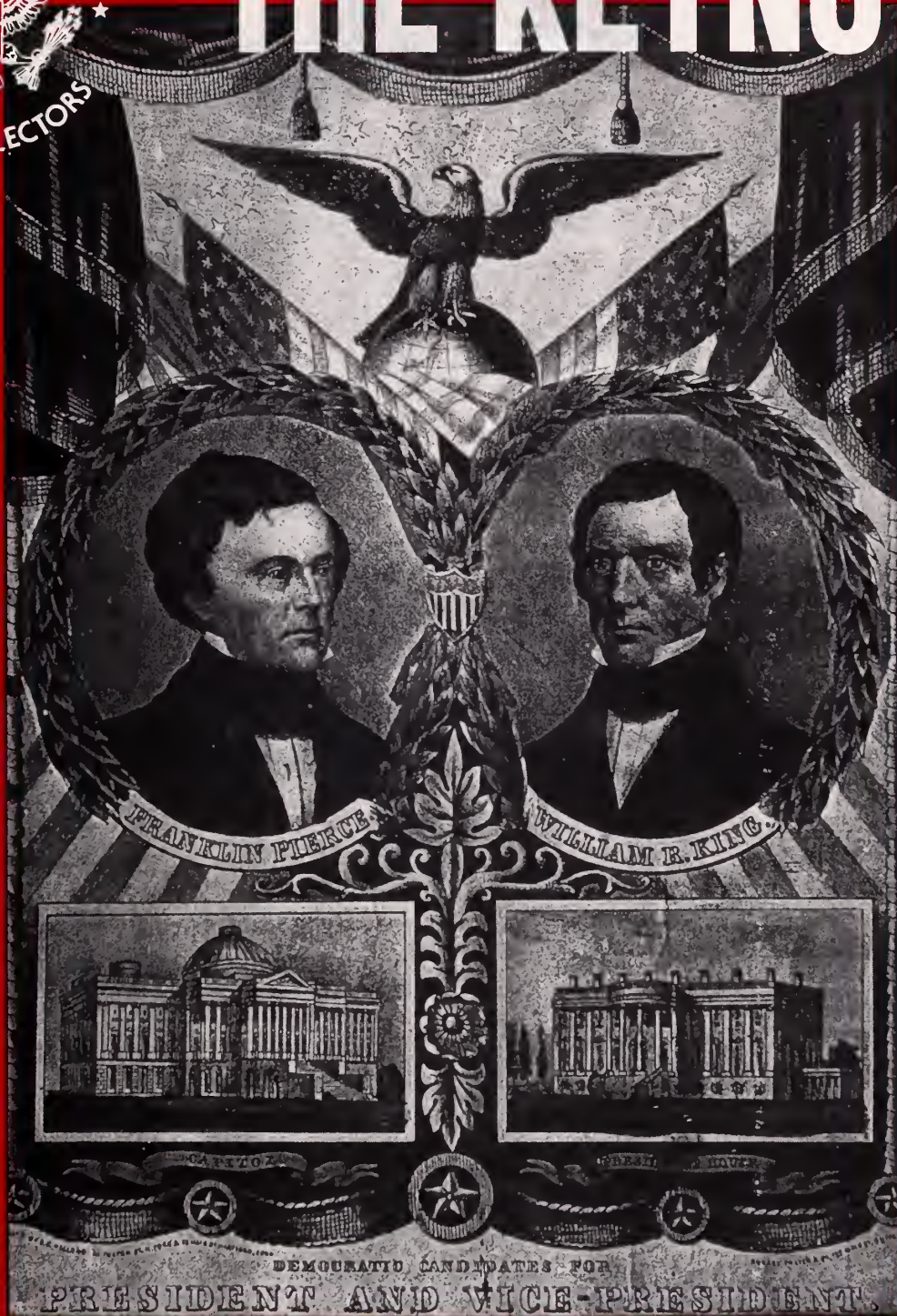




# THE KEYNOTER



**Franklin Pierce**

**“Young Hickory of the Granite Hills”**

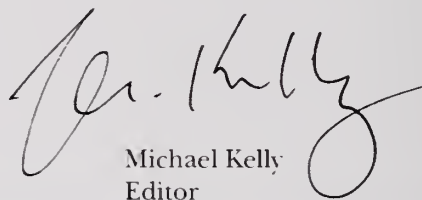
**Thomas Jefferson - Andrew Jackson - John Kennedy**

## Editor's Message

The APIC is blessed with a variety of specialty chapters. Emphasizing specific candidates or topics, these chapters inform collectors, identify material and often publish excellent newsletters. This issue of the Keynoter includes several articles that first appeared in the Democratic specialty chapter's newsletter, Democratic Spirit, edited by Dr. Doug Kelley. If you're interested in minor parties, labor or cause items, local candidates or any one of a half dozen presidents from TR to FDR and beyond, you might want to check out the list of specialty chapters in the back of your APIC roster.

This issue compares Thomas Jefferson with Andrew Jackson, Old Hickory with Young Hickory, one young New England Democrat with another. It includes the story of one young collector's first button and even some booze bottles. There are a couple of items even the most advanced collectors may not have seen and a lot of things to interest the newer collector. Special thanks for assistance to Robert Fratkin, and Dr. James Measell.

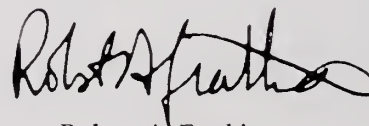
While preparing this issue I was again impressed by the wonderful resources provided the hobby by the various books published by collectors of political Americana. Ted Hake's series has become the basic encyclopedia while the works of Edmund Sullivan and Roger Fischer tell the stories behind the items. A score of books – ranging from the elegance of Running for President to the simplicity of Edward Stahl's compilation of Willkie buttons – have laid a reference foundation of increasing value and importance to scholars and collectors alike. It is the hope of the editor that The Keynoter also makes a contribution to this work.



Michael Kelly  
Editor

## Special Reminder For Campaign '96

1996 is a presidential election year. It is never too soon to remind you that caution is the better part of valor in being a current campaign items collector. Too many times in the past we have seen this month's "rare" item become next month's "no bid" item because a bag full of the same thing became available. There is no faster way to to destroy a new collector's enthusiasm for the hobby than to overpay for new items. Do you really believe in that in the long run a brand new 1996 Clinton or Dole item will still be worth \$50 when an attractive Roosevelt or Parker item from 1904 is only \$35? Sure, it may seem rare today, but is it going to stand the test of time? Yes, there are a very few McGovern and Carter items that will still bring \$50 today, but most of those buttons that were going for \$50 in 1973 and 1977 are available for less than \$10 today. Think it over.



Robert A. Fratkin  
Contributing Editor

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

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**Illustrations:** The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Lon Ellis, David Frent, Chick Harris Chris Hearn, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, Theodore Hake, Doug Kelley, Todd Kimmel, Henry Michalski, Bill Pause, Julie Powell, Robin Powell, Rex Stark, and Edmund Sullivan.

**Covers: Front:** 1852 Grand National Banner for Pierce-King ticket, taken from Running for President by Schlesinger, Frent, and Israel. **Back:** Anti-Andrew Jackson broadside

**IN THE NEXT ISSUE**



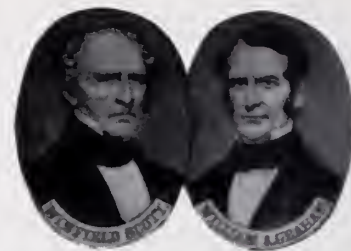
Some unusual 3D items including the Willkie shed, a Bryan tombstone and Adlai's shoe, plus third parties in Mississippi, the origin of the initials "O. K." and many other interesting things will be found in the next issue.



# Franklin Pierce

## The Confederate Yankee

by Jon D. Curtis



The election of 1852 was played out against the drumbeat of the ever-approaching Civil War. The country was being held together by the thin thread of the Compromise of 1850, the last of the "great compromises" of Henry Clay. The Whigs should have been in a strong position with an incumbent president in power. Zachary Taylor, a strong foe of the Compromise of 1850, had died during the debate on the compromise. Millard Fillmore, the Vice President, who had succeeded to the top spot upon Taylor's death on July 9, 1850, was a supporter of the compromise. The Democrats had been out of power for four years and they dreamed of retaking the White House.

The Democrats met on June 1, 1852 in Baltimore, Maryland and had managed to restore some semblance of unity. Many of Martin Van Buren's Free Soilers, who had cost the Democrats and Lewis Cass the presidency in 1848, had returned to the party. The Democrats were operating under the "Two-Thirds Rule" adopted at the 1844 convention requiring that the nominee win two-thirds of the votes to be nominated. It virtually assured several ballots and also made it almost impossible for any of the leaders to crush his opposition – compromise was the only answer. There was a number of challenges for the nomination. Lewis Cass, although he was close to 70 years old, was willing to give it another run. He generated great support among the northern wing of the party. Pennsylvania's party leader James Buchanan was able to pick up border state and southern support but would have to wait another four years to catch the gold ring. William L. Marcy of New York had the support of many of the old "Barnburners." Last, but not least, was the only young candidate, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois.

The balloting went through forty-six roll calls and no one could gain the necessary majority. Edmund Burke of New Hampshire had been working behind the scenes to build up secondary support for his New England friend, Franklin Pierce. A few votes were cast for Pierce on the 47th ballot and by the 49th the weary delegates stamped. 280 of the 286 delegates voted for Franklin Pierce, a man who was unknown to most of the delegates.

Pierce seemed the ideal candidate for 1852. He was young for a presidential candidate (48) and was quite handsome. He was the son of a Governor of New Hampshire. In 1833 he was elected to the first of two terms in the House of Representatives and this was followed by a term in the U.S. Senate. In 1846 he enlisted in the army and became a general. Pierce also had developed strong sympathies for the South. A northerner with

southern sympathies was a hard item to find in 1852 but it made him a very saleable item in an election year.

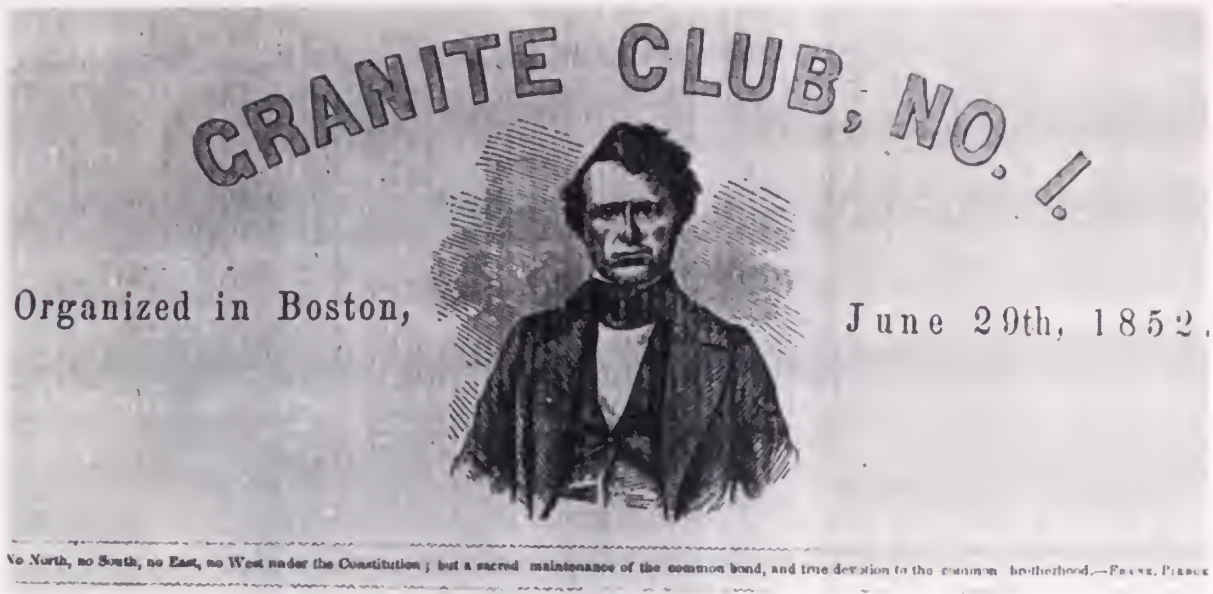
For second place the Democrats picked Senator William Rufus King of Alabama, who also seemed like an excellent choice. King was an extremely able senator and a noted parliamentarian. King had such a brilliant reputation as a presiding officer that he was elected President Pro Tempore of the Senate and was its presiding officer after Fillmore succeeded to the presidency. He served as President Pro Tempore under five different vice presidents.

The Democratic platform promised to be faithful to the Compromise of 1850, including enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. It said that slavery was a dead issue.

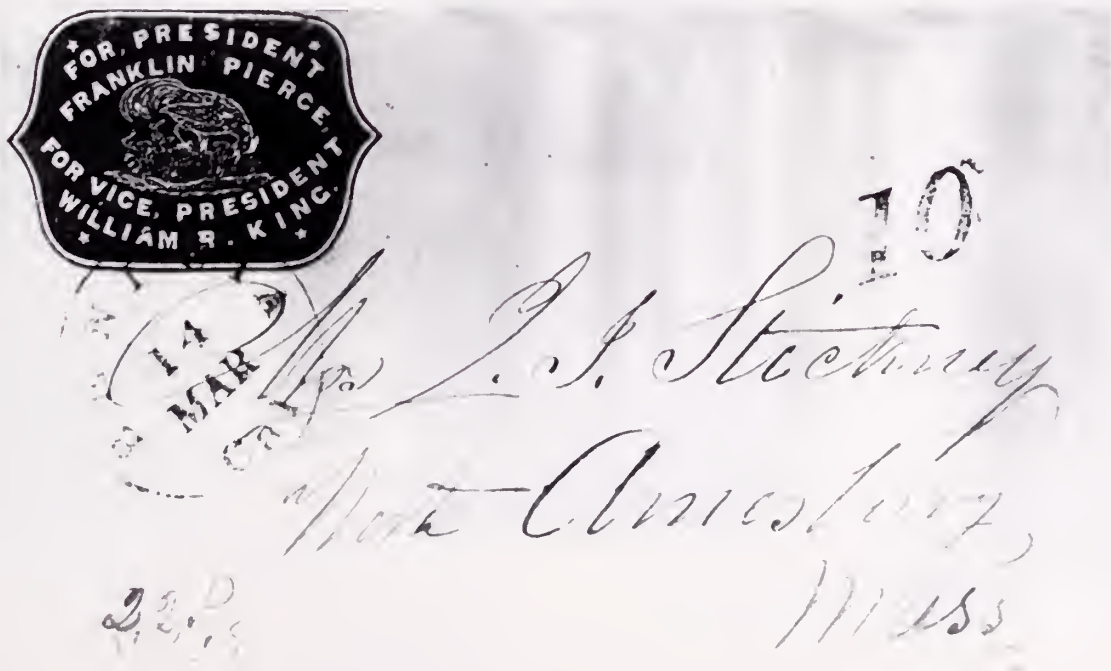
The Whigs had a major problem unifying their party in 1852. Whereas almost 70% of the northern Democratic senators supported the Compromise of 1850, only 16% of the northern Whigs supported it. When the Whigs took their first ballot President Fillmore had 133 votes, followed closely by General Winfield Scott with 131 and Daniel Webster far behind with 29.

The Whigs went through 50 ballots with no candidate able to snag the nomination. Webster's people were told that they could expect Fillmore's support to shift to him if he could muster the support of 41 northern delegates. Webster could not and so on the 53rd ballot General Winfield Scott won the nomination. Scott was known as "Old Fuss and Feathers" because of his flamboyant dress, was the leading military hero of the Mexican War and a career soldier. He was a Virginian by birth and ever loyal to the Union. He was Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Army from 1841 to 1861. He was an imposing 6 feet 6 inches tall, weighing over 250 pounds. He also was extremely intelligent and a brilliant scholar. In 1860, although old and failing, he tried to get President Buchanan to protect federal property in the South, but the incompetent Buchanan paid no attention to the old man. At age 75 he developed the strategy for the first Battle of Bull Run. Bull Run has been called the "best-planned and worst-fought battle of the Civil War." Scott was confined to his bed by infirmities when the battle was actually fought. At the time of his death in 1861 he was one of the few southern born military leaders who had remained loyal to the Union.

William A. Graham, the Whig candidate for vice president, had been Governor of North Carolina. He had supported better roads and means of communication so North Carolina farmers could more easily move their crops to market. He was Secretary of the Navy under

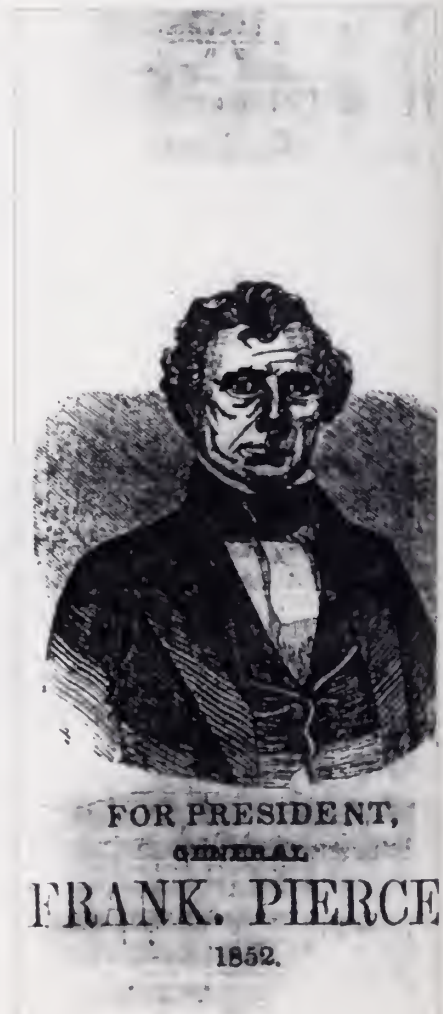
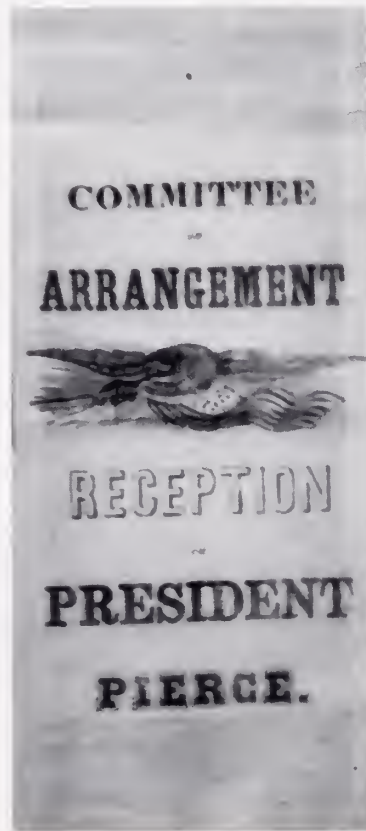


Two rare paper items from Franklin Pierce's 1852 campaign pictured in Presidential Campaign Illustrated Envelopes and Letter Paper (1840-1872) by James W. Milgram. Above is campaign letterhead, below is an embossed envelope. The envelope is known in red and blue versions. A review of Dr. Milgram's book will appear in a future issue of The Keynoter.





Mirror



Alabama Senator Rufus King was the Democratic nominee for Vice President on Pierce's ticket

President Fillmore. From that office he was the moving spirit behind the authorization to send the Perry Expedition to Japan. Graham's features complimented Scott. Graham was also over six feet tall and among the Washington wives was known as the handsomest man in the cabinet. William E. Griffis described him as "of commanding figure, elegant manners and most agreeable address, his presence at receptions was eagerly courted." Graham would have been excellent at fulfilling the social responsibilities of a nineteenth century vice president.

The campaign of 1852 was rather listless compared to others in the pre-war era. The New York Times claimed that a deal was arranged at the Whig Convention to allow the North to dictate the candidate while the South dictated the platform. Scott failed to convince the southern Whigs that he was not a puppet of the abolitionist William H. Seward of New York.

A plethora of third party candidates was in the running in 1852. Several abolitionists and old Free-Soilers joined together to form the Free Democratic Party (Free Soil) and ran New Hampshire Senator John Parker Hale and George W. Julian, an Indiana politician and abolitionist.

The Liberty Party met and picked Gerritt Smith, a leading upstate New York abolitionist and Charles Durkee. The Liberty supporters were sadly disappointed when both Smith and Durkee declined their nomination. A second convention was called and the party split into two groups. One wing supported the Hale-Julian Free Soil ticket. The other nominated William Goodell and Charles C. Foot.

In the South some dissident Democrats formed the Southern Rights Party and picked George M. Troup of Georgia and General John A. Quitman of Mississippi as their standard bearers.

Three parties picked slates with a presidential nominee, but no vice presidential candidate. In Georgia, Alexander Stephens (future Vice President of the Confederate States of America) presented an electoral slate pledged to Daniel Webster. The Industrial Congress Party attempted to put a pro-labor ticket in the field and chose Isaac P. Walker as its nominee. Lastly, an American Party pledged to nativism and anti-Catholicism ran Jacob Broome.

The statistics of the election of 1852 were devastating to the Whigs. It destroyed them as a political party to be replaced in 1856 by the Republicans. 31 states were voting in 1852 and popular vote determined electoral vote in 30 of the states. South Carolina's legislature was still casting the state's electoral votes and continued to do so until Reconstruction. Pierce received 1,609,038 popular votes and 254 electoral votes from 27 states. Scott captured 1,386,629 popular votes, but only 42 electoral votes from four states (Kentucky, Massachusetts, Tennessee, and Vermont). The Whigs were in their death throes. Hale received 156,297 popular votes, but didn't come close to carrying any state although as a former Democratic senator he did pull enough support in Massachusetts to push the state into Scott's column. 7,407 votes were cast for Webster in Georgia and Massachusetts, even though he

died prior to the election. Jacob Broome received 2,666 votes followed by Troup's total of 2,300 votes. Smith ran last with 72 popular votes cast in his native New York.

The new president, Pierce, was a tragic figure. Although he had won several distinguished offices, he had a sad personal life. He and his wife, Jane, had three sons, all of whom died early – the last one being killed in a railroad accident before their eyes shortly before Pierce assumed office. While in the White House Mrs. Pierce, as a chronic invalid suffering from tuberculosis and in a depressed state, kept up a running correspondence with her dead son. These events affected his ability to lead and to govern and he yielded to many bad outside influences and appointed friends to office on the basis of friendship rather than ability. His whole administration was devoted to the re-election of Franklin Pierce. In 1854 he yielded to the pressure of Stephen A. Douglas and repealed the Compromise of 1850 substituting the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Pierce's act made a civil war more likely. Pierce failed to win re-nomination in 1856 and thus his career ended. He returned to New Hampshire where he passed away in 1869 at the age of 65. Pierce did manage one record that has never been equaled. He remains the only man who, as an incumbent elected president, sought re-nomination and was refused that re-nomination by his party.

William Rufus King, the vice presidential nominee was unable to take part in the campaign, as he was also suffering from an advanced case of tuberculosis. He had resigned from the Senate and in an attempt to regain his health he went to Cuba expecting the mild climate to aid his recovery. He was sworn into office in Havana under a special act of Congress. He returned to the U.S. on April 18, 1853 and died the following day, never being able to preside over the Senate as vice president.

These two men who had had fine accomplishments and records of service in former offices were unable to function in the highest offices of the land.★



Pierce medallions

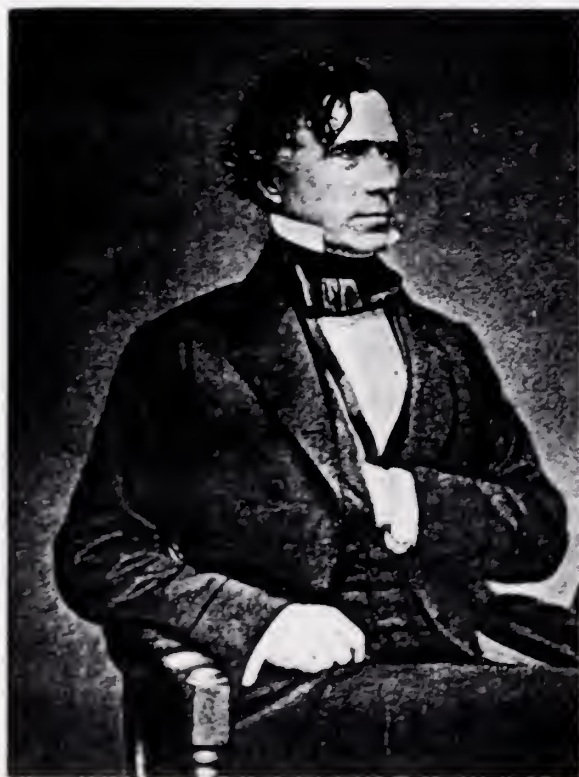
# Pierce and Calhoun

by Michael Kelly

With a political career filled with promise and a presidency marked by historic challenges, Franklin Pierce could easily have become one of the Republic's great presidents. Instead, he presided over a divided and aimless administration that abdicated leadership and exacerbated conflicts within the nation. In a very real sense, Franklin Pierce made the Civil War inevitable. What made Pierce notable to the politics of his day – aside from good looks and a pleasing nature – was his fierce commitment to protecting the right of Southerners to own slaves. Although Pierce always supported slavery, the intensity of his commitment may have resulted from an unexpected clash with the South's greatest champion, John C. Calhoun.

Calhoun was one of the dominant political personalities of his era. The son of an Irish immigrant, Calhoun rose swiftly in the politics of South Carolina. He entered a U.S. House of Representatives headed by Speaker Henry Clay and quickly won prominence. Calhoun served as Secretary of War under President James Monroe and in 1824 was elected as Vice President in the administration of John Quincy Adams. In a feat unduplicated in American politics, Vice President Calhoun was re-elected in 1828 to serve under Andrew Jackson.

Calhoun resigned as Jackson's vice president during the Nullification crisis of 1832 and returned to South Carolina. His home state promptly sent him back to Washington as its U.S. Senator, where he served as the defiant voice of the Southern states.



Far up in rocky New England, Franklin Pierce was growing up in a very political atmosphere. His father, General Benjamin Pierce, had been a hero of the Revolutionary War and an active partisan of Andrew Jackson in the midst of John Quincy Adams' New England.

The elder Pierce was involved in New Hampshire politics from its early days as a state and was elected to his first of thirteen terms in the state legislature in 1789. In 1826, the aging General Pierce was elected governor of New Hampshire. His son, Franklin, found politics to be more stimulating than education, his law career or even courting women. In the 1828 election, Governor Pierce was re-elected and 24 year old Franklin was elected to the state legislature. That began a rapid series of political triumphs for Franklin Pierce.

During his third session in the state legislature, Franklin Pierce was elected Speaker at the ripe old age of 26. In the next election, he was elected U.S. Congressman from New Hampshire. In Congress he distinguished himself chiefly as a loyal supporter of President Andrew Jackson. He voted against any legislation that would spend federal money anywhere except New Hampshire. His time in Congress was notable for one event that defined his future presidency.

Shortly after James K. Polk was elected Speaker of the House, the slavery issue arrived in Congress. A Maine congressman presented a petition signed by 172 women in his district requesting that slavery be abolished in the District



**JOHN C. CALHOUN.** Calhoun served as Vice-President under both Adams and Jackson, but he resigned from the office in 1831 and became spokesman for the states'-rights group in the Senate.



of Columbia. Pierce looked upon abolitionist agitation with disgust, writing to his friend Polk that it was an "embarrassing question" raised by "the few reckless fanatics." Pierce gave a speech on the House floor in which he assured defenders of Southern rights to hold slaves that among New Hampshire's people was "not one in five hundred who would not have those rights protected at any and every hazard."

It was this earnest support of slavery that gave Pierce an unexpected and shattering experience. While visiting the Senate chamber, he heard his name on the lips of one of the nation's political giants: John C. Calhoun. Calhoun was quoting an article from a New Hampshire newspaper that challenged Pierce's contention that "not one in five hundred" in New Hampshire would oppose slavery. The article listed names of citizens in Pierce's hometown who had signed abolitionist petitions. Calhoun cited the story as an example of Northern deceit; the implication was that Pierce was a liar.

For an obscure young congressman to be rebuked by the mighty Calhoun was a disaster. Biographer Roy Franklin Nichols writes that "Calhoun's attack had struck Pierce at a time when he was suffering from severe mental and physical shock." While Calhoun was deriding the young congressman, his wife was back home giving birth to Franklin Pierce, Jr. The child died three days later and the shaken Pierce felt the effects of Calhoun's anger very deeply. Stunned, he moved swiftly to assure his Southern

colleagues of his honorable support for their position, claiming that the names on the petitions included women and youths, not the legal voters of his district.

The conflict with Calhoun had given Pierce a deep, personal motivation to prove his loyalty to the slaveholders. It was an event to have implications for the nation's future. Throughout the rest of his life, he would leap angrily to the defense of slavery, making many firm friends among Southern politicians.

After several terms in Congress, Pierce was elected U.S. Senator at the age of 34. The youngest senator, he joined a body populated with political figures like Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and James Buchanan. His Senate tenure was remarkable only for his steadfast party loyalty. No legislation or policies bore Pierce's name. When he retired from the Senate before the end of his term (motivated by the need to earn a living for his growing family), he was remembered as a well-liked young man who had made many friends and few enemies.

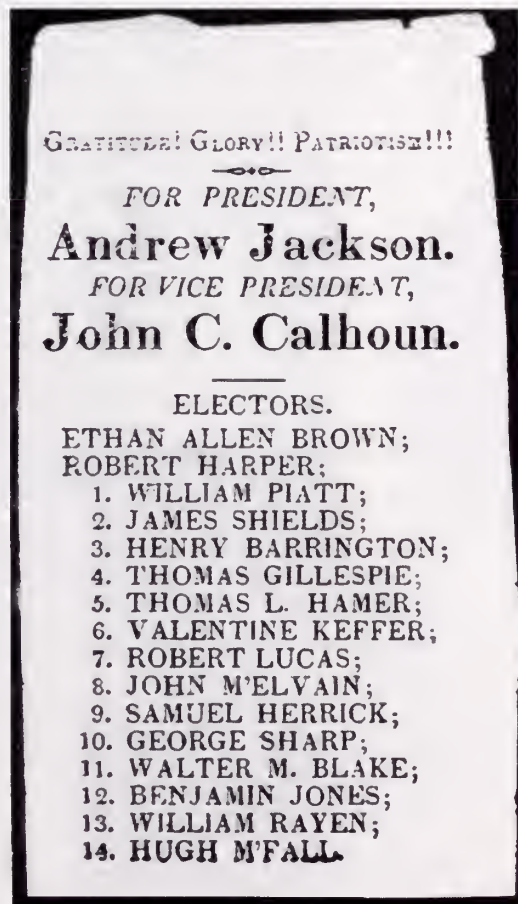
Back in New Hampshire, Pierce served as Democratic state chairman and battled the rising tide of Whiggery. He was devastated by the Whig victory in 1840 that even saw a governor elected in his own state. Through these battles, Pierce supported the annexation of Texas as a slave state and continued to oppose the abolitionist movement. His devotion to the property rights of slave owners was so intense that he broke with his old school chum, New Hampshire Democratic Congressman John P. Hale, over Hale's growing doubts about slavery. Pierce saw to it that Hale was denied renomination but their rivalry was far from over.

Despite the demands of his family to stay home, Pierce left at an offer from President Polk to serve as a general in the Mexican War. Although his military service was unremarkable, he made many close friends among the Southern officers (including Robert E. Lee) and grew even more firmly committed to the rights of slave owners.

After the war, Pierce went back to a successful law career. His oratory and political connections combined to make him wealthy but his ambition still burned. Equally hot was his devotion to the rights of slaveholders.

As the election of 1852 approached, the Democrats had a dilemma in how to straddle the slavery issue. The same question was tearing the Whigs apart but the Democrats had a safe option; the doughface Democrats. "Doughface" was a term used to describe a Northern man who held Southern principles. James Buchanan of Pennsylvania was one such doughface Democrat, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire was another. At the Democratic National Convention, Lewis Cass battled Stephen Douglas and James Buchanan until the exhausted Democrats suddenly turned to Pierce on the forty-ninth ballot. The Pierce drive had been led by the South, convinced that the young man from New Hampshire would watch out for their interests.

Their expectations were rewarded. As President, Pierce supported Southern concerns on almost every occasion. His support of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, opening the Western territories to slavery, destroyed the Compromise



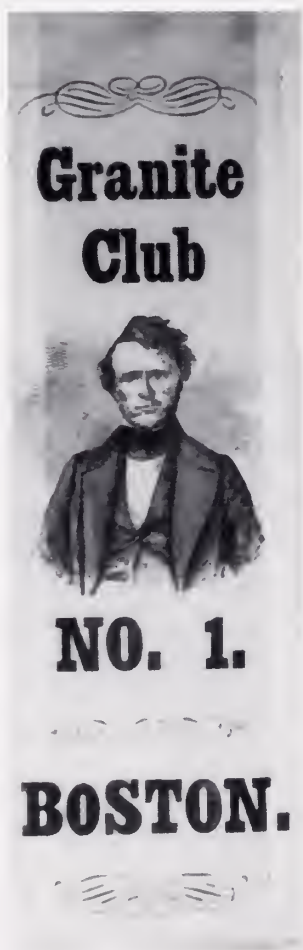
This ballot supporting the 1828 Jackson/Calhoun ticket comes from Ohio.



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

of 1850 and led to the creation of the Republican Party. By the end of his term, even loyal Democrats couldn't raise much enthusiasm for Pierce's re-election and his party turned to yet another doughface, James Buchanan. With the Pierce administration, America lost its best chance to avoid a civil war.

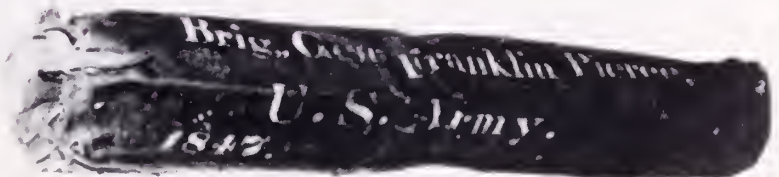
One can only wonder whether Pierce might have followed his old schoolmate John Hale toward abolition had not the mighty Calhoun brought the fierce power of his disdain on a young congressman from New Hampshire at a critical moment in his life.★




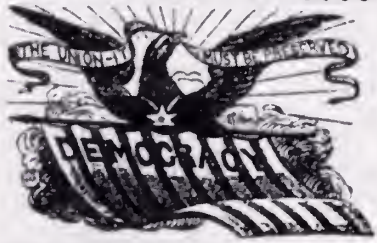
The rarity of Pierce campaign material doesn't preclude finding a handsome selection of ribbons.



Pierce's experience as a general in the Mexican-American War is highlighted by several items. The above sheet music shows him in uniform and the cigar box below is labeled "General Franklin Pierce." The duffle bag at the lower right is labeled "Brig. Gen. Franklin Pierce, U.S. Army 1847."



  
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 OF NEW HAMPSHIRE  
 FOR VICE PRESIDENT  
**WILLIAM R. KING**  
 OF ALABAMA



LIFE OF  
**FRANKLIN PIERCE.**  
 BY  
 NATHANIEL BANTWORTH.

BOSTON:  
 PUBLISHED BY J. B. BROWN.

**Democratic Ticket.**  
 For President,  
**FRANKLIN PIERCE**  
 OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.  
 For Vice President,  
**WILLIAM R. KING**  
 OF ALABAMA.

**ELECTORS.**

1. WOODRUFF COOK.	Warwick City
2. TIMOTHY RIVES.	Peter George
3. A. HUGHES DILLARD.	Ilwaco
4. WILLIAM C. FLORENOY.	Forest Falls
5. JOHN GOODE JR.	Portland
6. ROBERT G. SCOTT.	Richmond City
7. HENRY A. WHEAT.	Arden
8. ROBERT L. MONTAGUE.	Middleton
9. JOHN R. COOK.	Frederick

**Free Democratic Ticket.**  
 FOR PRESIDENT,  
**JOHN P. HALE,**  
 OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.  
 FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
**GEORGE W. JULIAN,**  
 OF INDIANA.  
 FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS,  
**AT LARGE,**  
**STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS,** of Salem.  
**JAMES FOWLER,** of Westfield.

Dist. No. 1.—JOHN H. SHAW, of North East.  
 2.—WM. H. WOOD, of Middleboro'.  
 3.—ED. L. KEYSER, of Dedham.  
 4.—TIMO. GILBERT, of Boston.  
 5.—J. G. PALFREY, of Cambridge.  
 6.—J. G. WHITTIER, of Stonington.  
 7.—S. E. SHAW, of Lowell.  
 8.—JOHN W. CHILVER, of Lowell.  
 9.—CHAS. MANON, of Fitchburg.  
 10.—RODOLPH B. HUBBARD, of Haverhill.  
 11.—JOEL HAYDEN, of Willsimington.

**Scott Ticket.**

Democratic State Nominations.  
 FOR GOVERNOR  
**HORATIO SEYMOUR**  
 FOR DEPUTY GOVERNOR  
**SANFORD E. CHURCH**  
 FOR SENATOR  
**FREDERICK FOLLETT**  
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**BOOK REVIEW**

# FRANKLIN PIERCE: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills

Reviewed by Michael Kelly

Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills by Roy Franklin Nichols. 637 pages including notes, bibliography and index. Twenty-two pages of illustrations. Published at \$35 by American Political Biography Press, 39 Boggs Hill, Newtown, Connecticut 06470 (203) 270-9777 Originally published 1931, reprinted 1993.

In politics, it is said, the devil is in the details. One of the key turning points in the life of any political Americana collector is when he or she decides to start learning the details about those people pictured on the little brass badges and elaborately illustrated textile ribbons collected with such enthusiasm. Who are people like James K. Polk and James G. Blaine? What made them so special that millions of Americans shouted their names and carried their pictures on their coats?

Not one of these men was an accident. Each had his own journey to the White House or (in the case of those destined to remain hopefuls) even to the national convention. No one became President of the United States through carelessness, no matter how it may appear from the perspective of a century or more later.

A perfect example is to be found in Roy Franklin Nichols' Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills. Historians have generally found Pierce's presidency a failure, marked by the growing tensions that would soon erupt into the Civil War. A cursory review reveals that New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce was a "doughface" Democrat, being a Northern man with Southern principles on the issue of slavery. But Nichols' excellent biography tells us the details of the story.

It is an interesting story of a man who rose rapidly in politics but left little legacy beyond a fervent loyalty to the Democratic Party and a firm commitment to holding the Union together by actively supporting the right of the South to its "peculiar institution" of slavery. Pierce's political rise was stunning. Son of a Revolutionary War general and New Hampshire governor, Franklin Pierce was in the state legislature by 24, elected Speaker of the state leg-

islature at 26, U.S. Congressman at 28 and U.S. Senator at 34. Before he was 40, he had voluntarily retired from elective office and was making a prosperous living as one of the Granite State's leading lawyers.

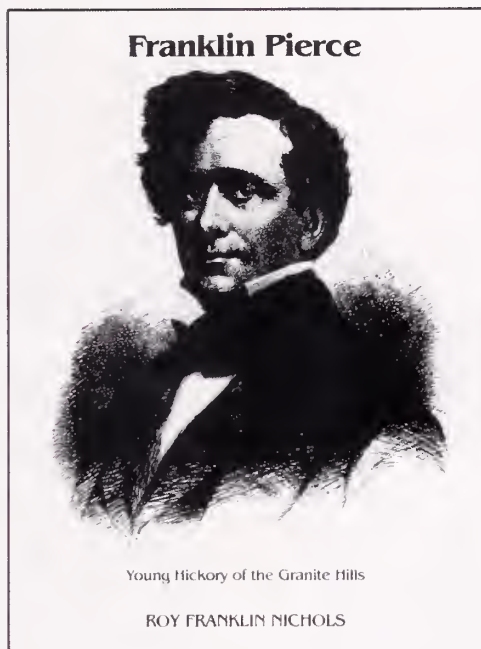
Still ahead was his service as a general in the war with Mexico and his nomination for President at the 1852 Democratic National Convention. Nichols' reveals how that nomination occurred; the shifting strategies and alliances, the balancing of one opponent against another and the role of Pierce as the defender of slavery from an increasingly abolitionist New England.

On the way we learn intriguing stories that were nearly forgotten. For example, this book traces the related story of John P. Hale. Hale and Pierce attended high school together and shared an enthusiasm for politics. After Pierce was elevated to the Senate, Hale followed him to Congress as one of New Hampshire's U.S. Representatives. But Hale was troubled by slavery and finally voted against the "gag rule" that prevented its discussion in the House of Representatives. Pierce reacted violently and led a campaign to deny Hale renomination. Hale lost his seat in Congress but a few years later returned as a "free soil" Whig to win a U.S. Senate seat from New Hampshire over Pierce's determined opposition.

By 1852, when Pierce was elected president, he faced a general election

battle against an active Free Soil Party opponent in addition to Whig Winfield Scott. That Free Soil Party presidential nominee was none other than John P. Hale. I knew of Hale as the Free Soil nominee before but had never known how his fate intertwined with that of Pierce before reading the Nichols book. This is a book filled with such interesting bits of history.

Franklin Pierce: Young Hickory of the Granite Hills was originally published in 1931 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. It is yet another classic political biography saved from obscurity by Jeffrey Spears' American Political Biography Press. The work of this small publishing house has been uniformly excellent. Its work in reprinting selected definitive political biographies and collecting out-of-print copies of political biographies and other political books remains a valuable contribution to the field.★



# “Solid Citizens” versus Thomas Jefferson

by Doug Kelley

Thomas Jefferson “appears to have made no campaign speech in his entire life,” and “it would be difficult to name a successful political leader who found combat politics more distasteful,” wrote his major biographer, Dumas Malone, and yet as the nation’s 1797-1801 Vice-President “he emerged as one of the most effective party leaders in our history.”

Jefferson guided his campaign for the Presidency by means of correspondence (despite concern that Federalist control of the mails would mean letter tampering), and by encouraging supportive newspaper editors and party organizers in various states.

Historian Richard Hofstadter noted in *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* that “Political controversy, muddled by exaggerated charges of (Jeffersonian Republican) conspiracies with French agents or plots to subvert Christianity, or (John Adams Federalist) schemes to restore monarchy and put the country under the heel of Great Britain, degenerated into demagoguery.... The first notable victim of a distinctively anti-intellectualist broadside was Thomas Jefferson, and his assailants were Federalist leaders and members of the established clergy of New England.”

Another analyst of that campaign wrote: “America in 1800 was...unkind to non-conformists...and Jefferson’s refusal to accept the norms of his society set him apart in many ways. His undogmatic religion, his interest in abstract learning, his devotion to the principles of liberal democracy, his cultured esthetic sense: these offended the ‘solid citizen’ who took his values from the herd. His views furnished ready ammunition for the propagandists.”

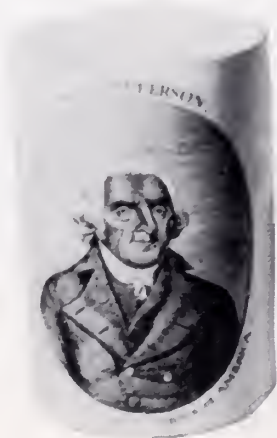
Polemical combat was carried on in close to a hundred Federalist and Republican pamphlets and in the pages of the country’s roughly 200 newspapers, few of which even pretended to be impartial. The theme of the Federalist



campaign, a rerun of the 1796 election in which Adams had defeated Jefferson by 3 electoral votes, was that Jefferson’s Republicans were dangerously pro-French Revolutionary Jacobins, and Jefferson himself a radical, a deist or atheist, a “moonshine philosopher” unfit to lead the nation.

The Republican publicists’ theme: Adams and company were anti-republican aristocrats, and also ‘British bootlickers,’ ‘Anglomen,’ and probably ‘Monarchists’ as well – or *monocrats*, to use a favorite Jefferson term. Jeffersonians advocated frugality and equalitarian simplicity in government, attacking the heavy defense expenditures, new taxes, and occasional luxurious excesses of the Adams administration. And they assailed the Federalists’ suppression of dissent. A typical party declaration was that “We have...a Sedition law, by which many citizens” – among them Republican editors – “have been deprived of their rights, and native Americans consigned to loathsome prisons for exercising the constitutional right of public inquiry.”

The campaign extended over many months, due in part to the fact that presidential electors were popularly elected in only five states. Thus earlier elections of legislatures which would choose electors in other states were of crucial importance. Another factor was that neither the Republican ticket of Jefferson & Aaron Burr (of N.Y.) nor the Federalist ticket of Adams & General C.C. Pinckney (of S.C.) specifically labelled which was the Vice-Presidential candidate, thus laying the basis for the eventual Electoral College tie between Jefferson and Burr which threw the decision into the House of Representatives, where Federalists lengthily supported Burr against Jefferson.



One of the extended attacks on Jefferson which was widely reprinted in Federalist papers was Rev. William Linn's "Serious Considerations on the Election of a President: Addressed to the Citizens of the United States."

Claiming to prove Jefferson's "disbelief in Holy Scriptures," Linn argued that "the question is not what he will do but what he *is*" – an "infidel" – and that "sooner than stretch forth my hand to place him at the head of the nation, 'Let mine arm fall from my shoulderblade, and mine arm be broken from the bone.' (Job xxxi 22)." He elaborated on three calamities Jefferson's election would bring:

- 1) "It would give us an unfavourable character with foreign nations...;"
- 2) "the effects...upon our citizens:...to destroy religion, introduce immorality, and loosen all the bonds of society;"
- and 3) "dishonour...would be done to God," and we should fear "his displeasure..."

In the same issue of THE CONNECTICUT COURANT an influential anonymous columnist who signed his campaign articles "Burleigh" concluded this weekly instalment: "Choose for yourselves – whether you will cleave to the government of your choice, the religion of your fathers: or will enter on board in the crazy barque of Jacobinism, to be wrecked in the tempestuous sea of French liberty."

Jeffersonian editors and pamphleteers responded to the attacks, although the candidate chose not to. Republican graphic artists seem to have been in very short supply, however; almost without exception the surviving political cartoons are virulently anti-Jefferson.

A 32-page pamphlet defense of Jefferson which was widely reprinted by Republicans was "An Address to the People of the United States..." by John James Beckley, a Republican activist who had served as the first Clerk of the House of Representatives until being sacked under the Adams administration. Beckley extolled Jefferson as "the friend and benefactor of the whole human race." Before presenting an eight-page biography he refuted in very convincing detail various Federalist writers' charges that

Jefferson was against the adoption of the Constitution; that he "is an enemy to religion;" that as Governor he "fled before a handful of lighthorse" when the British invaded Virginia (1781); that when U.S. Minister to France in 1787 he had made a "dishonorable" proposition to Congress respecting a transfer of the debt owed by the U.S. to France, to a Dutch company; and that he had pursued wartime measures to defraud British merchants to whom he had owed pre-war debts.

Berating Adams as "the champion of rank, titles, and hereditary distinctions," Jeffersonians who later belted out "Jefferson and Liberty," first sang, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," these lines written in 1798:

See Johnny at the head of State,  
 Head itching for a crown,  
 He longs to be, like Georgy, great,  
 And pull Tom Jeffer downy.

It was the year before becoming President that Jefferson wrote the words now most prominent inside the Jefferson Memorial: "I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Over a century and a half later biographer Dumas Malone asked "What other political leader in our history or any other history ever did more to liberate and safeguard man's immortal mind?"★

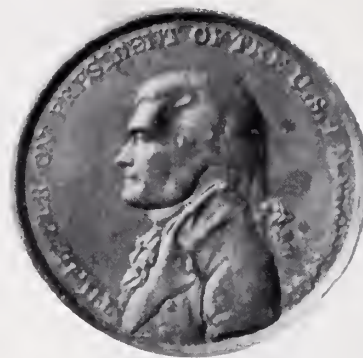
(Reprinted from The Democratic Spirit)



Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson remain icons for the modern Democratic Party, as shown in this button for Iowa Senator and one-time presidential hopeful, Tom Harkin.

# Jefferson: Hard to Forget, Hard to Collect

by Stephen Ackerman



Although we celebrated the 250th birthday of Thomas Jefferson in 1993, the founder of the Democratic Party remains alive to millions all over the world.

But it's a frustration to collectors of political memorabilia that one of our most important Presidents is one of those hardest to collect. In the era before mass politicking, party founder Jefferson inspired a handsome 1801 Inaugural Medal, a small clothing button, and an Indian Peace Medal.

APIC member H. Joseph Levine of Alexandria, Virginia's Presidential Coin & Antique Co. says a perfect specimen of the silver Jefferson Inaugural Medal would command something like \$15,000; a specimen in his stock is priced at \$5,500 because it was once holed, then filled in. The three sizes of the Jefferson Indian Peace Medal, produced during the Jefferson Administration to present to Indian leaders, have auctioned in recent years for prices up to \$24,200.

Rare Jefferson ceramics are also very pricey. Collectors trying to assemble a complete line of Democratic nominees must usually turn to paper items, such as political books, pamphlets, and (least expensive) newspapers of the day, the best with ballots printed in them, and/or lengthy polemics for or against TJ. Some editions of writings of Jefferson's seem to have been issued with political intent; an 1800 edition of his *NOTES ON VIRGINIA* includes 21 pages defending his religious views, and a June, 1801 edition includes his First Inaugural Address as an Appendix.

One alternative satisfaction is to look for Jefferson's image on later Democratic items. For instance, the copper and white metal medallions (Sullivan-Dewitt GC 1892-3) issued for Grover Cleveland's 1893 Second Inaugural, which on the reverse picture Jefferson, Jackson, Tilden, and Cleveland surrounding a Democratic rooster. Gold Democrat studs from 1896, along with much Bryan material, also feature the Sage of Monticello. The "Official Souvenir" medalet issued by the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in St. Louis depicts Jefferson and Napoleon (who authorized the Purchase). And numerous ballots, national convention tickets, and state and national convention badges through the decades have featured the Jeffersonian image.

All-out Jefferson enthusiasts may want to supplement their multi-volume Jefferson biographies by Dumas Malone and by Claude Bowers with the two biographies

written by U.S. Senators: Georgia Populist/Democrat Tom Watson's *THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON* (N.Y., 1903), and Utah Democrat Elbert D. Thomas' *THOMAS JEFFERSON, WORLD CITIZEN* (N.Y., 1942).

Most recently William Jefferson Clinton emphasized the 200-year tie by riding to his Inauguration along much of Jefferson's route from Monticello. One desirable Clinton button hawked at the ceremonies includes an inset portrait of our third President and the words "Jeffersonian Democracy." So collectors who can't afford or just can't find contemporary TJ election material can find a run of material demonstrating the continuity of Jefferson's spirit.

Travellers in Virginia can participate too. There are commemorative events and exhibitions at Jeffersonian sites, including his home, Monticello, and the nearby University of Virginia, which he designed and built at Charlottesville. In addition to the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C. (with an excellent book shop in its lower level), there is Poplar Forest, Jefferson's beautiful hideaway at Lynchburg, Virginia. Recently gutted for restoration, the gemlike home is a fascinating revelation of his architectural genius.

Those who really want to plunge into Jeffersonian lore can still jump into the mineral water pool at Warm Springs, Virginia, in the same 1761 bathhouse Jefferson enjoyed. (Women, alas, have to use the "new" bathhouse next door, built in 1836.) It's a warm way of wishing Mr. Jefferson a Happy Birthday.★





# Woodrow Wilson on Jefferson and Jackson

submitted by Doug Kelley

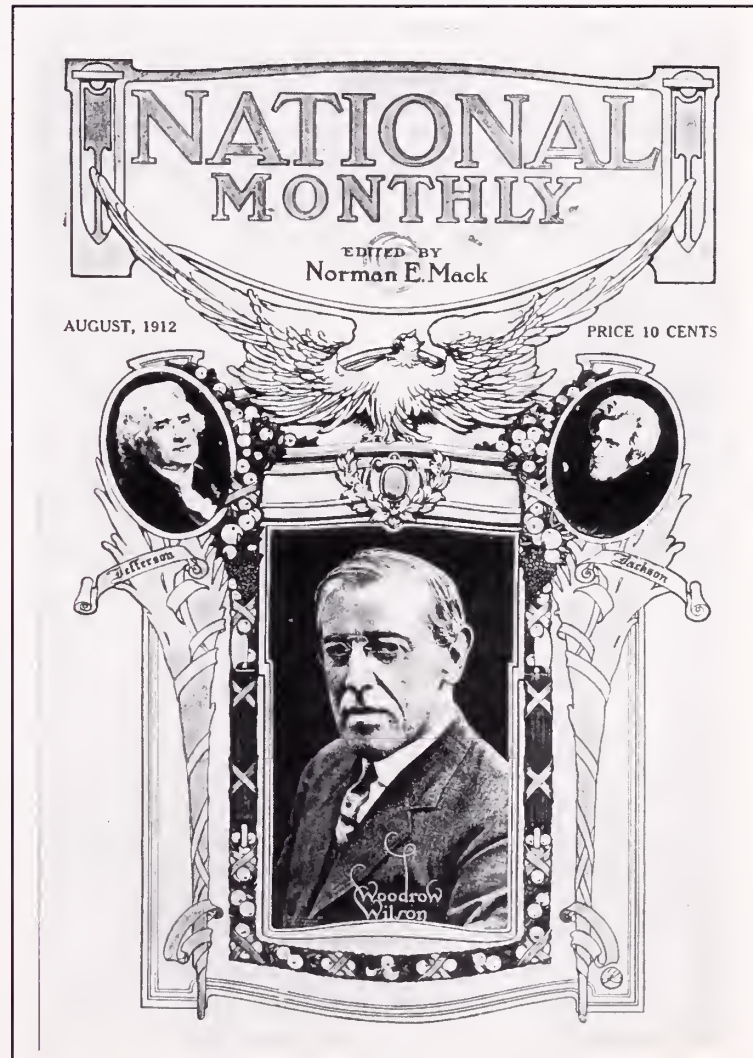
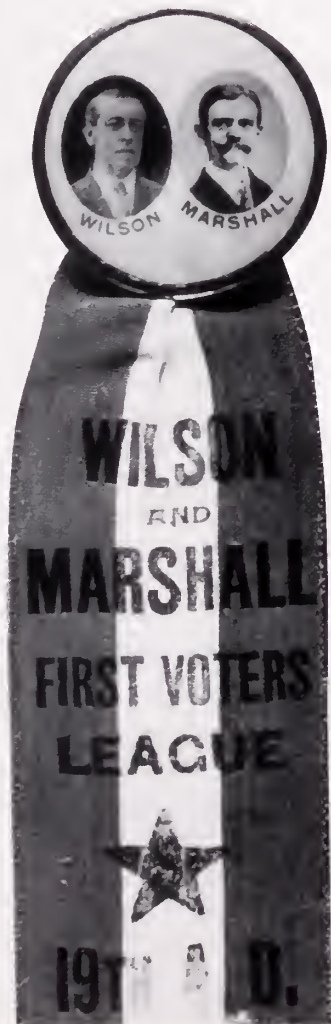
“General Jackson professed to be of the school of Mr. Jefferson himself; and what he professed he believed. There was no touch of the charlatan or the demagogue about him. The action of his mind was as direct, as sincere, as unsophisticated as the action of the mind of an ingenuous child, though it exhibited also the sustained intensity and the range of the mature man.

“The difference between Mr. Jefferson and General Jackson was not a difference of moral quality so much as a difference in social stock and breeding. Mr. Jefferson, an aristocrat and yet a philosophical radical, deliberately practised the arts of the politician and exhibited oftentimes the sort of insincerity which subtle natures yield to without loss of essential integrity.

“General Jackson was incapable of arts or deceptions of any kind. He was in fact what his partisans loved to call him, a man of the people, of the common people. Mr.

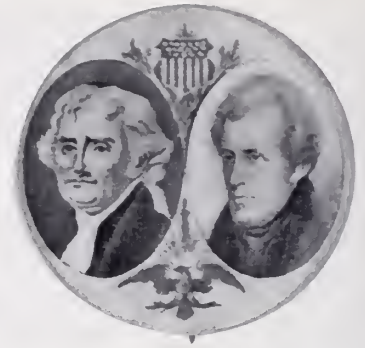
Jefferson was only a patron of the people; appealed to the rank and file, believed in them, but shared neither their tastes nor their passions. Moreover, the effective rank and file of the nation had changed since his day of ascendancy. Step by step, one state following another, the old restrictions upon the suffrage, taken for granted in Jefferson’s time, had been removed, until in almost every part of the Union the men of the masses had become the stuff of politics. These men Jackson really represented, albeit with a touch of the knight and chivalrous man of honor about him which common men do not have; and the people knew it; felt that an aristocratic order was upset, and that they themselves had at last come to their own.”

Prof. Woodrow Wilson, in his five-volume *A History of the American People*, published in 1902, the year he became President of Princeton University. (Vol. IV, pp. 3-5)



# Old Hickory and some Jefferson/Jackson Parallels

by Dr. Doug Kelley



There were striking parallels between Andrew Jackson's 1824 and 1828 campaigns and the 1796 and 1800 campaigns of Thomas Jefferson, Jackson's only peer among heroes of the Democratic Party.

Both Jefferson and Jackson at first lost to an aristocratic Adams from Massachusetts (TJ to John Adams in 1796, AJ to his son John Quincy Adams in 1824), but each came back to resoundingly defeat the unappealing incumbent four years later, and finally to easily win reelection.

Like Jefferson, Jackson sought to abide by the public's notion that a man of genuinely Presidential stature would not openly seek the Presidency. In each case their ultimately very effective campaigning was mainly by means of a heavy correspondence and by actively encouraging supportive journalists, campaign organizers, and a campaign biographer.

Like Jefferson in 1801, Jackson in 1825 waited throughout the confused proceedings of the Electoral College and the House of Representatives, with the outcome long uncertain. And after winning the Presidency, each of them found it essential to replace a disloyal, intensely ambitious Vice President (TJ's Aaron Burr, AJ's John C. Calhoun), with a reliably partisan supporter, in each case a New York Governor with a considerable Democratic following of his own (TJ's George Clinton, AJ's Martin Van Buren).

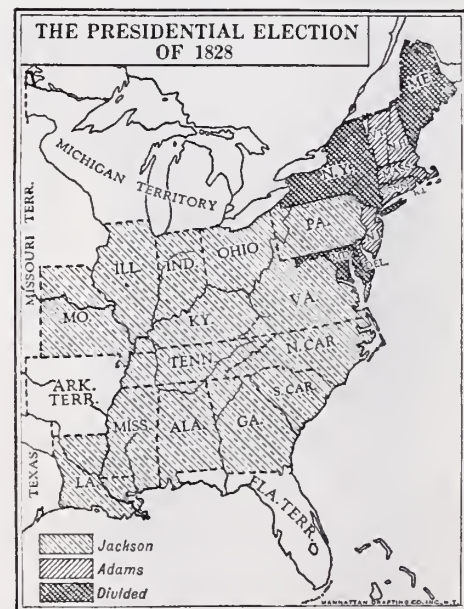
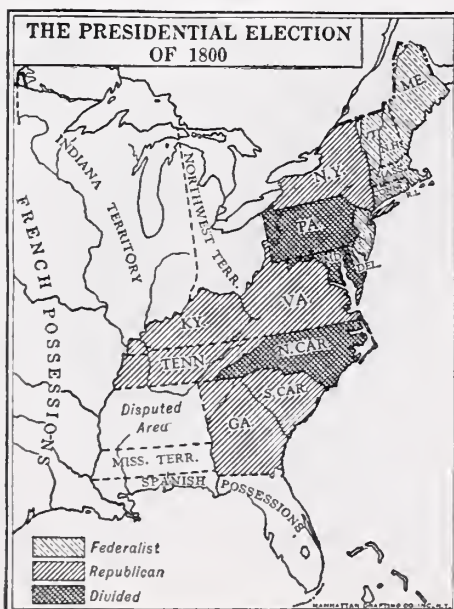
Like Jefferson, Jackson was assailed by conservative partisans as an unpredictable radical bent on arousing the

uninformed masses, and as lacking in personal morality. But whereas the John Adams Federalists had painted Jefferson as a theorizing, over-intellectual "philosopher" unfit to administer the affairs of a nation, their 1824 and '28 successors labelled Jackson an uncouth frontier brawler, barely literate and thus even *more* unfit for the White House.

Jackson men like the Jeffersonians campaigned against their conservative opponents' alleged desires for "an aristocratical and hereditary government," and against special privileges and overspending in the father-and-son Adams administrations.

There was an overwhelming advantage Jackson had, and Jefferson had lacked: Jackson was a nationally-acclaimed military hero. After the stunning January 8, 1815 Battle of New Orleans defeat of thousands of British regulars by Jackson's thrown-together army of Kentucky and Tennessee riflemen, free Blacks from New Orleans and Santa Domingo, Louisiana pirate artillerymen, New Orleans socialites, and Choctaw Indian allies, the general public – and especially members of the politically potent militia units throughout the country – regarded "Old Hickory" as one of their own, "The Old Hero," "The Protector and Defender of Beauty and Booty."

Jackson's victories were cited as indisputable proof that Presidential leadership should no longer be the exclusive prerogative (as it appeared to be, 1797-1829) of well-off





**A DEMOCRAT**  
Is a Man who has voted for  
William Jennings Bryan twice,  
and is now Ready to do so again.

Items from the 1908 campaign of frequent Democratic presidential nominee William Jennings Bryan. They illustrate the use of Jefferson and Jackson as Democratic Party symbols. The button even goes so far as to associate Bryan with Federalist George Washington and Republican Abraham Lincoln.

gentlemen from two counties in the coastal states of Virginia and Massachusetts. For several years "Huzzah for Jackson" resounded endlessly across the country, whether the Hero of New Orleans was present or not.

Jackson's critics argued against entrusting civil power to a "Military Chieftain" – and a heartlessly cruel one at that, as several versions of their "Coffins" handbill claimed. And not only conservatives feared the prospect. In his 1902 *History of the American People* Woodrow Wilson (then President of Princeton) noted that Jefferson had "expressed the greatest alarm 'at the prospect of seeing General Jackson President.' 'He is,' he said, 'one of the most unfit men I know of for the place. He has had very little respect for laws or constitutions, and is, in fact, an able military chief. His passions are terrible. He has been much tried since I knew him, but he is a dangerous man.'"

But as was later the case when intellectually-inclined men ran against Generals Grant and Eisenhower, the public was not convinced by the "No Generals" argument. People may have thought of the country's first President.

When candidate Henry Clay threw his substantial support in the House of Representatives to John Quincy Adams, following the initially inconclusive 1824 election, and then accepted appointment as Adams' Secretary of State (and heir apparent), he presented the Jacksonians with their second theme and rallying cry for 1828. In 1824 Jackson had won a plurality of both the popular vote and the Electoral College vote, so it was not surprising that with one voice across the nation, Jackson men cried *Joul*, assaulting the "Bargain and Corruption" of "the unholy coalition" of Adams and Clay, and calling for "Jackson and Reform" in 1828.

As a youth in the American Revolution Jackson had been wounded by a British officer, so it was argued that the election of Jackson, "the Revolutionary character," would represent a return to the unsullied patriotic virtues of the Revolutionary generation, as well as a rejection of aristocracy and corruption.

Jackson's "Old Hickory" nickname and the reputation behind it became a huge political asset. Jackson biographers have described an agonizing 1812 march of

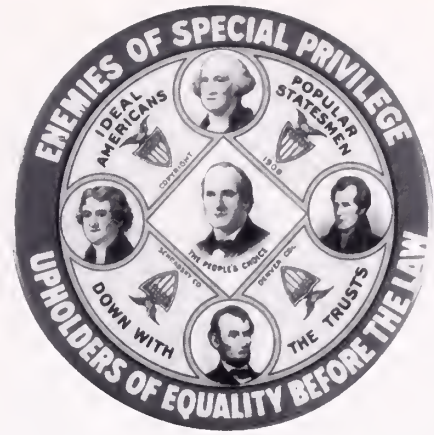
Tennessee Volunteers from Natchez to Nashville in which 150 of Jackson's men were sick, 56 of them unable to sit upright. With only eleven wagons to carry the sick, Jackson ordered his officers to turn over their horses to the sick, and did so himself, trudging beside his men for an average of 18 miles per day.

"Jackson's sternness at one moment contrasted sharply with his gentleness at the next ... His men said he was 'tough'....Tough as hickory, someone ventured, which was about as hard as anyone could suggest. Soon his men started calling him Hickory. And because they deeply admired him as a commander they added the prefix 'Old,' thereby giving him his everlasting nickname."

Like Lincoln's railsplitting, Adlai's worn shoe sole, and Clinton's saxophone, the name "Old Hickory" gave rise to plenty of campaign gimmickry. The 1828 battle for Jackson was sometimes called the "Hickory Pole Canvass." Hickory Poles were erected and hickory trees planted in innumerable public places, hickory canes were carried by paraders who wore sprigs of hickory stuck in their hats, and hickory brooms were waved, and depicted as a ballot symbol, with promises of "a clean sweep" aimed at corruption. One Maryland newspaper taunted President Adams and Secretary of State Clay for never having risked their lives in battle for their country, and concluded poetically:

"Freeman! Cheer the HICKORY TREE In Storms its boughs Protected YE!"

Collectors seeking Jackson political memorabilia need much persistence, luck, and cash. With good fortune, items that may be found for under \$100 include the 18 mm. medal for the 1833 Second Inauguration (which refers to March IV, 1833; the 1861 restrike makes it March 4); some of the 1824, '28 and '32 Jackson medalets and 1834 anti-Jackson tokens listed in Ed Sullivan's 1991 *American Political Badges and Medalets*; contemporary newspapers with significant Jackson stories, including campaign newspapers published in at least 11 cities in 1828, and in two for the 1832 re-election campaign; contemporary Congressional publications relating to Jackson; song texts and sheet music; some of the Battle of New Orleans and Jackson 1845 deathbed depictions; and some of the



campaign biographies, of which William Miles' bibliography *The Image Makers* lists 33 editions published between 1823 and 1832.

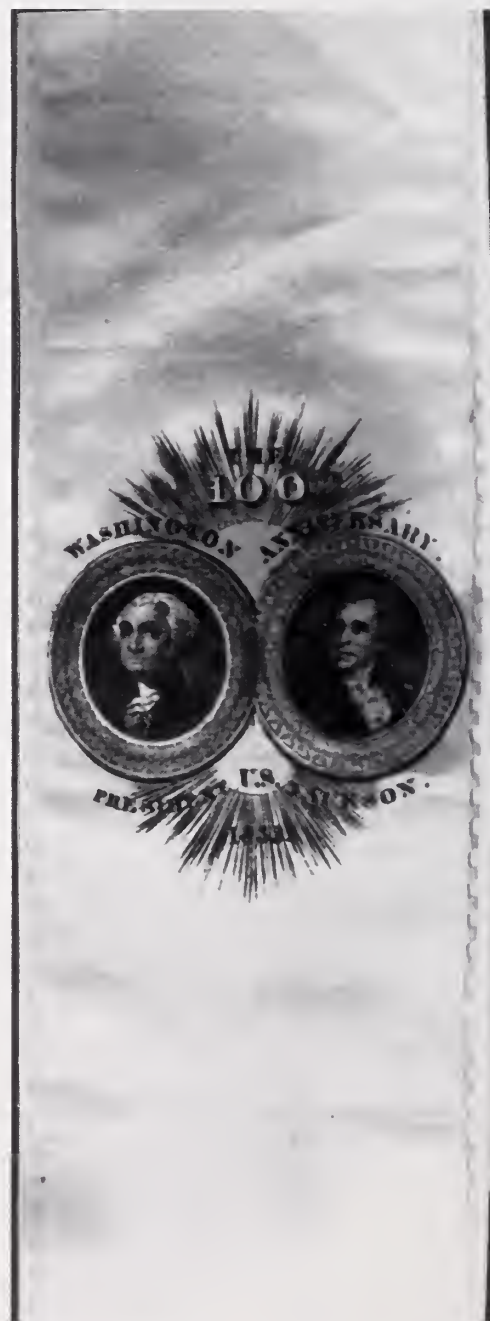
A large collection could be made of reasonably priced Democratic items produced since the Jackson Presidency which have used Jackson iconography. The Hero of New Orleans is still with us, alongside the Sage of Monticello.

Items which if found can be far more expensive include the 1828 Coffins handbill and other campaign handbills; lithographed cartoons, usually anti-Jackson; paper and silk broadsides of Jackson addresses and proclamations; small pewter-framed portraits; bas-relief plaques; the Jackson Indian Peace Medal and bronze copies of his 1824 gold medal from Congress; and Jackson autographs, textiles, bottles, snuff boxes, clocks, vases, plates and other china, engravings and memorial ribbons.★

Notes:

- (1) From an article by Congressman Samuel Ingham, later Jackson's first Secretary of the Treasury, in the Jackson campaign newspaper in Washington, D.C., the *U.S. Telegraph Extra*, July 12, 1828, p. 274.
- (2) See Jackson campaign biographies article, in *Democratic Spirit*.
- (3) Woodrow Wilson, *A History of The American People*, vol. IV, p. 3. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902.
- (4) Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, pp. 179-180. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- (5) Thomas A. Bailey, *Voices of America: The Nation's Story in Slogans, Sayings, and Songs*, p. 65. New York: The Free Press, 1976.

Doug Kelley edits *Democratic Spirit* for the Democratic Political Items Collectors. His graduate study at Harvard University included American political history; his Ph.D. is from University of Michigan, where he's a retiree.





Many Jackson items were designed for everyday use, such as the pitcher and sewing box pictured above. The whiskey jug on the left is inscribed, "Great god Almighty what a wonder-Andrew Jackson hell and thunder."

# Andrew Jackson and the Bank of The United States

*An interesting bit of history concerning  
"Old Hickory"*

by the late Stan V. Henkels



EDITOR'S NOTE: This story was discovered by APIC member Robert Fratkin in a booklet privately printed by the author's family. According to Fratkin, "nobody has seen this since 1928 and few saw it then." Jackson's battle against the Bank of the United States is reflected in the coattail ribbon on this page. Edmund Sullivan and Roger Fischer believe the ribbon "may well be both the earliest surviving example of a presidential coattail campaign object and the first use of a ribbon to promote partisan issues. The NO BANK legend presents something of a mystery, for [Philadelphia congressman Joel Barlow] Sutherland was an avid champion of the Bank of the United States (headquartered in his district) whose quarrel with Jackson on the issue led to his ouster by anti-Bank Democrats in 1836."

**Jackson,  
Sutherland,  
DEMOCRACY,  
AND  
No BANK**



**EQUAL RIGHTS  
TO ALL  
LEGAL VOTERS.**

About the year 1883 a client of mine spent several hours in my office examining a box of old papers which he had recently bought at auction. Selecting the few that he wanted, he told me to throw the rest away. Having nothing in particular to do, I looked them over. Noticing a roll of closely written foolscap, I became curious and examined its pages more closely. You may imagine my delight to discover that it was no less than the original minutes of the committee sent to President Jackson, praying that he would not take the charter from the Bank of the United States, and would restore its governmental deposits. The document bore the signatures of Caleb Cope, Seth Comly, William Struthers, and many other noted men of financial standing in Philadelphia.

This document described the arrival of these gentlemen in Washington, and their reception at the White House. They were ushered into a large room to wait. Presently a tall, stately man, clothed in black, opened the door at the other end of the room and advanced toward them. He shook hands and said, "Gentlemen, what can I do for you?" He seated himself at a table and listened to them closely for nearly an hour. When they had finished, he made no comment and they thought they had won him to their cause.

Then he spoke, "Have you anything more to say, gentlemen?" They admitted they had not. Then he arose from his seat and gave them this answer, "Gentlemen! I

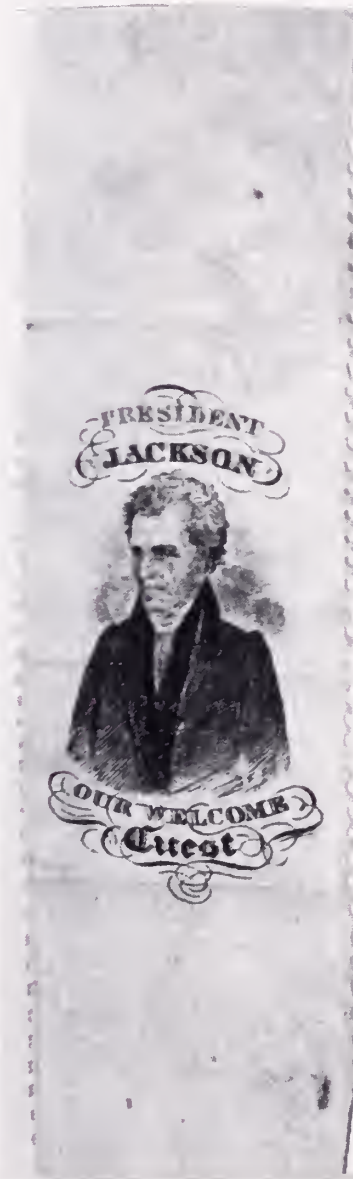


too have been a close observer of the doings of the Bank of the United States. I have had men watching you for a long time, and am convinced that you have used the funds of the bank to speculate in the breadstuffs of the country. When you won, you divided the profits amongst you, and when you lost, you charged it to the bank. You tell me that if I take the deposits from the bank and annul its charter I shall ruin ten thousand families. That may be true, gentlemen, but that is your sin! Should I let you go on, you will ruin fifty thousand families, and that would be my sin! You are a den of vipers and thieves. I have determined to rout you out, and by the Eternal, (bringing his fist down on the table) I will rout you out!"

The minutes then recorded that the committee were frightened out of their boots at the vehemence of the President and were glad to get away with their lives.

Well, history tells us that "Old Hickory" carried out his threat. Ruination did not visit ten thousand families, but the incomes of many of Philadelphia's financiers were considerably reduced. "Old Hickory" was surely on the right track, for the same client once showed me several promissory notes, some for as much as ten thousand dollars, signed by Daniel Webster, which had been discounted by the Bank of the United States, but never honored by that gentleman. It is interesting to recall that the bank had employed Mr. Webster to make speeches throughout the country against Andrew Jackson, and in favor of the bank. No doubt this accommodation was given Mr. Webster for his services.

I kept this document in my possession for several years. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania refused to be interested and no other buyer could be found. One afternoon, however, on my way home from the office I met a reporter on The Evening Telegraph. He asked me if I had anything new and interesting, and I saw my chance. I told him about the minutes and intimated



that another paper had asked to write them up. (God forgive me, I told a white lie!) He begged and pleaded with me to let him have the story. It appeared the next afternoon in two columns headed "A Relic of St. Andrew." The article attracted a good bit of attention and was read by the venerable Mr. Caleb Cope, at that time President of the Seventh Street Saving Fund. As the paper stated that I was going to sell the document in a few days at public sale, he decided to call upon me. I was then connected with Thomas Birch's Sons at 1110 Chestnut Street and my cataloguing room was on the third floor, but this did not deter the old gentleman from climbing two flights of steep stairs for the privilege of looking at that paper. I can see him now, as plainly as if it were yesterday. I handed him the paper. After perusing it for fifteen or twenty minutes he said, "Stanislaus, I thought those minutes had been destroyed many, many years ago. Yes, that is my signature-and that is Comly's - and Struthers', and all the rest. My, but those were exciting times. Many others beside myself looked upon Andrew Jackson as a tyrant but, Stanislaus, I lived to see the day when I could bend my knee and say, 'God bless Andrew Jackson! It is to his great foresight and wisdom that we owe the admirable banking system that we have today.'" So spoke one of that "den of vipers and thieves."

The paper was sold at auction a few weeks after this incident. It was purchased by a son of the William Struthers who signed the minutes, and as far as I know, is in the possession of his family to this day.★

# The Kennedy Equality Button

by Chris Hearn

Every President since Harry Truman has had a campaign button produced tying him to the Civil Rights movement or the Black voter; every President it was thought except John F. Kennedy. It was believed that one had not been produced during the Kennedy campaign – until now. The pictured button has recently surfaced that was probably issued for the Black community late in the 1960 campaign. The pin is a 2 1/4" full color pin with an image of John Kennedy in the middle with sketches of a young Black man to the right of JFK and a young White man to the left. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY is spelled out in red on a white background.

The significance of the Black vote to the outcome of the 1960 general election cannot be underestimated. Without Black support JFK most probably would have lost to Richard Nixon. How the Kennedy campaign turned it around is most interesting.

During most of the 1960 campaign the Black community was torn between the Party of Lincoln and the Party of Franklin Roosevelt. Many Black Baptists and other Protestants had trouble backing an Irish Catholic. Both Parties took different approaches to winning the Black vote.

The moderate wing of the Republican Party, led by Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and the party's Vice Presidential nominee, Henry Cabot Lodge, convinced Richard Nixon at the Republican National Convention that an advanced Civil Rights program could win the Black vote in key Northeastern industrial states as against a program that by moderation could win votes of Southern Whites. Yet when Henry Cabot Lodge promised a crowd in Harlem, New York that if elected President, Mr. Nixon would appoint a Black to his cabinet, the Nixon campaign staff was ambivalent and questions began to arise as to Mr. Nixon's commitment to Civil Rights.

The Democrats during the campaign were also taking a more subdued approach to the Civil Rights issue. The Kennedy campaign had early on recognized the impor-



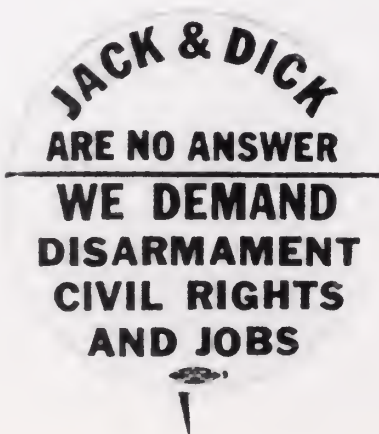
tance of carrying the "Solid South" by nominating Lyndon Johnson for Vice President, who throughout the 1950s was on record as an opponent of the Civil Rights movement in the South. However, as the final three weeks of the campaign approached, the Kennedy campaign – led by the candidate himself – made a significant decision that would turn the tide.

The event which moved Kennedy was the arrest of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. On October 19, 1960, Dr. King was arrested along with fifty-two other Blacks in Atlanta, Georgia for refusing to leave the restaurant at Rich's Department Store. All other "sit-ins" arrested were soon released. However, Dr. King was soon sentenced to four months hard labor to the Georgia State Penitentiary.

By October 25, the Kennedy campaign made its first move, a move formulated by Notre Dame law professor and director of the Civil Rights section of the Kennedy campaign, Harris Wofford (later U.S. Senator Wofford of Pennsylvania). The strategy was simple yet compassionate; the candidate would call Dr. King's wife and express his concern. Mr. Wofford, through Sargent Shriver, contacted Sen. Kennedy at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport and suggested the strategy. Without hesitation, Kennedy called Mrs. Coretta Scott King, expressed his interest and concern for her suffering and, if necessary, his intervention in securing the release of her husband.

The news quickly hit the press that Kennedy had intervened to protect Dr. King. The next day Bobby Kennedy directly called the Georgia judge who had sentenced King pleading for his release. On Thursday, October 26, Dr. King was released from prison on bail, pending appeal.

Although the incident seemed minor at the time in the overall context of the campaign, it had a very significant influence on the Black community. Dr. King's father, who only a few weeks before the arrest had endorsed Richard Nixon on religious grounds, switched, as did several other





Black leaders across the country.

To follow-up on the phone call, Harris Wofford directed the production and distribution of thousands of pamphlets describing the episode. On the Sunday before the election they were distributed outside Black churches across the country. The button pictured here was probably also produced during this same period and possibly worn by someone distributing the literature.

In contrast, the Republican response to Dr. King's arrest

was to basically do nothing, although some in the administration felt it was important to take action. On the day Dr. King was sentenced, the Eisenhower Administration's Department of Justice – led by Deputy Attorney General Lawrence E. Walsh (later of Iran-Contra fame) – composed a draft statement to support the application for release of Dr. King. Two copies of the draft were sent out – one to the White House – one to Mr. Nixon's campaign. Neither the White House or the Nixon campaign acted on the statement.

As an example of the impact, Kennedy carried Illinois by 9,000 votes but received 250,000 Black votes. In Michigan, he carried the state by 67,000 votes but received 250,000 Black votes, and in South Carolina, carried by only 10,000 votes, more than 40,000 Blacks voted for Sen. Kennedy. Therefore, in the final tally of votes the actions of the Kennedy campaign far outweighed the inaction of the Nixon camp.★

# ALL AMERICANS MOVE FORWARD



**DEMOCRATIC ACTION  
FOR CIVIL RIGHTS**

Four anti-Kennedy buttons below. FDR called Joe Kennedy, JFK's father, "my ambassador." Jack quoted his father when he said, "All businessmen are SOBs," inspiring two buttons. "Jobs For Kinfolk" refers to Bobby and Teddy's sudden political prominence.



# How I Got Senator Kennedy Elected President

by Henry Michalski



It happens every year. Every semester, usually in the first week, I try to impress my students with the idea that their vote counts, that a single person can make a difference. One of my student's will inevitably question that notion with a litany of how the lone voice, even a chorus of well intentioned souls, haven't got a chance against the established structures of power that rule America.

That's when this true story comes in handy. Kennedy beat Nixon in 1960 by the razor thin margin of 118,000 popular votes. That's less than one vote per precinct, etc. But all politics, they say, is local and elections are won door to door, person to person.

On my fifteenth birthday I managed to locate the Kennedy headquarters at 525 Market Street in San Francisco. It was shortly after the Democratic convention in L.A. nominated the handsome young senator from Massachusetts that I threw my complete allegiance to Kennedy. We sentimentally held out for Stevenson but once the convention made it official for Kennedy, it was all the way with JFK.

Many eager volunteers were already renovating the cavernous storefront on San Francisco's main shopping street as the official "Citizens for Kennedy" headquarters. A busy lady whom I asked if there was anything I could do to help elect Senator Kennedy president, responded by asking me if I knew how to use a broom. With Horatio Algeresque eagerness, I replied that I certainly did and proceeded to

demonstrate my dexterity with the tool until the entire wooden floor was spotless. Every whoosh of the broom confirmed in convincing terms that I was indeed a genuine bonafide citizen volunteer for Kennedy...one of the team.

After a while another teen volunteer and myself were summoned to help decorate the office with boxes of freshly minted Kennedy posters. From tall ladders we covered every wall with those magnificent red, white and blue "A Time for Greatness" posters depicting a visionary profile of the young senator. To this day, that poster, more than any Kennedy collectible, conjures up wonderful memories of that exciting campaign to elect a president from the musty old hardwood floored storefront on Market Street.

From the ladder our work was prompted by the loud and soon incessant blaring of Frank Sinatra's hits, "All the Way" and "High Hopes" with especially customized lyrics such as "Everyone is voting for Jack, Cause he's got what all the rest lack, Everyone wants to back Jack, Jack is on the right track...cause he's got high hopes..." It was upbeat and optimistic and loud and I'm sure those who eventually drifted into the office were emotionally lifted even if they couldn't hear the person with whom they were trying to converse.

Surrounded by baskets of buttons, stickers and posters and other young dedicated volunteers like myself, I knew that I had a place to be every day where I was needed and





appreciated. It was an exhilaratingly powerful feeling to know that a fifteen year old recently naturalized American citizen could help make a difference in electing a president of the United States! Every morning that summer, sometimes with one or both of my brothers, perhaps with a friend, we hopped the #39 Geary bus to the Market Street mecca of political activity. The pilgrimage continued right through the entire Fall campaign. We never knew what task, surprise or drama would unfold.

Whatever job needed to be done, I volunteered. When the lady in charge of keeping us youthful recruits on task asked if anyone could draw, I immediately raised my hand. I was told to design a sign advertising PT boats that would soon go on sale. Not only did I not know what a PT boat looked like, I never even heard of one before. So the lady told me to draw a boat but to make it small and speedy looking. Whatever I doodled and lettered must have been okay because the poster was taped to the front window and soon boxes of little gold "PT 109" lapel pins began to appear for sale to the general public at one dollar each.

A few days later I was asked to hand deliver a small envelope of the PT pins to "special" guests in a suite at the nearby Sheraton Palace Hotel. I was carefully instructed to knock at a certain door and hand the envelope to whomever would answer. The heavy door opened into a huge suite of rooms beautifully appointed in antique golds and soft pastels. The room seemed drenched in gold leaf accented in shimmering light, cascading in from large windows highlighting vases full of beautiful flower arrangements. To my utter amazement, the man who answered the door was Governor Pat Brown. Through clouds of cigar smoke I saw serious dark suited men huddled and apparently plotting from various sofas and divans. Governor Brown kindly accepted the envelope and began handing out the PT boat pins to Robert Kennedy who was talking with someone who resembled Ted Sorensen. Pierre Salinger, responsible for much of the smoke, was there too chatting with a very young Teddy Kennedy. The men in the room, oblivious to the open-mouthed youth frozen in the doorway, seemed animated by their intent on accomplishing a very large and secretive task. Much to my disappointment the men in the room did not jump to invite me in to advise the campaign. Mission accomplished and slightly dazed, I strolled back to the HQ replaying the scene again and again in my mind determined to remember while eager for new political adventure.

One bright autumn day all the volunteers were bused out to SF International Airport for a speech by Senator Kennedy. I don't remember much of what the future president said but I do recall edging my way to the front of the throng where Kennedy eventually shook my outstretched hand and autographed a sticker in his famous scrawl. For years I displayed the signature under glass on my desk next to a window. Today the faded autograph serves as a reminder of great days and a warning of how to preserve future important memories.



Jack Kennedy and Richard Nixon were both elected to Congress in 1948, winding up in offices across the hall from one another. The Washington Post's Bill Pause drew the above cartoon which Nixon later inscribed to "my friend & neighbor Jack Kennedy with best wishes for almost everything!"

The final San Francisco rally of the fall campaign was held in the Cow Palace. It was a balmy November evening and again we volunteers were bused to the site. Much to our disappointment we were told that the fire marshall ordered that no more people be allowed inside due to the huge crowd and that a special closed circuit screen was set up in an adjacent building to pacify the thousands of supporters hoping for a glimpse of Kennedy. My brother Jerry and I had no intention of seeing Kennedy on a special screen. Utilizing well rehearsed tactics learned four years before when the Republicans used the Cow Palace to renominate Eisenhower and Nixon, Jerry and I set out for the cattle pens behind the massive structure used for rodeos and car shows and basketball games and yes, political rallies. We eventually located an unsupervised open door and nonchalantly walked into a frenzied arena packed with liberal well wishers. We naturally worked our way to the front where famous Hollywood stars worked the crowd into a fever in anticipation of the magic moment when the Senator and his glamorous entourage would enter to deafening shouts of approval. Only once before had I experienced such utter adult pandemonium and that was a game winning alley-oop touchdown from Y.A. Tittle to R.C. Owens at Kezar Stadium.

By election day, having done all things a campaign required of volunteers, we milled around the office nervously trying to keep busy. To my surprise the nice lady in charge called me over to her Underwood typewriter. Into the ancient machine she scrolled an official looking document bearing the jugate pictures of Kennedy and Johnson surrounded by colorful draped flags and eagles. On the line indicating role played in the campaign she typed, "Kennedy's Advisor". I now keep the framed memento in a special place away from a window.

Even though I was only fifteen, I explain to my students, and unable to vote, I like to believe that in my own humble way I contributed to Kennedy's victory in the closest election in American history.★

***In Person***

**U. S. SENATOR**

**JOHN F. KENNEDY**

Democratic Candidate for President

***Admission Free***

Cow Palace / South San Francisco

Wednesday, November 2

Doors Open 6 P.M. Entertainment 7 P.M.

★ Top Talent ★ Hollywood Stars

**COME EARLY**

Thomas C. Lynch, Chairman 312 Sutter Street

# JFK IN 1964

by John R. Henigan

In Mid-October of 1963, thirteen months before the next election *Time Magazine* offered an item:

“Everyone knows who the Democratic nominee will be, but anybody who thinks that the incumbent President of the United States is resting on his laurels just doesn’t know John Kennedy. As of last week, President Kennedy and his braintrust were already on their way to the 1964 campaign.”

At the Democratic headquarters in Washington, a full time staff was already assembling large files on potential Republican nominees, especially Barry Goldwater, who had suddenly become the most likely challenger.

Bobby Kennedy prepared to direct the 1964 campaign from behind the scenes and Pierre Salinger worked with Larry O’Brien to compile information and details on Kennedy’s accomplishments. The National Committee had already been circulating anti-Goldwater, anti-Conservative, pro-JFK pamphlets.

Campaign novelty manufacturers had already produced JFK gadgets for an upcoming campaign, including several button varieties.

The President himself was also involved in this effort. Polls showed Barry Goldwater to be a formidable opponent, and Kennedy started work on his weak points. He had done poorly in the Western area in 1960 and began there. His first effort for ‘64 was a 5-day swing in September 1963 into 11 states. This Western tour produced more than a dozen speeches on various topics, and was billed as a “Boost for Conservation,” but incorporated much political and vote-appealing material.

The Kennedy strategy was to concentrate on the industrial states, large minority groups, and union labor. Lyndon Johnson was assured renomination as Vice President and was counted on for support and strength in the South.

Political strategists urged JFK to stress peace as the major issue, and emphasize the nuclear test ban treaties as his nucleus. This was certain to be an issue in helping defeat Goldwater. The issues of race and civil rights were to be handled very carefully.

The overall campaign structure was in its infancy. However, the Kennedy machine was a well-oiled and efficient organization. As Pierre Salinger had remarked after the success in 1960, one factor which made JFK’s election bid effective was “the kind of organizational skill which marshalled forces cross the country in his behalf.”

Two months after President Kennedy’s western tour to open his re-election bid, the hopes and aspirations for 1964 ended in Dallas.



## The Last Poll

The Gallup Poll of July 24, 1963 must have given President Kennedy a much needed boost. Thoughts had already turned to the ‘64 campaign, and the GOP was approaching its usual mass rush for the nomination.

No matter: John F. Kennedy could have beaten them all.

An earlier poll showed these men would probably be the group from which the GOP nominee would be chosen, as Republicans registered their choices:

Goldwater 38%, Rocky 28%, Romney 16%, Nixon 8%, Undecided 10%. The first choice among Democrats of course was President John F. Kennedy. Once again we can only think back and wonder: “what might have been....”

\*\*\*\*\*

Kennedy vs. Barry Goldwater:	JFK 60%	Goldwater 34%
	Undecided 6%	
Kennedy vs. Nelson Rockefeller:	JFK 60%	Rockefeller 30%
	Undecided 7%	
Kennedy vs. George Romney:	JFK 59%	Romney 33%
	Undecided 8%	
Kennedy vs. Richard Nixon:	JFK 58%	Nixon 39%
	Undecided 3%	

\*\*\*\*\*

# MR. BOOZ'S BOTTLES

by Julie and Robin Powell

## PART 1. THE PLOT

The Phoenixville, Pa. auctioneer seemed pleased to get \$6 for the bottle. The New Jersey-shaped, 1.75-inch sticker on one end of the bottle says, "Authentic HAND MADE, South Jersey Glass, Clevenger Bros. Glass Works, Clayton, N. J."

The bottle itself is pale green, 7.75 inches tall, and 4 x 2.9 inches at the base. It is house-shaped (Figure 1). The roof says, "E. G. BOOZ'S OLD CABIN WHISKEY" on one side, and "(1840)" on the other. The face shows the front of a 2-story house with a door and three windows. One end (obverse right) says, "E.G. BOOZ'S OLD CABIN WHISKEY"; the other (obverse left) says, "120 WALNUT ST PHILADELPHIA." A clue that the item doesn't date from 1840 is that the back (Figure 2) shows Independence Hall, the Liberty Bell, and the words "BICENTENNIAL, 1776, 1976, AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE."

The booklet suspended from the neck of the bottle offers congratulations for having purchased "an heirloom of tomorrow." The booklet notes that the bottle "...was originally designed in 1840 by E. C. Booz of Philadelphia in honor of his hero and then candidate for president—old Tippecanoe Harrison, who boasted of the traditional log cabin background." It says that the bottles were filled with "old Cabin whiskey," and that customers, instead of asking for whiskey, "...came to ask for Booz, and the name stuck."

The booklet states that the original bottle can be seen in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It notes also that 1) the Clevenger Brothers "...blow the most authentically known reproduction made," 2) "Many years ago they were granted permission to copy the mold except for a slight change," 3) today they are the only known factory still using the Green Blowing method of producing glass, and 4) the "color in this bottle is from a formula used in 1850 by the Moore Brothers Glass Works of Clayton, N.J."

The bicentennial "Booz bottle" is not a deceptive item. The same cannot be said, though, about certain other reproduction bottles that bear the words "E.G. Booz's Old Cabin Whiskey."

## PART 2. THE PLOT THICKENS

The price tag on the "honey amber" bottle on the mantle in the Collegeville, Pa. antique mall was \$450.00. Similar in size and shape to that shown in Figure 1, the amber bottle exhibits a roof, face, sides, and wording similar to those of the 1976 bottle. Only the back of the amber bottle is plain. The amber bottle has no booklet around its neck and no Clevenger Bros. sticker.

When we suggested that the amber bottle might be a reproduction, the dealer was not overly surprised. She

said, "I sorta figured as much. A man last week thought it was a reproduction. But I wanted to leave the price up 'til I was sure." Whether the price has been changed or the tag now notes that the bottle is a reproduction, we're not sure.

## PART 3. THE PLOT THICKENS MORE

The Hatfield, Pa. auctioneer seemed utterly disinterested that the high bid was \$5 for a group of glass items including the bottle shown in Figure 3. It is pale blue-green, 6.9 inches tall and 3.9 x 2.9 inches at the base. Although indistinct, the wording on the roof and sides and the design on the face closely resemble those of the 1976 version. But the bottle's reverse aspect is plain.

The amber bottle, the pale blue-green version, and other pre-1976 "Booz bottles" raise questions about how to tell reproductions from originals. The 1976 booklet and other such material present questions about how the bottles originated and their impact. Did the originals relate to Harrison's campaign in 1840? Is this how the word booze gained a place in the English language?

## PART 4. WHAT ABOUT THE WORD BOOZE?

H. L. Mencken's *The American Language* (4th edition, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1936, p. 566) states that "Booze has never got into Standard English, but it was known to slang in the first years of the Fourteenth



Figure 1



Figure 2

Century.” Mencken’s *The American Language: Supplement I* (1945, Alfred A. Knopf, p. 264) observes that “Booze is an old word in English. The NED traces it, in the form of house, to c. 1300. Weekley suggests that it may have been reintroduced, from the analogous Dutch buizen or the German hausen, in the Sixteenth Century. In England booze means ale or beer, not wine or spirits. An English workingman calls his favorite pub his boozier.”

This doesn’t exclude a possibility that Mr. Booz’s name or product contributed something to usage of the word booze in America. But it shoots a gaping hole in the notion that the word originated as a result of his name, his bottle, or the contents.

#### PART 5. WHAT DO THE BOOKS SAY?

Several excellent texts on American political or patriotic items that deal with glassware and other 3-dimensional memorabilia provide a bountiful array of pictorial and other information about items from the 1840 Harrison/VanBuren campaign. Examples include Edmund B. Sullivan’s *Collecting Political Americana* (Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1980), Marian Klamkin’s *American Patriotic and Political China* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1973), Stan Gores’ *Presidential and Campaign Memorabilia* (Wallace-Homestead Book Co., Des Moines, 1982), Bessie M. Lindsey’s *American Historical Glass* (Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vt., 1967), and Roger A. Fischer’s *Tippencanoe and Trinkets Too* (University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1988). These sources discuss the campaign and illustrate many items from it. But they are

conspicuously silent in terms of reference to Mr. Booz’s bottles.

Mary H. Northend’s *American Glass* (Tudor Publishing Co., New York, 1926, pp. 74-75) shows a photo of “the famous ‘Booz’ bottle” and says that “...there was a distiller named E. C. Booz in Philadelphia at the time of the ‘Log Cabin Campaign’ of William Henry Harrison. The Whitney Company made bottles for this distiller in the shape of eight-inch high log cabins, symbolizing the birth-place of Harrison.” The author says further that, “The distiller’s name was pressed into the bottle, and so effective was this simple advertising that the phrase ‘I’ll take a bottle of Booz’ came to mean just what the advertiser intended it should—a bottle of whiskey.” She adds that, “These log cabin bottles are now exceedingly rare, and bring large prices when offered for sale.”

George and Helen McKearin’s classic work *American Glass* (Crown Publishers, Inc., New York, 1941, pp. 461-462, Plate 247) describes one portrait flask, two other flasks, and two log cabin bottles that they identify as belonging to the 1840 Harrison campaign. The two log cabin bottles they cite are dark olive amber or dark olive green (almost black) and 5.5 inches tall; the wording is limited to “Tippencanoe” and “North Bend” on one bottle and “Tippencanoe” on the other.

In a separate section of the book (pp. 564-565), the McKearins describe three types of Booz bottles: one with a straight roof line, one that has the roof line beveled at its ends, and one that has the roof line beveled at the ends and a stubby neck. A footnote on page 565 says, “These ‘Booz’ bottles were produced at Whitney Glass Works...For many years they were supposed to have been made in 1840 at the time of the William Henry Harrison Presidential Campaign...The shape and details of the bottle do not in the least resemble the log cabin of the Harrison Campaign...Actually, as was pointed out by I. Hazleton Mirkil in the magazine *Antiques*, November, 1926, E. G. Booz was not located at 140 Walnut Street until 1860.”

The McKearins note that Mr. Booz’s business address was 54 South Front Street prior to 1860. They speculate that the year 1840 on the bottle relates to the age of the whiskey. And they point out that the “...popular impression that the word ‘booze’ originated with or was derived from this bottle is entirely erroneous.”

They comment that about 1931 a very good reproduction was made but that “...a distinguishing characteristic is omission of the period after the word ‘whiskey’ on one end.”

Katherine Morrison McClinton’s *Collecting American Glass* (Gramercy Publishing Co., New York, 1950, p. 58) provides information about the Harrison campaign log cabin bottles, “Booz bottles, and “Booz bottle” reproductions. Her comments are in line with the McKearins’.

Ruth Webb Lee’s *Antique Fakes and Reproductions* (Lee Publications, Wellesley Hills, 1966, pp. 55-56) discusses reproductions of the “Booz bottles.” She states that the original bottles never deserved their popularity “because

their history was based upon errors." She observes that the theory that the bottles were made during the campaign of 1840 is mistaken and that the word booze was Elizabethan English.

#### PART 6. HALLMARKS OF ORIGINAL "BOOZ BOTTLES" AND REPRODUCTIONS

Figure 4 (courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art) shows an original "Booz bottle." Thomas C. Haunton's landmark article, *The Booz Bottle: Real Vs. Repro.* in the November 1989 issue of *Antique Bottle & Glass Collector* magazine (pages 10-19) reviews the three types of Whitney "Booz" bottles that the McKearins describe, gives eight characteristics that appear unique to the Whitney bottles, discusses similarities, and itemizes 12 comparative features that help to distinguish certain Clevenger reproductions from originals.

Examples of differential points are that: 1) the top part of the K in WHISKEY is wider than is the bottom part in the Whitney bottle, while the opposite is true for reproductions; 2) the S in WHISKEY on the roof in Whitney bottles is centered directly below the C in CABIN, while the S is off-center in reproductions; and 3) the first O in BOOZ on the roof is complete and is clearly separated from the base of the stem on the original, whereas the top of the O is lost in the stem in reproductions.

Haunton mentions that reproductions consistently lack, and originals generally have, a period after the word WHISKEY. But he notes that some originals do not exhibit the period (the mold may have been dirty or the glass may not have been blown hard enough to get a clear impression in that part of the bottle).

Haunton discusses a multitude of Booz bottle reproductions, in addition to the Clevenger ones, of variegated character and quality from the 1940s, 50s, and 60s. Some Clevenger Bros.-type reproductions from the 1950s and 60s have the letters C and B on the base and/or under the door. Others, including Armstrong Cork, Wheaton, and other varieties, including a milk glass version, bear identi-

fying characteristics quite different from the Whitney originals. Haunton reports that an Italian version is close to the Clevenger beveled-roof-crest reproduction, but has the words "BOOZE BOTTLE" on the base. One type of reproduction he discusses was made for Kentucky Bourbon whiskey; it perpetuates the myth about the origin of the word booze but is not apt to be mistaken for an original Booz bottle. Reproductions sold through other outlets and other pamphlets, including one published by a firm in Rhode Island, have helped to sustain the ideas that the bottles relate to the 1840 presidential campaign and introduced the word booze into the language.

In Haunton's view, "It is doubtful that any of the reproductions were made with the intent of misleading anyone into thinking that they were original Booz bottles." He sees as the main offenders the unscrupulous individuals who for some 60 years have been purveying reproductions as "the real thing."

#### PART 7. CONCLUDING COMMENT

For collectors of political items, the silence concerning these bottles in texts on political memorabilia is eminently appropriate. The assertion that the bottles relate to the 1840 campaign appears to be unfounded. Their political connection appears to be nil. The purported relationship to the Harrison campaign makes such a good yarn, though, that the tale will in all probability be perpetuated for many years. Collectors likely will continue to encounter Booz Log Cabin Whiskey bottles with apocryphal assertions about how they relate to William Henry Harrison's 1840 campaign.

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 Acknowledgements: We thank the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Curator Jack Lindsey, and Adjunct Curator Miriam Mucha for allowing us to inspect an original Whitney "Booz bottle" and its mold, for photographs of the original bottle, and for directing us to helpful information including the article by Mr. Haunton.



Figures 3a and 3b



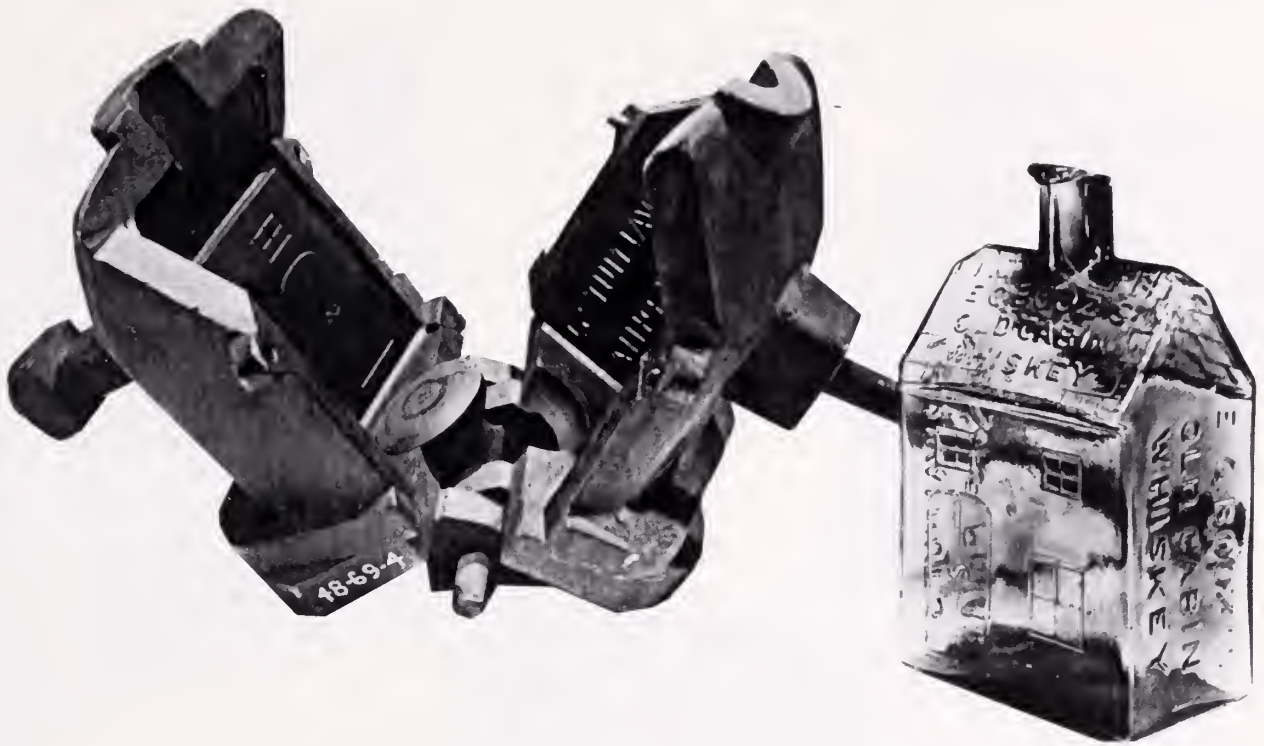
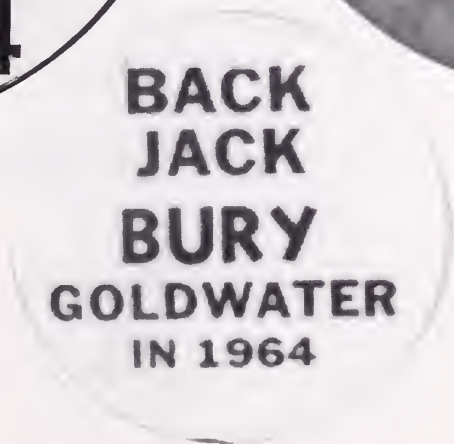


Figure 4



More items related to JFK's 1964 campaign.

Barry Goldwater inspired both pro- and anti-JFK items.

FROM A NEWER COLLECTOR

# MY FIRST BUTTON

by Todd Kimmel



Todd Kimmel

The grand ballroom was bustling with noise and activity. Tables upon tables were filled with display cabinets of buttons, ribbons, badges and posters. People were walking the aisles, many bent over looking at the items, jostling for a position to get a closer look, and conferring with the dealers. As I stood in the doorway, I sensed the stirring of excitement, and I took my first step into the world of political memorabilia.

I ventured over to the first table. An elderly dealer was sitting there eager to help a young collector. He started to explain the details of his extraordinary hobby. Political memorabilia consists of presidential, third party hopefuls, and local campaign materials. The collectibles range from the common "I like Ike" button to the rare George Washington clothing button. Buttons vary in size from 9" to 5/8" in diameter, with 1 1/4" wide being the most expensive because of their popularity with collectors. The old man added that each item has its own relationship to history. Understanding I was a neophyte, he suggested I concentrate on lesser known presidential candidates, such as Alf Landon and Wendell Willkie, whose buttons were more suitable to my budget. Somehow, I knew this genial dealer would become one of my mentors as I became imbued with political memorabilia.

Through collecting, I would find my own connection with history, make friends with people ranging from policemen to historians, all with a curiosity about our political and historical past, learn to discern fact from the apocryphal tale and how to bargain for my purchases.

But, I could not have foretold the most important aspect of the hobby – a stronger friendship with my father.

I searched the room for my first purchase. An attractive 1 1/4" Theodore Roosevelt button depicting a boxing ring with a hat in the middle and TR 1912 on the sides caught my eye. The dealer hurried over and began his sales pitch, "TR threw his hat in the ring in 1912, after having renounced a third term for 1908 and helping to nominate his friend Taft as his successor. When Taft secured the 1912 Republican nomination, TR ran as a Progressive." How clearly and concisely this button reflected history. I hesitatingly made my first offer and watched as he shook his head, "I am sorry, it is worth much more than your bid, much more." I had to walk away empty-handed. From this encounter, I began to realize that each item tells a story. Every purchase brings a vision of candidates campaigning, of presidential politics and of the American electoral system.

I continued on and met up with my father, who was engrossed in a conversation with a man about Calvin Coolidge. My father has become an expert in the field of political. He carries a magnifying glass and the knowledge that helps him spot forgeries and items in outstanding condition for his collection. He becomes elated when he finds a special artifact. I asked, "Dad, help me start my collection. What do you advise?" He recommended I select a favorite president and focus on the more affordable 7/8" buttons.

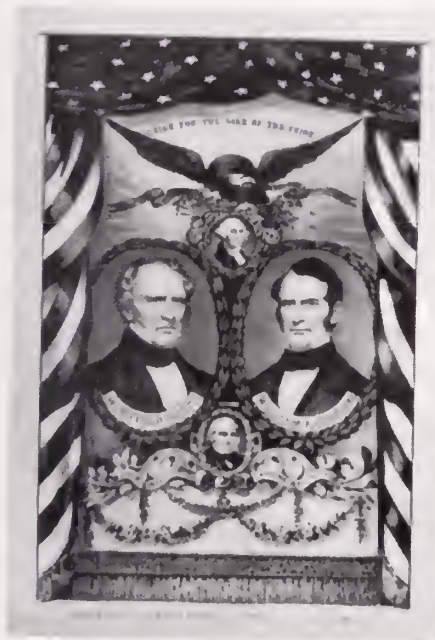
Off I went, hunting for that one unique button. Then, there it was, a sky blue TR button that was shiny and flawless. The button had a list price of \$35.00, but once I told the dealer that this would be my first purchase, with a wink in his eye, he brought the price down to \$15.00. I was on my way.

The black train chugged into the station. The crowd pushed together waiting for the anticipated entrance. I could feel the pressure of bodies touching and moving, swaying to some invisible force.

Then the tall heavy-set man walked out from behind a curtain draped over the door of the caboose. The group quieted, and he said, "My name is Theodore Roosevelt and I am running for President of the United States." Suddenly, a whistle blew and I looked down at the button that read "Rough Rider" and smiled.★



1852 Kellogs & Comstock and Currier & Ives Prints.



BORN TO COMMAND.



OF VETO MEMORY.

HAD I BEEN CONSULTED.

KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

# KING ANDREW

THE FIRST,

**“Born to Command.”**

A KING who, possessing as much power as his Gracious Brother William IV., makes a worse use of it.

A KING who has placed himself above the laws, as he has shown by his contempt of our judges.

A KING who would destroy our currency, and substitute *Old Rags* payable by no one knows who, and no one knows where, instead of *good Silver Dollars*.

A KING born to command, as he has shown himself by appointing men to office contrary to the will of the People.

A KING who, while he was feeding his favourites out of the public money, denied a pittance to the *Old Soldiers* who fought and bled for our independence.

A KING whose *Prime Minister* and *Heir Apparent*, was thought unfit for the office of ambassador by the people:

**Shall he reign over us,  
Or shall the PEOPLE RULE?**