



THE KEYNOTER



“The Adams Family”

The Campaigns of 1796, 1800, 1824 and 1828

“The French Connection” · The Music of Theodore Roosevelt
Keynoter Interview with John Hagelin of the Natural Law Party

Editor's Message

Life and politics were different in the early days of the Republic. In today's political climate, it's hard to imagine people as blunt, honest and independent as John Adams or John Quincy Adams making it past the New Hampshire primary, let alone all the way to the White House. Lacking in charm, unable to be glib and utterly unwilling to avoid telling the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth -- even when unnecessary -- the Adams' were a rare breed. Their world was much smaller than ours and noteworthy for its intimacy. It is hard to imagine today two men twice battling over the presidency as did John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and yet being personal friends before and afterwards. Or consider the 1828 election when supporters of John Quincy Adams began raising the issue that Andrew Jackson had supported the conspiracy of former Vice President Aaron Burr, but they were frustrated by the news that Jackson's attorney at his conspiracy trial had been Adams' Secretary of State, Henry Clay.

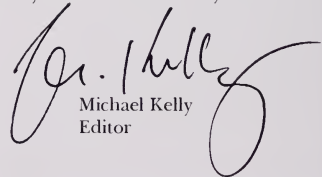
Yet there was more to the Adams' than the two presidents. Revolutionary War rable rouser Samuel Adams, and Abigail Adams (both wife and mother of presidents aside from being her own strong character) are just the beginning of the rest of this fascinating dynasty.

Some readers may consider the Adams' to be ancient history, but this issue also features an interview with the presidential nominee of the newest political party in America, the Natural Law Party. Not only does this party's 1992 vice presidential nominee boast of the fact that he is a direct Adams descendent, the presidential candidate states that this brand new party is "very much in the spirit of the Founding Fathers." The more things change, the more they stay the same.

The Keynoter has often pictured campaign sheet music but this issue tells about those items as they relate to one of our most popular presidents. "The Music of Theodore Roosevelt" is reprinted from the *Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal* and the association's executive director, Dr. John Gable, has invited any interested Keynoter readers to write to him for a free sample copy. You can contact him at the Theodore Roosevelt Association, P.O. Box 720, Oyster Bay, New York 11771.

In closing, my apologies to anyone who grabbed this issue hoping for news of Morticia, Gomez and the rest of Charles Adams' cartoon family. I wasn't able to determine if that darkly hilarious artist was related to the political Adams but, given the quirky genius running through that genetic pool, it wouldn't surprise me.

By the way, anyone wishing to correspond with The Keynoter should note my new address on the next page.



Michael Kelly
Editor



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Covers: *Front:* Engraving mounted on pewter; *Back:* Porcelain vase

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue will feature items from the local Arkansas campaigns of Bill Clinton, including his unsuccessful races for Congress as well as his successful races for state attorney general and governor.

THE ADAMS FAMILY

By Michael Kelly



John Adams

No single family has ever provided the American Republic with as rich a legacy of service and accomplishment as the Adams' of Massachusetts. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr. (himself part of no insignificant political dynasty) once wrote, "It would be difficult to find in history another case of four successive generations of intellectual distinction and highest public service equal to that shown by the Adams family." The leader of another political dynasty from Massachusetts, President John F. Kennedy, wrote "the Adams family was extraordinary not only for the continuity of its achievements but also for its diversity."

John Adams and John Quincy Adams remain the only father and son team of presidents but what is even more interesting is the manner in which each generation of Adams shared the same intellectual, temperamental and physical characteristics. Historian Stephen Hess describes them thus; "The typical Adams has been tactless, often beyond the point of rudeness; lacking in humor; introspective, sometimes morbidly so; preachy, scholarly, and moralistic; austere, cold and unsocial." Despite these characteristics, their intellectual brilliance and incorruptible integrity brought them to the pinnacles of politics and diplomacy, two areas not known to appreciate a lack of warmth and flexibility.

John Adams and his cousin, Samuel Adams, were among the handful of men described as Founding Fathers (a memorable phrase first coined, amazingly, by Warren Harding). Samuel Adams was a rabble rouser and master propagandist responsible for many of the early myths of the Revolutionary War. The Boston Tea Party was his idea and he dubbed a minor clash between British troops and a street mob as the "Boston Massacre." It is a telling personality note that while Sam Adams was rousing the country against the perpetrators of the Boston Massacre, John Adams' strict sense of justice led him to take the most unpopular role of defense attorney for the accused soldiers. His successful defense did not prevent the citizens of Massachusetts from electing John Adams to the state legislature that same year.

John Adams was the first educated man in a line of modest farmers. The Adams farm, however, bore the prophetic name of Braintree. John married Abigail Smith, the granddaughter of John Quincy, who had served as Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for fourteen years. Abigail's mother worried that her daughter had married beneath her but the marriage proved a great success. Even now the correspondence between John and Abigail makes wonderful reading as they express their passion as clearly as their strong opinions on the issues and personalities of the day.

As tension with Great Britain grew, Massachusetts elected both Sam and John Adams to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Sam found the legislative process too frustrating to stay long and, leaving the congressional battle for American independence to John, returned to Massachusetts, where he would be elected governor. Samuel Adams had no sons, but his branch of the Adams family continued through his daughters. Samuel did have a nephew and a grandson in Congress. The nephew was Joseph Allen, who voted for John Adams as a Federalist presidential elector in 1796 and was elected to Congress in 1810. The grandson was Charles Allen, who was elected a Free Soil Party Congressman in 1848 and 1850.

John Adams was no less frustrated by Congress than his cousin but stayed in Philadelphia to lead the cause of Independence. It was John Adams who proposed George Washington as commander of the American forces, thereby uniting the colonies militarily. He founded the U.S. Navy and as Chairman of the Board of War and Ordinance, built the American military from scratch. Although his personality won him no friends, he would remain the bedrock on which American independence was founded.

When Congress voted to accept the Declaration of Independence, it sent John Adams on its most critical



John Adams medallion

diplomatic mission. Adams (along with Ben Franklin and Arthur Lee of the Virginia Lee dynasty) succeeded in winning France's support for America's war with Britain. Returning to America for a mere three months, Adams used his time by being elected to the Massachusetts constitutional convention where he wrote a new constitution for his state. The structure of government created by Adams with its strong executive, two-house legislature and independent judiciary would be seen again when his new country needed a national constitution.

After his sojourn in Massachusetts, Adams headed back to Europe to negotiate a peace treaty with Britain. At first the British delayed negotiations, hoping for a battlefield victory. Franklin and other American delegates used the opportunity to enjoy the delights of France but Adams could not accept such a use of his time so he travelled to Holland where he negotiated four loans for the tottering American government, thereby saving the credit of the new nation. It was a major - and little known - diplomatic triumph.

Adams then led negotiations with Britain, coming back with a treaty far more favorable than America's military achievement really warranted. So successful was Adams that the United States named him as Ambassador to Great Britain. He would not be the last Adams to hold that position.

After his time in England, John Adams returned to the United States to serve in its first presidential administration. Adams was actively involved in the debate over what to call the chief executive. He disliked the title "president" as too demeaning for the nation's leader since there were "presidents of fire companies and clubs." If he were to be called president, Adams thought the full title should follow established European standards. His suggestion was "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of the Rights of the Same." Upon hearing this, Ben Franklin remarked that he thought Adams was "always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses."

1789 saw the nation's first presidential election. George Washington was the unanimous choice as President and he indicated that he wanted John Adams as his Vice President. Alexander Hamilton maneuvered to embarrass his Federalist Party rival, Adams (whom he dismissed as "the Duke of Braintree"). Hamilton convinced many Federalist presidential electors to cast their second electoral vote elsewhere by pointing out the con-

stitutional dilemma that if both received the same number of votes it would be unclear as to which was elected president (a problem which did occur in 1800). Hamilton did his work so well that while Washington received all 69 electoral votes, Adams was elected vice president with only 34. Others receiving votes included John Jay of New York (9 votes), Robert Harrison of Maryland (6), John Rutledge of South Carolina (6) and John Hancock of Massachusetts (4).

Adams was humiliated. He wrote to a friend, "Is not my election to this office, in the scurvy manner in which it was done, a curse rather than a blessing?" He was tempted to decline the office but later thought such an act would be "a great mischief" in forming the country's new government. The vice presidency was not a job that pleased a man with such an intense sense of service and action. He told friends, "My country has in its wisdom contrived for me the most insignificant office that was the invention of man."

It did have its occasional compensations, however. In 1794, Vice President Adams proudly reported to the Senate that President Washington was nominating a new Ambassador to the Netherlands; John Quincy Adams.

While John Adams had been in Europe, his son, John Quincy Adams, had served as his secretary and later served as secretary to the U.S. Ambassador to Russia. After working with his father, the younger Adams (who read or spoke Greek, Latin, Dutch, French and German) was one of the most capable diplomats available to serve the new Republic. His father had raised no finger to advance his son's appointment and, in fact, had actually discouraged it due to its appearance. Washington, however, pointed out that the nation could not fail to utilize one of its most able young diplomats just because of appearances. John Quincy Adams proved to be a most useful and successful ambassador. Washington wrote with prophetic insight to the elder Adams, "I shall be much mistaken if, in as short a period as can well be expected, he is not found at the head of the diplomatic corps."

Not everyone was happy about the prospect of another Adams, especially when the young Republic existed in a world of royal dynasties. During the 1796 presidential election, when John Adams contested the presidency with Thomas Jefferson, the *Philadelphia New World* newspaper would editorialize that voters should pick Jefferson as "Adams has sons who might aim to succeed their father; Jefferson, like Washington, has no sons."

But in the election of 1792, Washington was again elected unanimously with all 132 electoral votes cast that year. Once again, Alexander Hamilton worked to undermine Adams. He was aided by the Adams family sense of propriety, which prevented them from doing anything on their own behalf. Hamilton, however, used his great skill and energy against Adams with the result that Adams was re-elected Vice President with only 77 electoral votes against 50 for his fellow Federalist, New York Governor George Clinton, and

4 for non-candidate Thomas Jefferson.

Adams was the obvious successor to Washington. He had won national election twice and Washington allowed it to be known his desire was that Adams follow him. Despite Adams' unquestioned integrity and intelligence he was, nonetheless, not popular. Even in his own Federalist Party, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton was considered the party leader and Hamilton disliked Adams thoroughly. Outside the Federalists, the anti-Federalist faction (becoming known as Republicans) rallied around Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson had confided to friends, however, that he would prefer not to win. He encouraged Republicans to vote for Adams, who "has always been my senior." Nonetheless, the Republicans promoted a ticket of Jefferson for president and New York's Aaron Burr for vice president.

The Republicans attacked Adams as a secret monarchist, calling him an "advocate of hereditary power and distinction." The Federalists attacked Jefferson as an atheist and a freethinker who would imitate the worst excesses of the French Revolution. Adams' election would receive more trouble from Hamilton than from Jefferson. Certain of a Federalist victory, Hamilton influenced a few Federalist electors to withhold their votes from Adams in hopes of boosting Thomas Pinckney, the Federalist candidate for vice president, over Adams. At this time, electors still cast votes for two candidates. He with the most was elected president while he with the second most was elected vice president. Thanks to Hamilton's meddling, Adams ran first (although just barely) with 71 electoral votes. In second place with 68 electoral votes was — not Pinckney — Thomas Jefferson.

America's second president took office with an administration in which government officials were loyal not to him but to his chief rival, Hamilton, and with a vice president, Jefferson, who would become his chief political challenger. It did not portend an easy or successful term as president.

Adams' personality would not aid him in this situa-

tion. Jefferson described his old comrade thus: "He is vain, irritable, and a bad calculator of the forces and probable effect of the motives which govern men, but this is all the ill which can possibly be said of him. He is as disinterested as the being who made him; he is profound in his views and accurate in his judgement, except where knowledge of the world is necessary to form a judgement." Those who really knew Adams, said Jefferson, would love him. He was not, unfortunately, an easy man to really know.

The new republic faced many a crisis. The French Revolution (and its subsequent Reign of Terror) divided Americans into camps of horrified Federalists and admiring Republicans. When French officials demanded bribes to meet with American diplomats (the XYZ Affair), Americans were outraged and threatened war, with Hamilton leading the war faction. Knowing the country was far too weak to fight a war, the Federalist administration feared internal divisions between anti-French and pro-French factions. Its reaction was the poorly considered Alien and Sedition Acts, which attempted to suppress opposition to administration policy but resulted only in inflaming public opinion and confirming suspicions that the Federalists were secret monarchists. Jefferson wrote: "If this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted another Act of Congress declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs."

The administration split when Adams dismissed cabinet officers who took their orders from Hamilton instead of the president. The open schism between the nation's two leading Federalists destroyed the party and left it helpless in the face of the rising Republicans. The Republicans again put forward a ticket of Jefferson and Burr for the 1800 election.

The Republicans attacked Adams as a monarchist while the Federalists attacked Jefferson as an anarchist and atheist. Jeffersonians claimed that President Adams had sent General Thomas Pinckney to England to procure four attractive mistresses — two for Pinckney and two for Adams. The puritan Adams was amused by the tale and said, "if this be true, General Pinckney has kept them all for himself and cheated me out of my two!"

Hamilton openly campaigned against Adams, publishing a pamphlet entitled *The Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States* in which he declared Adams unfit for public office. Noah Webster defended Adams and stated that Hamilton's charges were "little short of insanity."

It is no surprise that the divided Federalists were defeated. It was still a close vote, showing that Adams likely would have won but for Hamilton's meddling. Adams received 65 electoral votes to Jefferson's 73. The problem of the election of 1800 was that the Republican electors had voted loyally for the Jefferson-Burr ticket and Aaron Burr also had 73 electoral votes. The tied election was thrown into the House of Representatives and resolved only when the Federalists backed Jefferson over Burr.



John Adams clothing button



**Jefferson victory banner reading
 "T. Jefferson, President of the United States of America.
 John Adams No More."**

After the election, President John Adams recalled Ambassador John Quincy Adams to save him the embarrassment of being recalled by the new Republican administration. John Adams retired to his farm at Braintree and lived another 25 years.

Long after they had both left office, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson rekindled their old friendship that had been disrupted by political rivalry. They carried on a brilliant correspondence that is a treasure trove of insight and commentary. In an almost mystical coincidence, John Adams died at the age of 91 on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. His last words were "Jefferson lives." He was wrong. Only hours before, at his home in Monticello, Thomas Jefferson had also died.

This remarkable event - the nearly simultaneous deaths of two presidents, one the author of the Declaration of Independence and the other the man who secured its passage, on the 50th anniversary of the birth of the nation they founded - struck Americans as

profoundly significant. That event inspired several jugate ribbons showing the two presidents.

Yet before his death, John Adams lived to see his son, John Quincy Adams, elected President of the United States.

Barely a year after John Quincy Adams (known to friends as Quincy) returned to the United States, the Massachusetts legislature elected him U.S. Senator. Senator Adams proved to be every bit as independent and infuriating to the Federalist Party organization as had been his father. He supported Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, thereby alienating the Federalists, and then opposed Jefferson's plan to organize the huge territory, thereby alienating the Republicans. "I have been stiled a deserter from all parties because I truly never belonged to any party," Quincy wrote later. Before his Senate term was even over, the Massachusetts legislature elected his successor. By the Adams family ethic, his only course was to resign his seat and allow his replacement to take office early.



1824 engraving of John Quincy Adams
as Secretary of State

President Thomas Jefferson was followed by President James Madison, who asked Adams to become Ambassador to Russia. The parallel with his father was to become even sharper. Just as John Adams led the delegation to negotiate the peace treaty with England after the Revolutionary War, so was John Quincy Adams named to lead the team negotiating a peace treaty with England after the War of 1812. As before, the skills of Adams won a treaty far better than America's military skills deserved. As with his father before him, Quincy was then named U.S. Ambassador to England.

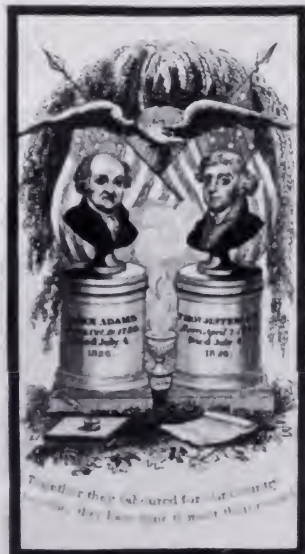
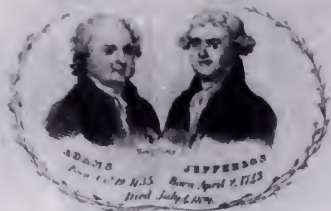
He was called back when James Monroe succeeded Madison as president. Monroe had to choose a Secretary of State and the only feasible candidates were Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. In the early days of the Republic, Secretary of State was clearly the preeminent cabinet post. But for John Adams, all of Washington's successors (Jefferson, Madison and Monroe) had been Secretary of State before becoming president.

Monroe would name Adams Secretary of State, thereby designating him as his probable successor (much as the vice presidency would become in the 20th century). Quincy proved to be one of America's best Secretaries of State, creating the "Monroe Doctrine" named for his boss. Again, it was out of respect rather than affection that the Adams were returned to power.

In the election of 1824, party organization was so feeble that no fewer than four serious candidates were in the race. Along with John Quincy Adams were William Crawford of Georgia, Speaker of the House



1824 political cartoon showing J.Q. Adams barely ahead of William Crawford with Andrew Jackson close behind. On the left side John Adams is cheering "Hurra for our son Jack!" while the man to his left is cheering "Hurra for our Jackson!"



Adams-Jefferson jugate memorial ribbons commemorating that they both died on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

Henry Clay of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Crawford had been a Senator and a cabinet officer under both Madison and Monroe. He was the leading candidate until a stroke in 1823 left him incapacitated. Despite his inability to function, he remained the choice of the congressional nominating caucus. The Kentucky legislature put forward Clay, who was endorsed by several other legislatures. Tennessee had a powerful candidate in its Senator, General Andrew Jackson ("Old Hickory"), the hero of the Battle of New Orleans. Even more than Clay, Jackson represented the frontier and the rise of the "common man". New England rallied behind Adams and South Carolina suggested Senator John Calhoun.

In the general election, no candidate could garner a majority. Jackson led with 99 electoral votes against 84 for Adams, 41 for Crawford and 37 for Clay. Interestingly, South Carolina's Calhoun became the consensus candidate for vice president. The lack of a clear majority for president meant that the names of the top three candidates (Jackson, Adams and Crawford) were forwarded to the House of Representatives, a body headed by Clay.

Clay clearly had the role of kingmaker. Crawford's health eliminated him from consideration, so the choice was between Jackson, the leader in votes, and Adams, well known to the leaders in Washington. The result was never really in question as Clay agreed with Adams on issues and saw Jackson as a strong threat to Clay's role as spokesman for the new Western states. Nonetheless, when Clay threw his support to Adams and thereby gave Adams the White House, Jackson's supporters were quick to claim that the candidate with the most popular votes had been cheated out of his just victory by a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay.

Quincy notified his aged father back in Massachusetts of his victory. The elderly patriot wrote back, "My dear Son...Never did I feel so much solemnity as upon this occasion. The multitude of thoughts, and



1826 engraving of President Adams

the intensity of feelings are too much for a mind like mine, in its ninetieth year." The old President died a year and a half into his son's term.

When President John Quincy Adams named Henry Clay Secretary of State, Jackson's supporters saw the payoff they had suspected all along. The fact that Clay had long been considered a likely Secretary of State (even earlier rivaling Adams for the post) and would have been a probable choice regardless of who won the White House meant nothing to the backers of Old Hickory. Jackson supporters were not the first losing politicians to claim "we wuz robbed" and wouldn't be the last. Jacksonians launched the campaign of 1828 immediately upon losing the campaign of 1824.

In October 1825, a full three years before the next election, the Tennessee legislature passed a resolution proposing Jackson as a candidate for president. Jackson resigned his Senate seat and returned to his mansion in Tennessee, the Hermitage, where he wrote innumerable letters to friends and allies, knitting together the political organization that would become the Democratic Party. On the surface, both Jackson and Adams were Democratic-Republicans, as the party of Thomas Jefferson was known. The party split into Jackson and Adams factions which laid the groundwork for the Democratic-Republicans becoming today's Democrats and Republicans (although the latter would



J.Q. Adams Inaugural Medal



Engraving from a ball given on January 8, 1824 by Secretary of State Adams in honor of General Andrew Jackson. Pictured (from left to right) include John Calhoun, Daniel Webster, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams.



J.Q. Adams thread box



1828 Adams campaign medallion

have to go through incarnations as National Republicans and Whigs on the way).

As with his father, President John Quincy Adams found his vice president to be a political rival. Vice President John Calhoun allied himself with Jackson, hoping to succeed Jackson in the White House. In the election of 1828, Calhoun would run on Jackson's ticket, becoming the only vice president to serve under two different presidents. Along with Calhoun, Crawford aligned himself with Jackson, while Secretary of State Clay was firmly in Adams' camp. The Jackson faction in Congress, led by New York Senator Martin Van Buren, opposed Adams at every turn. They frustrated his constructive proposals to participate in the Congress of Panama, to build roads and canals, to establish a national university and a naval academy. As the Jacksonians waged political warfare in anticipation of the next election, Adams grew ever more irritated at their willingness to let public business go undone.

In addition to Clay, Adams was supported by the Anti-Masonic Party, America's first organized third party. The Anti-Masons began when a New York Freemason named William Morgan announced he would reveal the secret rituals and activities of the Masonic lodges. The local lodge master had Morgan jailed on a minor offense whereupon a group of Masons abducted him and took him to Fort Niagara. Morgan was never seen again although a body was later found in the Niagara River. Anti-Masonic leaders claimed the body was Morgan's. New York political boss Thurlow Weed, who would later help found the Whig and Republican parties, stated that the body was "a good enough Morgan 'til after the election."

Jackson, however, was fast becoming a symbol of the new Western states as well as the common man. His supporters launched one of the first organized political campaigns. Mass rallies touted his military victories, newspapers were supplied with stories about Jackson, while a central correspondence committee was organized in Washington to collect funds, compile lists, distribute campaign material and remind voters that Adams had "usurped the presidency through a corrupt bargain with Clay." When President Adams bought a billiard table and a chess set for the White House, the Democratic publicists attacked him for bringing a "gam-

ing table and gambling furniture" into the executive mansion.

Adams' supporters were not unwilling to respond. Jackson was charged with being a murderer, adulterer, gambler, slave trader, drunkard, liar and thief. Pro-Adams publications dismissed Jackson as "wholly unqualified by education, habit and temper for the station of President." It wasn't enough to turn the popular tide as Jackson won 647,276 votes to Adams' 508,074. Interestingly, every state carried by John Adams in 1800 voted for John Quincy Adams in 1828 while every state voting for Thomas Jefferson in 1800 voted for Andrew Jackson in 1828.

Like his father before him, John Quincy Adams did not stay in Washington to attend his successor's inauguration. Unlike the elder Adams, though, Quincy reentered politics. In 1830, a group of citizens from his home district, asked Quincy to accept a seat in Congress. While unprecedented for a former president to do such a thing, John Quincy Adams accepted the congressional seat and would serve in Congress for nearly two decades. Congressman John Quincy Adams became the conscience of the Congress on the issue of slavery and fought a lonely battle to rescind the "gag rule" forbidding any member to even discuss the ques-



J.Q. Adams silhouette

tion of slavery on the floor of Congress. For nine years, Congressman John Quincy Adams continued to bring abolitionist petitions to Congress only to be shouted down, faced with censure, charged with perjury and treason and threatened with assassination. His lonely battle slowly drew allies and eventually public attention. In December 1845, Congress finally threw out the “gag rule” and gave John Quincy Adams perhaps his greatest victory.

Meanwhile, back in Massachusetts, the next generation of Adams was rising. Charles Francis Adams, Quincy’s son, had been elected to the State House of Representatives in 1840 and three years later to the state Senate. He supported his father’s anti-slavery fight



and eventually became a national leader in the abolitionist movement. On February 21, 1848, Congressman John Quincy Adams took his usual seat in the House. Suddenly he slumped to the floor and was carried to the Speaker’s office. Two days later he died, still in the Capitol building.

That same year, the next generation of Adams stepped forward to play its role on the national stage. At the national convention of the Free Soil Party, delegates selected former President Martin Van Buren (who had caused President John Quincy Adams no end of congressional trouble) as its presidential nominee with Charles Francis Adams as his running mate. The Free Soil campaign rallying cry would be “Van Buren and Free Soil; Adams and Liberty.” The Van Buren-Adams ticket won almost 300,000 votes (10% of the total) but General Zachary Taylor won the White House.

In the next decade, Charles Francis Adams used his time to compile his grandfather’s papers into *The Works of John Adams*. As anti-slavery sentiment rose, Charles Francis Adams was elected to Congress from his father’s old district in 1858 and re-elected in 1860 on a Republican ticket headed by Abraham Lincoln. In the tense months between November’s election and March’s inauguration, the nation tottered between union and secession, peace and war. It was Congressman Charles Francis Adams and Senator William Seward who led efforts to hold the federal government together long enough for Lincoln to take office.

Lincoln made Seward Secretary of State and Adams – like his father and grandfather before him – Ambassador to England. While Charles Francis Adams was in London, his son began yet another generation of Adams activism. John Quincy Adams II served as a delegate to the National Union Convention that nominated the Abraham Lincoln-Andrew Johnson ticket of 1864. J.Q. Adams II had the same fierce independence of his forefathers and refused to follow the Republican Party into its 75 years of nearly uninterrupted power. The younger Quincy switched to the Democratic Party and wound up receiving one vote for President at the 1868 Democratic National Convention. What made that one

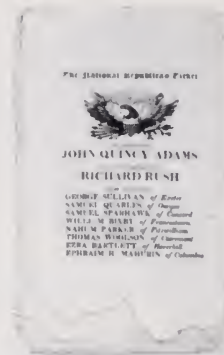


Bread mold reading “J.Q. Adams
Home Industries / Peace & Liberty”

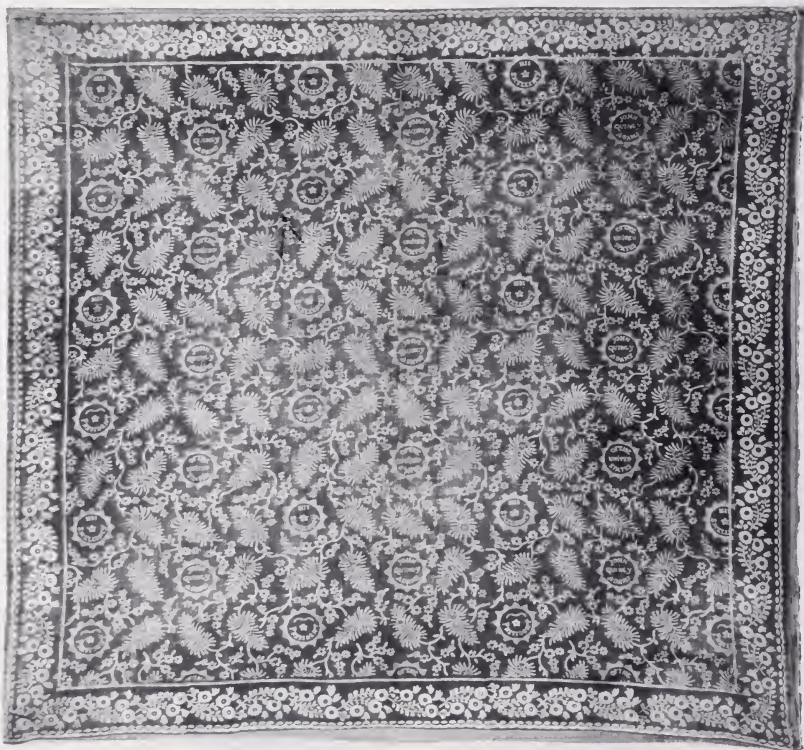
vote even more interesting was that it came from a delegate from South Carolina. Not all Adams' opposed Grant, however. Young Quincy's distant cousin, William Taylor Adams, authored an official Grant campaign biography under the pen name of Oliver Optic.

Charles Francis Adams followed his son's rebellion, although not so far as to join the hated Democrats. He became a leader of the Liberal Republican Party that arose in 1872 to challenge the corrupt Grant administration. The senior Adams was the front runner as the convention opened although, in typical Adams fashion, he did nothing to woo delegates or advance his cause. On the first ballot, Charles Francis Adams led with 203 votes to 147 for Horace Greeley but Greeley became the eventual nominee. John Quincy Adams II was a leader at the Democratic National Convention that met and endorsed the Greeley candidacy. Ever the maverick, however, the younger Adams bolted the Democratic convention over the currency issue.

A group of stalwart Democrats opposed the endorse-



Paper ballot



J.Q. Adams textile



J.Q. Adams
memorial riddons



ment of their longtime opponent, Greeley. With quiet backing from the Republicans, they formed the "Straight Out Democratic Party." The Straight Out Democrats nominated a ticket of Charles O'Connor for President and John Quincy Adams II for Vice President. Adams declined the nomination but the party went ahead with his name on their ticket anyway. The O'Connor-Adams ticket won only 30,000 votes, having no impact on Grant's re-election. It is of interest mainly because J.Q. Adams II was the fourth generation of his family to be on a national ticket.

Charles Francis Adams retired from public life and spent his remaining years editing a twelve-volume set of his father's diaries before dying in 1886. John Quincy Adams II went on to rebuild the moribund Massachusetts Democratic Party but found his greatest happiness as moderator of the Quincy town meeting. When the Democrats retook the White House in 1892, President Grover Cleveland offered him the post of

Secretary of the Navy (a fitting post for the man whose great grandfather had established the U.S. Navy and whose grandfather had tried to establish the naval academy) but he declined the job.

J.Q. Adams II had three brothers; Brooks, Henry and Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. made a name for himself in the Civil War, rising from lieutenant to brigadier general in command of a regiment of Negro cavalry. He later became president of the Union Pacific Railroad but lost control of the company to financier Jay Gould.

Henry Adams became known as one of America's great writers (perhaps his most famous work was the biographical *The Education of Henry Adams*). He would be part of a small circle of intimate friends in Washington that included President Theodore Roosevelt, Secretary of State John Hay and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr.

Brooks Adams was also a friend of Teddy Roosevelt and in 1917 was elected to the Massachusetts



Charles Francis Adams from a 1872 political cartoon in Vanity Fair

Constitutional Convention, 138 years after John Adams wrote the state's first constitution. Brooks was not the only Adams elected delegate to that convention. John Quincy Adams II's son, Charles Francis Adams, won the highest vote total of any candidate for at-large delegate elected by statewide vote (the *New York Times* noted his victory by saying, "one hates to believe that an Adams can be popular"). The younger Charles Francis Adams was twice elected mayor of Quincy as a Democrat but when state Democrats placed him on their state of presidential electors in 1920, he asked to have his name withdrawn as he was planning to vote for Harding. In 1929, he was named Secretary of the Navy by President Hoover. Hoover would later write in his memoirs about Charles Francis Adams that "had I known him better earlier, I should have made him Secretary of State."

The Adams family went on to success in business and academics but appears to be done with politics for now. Perhaps the burden of being judged by their legendary ancestors became too hard a burden to carry. Nonetheless, the Adams' of Massachusetts remain a political dynasty unmatched in the American Republic they helped to create. ★



J.Q. Adams thread box

“The French Connection”

By Donald Ackerman

America entered the Industrial Revolution in earnest following the Civil War. The art of advertising, conspicuous consumption, and disposable culture had their antecedents during this period.

Technological advances have impacted upon methods of campaigning as well as the types of items produced. The incandescent bulb no doubt precipitated the demise of the torch-light procession. Radio and TV reduced the allure of the political rally and the whistle-stop tour.

One such technological advance, the introduction of the photographic campaign badge in 1860, had two results: 1) the idea of a button one could brazenly display then dispose of after the election gained widespread acceptance and 2) utilitarian campaign items intended for long-term home and personal use began to lose favor.

While it might today seem rather tacky to serve dinner on a service of Bush & Quayle china, such would not be the case for the voter of pre-Civil War America. Before the days of street vendors and buttons by the gross, your average American put a lot of stock into usable campaign goods little of which was publicly displayed. Neither was there an imperative to “chuck” it once the election was over. The snuff box or “segar” case was concealed in the vest pocket. The pewter-rim lithograph hung on the wall next to a miniature of some familial ancestor. The Harrison straight razor might rest on the bureau next to grandma’s Adams thread box (she couldn’t even vote...what was she doing with an Adams thread box?) Political china never made it past the dinner table or corner cupboard.

Lying outside the vale of buttons and lapel devices are the many utilitarian objects just alluded to, not all of which are strictly “campaign”. Still, an item issued to celebrate a military victory or a President’s incumbency remains a valid expression of the political experience. Should we view with jaundiced eye, for instance, the Adams-Madison tea caddy in the DeWitt collection? No partisan function could be served depicting leaders of opposing parties. Since Jefferson was the main opponent to Adams in 1796 and 1800, the “bartender’s friend” angle is not valid. Do we reject a piece because it fits into no preconceived niche? Obviously, the line between political and historical becomes blurred at times, with many a fascinating item falling in-between.

One of the immediate results of the American Revolution was the opening up of trade with European countries, heretofore restricted to England. Native manufacturing had not been encouraged during the



George Washington snuff box

colonial period and American industry was at a primitive state following independence. Years of British dependency resulted in an “import” mentality and lack of pride or confidence in American goods. Foreign goods were eagerly sought during this “weaning” period which finally ended after the Civil War. The presidential and political items pictured in this article are, as nearly as can be determined, of French manufacture. The purpose of this article is to provide a general overview of such pieces.

Wasting no time after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, the French produced a Washington snuff box (with a prominent spelling error, so common to this period) lined with tortoise shell and composed of molded animal horn shavings.

No John Adams momentoes are known, but inasmuch as we were at war with France during his term of office, this “error of omission” is understandable.

France was a big producer of folding fans of various degrees of ornateness. One such fan (sold in an early Ben Corning auction for \$276) has a colored portrait of “Thomas Jefferson/President des Etats-Unis en 1801” on purple parchment paper with attached sequins and ivory struts. Later fans commemorating Polk’s inauguration and Lincoln’s assassination are likely



Textile picturing all presidents from Washington to Jackson (including both John Adams and John Quincy Adams)

French products.

During the 1820's two different calico fabrics were printed up, both with a background of clouds. The first depicted all the presidents through John Quincy Adams, the second all the presidents through Jackson. The Jackson pattern must have been a popular one, as examples surface frequently. Occasionally, full bedspreads appear composed entirely of this design.

Sulphides were very popular in Europe and were produced by a number of firms over several decades. Naturally, there was no market for political brooches of the type popularized here as there were no candidates, only monarchs.

The Crystalleries de Baccarat produced a perfume bottle and paperweight depicting John Quincy Adams, as well as an oval wall plaque for Andrew Jackson. Of likely Baccarat attribution is an intriguing "paperweight" doorknob with busts of James Monroe and William Henry Harrison, sold some years back at Sotheby's and not seen since. While apparently non-political, it would merit a place of honor in any presidential collection. It should be added that most of the European sulphide portraits were products of artistic license, usually in the area of coiffure; the sitter usually endowed with more hair than he actually had or curly, Roman-style locks, rather than his actual straight hair.

The glass works at Clichy is credited with producing two varieties of Zachary Taylor sulphide paperweights,



J.Q. Adams perfume bottle

one with plain background and one with millefiori-cane decoration. I spotted a plain variety a few years back for \$800, but turned it down because it lacked the floral decoration and was slightly off-center (celluloid button collectors aren't the only picky ones!). I was recently able to acquire a perfectly centered specimen, but at nearly double the price."

Perhaps the largest category of French produced "political items" would be Paris porcelain. This is a very high quality "true" porcelain characterized by extensive gilding. Pieces are generally unmarked and were manufactured at diverse locations in and around Paris, of which Sevres is the most widely known.

Vases depicting full color portraits of Washington and Adams show up intermittently. These post-date their term of office, but are of interest due to their fine workmanship.

The earliest period piece is the Monroe demi-tasse cup, part of a set of cups and saucers depicting military heroes of the War of 1812, and issued circa 1817-18.

Pictured here are a matching pair of vases with hand-painted portraits of Lafayette and Jackson. The handles appear to be goddesses of liberty--they have wings and wear Phrygian or "Liberty" caps. The source of Lafayette's portrait is undetermined; however, Jackson's is clearly based on John Vanderlyn's 1819 head & shoulders study portrait now displayed at City Hall, Charleston, South Carolina.

According to James G. Barber, author of the definitive work *Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study*, Vanderlyn's Jackson "was reproduced widely in engravings...it was the most prominent likeness of Jackson in Europe in the 1820's." Such engravings and lithographs served as frontispieces for biographical publications popular at the time, similar to today's



Taylor patch box



ABOVE: Monroe cup
RIGHT: Washington vase



Taylor sulphide paperweight

"People" magazine. It is doubtful if Vanderlyn received any royalties from the widespread use of his portrait, and it is interesting to speculate whether he felt pride or bitterness each time a new variation appeared.

The Vanderlyn portrait appears again on a Parisien thread box and a Paris porcelain vase in the White House collection. The White House vase is highly ornate and seems to owe its inspiration to the Gothic Revival movement. Both it and the Jackson-Lafayette pair can be dated not so much from the source of the portrait, but rather the tie-in to Lafayette and his U.S. tour of 1824-25. Jackson was touted as an American counterpart to Lafayette and the two were linked in vases, copper lustre pitchers, and Pennsylvania redware platters.

The White House owns yet another pair of Jackson-Lafayette vases which we hope to be able to picture at a future date. These are attributed to the Philadelphia firm of Tucker & Hemphill and date 1833-37. The portraits are enclosed in gilded ovals against a white ground. Jackson's pose is an older, civilian one, similar to that seen on a snuff box and ribbon of the period. Though these vases emulate French examples, they differ qualitatively and in design elements.

In a desperate ploy, Tucker sent some free samples of his work to President Jackson in March of 1830. Jackson responded by saying "It seems to be not inferior to the finest specimens of French porcelain." One senses



Jackson vase

that Jackson was being patronizing, as the government handout Tucker solicited did not materialize. Despite native attempts to produce quality porcelain, Americans still looked to France for the best.

Other examples of Paris porcelain that come to mind include: a "spill vase" for Henry Clay, a set of cups and saucers showing all the presidents through Taylor, and an oversized cup and saucer showing Lincoln and decorated with much gilding and a fleur-de-lis, all on a mauve background.

Pewter encased pocket or wall mirrors were made in France with raised portraits of Taylor and Pierce. The Pierce is quite rare, but both items are homely in the extreme.

The final category in our overview is reverse painting and glazed objects. In addition to the Jackson thread box previously mentioned, patch boxes were produced for Washington, Lafayette, Jackson, J. Q. Adams, and Taylor. Such fashion accessories are almost inherently French and are similar stylistically to the European counterparts depicting ladies dressed to the "nines." The Buchanan change purse comes in several mountings and is attributed based on comparable items showing Napoleon III. Reverse paintings of Zachary Taylor show up in various configurations, including: magnified within a paperweight, ebonized wall plaque, and mounted in an oriental motif, spring-clip letter



Lafayette vase



Jackson thread box



Buchanan change purse

holder. While each painting is styled after the same pose, they all appear to be individually hand-painted.

One can't help notice that Jackson and Taylor received more than their fair share of "play". Did this reflect French esteem for military chieftains or was it shrewd marketing, based on what would sell in the American market? If so, how come nothing was produced for Scott and so little for Harrison?

One also wonders whether the Paris vases were special orders, or produced on "spec" and stocked in U.S. emporiums or "factory outlets" of French firms. Clearly, there was a strong market in the United States for such patriotic mementoes, which a sympathetic mercantile class in France eagerly and successfully attempted to satisfy. ★



John Vanderlyn portrait of Andrew Jackson
(City Hall Collection, Charleston, SC)

The Natural Law Party

1992 Natural Law Party presidential nominee Dr. John Hagelin

Interviewed by Michael Kelly

Third parties come and go on the American scene. Some, like the Socialist Labor Party or the Prohibition Party, have survived for over a century. Others, like the New Alliance Party or the Populist Party, are new versions of old movements. All share the frustration of being ignored by the media and denied a place for their candidates on the ballot. However, 1992 saw a phenomenon; a brand new political party that appeared overnight like a rainstorm mushroom and had within months won ballot status in 32 states. If not for the late start, it may well have won ballot status in all 50 states.

This unprecedented party was founded in Fairfield, Iowa, on April 20, 1992 and called the Natural Law Party. Centered around the Maharishi International University, a college founded by the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, a teacher of Transcendental Meditation (TM) and best known as the Beatles' guru, the Natural Law Party put forth a ticket headed by Dr. John Hagelin, a Harvard-trained quantum physicist who headed the physics department at the Maharishi International University. Hagelin's running mate was Dr. Mike Tompkins, a direct descendant of presidents John Adams and John Quincy Adams.

The Natural Law Party broadcast several prime time half hour network television programs, earned matching funds and "national party" status from the Federal Election Commission, fielded over 100 state and local candidates in 25 states and generally demonstrated amazing life for an unknown entity created only seven months before the election. In November 1992 (two weeks after the election) *Keynoter* editor Michael Kelly interviewed Dr. John Hagelin and then his running mate, Dr. Mike Tompkins, by phone. The Hagelin interview is reproduced in full although, in the interest of space, the Tompkins interview is not included in this issue.

KEYNOTER: Most new parties emerge with antecedents in earlier movements such as the old socialist parties or the states rights parties, but the Natural Law Party seems to have appeared fully grown like the mythical Venus.

HAGELIN: (laughter) That's right.

KEYNOTER: Where did you come from?

HAGELIN: I really think we were born of frustration. The party was founded in April. It was started in Fairfield, Iowa, by some professional people of various kinds who were just sitting and thinking about the direction of events in the election and the candidates put forth by the main political parties. I think they, along with many other Americans, felt that it was perhaps time to take action and get involved; to try and bring some fresh change or new possibilities into the political horizon. It grew very quickly after that. Wherever there was an opportunity to speak out, the basic concept of the party attracted a very broad following. It has become, as I'm sure you know, the fastest growing political party in the country, by far. The idea was a very simple one and that's why it attracted such an escalating growth and momentum. That is, that government should be based on what works not on what is politically expedient. There are many, many good programs that have been field tested and shown to provide practical solutions to many of the problems we face as a nation. But these solutions have been overlooked or underfunded by govern-

ment for purely political reasons. So this party stood for a more scientific approach; government should be based on what works. That was very attractive.

K: Was there no advance preparation before April?

H: Absolutely not. There was a party called the Natural Law Party in the U.K. [England] which some of the people here had been observing but our platform and our direction was quite different really from the Natural Law Party in the U.K. which sprung up two or three weeks before the election there. None of us really involved with the party had much - or any - political experience. It took us a few months to learn basically how political parties function. So, if there had been advance preparation, I think many millions of American would have heard a lot more about the party well before they did, which was mainly in the last weekend before the election.

K: Why did you choose the vehicle of a political party to communicate your ideas?

H: Well, it's where I think the ideas belong. The basic idea of the party, again, is that our government (which is the government of the most creative country in the world and the sole remaining superpower) shouldn't be based on second class knowledge or out of date knowledge or no profound knowledge at all, as many would argue. It should be based on the most profound scientific knowledge and scientifically validated programs and solutions. One can promote good ideas and good solutions outside of

government. That's one thing I'm sure many members of the Natural Law Party have been doing. But ultimately, there are programs that provide better health care and better crime prevention. Ultimately these should be the province of government. So it was very natural, this approach.

K: Did you consider running as either a Democrat or Republican?

H: I didn't because I hadn't been particularly interested in political life before I was approached by the Natural Law Party, which was just about a week after it was founded. Because I believed in what the party stood for -- a more reliable scientific approach to government -- I became interested in political life for the first time at that time.

K: For how many state ballots did you finally qualify?

H: 32. We missed California because of the early ballot access deadline. We turned in a quarter of a million signatures, which would have been enough to get on the ballot. But the ballot access deadline for third party candidates was quite early. It was August 7th. For Republican or Democratic ballot access there is no deadline and there are no signatures required. So there are a couple of important states that we missed and that was just due to the date when the party was founded and the late start it got in the election.

K: How many votes were you able to determine that you received?

H: Me personally?

K: Yes.

H: Well, let's see. Of the states in which we were on the ballot (which were just under half of the electoral college) the last count I heard, which was immediately after the election, was 46,000 if I recall. Many of the states, by the way, didn't tabulate or accurately count third party voters. We're just getting counts in now from California, for example, where we were a write in candidate but had a very active campaign. I think the final numbers are almost double that.

K: Where does that place you among the other minor parties?

H: Behind [Libertarian Andre] Marrou and Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party, who had run in the previous elections, and probably around where Bo Gritz stands. He was running on the Populist Party and he had quite a lot of publicity. We have 125 candidates running locally for U.S. Senate, Congress and local offices as well. They had a far larger share of the vote in their areas than I did as a national candidate. I think there was an advantage for local candidates being locally there to meet people. I was not there locally to meet people in the various constituencies. And it wasn't really until the week before the election that people had even heard of my candidacy. That came finally through a series of television "infomercials" that we ran. In response to those infomercials we got about 100,000 phone calls and people like the Democratic campaign chairman for the state of Washington, who saw the show in the last few days, and many others, have told us that if people had only heard a little earlier or more than once, we would have had ten

or twenty times the number of votes. Our experience was, honestly, that wherever we have had a chance to present our platform, to political science classes or television shows or students or whomever, we've had almost uniform and unanimous positive response. For us, basically, the support for the party has been limited by the amount of exposure we've been able to get, which finally became very significant. But, again, that was mainly the week before the election.

K: On occasion, you debated other presidential candidates, including Howard Phillips of the U.S. Taxpayers Party and Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party, representatives of both the far-right and far-left. How did they impress you compared to the mainstream candidates like Clinton or Bush?

H: (long pause) Well...

K: I know your party has a policy of not saying negative things about other candidates. Maybe this question conflicts with that.

H: Uh, yeh. I would say that Howard Phillips was far too far to the right, the religious right, to suit my tastes. I don't think that his policies and solutions were deeply thought out or that he had a very detailed platform to offer. Lenora Fulani, I appreciate deeply her support for independent politics and opening up the democratic process. But that is mainly what she brings to the table. The Natural Law Party was totally different in that we have a very carefully researched and comprehensive platform. More extensive and more detailed than the Republican and Democratic platforms. I would say that compared to the other third party candidates, the Republicans and Democrats had more developed platforms. They had more people working on it, so I'm not surprised at that. My complaint with Republicans and Democrats and the other third parties is that, despite good intentions on all parts, they haven't really done their homework. That's what the Natural Law Party really stands for. The mission of the Natural Law Party is to collect from across the country the best ideas, programs and solutions of all political parties, including many ideas that have never had a voice in politics. To put forth a comprehensive platform that represents real, practical, humane, tested solutions to all of the problems; the economy, crime, health, drug abuse and so forth. Then to make this platform available to anyone. We gave it to Bush and to Clinton and to Perot. We said, use it! Absorb as many of these ideas as you possibly can because the main purpose of my party is not to gain political power through seats in government -- although we're certainly willing and ready to do that -- but to bring solutions to the problems of the country. Since, Bill Clinton, you may be in a better position to do this than I am, use as much of this as you possibly can. By the way, Bill Clinton among all the candidates was by far the most nimble at adopting the programs and solutions in our platform and he gave expression to many, many of these. Particularly starting during the second and last debates and continuing to the end of the election.

K: The Natural Law Party presents itself as a scientific movement and yet many traditional scientists have been hostile to the concept of the metaphysical having any practical impact. Certainly the concept of Transcendental Meditation as a practical political solution would not be well received in certain scientific circles. How is the Natural Law Party a scientific movement?

H: Well, it is. I'm a scientist. I know a great deal about the scientific method and my work has been and continues to be supported by the National Science Foundation. I have close to 100 publications to my name. I know a lot about the scientific method and I know that the Natural Law Party is and has been scientific in its approach. Our basic approach to the party is that we will conduct empirical research on any potentially promising new approaches or solutions or programs and promote those that are effective. It's literally as simple as that. There couldn't be anything more scientific than that. Among those many approaches, in addition to things like the latest in preventive medicine and sustainable agriculture, energy technologies and so forth, is Transcendental Meditation. It's a program that has been shown to be effective repeatedly in published research done initially at Harvard and then at many other places. The use of Transcendental Meditation in prisons has been shown to reduce the rate of return to prisons by 50 to 90% by people who learn and then leave the prisons. No other program used in the prisons has had any effect, at least that's been scientifically shown to have an effect on rate of return to prisons. Also, as an aspect of preventive medicine and stress management, there are some 500 papers published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* and in the leading medical journals that have shown that the use of TM has been extremely effective in reducing the incidence of disease. There's nothing particularly metaphysical about that or, in my opinion, about Transcendental Meditation. Some people may not know about Transcendental Meditation and may think it's this or that. I can't do much about that except to try and educate the American people that this program is a good one. But it stands in the Natural Law Party along side many, many other good programs. If you go to some individual, whether scientist or not, and you show him a list of programs from sustainable agriculture to prison reform to Transcendental Meditation, he may say, "Well, John, you know this one sounds good to me, this one I haven't heard of and this one sounds odd to me." You never get much consensus unless you talk to the people who really know about those programs and there you'll find there's a great deal of consensus. People who have done research on Transcendental Meditation, most of whom don't meditate themselves, unanimously come to the conclusion that this program is effective in reducing stress. Stress is a key problem both in regards to health and to crime and TM is effective in both those areas. So that's part of our platform but if you see the platform, you'll see that it's along side many other good programs.

K:



Campaign Poster

Why do you think there has been a resistance on the part of the general population or other political leaders to take up TM and other unorthodox but potentially useful programs.

H: Well, there are a variety of reasons. I can think of three political reasons why new ideas, new programs don't get adopted. A program like Transcendental Meditation may have even more reasons. First, it's just not the habit of politicians, not being doctors or not being scientists or necessarily experts of any kind, it's not the habit of our elected representatives to read the literature and to be up-to-date on the knowledge of preventive medicine and so forth. So there's an education gap or a knowledge gap there. For that reason the government has been historically slow at implementing or responding to the most up-to-date knowledge. There's some inertia built into the political process due to the fact that our politicians aren't experts at anything except being politicians. That wasn't the way the Founding Fathers designed it to work. The idea was more that people who were successful, people who were experts in their businesses or whatever, would come and serve in government for two years or four years or six years and then go home. But we've really generated a profession of career politicians who don't necessarily have that type of actual hands-on expertise. That's one problem. Another problem is special interests. Special interest groups exert enormous clout in Washington as a result of the fact that they, through PACs, contribute heavily to the re-election campaigns of our elected representatives. The effect is that programs in natural medicine or sustainable agriculture or alternative energies are very slow at even making their way out of committee let alone getting through Congress, because of the powerful interests that are reflected by some corporations. This is a well recognized problem by people in government. Congressman Jim Leach, a very respected

Republican representative from Iowa who's been in Congress for 16 years and just won his re-election campaign, is on the Banking Committee which put through the deregulation of the S&L industry and has been a witness to the events that took place there, and he basically points out in a very powerful video how the special interest forces — the S&L lobby in this case — basically rammed through Congress legislation which led to the less than responsible handling of depositor's funds and the ultimate collapse of the industry. Special interests have a very powerful effect in Congress. Elected representatives are really more beholden to the special interests than they are to the people because individual citizens don't contribute to that extent to the re-election campaigns of these people. That's a major problem when it comes to something really new like Transcendental Meditation in the prisons; although, in my opinion, that's hardly new anymore. That's been used in prisons for 35 years and other countries have been using it nationally with extraordinary results. But something that may be novel will rarely make its way through Congress in this country because of the bipartisan spirit; this war on Capitol Hill between Republicans and Democrats, which, if you spent much time on Capitol Hill talking to congressmen, is, indeed, a war literally, where a principle focus of our elected representatives is looking for opportunities to deride their opponents and identify vulnerabilities they can exploit publicly. If that is the case then, even though maybe 20, 30, 40% of the people in Congress practice Transcendental Meditation, no one will talk about it publicly.

K: In your platform, you make numerous proposals — from guaranteeing college education to all qualified students to seeing that primary care parents need not seek employment — that would seem to cost money. Yet you promise to reduce taxes and pay for everything by reducing government waste. Aren't these more or less the same promises that

politicians have been making for years?

H: Not really. We can save maybe \$140 to \$180 billion through reducing government waste but we've got to save a lot more than that. We've got a \$400 billion deficit and rising. Where we're really hoping to gain money is not only eliminating government waste by implementing the Grace Commission recommendations but we can cut \$108 billion per year out of Medicaid and Medicare while offering stronger Medicaid and Medicare programs through more up-to-date medical knowledge and programs. Especially through preventative medicine where simple preventive measures can cut health care utilization by 50 to 70%...It's not just through eliminating waste, it's through application of more up-to-date and effective knowledge and programs. This can save \$700 billion per year on the federal government level. So it's on the basis of that we can provide loan money to people to go to college, which is absolutely tiny in comparison to what we're talking about here. The primary care parent matter is a long term goal of the party. That sort of thing will be easier when the economy rebounds, which it would under a Natural Law administration because if you can cut taxes significantly and responsibly (responsibility means without cutting essential services or adding to the budget deficit) through more effective programs from crime prevention to health care, you can put the economy into such a growth phase that it will be easy to see that primary care parents wouldn't be forced to work. Certainly everyone is free to work but wouldn't feel they had to work for financial reasons.

K: It's interesting that in listening to you talk, you seem not so much some far-out, fringe political group as one with almost a classical Hamiltonian concept of government; government by the best educated and by the disinterested.

H: It is very much in that spirit, very much in the spirit of the Founding Fathers, who also spoke about natural law in a way which is not dissimilar to the way which we're talking about it. We know a lot more about the laws of nature and the laws of physics and chemistry, health, environment and economics today than they knew. But the idea was basically that if people are educated about natural law and take advantage of natural law in government and in their daily lives and act in greater harmony with natural law (the laws upholding their health, the environment and so forth), there will be fewer problems. Government can be more efficient and effective. The Libertarians are also for more efficient government but they base their means of implementing it as just cutting government programs to the bone. Although there is a certain rationality in what they say — on a purely rational level I would agree with about 70% of what they say — I think they take it much too far and I think their message lacks compassion. The Natural Law Party can save \$1.2 trillion per year (maybe by the fourth and fifth years of an administration), not through cutting programs, not through providing less health care but through providing better health and by provid-

NATURAL LAW PARTY
PLATFORM

Proven Solutions to America's Problems

"A revolution in the intellectual as opposed to the new knowledge-technology that can rise above the political system that has made us the way of progress subsists in the nation's problems."

Whether you are
Republican, Democrat,
or Independent—the
Natural Law Party is
the intelligent choice
for America's future.

"The Natural Law Party contains the best ideas and the best values of all political parties to have a truly national government. It offers new knowledge, new programs, and new intelligently selected programs to raise the status above the reach of problems and bring a higher quality of life to every American."

—Dr. John Hagelin

Bringing the Light of Science into Politics

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Campaign platform

ing a revitalized economy and lower crime. Not even necessarily cut entitlement benefits to people who are in need but to just reduce the number of people in need.

K: What does the future hold for the Natural Law Party?

H: A great deal, I think. The amazing thing to me is that I've been impressed time and time again by the party and the type of people that it draws. If you were to look today for the campaign headquarters of the Democratic and Republican parties in different localities, they're closed. They closed on November 4th. The Natural Law Party's offices are all still open and thriving. The basic rationale for continuing an active period of party building and so forth is that, whereas the main political parties came into the election looking for political power through gaining seats in government, the mission of the Natural Law Party has always been to bring solutions to the nation's problems. Since that obviously wasn't achieved on November 3rd (and wouldn't have been no matter who was elected) the main role of the party is continuing. Right now, what people are doing is that the different candidates and different volunteers in the different areas across the country are working closely with their elected representatives. They made a lot of great friends because they didn't partake in negative campaigning. They were always very helpful and supportive. So they made good friends with the people who have been elected. They're just working with those people to bring good solutions in their different areas. There's also already a ballot initiative in California under way to put us permanently on the ballot there. We'll be on the ballot in all 50 states within the next two years, before the next congressional elections. We're building coalitions with other third party candidates, Perot people, groups like the Sierra Club and so forth. There's a lot of outreach taking place because for us, this whole process of growing a big political party has been extremely easy. It takes time. It takes time to get the exposure. It takes time to acquaint people with our platform. There's never been any resistance. Speaking to a college luncheon rally at the University of Colorado with 3,000 students, there wasn't one voice of dissent. The message we bring has universal appeal. The television shows we did in the final days of the election brought 100,000 phone calls, which for any political program of that kind (like the Perot infomercials and that sort of thing) was the highest response of any political program in the network's history. All these people obviously didn't vote for us. I think it was too little, too late as far as many voters were concerned. Still the receptivity to our knowledge is so universal that I honestly think that if, without much effort, we simply continue and make the platform available, we will be a major — and I think the major — political party within two to four years. I believe the Republican and Democratic parties are destined to become fringe parties. ★

1992 APIC FINANCIAL REPORT

Opening Balances: January 1, 1992

Checking Account	\$	698.90	
Money Market		5,894.21	
National Convention Acct		2,300.67	
	\$	8,893.78	\$ 8,893.78

1992 Income:

1st Class Postage	\$	2,285.00	
1992 Family Dues		526.00	
1992 Regular Dues		63,437.82	
1992 Youth Dues		578.50	
1993 Prepaid Dues		20,786.00	
Donations to Growth Fund		8,500.00	
Interest		1,176.61	
Mailing Labels		1,092.98	
Miscellaneous		8.12	
1991 National Convention		9,976.79	
Mailing Supply Service		1,751.25	
	\$110,119.07		110,119.07
			<u>\$119,012.85</u>

Expenditures:

Computer	\$	2,949.67	
Mailing		3,764.67	
Storage		324.28	
Binders		2,258.48	
Binder Boxes		473.28	
Gas Mileage		1,138.00	
Mailing Supply Service		450.00	
Newsletter Editor Expenses		1,207.39	
Newsletter		10,435.40	
Office		860.64	
Postage		8,166.06	
Printing		24,085.75	
Secretary's Compensation		10,812.00	
Telephone		750.11	
	\$	67,675.97	\$ 67,675.97

December 31, 1992 Balances:

Checking	\$	23,939.73	
Money Market		6,141.61	
Convention Fund		12,612.04	
Growth Fund		8,643.50	
	\$	51,336.88	\$ 51,336.88
			<u>\$119,012.85</u>

Respectfully Submitted,

Joseph D. Hayes
Secretary/Treasurer

Smithsonian Intern Fund
Government Bonds
Money Market Account

\$31,703.10
6,183.82
\$37,886.92

The Music of Theodore Roosevelt

By Stephen Vincent Walker

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article originally appeared in the Theodore Roosevelt Association Journal and is reprinted here by permission of the Theodore Roosevelt Association (TRA). The TRA is dedicated to preserving the memory and spirit of Theodore Roosevelt and will be happy to send any interested APIC member a sample of its journal. Contact John A. Gable, Theodore Roosevelt Association, P.O. Box 720, Oyster Bay, NY 11771 and mention that you saw the offer in The Keynoter.

The music of Theodore Roosevelt's voice has been ever alive in the ideals he lived by, and the catch-phrases he so eloquently injected into the American spirit. High-pitched and rough-hewn, TR's was not a "musical" voice, but it never lacked gusto in hymn singing or patriotic airs. He proudly sang all of the verses of the "Star Spangled Banner," and was constantly heard humming favorite tunes on the campaign trail by his companions. Although President Roosevelt never mastered the science of music, as did an earlier predecessor from Virginia, his Jeffersonian love for a wide range of interests made him a perfect subject for musical compositions.

Thus it has recently come to light that over two hundred musical compositions have been written about TR and his family. A knowledgeable collector of presidential music estimates that TR is third or fourth out of all American presidents in the amount of music composed for him. Types of "Teddy-inspired" music include the march and two-step, waltz, rag, humn, humoresque, vaudeville ditty, and the descriptive piece, as well as, of course, the campaign song, the topical song, and the memorial tribute.

Perhaps the best place to begin is with the music of John Philip Sousa. Though Sousa formally dedicated only on musical composition to Theodore Roosevelt (and son Quentin), "The Golden Star," a memorial march written in 1919, there was mutual admiration between these two famous personalities, and Sousa's music often harmonized with Roosevelt's life and ideals.

In 1899 Sousa composed a march in honor of American soldiers such as Roosevelt's Rough Riders, entitled "The Man Behind the Gun." Ten years later, Sousa honored the return of the "Great White Fleet," which President Roosevelt had sent off two years previously on its world cruise, with a march, "The Glory of the Yankee Navy." In 1915, Sousa composed a march for the Panama-Pacific Exposition, in honor of the canal



Theodore Roosevelt (center), Harry Walker, J. D. Miller, Lorenz
 This thirty-minute score was composed in honor of TR and the Rough Riders, including the parts for the well-known regiment O.R. Farrar.

which TR helped so much to build, entitled "The Pathfinder of Panama."

At Roosevelt's death in 1919, Sousa wrote the aforementioned memorial, "The Golden Star," but this did not see the end of TR in Sousa's music. Six years later, he composed a three movement suite entitled "Cubaland, Under Three Flags," of which the central movement, "Under the American Flag," is a potpourri of American tunes climaxing with TR's Rough Riders theme, "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." That revivalist folk tune traveled the length and breadth of the U.S. along TR's campaign trail, and found a home twenty years later in a thoroughly charming Sousa suite.

Roosevelt and his Rough Riders enthralled not only Sousa, but scores of unknown and would-be Sousas, for in that first year of Roosevelt's fame, 1898, over thirty marches were composed in his honor. There were five "Charge of the Rough Riders," three "Roosevelt's Rough Riders," and thirteen just plain "Rough Riders," among many others. Most of the composers are unknown today, except for O.R. Farrar ("Col. Roosevelt's March"), L.P. Laurendeau ("Col. Roosevelt's Rough Riders"), and Russell Alexander, who wrote a galop ("The Storming of El Chancy") in 1903.



The next group of Roosevelt pieces are the campaign songs of 1900, in which Roosevelt ran for Vice-President on the McKinley ticket. Unlike the overwhelmingly instrumental compositions of 1898, there was an even mix of vocal and instrumental tunes for the campaign. Examples of tunes from this period include the "McKinley and Roosevelt March" and a catchy song entitled "Mack and Teddy."

When TR assumed the presidency in 1901, through the tragic assassination of William McKinley, it soon became apparent that he would be more than just a caretaker for the duration of McKinley's term. His determination to lead the country is born out in an impressive list of titles composed for an unelected president. Such titles include "Young Joshua," "Man of the Moment," "We'll Stand By Our President," "Teddy Will Carry It Through," and "The Strenuous Life." More than one composition used "The Strenuous Life" for a title, but the most famous, of course, is the rag by Scott Joplin. Author Warren Forma claimed that Joplin gave the nod to Roosevelt for his White House reception of Booker T. Washington.

In the same year as Joplin's "Strenuous Life," music flourished in Teddy's hometown of Oyster Bay, Long Island. Since 1898 the Oyster Bay Band had been serenading its favorite native son whenever there was an opportunity, and in 1902 at least two or three locals tried their hand at composing music in honor of the Roosevelts. In late 1901, a local Oyster Bay music store owner, L.F. Groebl, composed four selections which were published at the turn of the new year. All four pieces ("Oyster Bay March," "Sagamore Hill Waltzes," "Dancing Wave Polka," and "Merry Students Galop") were "Respectfully dedicated by permission to Miss Alice Roosevelt." The Oyster Bay Guardian announced that "Groebl Bros. will inaugurate the new year by issuing the first music published in Oyster Bay . . . The dedication is to Miss Alice Roosevelt, eldest daughter of

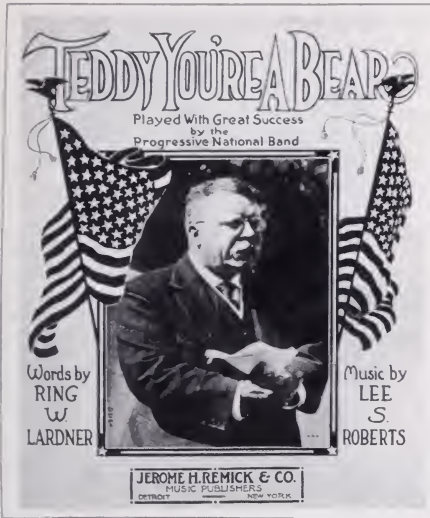
our president, and is to be performed at the White House at her debut, Jan. 3."

Also in 1902, J.H. Petermann and Josephine Goodale composed a "new national hymn" entitled "God Save Our President." From the rhythm of the three-quarter time, which closely mirrors "America" ("God Save the Queen"), but with a differently pitched melody, it is quite apparent that the composers thought our country should have a patriotic air which was not the national anthem of England, and were trying to supplant the singing of "America" with their new creation. The irony of all this is that when the song was introduced to President Roosevelt on June 27, 1903, by the Cove School children on the steps of the Oyster Bay Town Hall, it was reported in the New York Times that "At the conclusion of the singing, the President cried out to the children, 'I congratulate you, by George!', and laughed with the rest at the idea that 'God Save the President' might inadvertently have, with its suggestion of the British national anthem, tempted him into the English expression."

By the end of that presidential term, TR had firmly established his popularity, so that a large spate of new campaign songs appeared for Teddy's first bid for the presidency in his own right, in 1904. Songs included "We're Satisfied With Teddy," "You're All Right Teddy," and "We Want Teddy Four Years More," among others. Marches included "Roosevelt and Fairbanks," "Our Next President," and one based on the famous Homer Davenport cartoon, "He's Good Enough For Me," with Uncle Sam (paraphrased musically by "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean" and "Yankee Doodle") at Teddy's shoulder. This song and cartoon certainly counter-balanced one of the first knocks Teddy took in song, during this campaign, "Good Bye Teddy! You Must March! March! March!"

Also in 1904, an interesting waltz showed up in connection with the St. Louis Exposition of that year.





Though not as durable as “Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis,” or as popular as the ice cream cone, which had its introduction at that fair, “Roosevelt’s Day at the Fair” retains enough flavor of the time to warrant tasting. The refrain sets up Teddy’s charisma in a roundabout way, by voicing amazement at something rarely seen: the people being led away from the president, by a band parading through the fair.

After TR’s successful election in 1904, interest in writing about him did not abate, but actually grew. In the first year of his second term, 1905, his facilitation of peace between Russia and Japan won him the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize, and a spate of musical tributes, including two “Peacemaker”s, two “Treaty of Portsmouth”s (one by Scouten, still played today), and “Roosevelt, the Peace Victor,” among others. Also in 1905, Burt G. Wilder wrote an “international hymn” entitled “Fiat Justitia,” in honor of Theodore Roosevelt, “Promoter of Peace, and Upholder of the Square Deal.” It was reprinted in 1911, for the First Universal Races Congress in London.

In 1906, the great operatic composer of I Pagliacci, Ruggiero Leoncavallo respectfully dedicated a new march, “Viva L’America,” to President Roosevelt. In 1907, America’s second most famous bandmaster after Sousa, Arthur Pryor (who started out as trombone soloist in Sousa’s Band) composed “The Triumph of Old Glory (Our President’s March).” That year, 1907, also saw the composition of a characteristic novelty which has survived in popularity to the present day. The “Teddy Bears’ Picnic” cashed in on the popularity of the newly created Teddy Bear. The drum part is subtitled “Wald Teufel” (literally “forest devil”) and has instructions to imitate a bear growling. “Teddy Bears Picnic” was originally an instrumental novelty piece. Only some thirty years later were words added by

Jimmy Kennedy. Perhaps the most curious aspect of its composition is that John W. Bratton, the composer, was none other than the composer of the 1904 Democratic campaign tune, “Good Bye Teddy! You Must March! March! March!” Perhaps a bit of fun was being poked at TR out in the woods that night. After Teddy left office in 1909, the forest, and more specifically, the jungle, provided composers with yet another reason to celebrate TR in song. His African trip of 1909-10 spawned another Arthur Pryor piece, “Teddy After Africa,” which humorously depicts elephants and all shuddering in fear from the tops of trees, as well as titles such as “African Hunter (A Characteristic Jungle Symphonie),” and “Moving Day in Jungle Town,” among others. A great satire on life and politics back home was authored by Meyer and Leavitt entitled “I’d Rather Be With Teddy in the Jungle.”

TR’s return was anticipated and then welcomed by a new batch of songs such as “Teddy Come Back,” “When Rough and Ready Teddy Dashes Home,” and three different versions of “When Teddy Comes Marching Home.” Marches included “Our Teddy’s Homecoming March” and “Roosevelt’s Grand Triumphal March.” The latter’s frontispiece proved just how topical and newsy sheet music could be in that era. Instead of a simple dedication to TR, it proclaimed the following: “Played the first time on Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt’s arrival in New York, by a band of 64 musicians on Fifth Avenue, June 18th, 1910.” In the following year, famed Czech composer Julius Fucik, composer of the world’s most famous circus march, “Entry of the Gladiators,” celebrated TR’s paternal strut in a “march pittoresque” entitled “Uncle Teddy.”

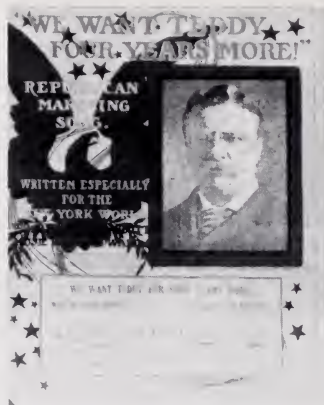
In 1912, a new animal reared its head, and came to see its face on several sheet music covers. TR’s third party candidacy provided the inspiration for such gems as “March of the Moose,” “Teddy’s Moose,” and at least





two different "Bull Moose March"s. The comeback campaign also saw such titles as "He's Coming Back," "We're Ready For Teddy Again," "Teddy the Tried and True," and "Teddy's For the People," as well as a score of others.

That close campaign of 1912, the only presidential election in which a third party candidate came in second (Wilson had 42%, Roosevelt had 27%, and Taft had 23%), inspired an interesting creation of America's most famous musical individualist, Charles Ives. Ives had written a Republican campaign song in 1896 for McKinley, entitled "William Will," but in 1912 he couldn't make up his mind between "three nice men." So he composed an artsong entitled, "Vote For Names," in which his suggestion was to "walk right in and grab a ballot with eyes shut and walk right out again."



After the defeat in 1912, Roosevelt still inspired at least six more pieces, before his death in 1919. In 1914, the Boston Music Co. published a tune about the joys of returning home "Down in Oyster Bay," where "I'll be on deck and I'll be ready to shake hands with Uncle Teddy." Another "coming home" song was written in the same year, in reference to Teddy's South American trip, entitled "I'm Coming Home." The song hinted that TR would be back "to lead the van."

Indeed, TR did make one more presidential attempt in 1916. Though Roosevelt failed to win the nomination, a legacy of that campaign is one of the catchiest "Teddy-tunes" ever written, penned by the immortal Ring Lardner, with music composed by Lee S. Roberts, entitled, "Teddy You're a Bear."

In 1917, less than two years before his death, TR was still being composed about in music. His attempt to



volunteer to organize and lead an army brigade in World War I inspired C. Bayha to compose "If We Had a Million More Like Teddy (The War Would Be Over To-day)," and H. Wakefield Smith to compose "We'll Follow Teddy."

The tributes upon the death of Theodore Roosevelt in 1919 were, of course, as voluminous as those during his lifetime. Examples of such sentiment were "Good Bye Teddy Roosevelt (You Were A Real American)," "As Teddy Went Over the Top," and "Friend of the World." The great bandmaster Edwin Franko Goldman wrote a "Sagamore March" in 1920. His connection with the Roosevelts went back to April of 1913, when Naham Franko's orchestra (his mother's brother) played a program of music inside Oyster Bay's Christ Church, for the wedding of TR's younger daughter, Ethel, and Dr. Richard Derby. Outside the church, the new bride and groom were treated to a surprise serenade by the Oyster Bay Band (arranged personally by father Theodore) which played, according to Hermann Hagedorn, "My Sweetheart" for the bride and "Pride of America" march for her father. The latter happens to have been written by none other than the fledgling composer, Edwin Franko Goldman, and the Oyster Bay Band was perhaps saluting his family as well.

In the decade following TR's death, at least two pieces were composed in conjunction with silent films. In 1919, Snyder and McKenna composed "Teddy," "A song version of the famous motion picture of the same name, dedicated to the memory of the Fighting Father of 'The Fighting Roosevelts.'" And in 1927, Hugo Riesenfeld composed a "Rough Riders" march for Paramount's film of the same name. Interestingly, as early as 1903, a "Teddy" march had been written into an opera by Charles Kunkel entitled Roy Bean.

The "Western cowboy" was another side of the multifaceted TR which became celebrated in song. A few songs in this genre have come to light so far, "Our President Roosevelt's Colorado Hunt" (1908), and "North Dakota, Teddy Roosevelt's West" (1925).

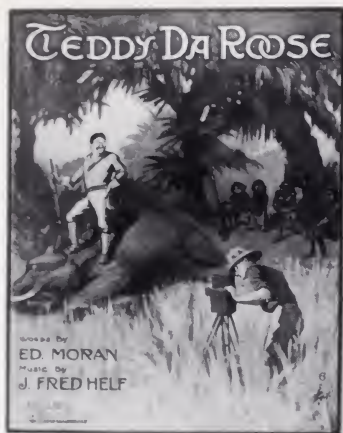
The great blues composer, W.C. Handy, who had published his first composition, "The Memphis Blues," in the year of the Bull Moose, had evidently been impressed by Theodore Roosevelt. For late in his career he penned a tribute that honored both TR and Harry Truman, entitled, "The Big Stick Blues-March" (1951).

In 1953, Oyster Bay Schools' music director, Donald Luckenbill, honored the dedication of TR's home, Sagamore Hill, as a public historic site with a stirring and tuneful composition entitled, "Sagamore Hill March." The march has been performed by the Goldman Band, and also by the bands of famed conductor William Revell.

In 1983, another Oyster Bay music teacher, Dr. Steven Porter, composed a choral setting of TR's "The Man in the Arena," which was performed at the dedication of a community-built playground at the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Park.

In 1986, another Oyster Bayite, Lorraine Whittlesey, composed an anthem, entitled, "We Lead the Way," also based on TR's writings, for the





commissioning of the U.S.S. Theodore Roosevelt (CVN-71) aircraft carrier. Eighty years prior, during TR's presidency, another ship which carried his name was also celebrated in song. In 1906, Hale Vandercook composed an "S.S. Theodore Roosevelt" march for a pleasure craft which sailed the Great Lakes region.

No history of "Teddy-music" would be complete without a mention of all the music his family inspired. The largest output was written about his eldest daughter, Alice. A good sampling of "Alice" titles would include "Alice Roosevelt Waltzes," "Alice the Bride of the White House," "Daughter of the Nation," "Nick and Alice," and, the most popular of all, "Alice Blue Gown."

Quentin, as mentioned previously, was honored by John Philip Sousa, in the memorial, "The Golden Star," after his tragic death as a World War I pilot shot down over France. A 1919 song entitled, "Friends," by Johnson, Meyer, and Santly, paid tribute to the father-son bond in these words: "Way up in Heaven...His flying boy met his dear old Dad...Good bye old Rough and Ready...you're the best friend we've ever had."

Brother Kermit, who went with his father on his 1909-10 African hunting trip, made the songsheets in a totally different fashion. For Kermit and TR were buffooned in Ziegfeld's Follies of 1909 at the "Jardin De Paris" atop the New York Theatre." Nora Bayes and Jack Norworth (the latter co-authored "Take Me Out To The Ball Game") lampooned the pair with "If It Were Not For Dear Old Father."

Lastly, brother Theodore, Jr., who lived to serve and give his life also for his country, during World War II, was honored in his own right as early as 1923, with the "Teddy Junior March," composed by Sol Wolerstein.

One of the family's favorite holiday songs should be mentioned here, even though it has no dedication or reference to the Roosevelts. The Oyster Bay Historical Society states that "President Theodore Roosevelt declared 'Christmas On the Sea' (by George F. Root)



one of his favorite carols and he and his family often sang it on Christmas at Christ Church in Oyster Bay."

Other hymns mentioned as favorites of TR include "How Firm a Foundation," "Ein Feste Burg," "Nearer My God To Thee," and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Of folk songs, "Garry Owen" was a particular favorite, and lastly, "Dixie," presumably out of influence by his mother's southern lineage.

In taking note of Broadway's most recent musical season, we come full circle in his survey, as the music of John Philip Sousa again has become entwined with the life of TR, in the new musical, Teddy and Alice. The show has newly composed lyrics by Hall Hackady, which are set to the melodies of John Philip Sousa, Thus even in our own time we can hear Theodore Roosevelt speaking softly, but carrying a big tune. ★

PROGRESSIVE BATTLE HYMNS



"Far there in another East our West,
Borden our Brand our Birth,
When our Brains were mental here in Fate,
Though they come from the side of the North."



Roosevelt March



Respectfully Dedicated to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt

By the Composer

ADOLPH EDGREN

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