to be a 1936 rather than a 1940 campaign item. Do any of you have additional information?



BABY RUTH AND BABY MCKEE

The 1892 campaign sheet music pictured to the right, is quite unique and this is the story of the two 'babies' who were thrust into politics at such an early age.

BABY RUTH - the only child born to a President in the White House was Ruth Cleveland, the daughter of Grover and his young bride, Francis Folsom Cleveland. The marriage had been held in the White House and both the marriage and the birth were unofficial national events. Babies have always held favor with voters and Baby Ruth was no exception.

BABY MCKEE - was the grandson of Benjamin Harrison and was named Benjamin. He was the son of J. Robert McKee and Mamie Harrison McKee, the favorite daughter of the 1892 presidential candidate. Harrison had such affection for his daughter that he allowed her to marry only if she would agree to make her home with the Harrisons. Baby Ben became an immediate favorite of his grandfather and it was said that he thought more of the grandson than of the presidency. The baby 'ruled the roost' as he was let do exactly as he pleased and sat next to his grandfather at meals and ate from his plate -- each afternoon Harrison rushed home to push the buggy around the yard with Baby Ben enjoying every minute of it. During the Republican National Convention in Chicago the baby became quite ill--he kept in constant contact and many said he seemed more concerned with the health of his grandchild than the proceedings of the convention.

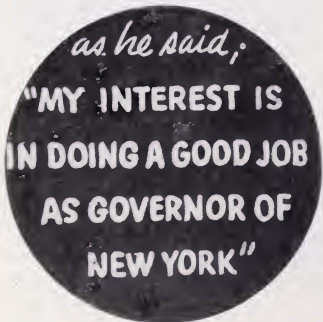
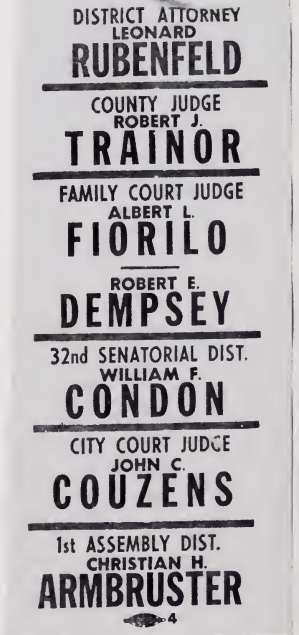
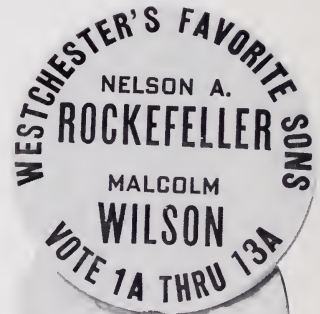
With two such children entering prominently into the lives of the candidates it is no wonder that the sheet music was made for the campaign. Baby Ruth was also depicted on other paper items, one a diaper with 'vote for my daddy', and when opened it pictured Cleveland.

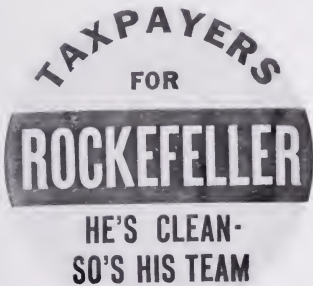
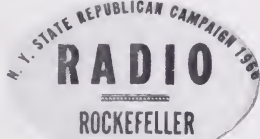


NELSON ROCKEFELLER - Continued

Occasionally, after we publish an article, other collectors submit pictures of interesting items that were unavailable to the Keynoter earlier. Stuart Rubin has

supplied these pictures to supplement the Rockefeller article in Vol. 90 No. 3.





ITEMS OF INTEREST



Patriotic Ribbon For The Spanish-American War - 1898

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