



THE KEYNOTER



The Whig Legacy

Political Convention Tickets • The Roosevelt/Garner Club

Editor's Message

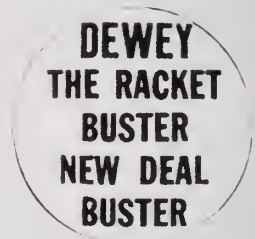
Roger Fischer's article on the Whig legacy to political Americana was long in coming (I've been nagging him for several years to do the piece and he produced it in the midst of a house move and other significant distractions). After all the labor, however, I believe Roger has produced one of the most valuable pieces ever published in these pages. It may be that without the material legacy created by the Whig Party, American politics might never have produced the wealth of material from which we can choose today. I don't know about you, but I'm not sure how enthusiastic I would be over choosing between a Bill Clinton plate and a Bob Dole teapot. The rich assortment of buttons, posters, stickers and what-nots that mark our political campaigns can be traced directly back to the Whigs.

One sideline story about the Whigs refers to Whig Senator Alexander H. Stephens (see picture on page 6) who went on to be Vice President of the Confederacy after the Whig Party – and the Union – broke apart. At the time, Alex Stephens was widely considered to be "the smartest man of his generation." When children behaved in a way that indicated an inflated sense of their own wisdom, parents would tell them not to be a "smart Alex." Although "Alex" evolved to "Alec" over the last century, we still have no shortage of "smart Alects" today.



Dewey

I have to use these pages to mention one of the most outrageous liberties ever taken by Hollywood in what is supposed to be an "historical" film. I know that covers a lot of territory but the recent movie "Hoodlum" about Thirties gangsters in New York reaches a new low. It contains a scene in which mobster Dutch Schultz boasts that he has bribed Manhattan District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey and consequently has him under control. As anyone with even the slightest knowledge of the facts can testify, there was never a hint of corruption around Tom Dewey and, in fact, Dewey put Dutch Schultz in prison. The sad fact is that for millions of Americans who saw the movie, this will become reality. Simply for dramatic effect, history is totally rewritten to be not only inaccurate but to absolutely contradict the truth. One doesn't have to be a fan of Dewey to resent this. Perhaps Hollywood will soon bring us films in which Franklin Roosevelt dances a tango with Ginger Rogers or John Adams is caught in bed with Madonna. I can hear old Cicero fuming now: "O what times! O what morals!"



Michael Kelly
Editor

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Covers: *Front:* Gold framed color portrait of 1852 Whig nominee Winfield Scott. *Back:* Red, green, yellow and black painted leather fire bucket (recalling John Tyler's emergency ascension to the Presidency upon the death of Wm. H. Harrison).

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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IN THE NEXT ISSUE



The next issue will feature a variety of topics including best historical locals from Ohio, some recently discovered Panama Canal-related items, political license plates, the Truman "No Retreat" buttons, the McKinley "commerce and industry" button, a few joke buttons and more.

The Whig Legacy to Political Americana

By Roger Fischer

The Whig party enjoyed a life of less than twenty years from its formation as a coalition of anti-Andrew Jackson forces during the winter of 1834-35 until its demise over the slavery issue in the wake of the 1852 elections. During that span it held its own in the Congress, in the Senate of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster in particular, and elected to the presidency military heroes William Henry Harrison in 1840 and Zachary Taylor in 1848. Whiggery was deprived of its hour in the sun by Harrison's death a month into his term, for he was succeeded in office by John Tyler, a state-rights Virginia Democrat who opposed most Whig principles and initiatives. A decade later, however, Taylor's death in office brought the party to its finest hour, when successor Millard Fillmore and such Whig congressional leaders as Clay, Webster, and Alexander Stephens shepherded to passage the Compromise of 1850 to avert for a decade the threat of disunion. Yet soon the slavery issue proved the deathknell of American Whiggery, for its planter-mercantile southern wing was even more strongly proslavery than most Dixie Democrats, while its northern "conscience Whig" faction adamantly opposed an expansion of slavery into the western territories. Unable to discuss amicably even the weather during the furor over the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Yankee and southern wings agreed only to dispatch their party to the graveyard of History's lost causes.

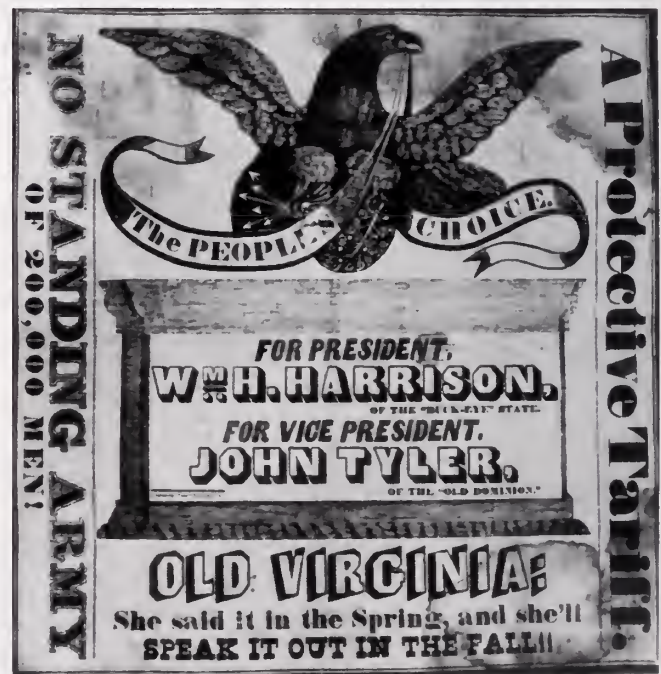
Although most Americans today who are aware of its existence are history buffs, "Trivial Pursuit" enthusiasts, and devotees of crossword puzzles and TV quiz shows, the Whig party left an important legacy. It provided a political base for such luminaries as Webster, a blowhard too easily bought but our most important political conservative between Alexander Hamilton and Ronald Reagan, and the immortal Clay, master of the legislative process like no man before or since. It brought to the national agenda such imperatives as tariff protection for American manufactures and an enlightened national banking system unrealized until the Federal Reserve System in 1913. Its championing of federal funding for such internal transportation projects as canals, river and harbor dredging, levee construction, national turnpikes, and railroads did much to create the sense of a unified nation, political and economic, in contrast to the more parochial localism of Jackson's Democrats. Its genesis brought into being an enduring American two-party system, for it was replaced by the more durable Republican party. Just one of many of Whiggery's sons to go on to serve his nation well as a Republican was a lanky lawyer from Illinois' Sangamon country whom it is said did much (in tandem with a former Democrat named Grant, to be fair) to save the Union and free four million Negro slaves.

For generations historians portrayed the two great parties as polar opposites, with the Whigs cast as champions of elit-

ist economic privilege and Jackson's Democrats as champions of the common man. In his 1945 Pulitzer Prize volume *The Age of Jackson*, young Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. rhapsodized that Jacksonian Democracy was nothing less than a revolt of common folks everywhere against their masters.

This is sheer poppycock, of course, for the Spartacus of this underclass revolt was a Tennessee cotton snob with a hundred slaves who championed imprisonment for debt and took as his personal hero and role model the French military dictator Napoleon Bonaparte. A national party devoted primarily to preserving the economic privileges of the elite merchants, manufacturers, and planters could not survive a single season in a nation of farmers, mechanics, and struggling immigrants, for as Lincoln once opined, "God must truly have loved the poor, for look how many of them he made." A staple of his speeches during his Whig years was his axiom that he stood for both the man and the dollar, but if in doubt took the man every time.

A recent generation of revisionist scholars, supported by dozens of graduate dissertations on state and local party organization, argues that such differences between the parties simply did not exist. Both, we are told, were comprised of men of ambition and economic substance from top to bottom and both ignored or straddled most controversial issues for centrist advantage. Both tended toward the essential conservatism of the *status quo* on such fundamental values as entrepreneurial exploitation, the rights of



This 1840 Whig poster from Virginia boosted William Harrison of Ohio and his local running mate, John Tyler, of Virginia. Harrison died a month after taking office, making the Whig victory meaningless.



Of the great legislative leaders of the era, two – Henry Clay of Kentucky and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts – were Whigs. The third, John Calhoun of South Carolina, was an independent, serving as Vice President under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. Calhoun quit the vice presidency in opposition to Jacksonian policies and returned as Senator from his home state. In 1832 when Jackson sought re-election, South Carolina was the only state to vote for independent John Floyd of Virginia. In 1836 when Jackson's second vice president, Martin VanBuren, was the Democratic candidate, South Carolina was the only state to vote for independent William Magnum of North Carolina.

property (including the ownership of Negro slaves), and the vast gulf in conditions of life between the humble and manor born. As Edward Pessen has written, "In Jacksonian America, idealists and visionaries were not found in the leadership of either major party."

But if the two parties differed little in political organization or ideology, they differed mightily in political culture, as British scholar M.J. Heale noted in his superb if seldom cited 1982 volume *The Presidential Quest: Candidates and Images in American Political Culture, 1787-1852*. Heale, incidentally, utilized as a primary source J. Doyle DeWitt, *A Century of Campaign Buttons, 1789-1889*, thus becoming to my knowledge the first noted mainstream political historian to take seriously a collector-oriented reference work. According to Heale, enough Democrats regarded Jackson and his party with reverence that the road to higher office

ran through extensive service to party at lesser levels and dogmatic loyalty to Old Hickory's principles (even when the Hero had been dangerously wrong, as in the case of the national bank).

From Martin Van Buren through Stephen Douglas, presidential nominees were career politicians elevated by the party machinery and those between them (James K. Polk, Lewis Cass, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan), rather obscure figures all but unknown outside their home states. Once nominated, these men sequestered themselves from the hullabaloo in what Heale has called the role of the "mute tribune," while the organization rallied the faithful with appeals to party tradition and the legacy of Jefferson and Jackson. A reflection of this is a pair of handsome 1844 silk ribbons (ill. 45, p. 54 in *Tippecanoe*) promoting Polk and Texas annexation, one with a quota-

tion from Jackson and the other featuring a bust of Jefferson on a pedestal inscribed with the names of Jackson and Van Buren.

The Whigs, on the other hand, light on tradition and unburdened with nostalgia over majority status in national councils, reflected their "anti-party party" distrust of the political class and party organizations in its much more festive campaigns. Of its presidential nominees, only Henry Clay had made a career of public service, and then his illustrious background was more hindrance than help.

Thrice Clay was shunted to the sidelines by lesser men of little or no political standing, military heroes William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, and Winfield Scott. In the latter two cases inquiries had to be made whether the generals were even Whigs.

In 1848 Taylor never provided an answer, but the Whigs nominated him anyway and went so far as to promote him on a medalet as "untrammelled with party obligations" and a bandanna bearing the legend "Neither faction nor party, nor individual interest, but the common welfare of every man in the Union." So the quintessential Whig campaign was a celebration of personality (or, as it were, dead Indians, redcoats, and Mexicans) over party or critical issues. Instead of hiding out at home, Whig nominees were regularly on public display, speaking often if saying little. Unburdened by the need to belabor the nitty gritty of statecraft to re-elect an incumbent, Whig presidential campaigns tended toward symbolism, often downright silliness. Democrats may have usually had the last laugh, but on the whole Whigs seemed to have a much merrier time of it.

This was especially true in 1840, when the Whigs went "down to the people" to elect Harrison in a raucous campaign that after a century and a half still stretches to its lim-



Alexander H. Stephens

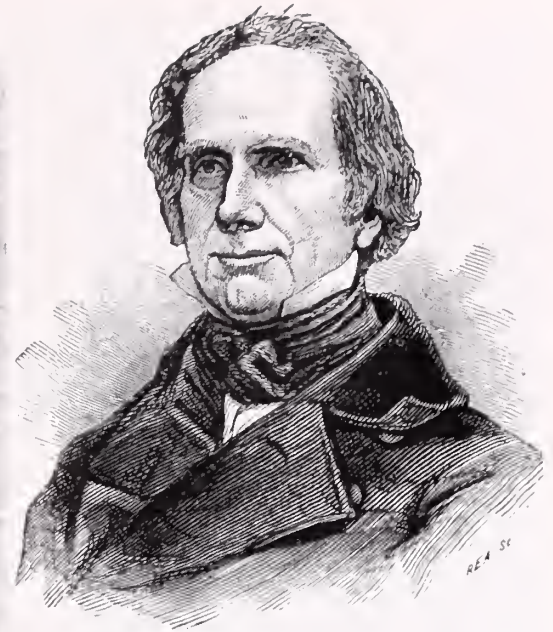
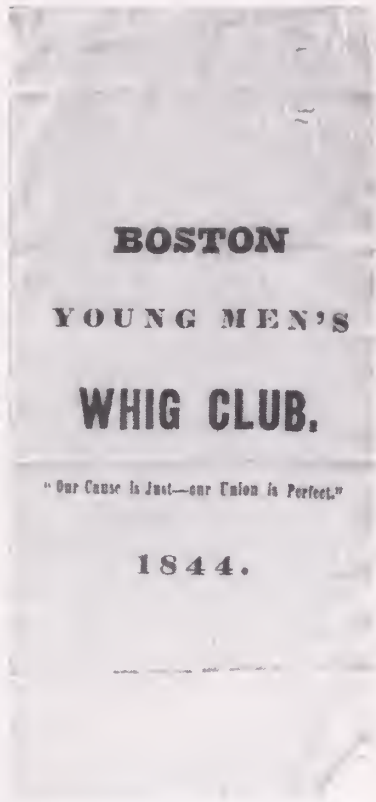
Slavery split the Whig Party as it did the nation. Whig senators like Clay, Webster and Alexander Stephens pasted together compromises that held for awhile but – unlike the Democrats – the Northern Whigs wouldn't accept slavery. Stephens went on to serve as Vice President of the Confederacy.

The Missouri Compromise 1820

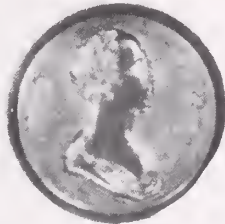




DANIEL WEBSTER.



HENRY CLAY.



The Whigs used plenty of items such as the ribbon above and these jewelry pieces bearing Henry Clay's picture to promote their cause.

The Compromise of 1850

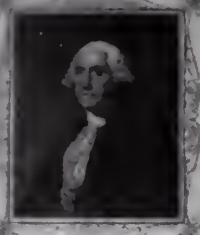


WHIG CELEBRATION,
July 4th 1837



WASHINGTON,
PATER PATRIÆ

WHIG CELEBRATION,
November 22^d
1837
Glorious Triumph
of
JUST PRINCIPLES



THE SPIRIT OF
78
REVIVED IN 1837

Edward P. Wharton N^o 7 Corn Street, S


NEW ENGLAND
WHIG VICTORIAN
November 1837




GEN. W. H. HARRISON.



FIRST IN WAR - FIRST IN PEACE -
FIRST IN THE HEARTS OF THEIR
COUNTRYMEN.




Sold at Whittow's Courtlands St. N. Y.






HARRISON
&
REFORM.

GREENVILLE
LOG CABIN CLUB.
HARRISON, TYLER,
AND
CONSTITUTIONAL
LIBERTY.



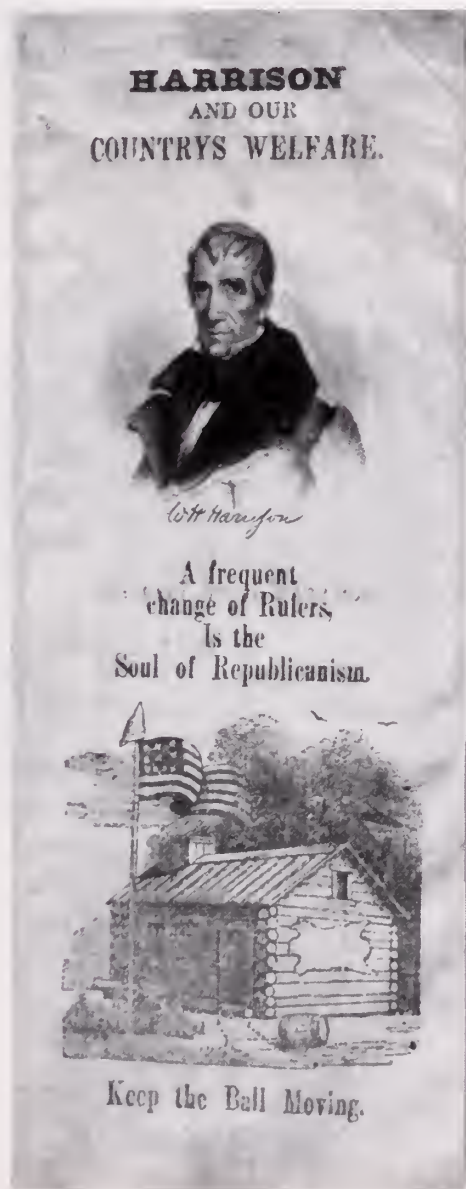
THE CURRENCY OF
WASHINGTON
IS ALL WE WANT.

CHARGE WHIGS, CHARGE!
One more fire along the whole line of the
Office Holders & the voters

Whigs often used George Washington as a party icon. While this indicated some Whig sympathy for the earlier Federalist Party, it also highlighted the Whig view that the perfect presidential candidate should be a general.



Whigs mocked Missouri's Thomas Hart Benton for his hard-currency stand with medals like this "Bentonian Currency." In the ribbon below, Whigs try to make a virtue out of losing previous elections by claiming that "A frequent change of Rulers is the Soul of Republicanism."



its the human imagination. The Whigs declined to issue a party platform (because, it was said, platforms only encouraged candidates to lie), volunteered no specifics on their cryptic slogan "Harrison and reform," and kept their nominee so vague on the key issues that disgusted Democrats dubbed him "General Mum." Instead, they chanted "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," erected log cabin headquarters copiously supplied with barrels of hard cider, rolled immense slogan balls hundreds of miles, and staged massive rallies and parades unprecedented in the annals of American politics. Celebrations two and three days long drew estimated crowds of one hundred thousand to Baltimore in May, Nashville in August, and Dayton in September (the same weekend sixty thousand rallied at Bunker Hill), and "fifteen acres of men" to the Tippecanoe, Indiana battlefield in May. Twenty-five thousand men paraded in Baltimore, thirty thousand in Jackson's Nashville, and enough to form a procession three miles long in Cincinnati in October.

This mass contagion inspired an extraordinary array of visual campaign devices and the enthusiasm it engendered inspired an equally amazing array of personal souvenir bric-a-brac, toiletries and consumables, and keepsake items prized today as political collectibles. Indeed, a definitive collection of 1840 Van Buren items would fit into two Riker mounts; a comparable Harrison collection would require a small warehouse!

The tradition of creating campaign objects to influence undecided voters and please true believers predates the genesis of the Whigs, to be sure. In their debut in presidential politics in 1836 they seem to have produced almost nothing to promote their regional candidates Harrison, Webster, and Tennessee Senator Hugh Lawson White.

Yet their affinity for material culture was apparent from the beginning. In 1834, they celebrated their nativity with several silk ribbons, more than a dozen designs of brass clothing buttons, and seventeen types of brass or copper medalets. Most of the garment buttons featured the party symbol of a liberty cap on a pole, a device prominent in the iconography of the American Revolution, useful for portraying the Whigs as champions of liberty opposing the tyrannical "King Andrew" and his "Tory" Democrats.

Echoing this theme were medalets reading "True Whigs of 76 and 34" and ribbons picturing George Washington, the ultimate Whig icon (less for his Federalist leanings than for his Revolutionary heroics and stature as our premier non-political soldier-statesman).

Some tokens struck by Robert Lovett of New York for local distribution celebrated Whig triumphs in the April, 1834 municipal elections or promoted gubernatorial hopefuls Gulian Verplanck and William Henry Seward. These latter pieces may well have been our first "locals."

Other 1834 Whig medalets mocked Jackson's removal of federal monies from the Bank of the United States, portraying King Andrew as an irresponsible tyrant and pretentious ass whose Bank vendetta threatened both the economy and the Constitution. These may well have been our first "cause" items. Some featured running hogs and Congressman Samuel Beardsley's unfortunate exhortation



Never before the Whigs' 1840 campaign did American politics produce a symbol so widely used as the "Log Cabin." Here it is seen on a variety of dishes, pins, medals and chinaware.



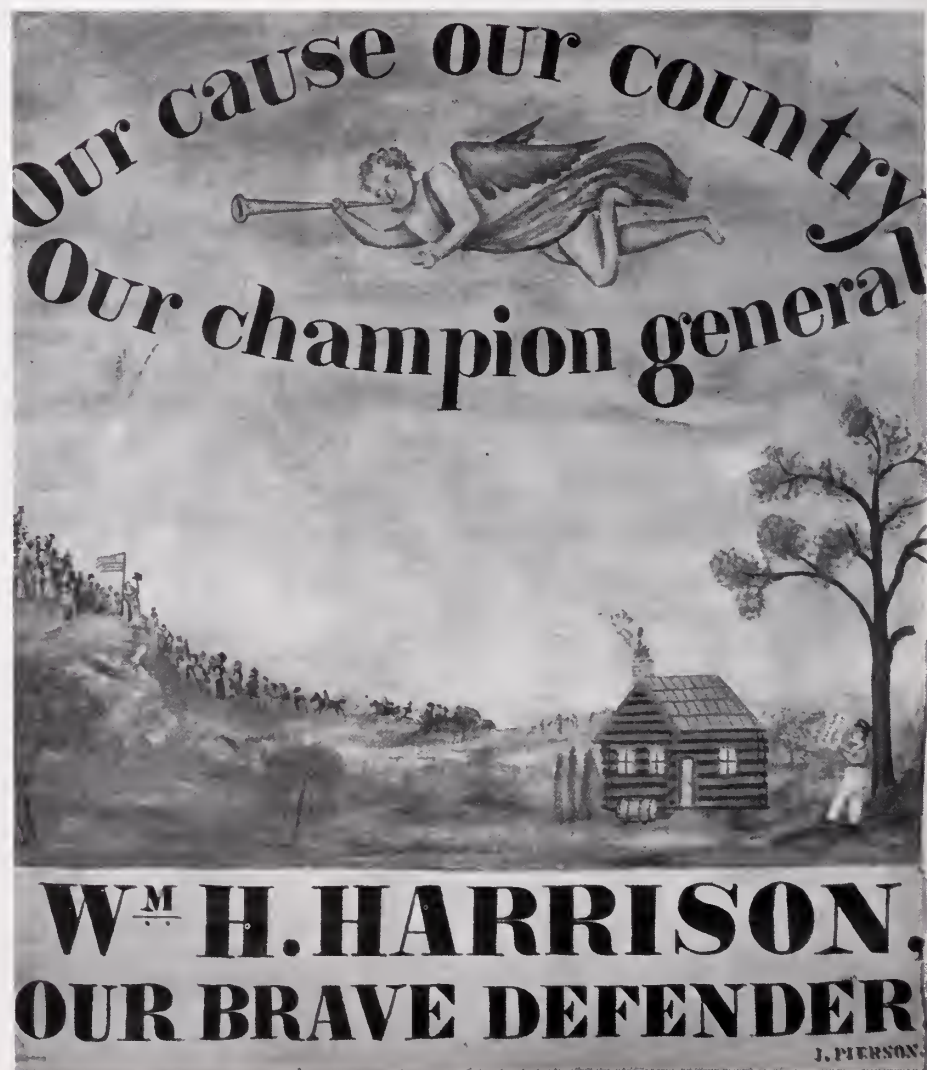
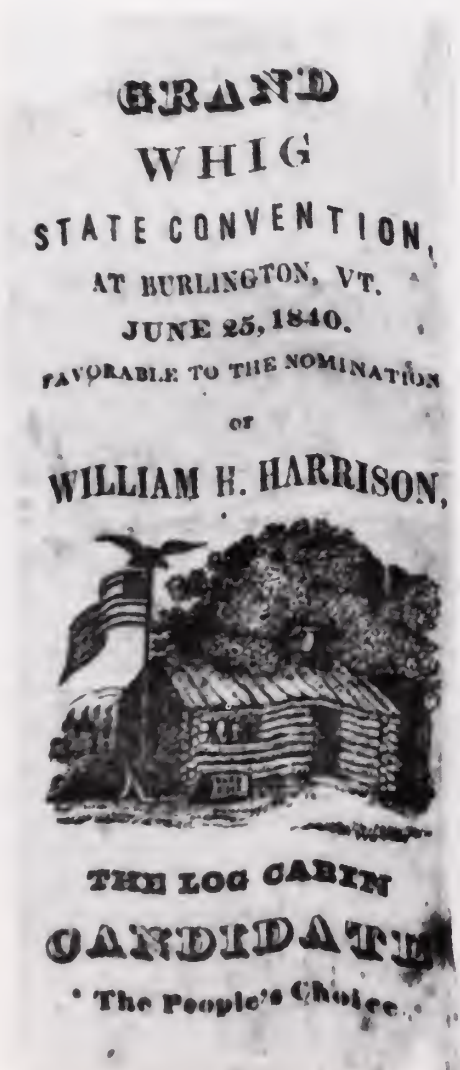
"Perish credit, perish conuence." Others portrayed jackasses branded "L.L.D.," lampooning the awarding of an honorary Harvard degree to the allegedly illiterate Tennessean. These tokens disprove the commonplace assertion that Thomas Nast created the Democratic donkey symbol four decades later.

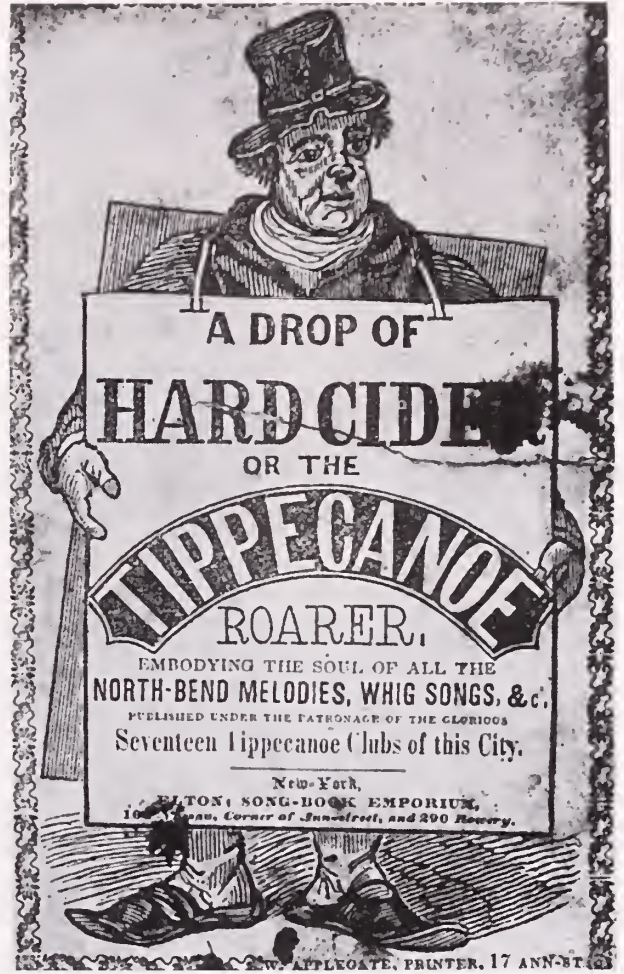
When Van Buren predictably followed party tradition rather than common sense in the wake of the Panic of 1837 by refusing to revive the national bank, one result was another crop of Whig protest items. Senator Thomas Hart Benton's loathing for paper money was so fierce that he was nicknamed "Old Bullion." Gold and silver coins were known popularly as "Benton mint-drops" and bogus banknotes were distributed featuring "caricatures and grotesque pictures and devices, and reproachful sentences . . . exhibited every where to excite contempt" and tokens "in imitation of gold and silver coins . . . intended to act on the thoughtless and ignorant through appeals to their eyes and passions." To test Old Bullion's fragile sense of humor even further, two copper tokens bore reverses reading "Benton experiment/mint drop" and "Bentonian currency/mint drop." The latter also featured a hideous female bust labeled "Loco Foco." VanBuren was portrayed on another variety as a running jackass inside the legend "I follow in

the steps of my illustrious predecessor." Largely ignored by historians and collectors alike, these satiric items speak volumes about the essentially negative mindset of early Whiggery and a growing gulf between the two parties on the use of material culture in appeals to the body politic.

The "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" campaign of 1840, well characterized by one of its songs as "this great commotion," created an extraordinary environment for campaign objects. Included were examples of nearly every type of items used politically in the United States before 1840 — cotton chintzes, flasks, thread boxes, papier-mache snuffboxes, ceramics ranging from beautiful but costly copper luster pitchers to John Ridgway's "Columbian Star" Staffordshire pottery at seven cents per plate, at least twenty styles of silk kerchiefs or bandannas, nearly as many types of Sandwich glass cup plates, more than five dozen varieties of clothing buttons, an equal number of tokens and medalets, and two hundred or more documented styles of silk ribbons.

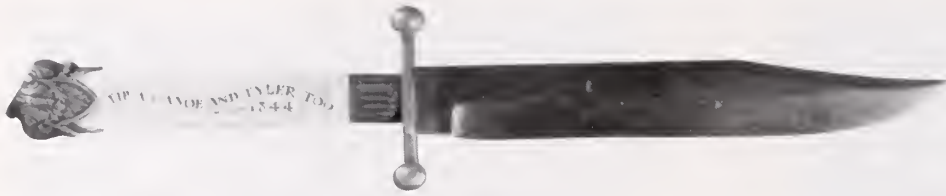
The massive rallies and parades gave birth to posters, songbooks, parade floats, transparencies, torches, the aforementioned buckskin balls, and cloth banners of all sorts — huge cotton ones for spanning streets or decorating platforms and smaller types to carry in parades. A





America had never seen such a rich variety of campaign material before 1840. The “Harrison Almanac” pictures the Whig candidate as a gentleman farmer while the Whig songbook shows a jolly drinker of hard cider as “embodying the soul of all the North-Bend Melodies, Whig Songs, etc.” North Bend refers to Harrison’s home. The Whig campaign also featured large paper and leather balls decorated with slogans. These balls were rolled from town to town by Whig enthusiasts, giving American slang the term “keep the ball rolling.”





HARRISON
AND
REFORM.

WHIG
CONVENTION,
AT CHESTER, VT.
AUGUST 19, 1840.



We will support those
who will PROTECT
THE PEOPLE.

By our suffering, bleeding land,
By our soul that nerves the hand,
We will fall or conquerors stand,
Conquerors firm and free.

Bring your proud oppressors down,
By your votes the deed is done,
Hoist your flag for Harrison!
Flag of Liberty.



HARRISON & TYLER
CHESTER COUNTY CONVENTION.

West Chester, June 7, 1840.



THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES,
WISH IN THEIR OWN VOTING AND THEIR
OWN FIGHTING."



HARRISON,

VICTORIOUS IN THE FIELD.—WISE, PRUDENT
AND ENERGETIC IN COUNCIL.



FOR

HARRISON & TYLER,
And no reduction of the prices of labour.

THE LOG CABIN,
The house our fathers lived in.

STONEHAM,
JULY 4, 1840.



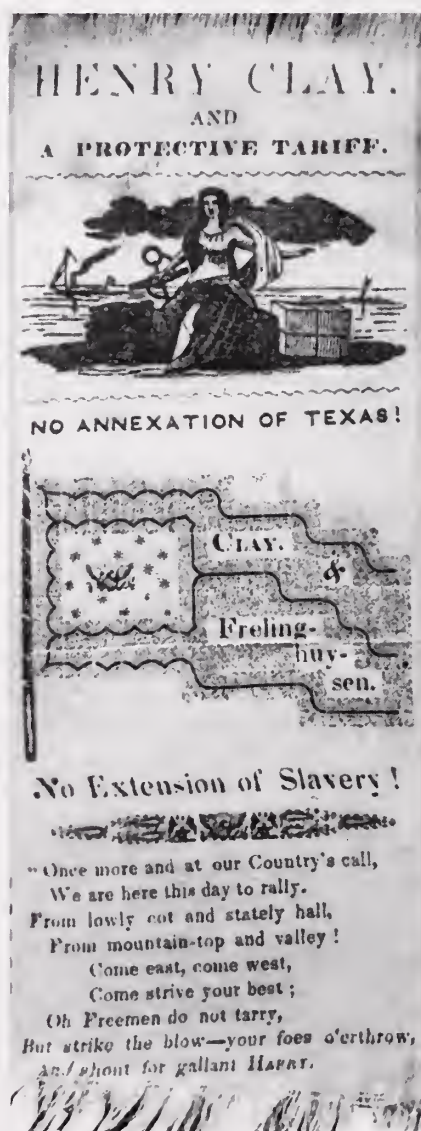
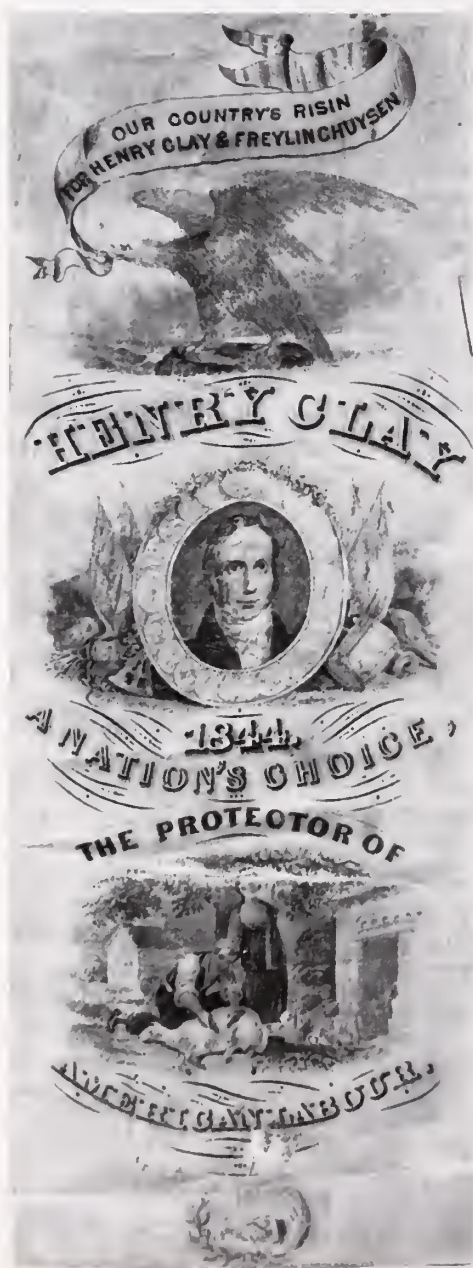
"Log cabin" parades featured floats and displays. The popular enthusiasm and grassroots activity of the 1840 Whig campaign altered American politics forever and made a major impact on the collection of Political Americana.

March, 1840 rally in Hartford featured banners reading "Meriden — Strike for our Country," "North Haven — Know, Man of Kinderhook, the People Will Meet You at the Polls," "Old Milford, They Call Her 'Sleepy Hollow' — She's Wide Awake for Harrison and Reform," and "New Haven, the 'Gibraltar of Whiggery' — Her Troops Prefer Tippecanoe Venison to 'Stubble' Fed Beef." "With Tip and Tyler, We'll Burst Van's Biler" rhymed a banner in Erie, Pennsylvania, in September. At a Rockford, Illinois, rally on October 7, banners included "Beloit is True for Tippecanoe," "Whigs of Byron — For Our Country we Rally," "Pacatonic — No Tonic for Van Buren," and a striking red satin variety with a log-cabin design and the legend "Public Justice is Certain — Nov. 1840."

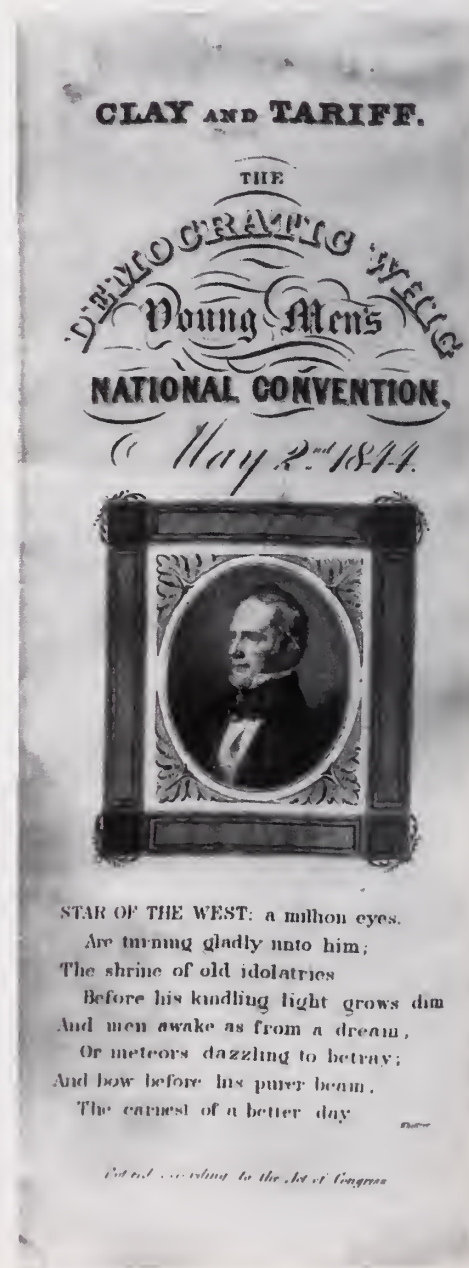
Along with the buckskin balls, these festive banners were our first political visual devices, the remote ancestors of today's billboards, bumper stickers, and lawn signs. Unfortunately, except for a few of these preserved in muse-

um collections (and illustrated superbly in Herbert R. Collins, *Threads of History*), these wonderful creations live on today only in newspaper accounts of the rallies. Just as countless silk campaign ribbons were sewn together by frugal housewives for quilt coverings, most of these banners undoubtedly met inglorious ends as dust-rags, scrub-cloths or childrens' pantaloons. Among other 1840 innovations were almanacs, songsters, lithographed prints, stationery, pewter spoons, brass belt buckles, lacquered wooden hair-brushes and ceramic caneheads. Creative entrepreneurs even marketed such consumables as "Tippecanoe Tobacco," "Log Cabin Bitters," "Tippecanoe Shaving Soap or Log-Cabin Emollient," and "Tippecanoe Extract," promoted as "a compound of the finest essences, and a more delicate perfume for handkerchiefs, gloves and the hair, leaving a rich and durable fragrance."

Most of these objects reflected the Whig strategy of portraying Harrison in the dual roles of military hero and sym-



These ribbons boosting Henry Clay and tariff protection for American industry and labor are unusual for their emphasis on a real issue.



WHIG
CELEBRATION
OF THE
Battle of the Thames.

BUFFALO, OCTOBER 7, 1810



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Hero of the Thames.—October 5, 1813

THOMAS & CO. PRINTERS.



Designed & Engraved by E. Weber & Co. Baltimore.

THE HARD CIDER QUICK STEP

Composed & Respectfully Dedicated to the

DELEGATES OF THE

GREAT WHIG CONVENTION

Held at Baltimore May 4th 1840

By

L. L. S.

Published by S. CURIST Baltimore.

Much was made of an apocryphal promise of hospitality supposedly made by General Harrison to his troops after their successful campaign. Although never as popular an image as the log cabin or hard cider, the "string of the latch" being left out for any passing veteran to enter his home found a strong resonance in the voting public.

Gentlemen: If you ever come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and a knife and fork at my table, and I assure you that you will never find my door shut and the string of the latch pulled in.—Harrison's Parting Address to his Soldiers.

bol of the rustic virtues of the agrarian West, the precise formula used so effectively by the opposition Democrats in their promotion of Jackson. Hundreds of items featured "Maj. Gen. W. H. Harrison" in military bust motif, often with such legends as "Hero of Tippecanoe," "Hero of the Thames," "The Hero & Statesman," and "Honor Where Honor's Due." Prints, snuff boxes, ribbons, and medalets featured combat scenes and other items including a magnificent silk bandanna portrayed him in the classic equestrian pose, atop his spirited charger with sabre at the ready.

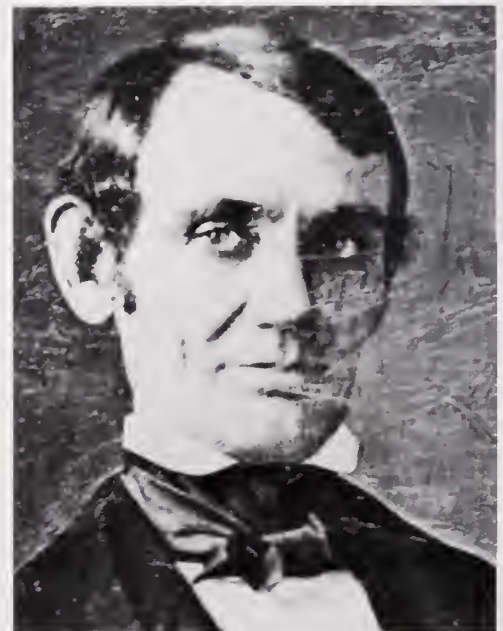
Ribbons pictured him with Washington, proclaiming "First in War, First in Peace, First in the Hearts of their Countrymen" and "Washington the Father of his Country, Harrison a Chip of the Old Block." Flag banners waved at the Rockford rally by a delegation of women from nearby McHenry County saluted Harrison as the "Ohio Farmer, the Defender of Our Homes and Children, the Friend of

the West, and the Foe of the Savage."

Even more commonplace on 1840 Harrison material culture were representations of the log-cabin frontier yeomanry. The genesis of the log cabin and hard cider barrel as Whig icons began improbably with a sarcastic suggestion by John de Ziska in the pro-Van Buren *Baltimore Republican* that a barrel of hard cider and a modest pension might persuade the elderly Harrison to "sit out the remainder of his days in his log cabin by the side of a 'sea coal' fire and study moral philosophy." After this rather lame example of snob wit made the rounds of the Democratic press, adroit Whig editors began playing it up as a slur by effete "Eastern officeholders' pimps" against common country people. Within weeks they were portraying the campaign as a holy crusade for "virtues that dwell in obscurity — of the hopes of the humble — of the privations of the poor — of toil and danger — of perseverance and patient endurance — of hospitality and charity and frugality" and transforming their aristocratic nominee with the palatial Ohio River mansion into a frontier farmer slaking his thirst with hard cider after plowing the north forty!

Soon New York socialite Philip Hone was sporting buckskins, Webster was weeping in public over the "edifying lessons" of log cabins, and Philadelphia devotees of such proletarian causes as the tariff and national bank were wearing ribbons that read "Arise! ye hard-handed inmates of our country's Log Cabins, and put to rout a corrupt and venal administration." As I observed in *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too*, "In American political imagery absurdity has rarely been a barrier to effectiveness."

Absurd or not, the log cabin was superb political symbolism, embodying (as did the split rails of a real log-cabin-ite later) the dignity of free labor and the common folks who



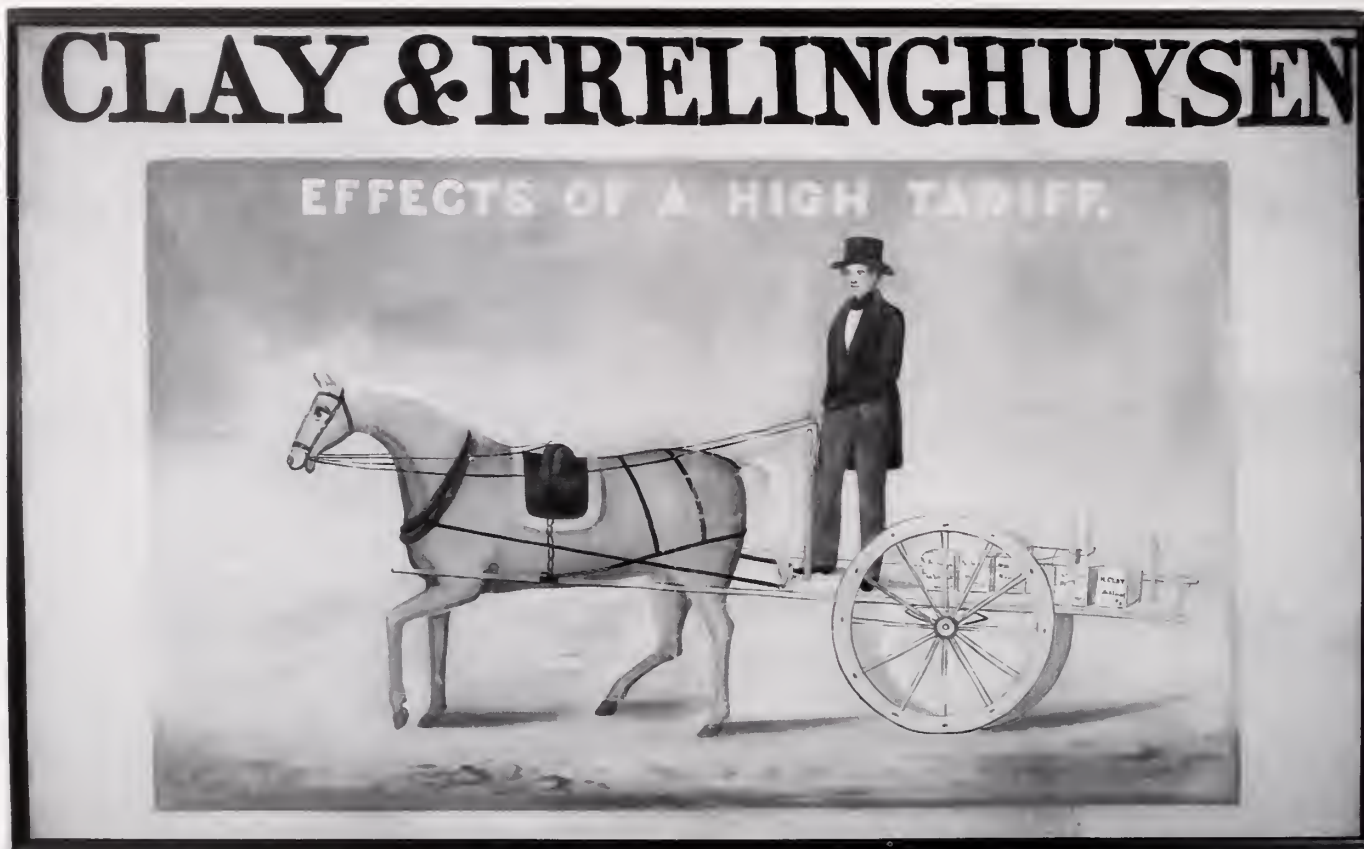
Henry Clay was Abraham Lincoln's idol. Lincoln said that Clay was his "beau ideal statesman." This photo from 1846 shows Lincoln as a freshman Whig member of Congress.

performed it, the spirit of the West, and the American passage from a hardscrabble wilderness to a land of bounteous opportunity. It was also splendidly suited to material culture. In January, illuminated log-cabin transparencies designed by Harrisburg Whigs Richard S. Elliott and Thomas Elder elicited an emotional response and soon throughout Whigdom log-cabin campaign headquarters sprang up, invariably equipped with a barrel of hard cider. Log-cabin floats enlivened parades. One in Baltimore carried some two dozen revelers in buckskins quaffing hard cider as they roasted raccoons and possums over an open fire. A large one in Springfield, Illinois, carried Lincoln and some eighty cohorts. Smaller ones were built to do double duty as parade floats, then knock down into post-parade refreshment stands to serve hard cider and other bever-



Above is a daguerreotype of Clay at the height of his career. The cartoon below is about Clay's successful censure resolution against Jackson and his subsequent victory in preventing the official recording of the President's protest. The ribbon at left features "Old Kentucky" Clay as the "same old coon" mocking the Democratic rooster.





Two fine examples of Whig propaganda boosting Clay. The cloth banner above shows the commerce and prosperity certain to follow from Whig tariff policies while the 1832 cartoon below shows Jackson's horse stumbling over the Bank issue while Clay makes for the finish line at the Capitol. Unfortunately for the Whigs, neither the banner nor the cartoon succeeded in electing Henry Clay president.

[Private.]



ROOM OF THE WHIG STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, }
 No 20 Old State House

Boston, November 9th, 1848.

Dear Sir,

*Our Presidential Candidates, Zachary Taylor and
 Millard Fillmore, are elected to the Presidency and Vice Presi-*



The 1848 campaign of Zachary Taylor continued the Whig tradition of campaign items as well as reliance on military glory. The campaign letterhead at the top of the page is from the Massachusetts Whig State Central Committee while the kerchief at the bottom shows General Taylor surrounded by scenes of the battles of Buena Vista, Monterey, Resaca de la Palma and Palo Alto. Despite Whig efforts, none of these battles became legends of military history.

ages to thirsty marchers and spectators. Whig songfests featured such airs as the "Log Cabin Waltz" and "Log Cabin Quick Step." "Log Cabin Bitters" came bottled in little figural glass log-cabin bottles, as did whiskey marketed by the E.C. Booz Distillery in Philadelphia that became so popular that the word "booze" lives on in the American vernacular.

The log cabin was a standard fixture on most 1840 Harrison ribbons, medalets, bandannas, gilt clothing buttons, jewelry items, yard goods patterns, glass cup plates, and stationery, as well as such intriguing examples of early political folk art as handmade pewtern spoons, brass belt buckles, and glass tumblers in the collection of the Smithsonian. An interesting facet of most cabin designs is a latchstring dangling as a symbol of country hospitality, a device apparently inspired by Harrison's actual or apocryphal farewell to his troops, "If you ever come to Vincennes, you will always find a plate and a knife and fork at my table, and I assure you that you will never find my door shut and the string of the latch pulled in." A campaign bandanna portrayed "the Ohio Farmer" welcoming a disabled comrade-in-arms to his humble cabin as another figure tapped one of three cider barrels. Even on little gilt buttons smaller than a half inch in size, the latchstring is visible.

Cider barrels were almost equally ubiquitous, as components of cabin scenes or by themselves. Figural wooden barrels topped parade standards. Ceramic barrels were made to use as caneheads. A banner rhymed "Van Buren

is running, Hard cider is coming." A ribbon taunted "Hard Cider — Not so hard as Van Burenism." Campaign songs included the "Hard Cider Quick Step." The beverage itself was copiously dispensed at rallies and in log-cabin campaign headquarters, to the point where Democratic editors routinely issued pious warnings of the threat to civic virtue posed by drunken Harrison loyalists. One Whig who shared such concerns was the engraver of a handmade token in the Smithsonian collection that featured both a log cabin and the advice "Drink no Spirit/Say thy Prayers/Read the Bible/Avoid Bad Company."

Banners, pitchers, bandannas, ribbons, and other items proclaimed Harrison the "Ohio Farmer," "Farmer of North Bend," and "Ohio Ploughman." A handmade banner declaring Lyme, New Hampshire "the soil where Locofocoism Can't Flourish," portrayed Harrison with team and plow. Belaboring the parallel to the legendary Cincinnatus, who had reluctantly left his beloved farm to save the Roman Republic, were a token inscribed "He Leaves the Plough to Save his Country" and a flag banner featuring Old Tip with shovel in hand by his cabin and the legend "So long as the leaders of Rome were taken from the plough, to the plough were they willing to return." A silk ribbon read "A Frequent Change of Rulers, is the Soul of Republicanism," surely one of the most piously phrased plea to "throw the rascals out" in the annals of American politics!

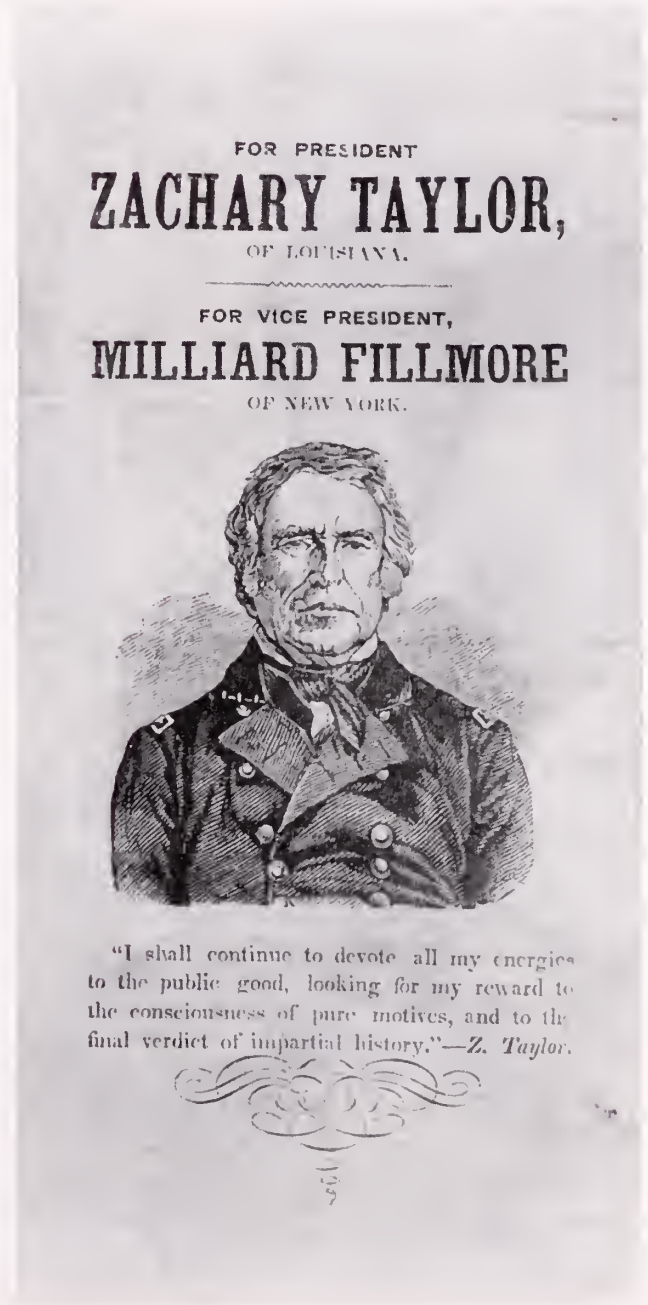
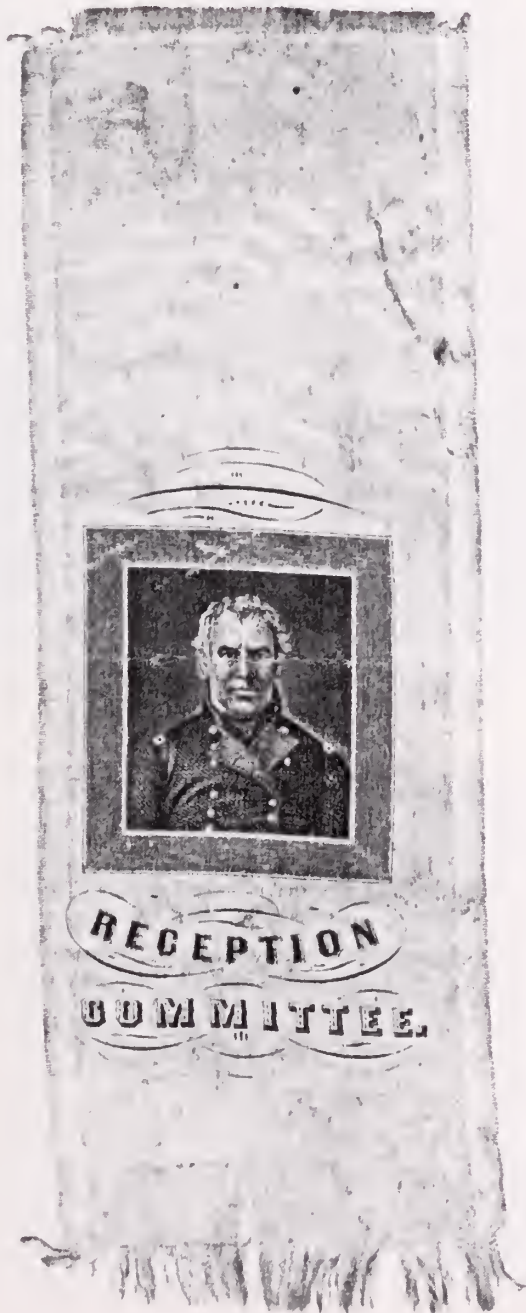


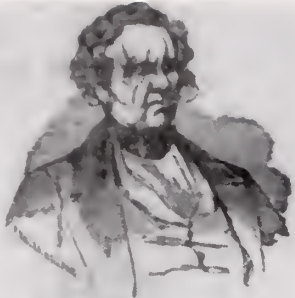
This 1848 campaign poster continues the theme of American military glory by using Taylor's name decorated by battle scenes from the Mexican-American War.

Among the thousand or more known Harrison items, those calling attention to key issues were few and far between and, except for a few Philadelphia ribbons promoting the tariff and national bank, banners handmade by local partisans decrying hard times wrought by Jackson and Van Buren. Slogans included "Harrison & Tyler and no reduction in the prices of labour" and "Harrison the Poor Man's Friend — We Want Work." A banner made for the October Cincinnati demonstration read "Matty's Policy, 12-1/2 cts. a day and French soup — OUR policy, 2 Dolls. a day and Roast Beef." More creative was a Vermillion County, Illinois commentary at the Tippecanoe rally on the Van Buren fiscal legacy. To a battered gig with signs reading "A Picture of the Times" was hitched a skeletal horse that "looked as if he had been mortgaged to the buzzards, but had by some accident delayed Death's grasp."

If the Whigs acquired an increased appreciation for sym-

bolic appeals and material culture from their maiden victory in presidential politics, the reaction of the defeated Democracy was one of unconcealed loathing and disgust. From the Hermitage Jackson characterized the Whig campaign as "Logg cabin hard cider and coon humbugery" and Van Buren sourly attributed his defeat to "the debaucheries of a political Saturnalia, in which reason and justice had been derided." It is clear from condescending accounts in the Democratic press throughout the campaign that the Van Burenites were completely convinced that such obnoxious gaucherie would be repudiated by the citizenry and when it wasn't, failed to follow the Whig example of learning from past mistakes. The party platform in 1844 condemned "factitious symbols" and "displays and appeals insulting to the judgment and subversive to the intellect of the people." That this was more than sour-grapes rhetoric is reflected by the fact that not until Grover Cleveland's 1884 campaign did





SCOTT
ELECTORAL TICKET.

For President,
WINFIELD SCOTT.

For Vice President,
William A. Graham.

Senatorial Electors,
Edward D. Mansfield,
William Dennison, Jr.

DISTRICT ELECTORS.

- 1st Dist.—CHARLES ANDERSON
- 2nd — JAMES SAFFIN
- 3rd — THOMAS LARSH
- 4th — JOHN WILFREES
- 5th — FREDERICK R.
- 6th — THOMAS J. LENEY
- 7th — JOHN MASON WILLIAMS
- 8th — WILLIAM GARRENER
- 9th — GEORGE BISHOP
- 10th — JOHN J. CASPETER
- 11th — GEORGE E. LINCOLN
- 12th — GEORGE W. EVERETT
- 13th — JOHN BROWN
- 14th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 15th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 16th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 17th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 18th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 19th — JOHN W. BROWN
- 20th — JOHN W. BROWN



AN AVAILABLE CANDIDATE.
THE ONE QUALIFICATION FOR A WHIG PRESIDENT.



Whig State Central Committee Room,
NO. 20 OLD STATE HOUSE.

Boston, Oct 20. 1852

Dear Sir,
I trust you have counted
the votes for electors for the towns in your county
I am, Sir, at least to

a Democratic candidacy rival its Whig or Republican opponent's in the variety and quantity of items produced.

1844 provides an excellent case in point. Although the campaign of 1844 was far richer in material culture than Van Buren's had been, this is almost exclusively the result of opportunistic vendors producing items to appeal to both camps. Even so, despite a nominee sufficiently Jacksonian and sufficiently obscure to make Polk a natural for symbolic appeals — in sharp contrast to the veteran national statesman Clay — the Tennessean dubbed “Young Hickory” inspired far fewer campaign items than did his Whig adversary.

Again in 1844 Whig activists promoted their ticket with such massive processions and rallies as the May 2 nomination extravaganza in Baltimore and the September 29 barbecue in Dayton, Ohio, inspiring festive handmade and mass produced banners, floats, transparencies, parade flags, massive buckskin balls, and more than one hundred known varieties of silk ribbons. Additionally, Clay-Theodore Frelinghuysen supporters could purchase from enterprising vendors nearly fifty types of medalets, several styles of metal clothing buttons, brass shell badges and other types of lapel devices, Sandwich glass cup plates, prints, song sheets, stationery, flasks, cigar cases and snuff boxes, even figural ceramic caneheads and clay pipes — nearly all of the different varieties of keepsake memorabilia produced for the “great commotion” four years before.

An exception was the absence in 1844 of figural glass bottles containing cologne, whiskey and bitters — understandable in light of the difficulty inherent in molding bottles in the likeness of Clay's Ashland plantation manor and its diminished symbolic appeal compared to the humble log cabin. Despite its lack of innovations, 1844 was a bellwether year for political material culture, for it did much to establish it as a regular feature of presidential campaigns instead of a one-time-only phenomenon.

In keeping with their improbable symbolic success in 1840, a halfhearted effort was made in 1844 to portray Clay as another good ol' country boy. Many varieties of silk rib-



WINFIELD SCOTT.

bons and medalets featured pastoral vignettes of a farmer plowing a field and the slogan “The Ashland Farmer” or “The Farmer of Ashland” — actually much less a fiction than their earlier portrayal of Harrison as a hardscrabble frontier farmer. Much more dishonest were tokens and ribbons lauding Clay as the “Mill Boy of the Slashes,” the nickname invented by Clay himself to foster the patently fraudulent illusion that he had been a “poor orphan boy, raised amidst poverty and ignorance” a la Huckleberry Finn — when in fact he had grown up on a Virginia plantation with 21 slaves, and two parents (except for a year or two before his widowed mother remarried), ignorant only because he was gifted at escaping the clutches of private tutors!

Other items promoted Clay as “Old Kentucky,” “The Star of the West,” “Harry of the West,” or simply “Harry.” Yet another Clay nickname, “the old coon,” provided the main mechanism for bringing the aristocratic planter-statesman “down to the people.” The origin of the sobriquet remains a mystery, although it is clear that it originated before the term “coon” became a pejorative slang term for an African-American! Featured exhibits at Clay rallies and parades were caged raccoons. Tokens, ribbons, and parade flags bore the slogan “The Same Old Coon,” and several varieties of ribbons featured raccoons committing acts of violence on Democratic roosters while taunting, “Why Don't You Crow?”

On the whole, however, Whig thematic appeals differed fundamentally from the blithe symbolic escapism of 1840, mainly because their standardbearer was Henry Clay, since his election as Speaker of the House a third-century before a leading player on the national political stage, thrice a candidate for the presidency, and twice (in 1820-21 and 1833) architect of sectional compromises to preserve the Union. For three decades his unusually consistent advocacy of his “American System” of a protective tariff, national bank, and internal transportation projects had informed the American dialogue over economic policy.

Even worse for a Whig nominee, Clay had never served a day in uniform and had not killed a single Redcoat or Indian. According to biographer Clement Eaton, he had



MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore inherited the Presidency at Taylor's death. He was the last Whig President. Despite another try with the military glory theme, 1852's unsuccessful General Winfield Scott was destined to be the last presidential candidate of the Whig Party.

fired a rifle only once in his life, breaking a bottle on a fencepost on a dare from a mountaineer during an early campaign! With Clay as the party standardbearer, Whigs lacked the luxury of another purely escapist campaign. So cigar cases and ribbons proclaimed him "The American Statesman." Tokens and clothing buttons repeated the 1832 theme of featuring him in a toga as a modern Pericles or Cincinnatus. Ribbons featured him in a patrician pose with the slogan "The People's Welfare My Reward" or a snippet from a John Greenleaf Whittier poem proclaiming, "The shrine of old idolatries before his kindling light grows dim."

With the outcome hinging in large part on the industrial states of the Middle Atlantic region, a large number of 1844 Clay items promoted his championing of a protective tariff on imported goods with such legends as "Protection of American Industry," "Clay and Protection," and "Protector of Home Industry." A handsome handpainted cotton banner featured a well dressed man riding a horsecart stacked with manufactures and the legend "Effects of a High Tariff." Medalets bore designs of barrels, crates, anvils, plows, and sheaves of wheat; others featured coastal scenes with clipper ships and smoking factories; another saluted Clay as "The Noble and Patriotic Defender of

Protection." A ribbon featured an ethereal Clay on a cloudy hilltop (prompting Ed Sullivan to liken it, appropriately, to Moses on the Mount) and the legend "The Working Man — He is to Society what the Main-Mast is to the Ship."

The campaigns of 1848 and 1852 brought dramatic declines in the exploitation of material culture for partisan politics. Both were moribund affairs, generating little of the rank-and-file excitement of 1840 and 1844. To judge from the virtual absence of banners, transparencies, floats, flags, and slogan balls in newspaper and scholarly narratives, reference volumes, and major museum collections, public rallies and grand processions were nearly nonexistent. Nearly all known 1848 and 1852 campaign objects seem to have been marketed by commercial vendors, and the sharp declines in these from 1844 to 1848 and again from 1848 to 1852 point to increasing apathy among the electorate. In both contests, once again, Whig items promoting Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott were more than three times as numerous as those featuring Democratic candidates Lewis Cass and Franklin Pierce.

Reverting twice again to their 1840 formula of running military heroes without the taint of political experience, the Whigs celebrated the mauling of Mexicans and ignored almost all other issues. Ribbons, bandannas, and



Millard Fillmore reappeared in 1856 as the nominee of the American (Know-Nothing) Party. Although his candidacy was endorsed by the remnants of Whiggery, he wound up carrying only Maryland. This cartoon shows Fillmore as the nation's only hope of keeping the radical abolitionist Republican John Fremont and the pro-slavery "border ruffian" Democrat James Buchanan, from splitting the country. Buchanan won and, indeed, the nation split.

medalets recalled the heroics of Monterey, Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Buena Vista and Lundy's Lane as if they had been Yorktown, Gettysburg, and Normandy. Taylor and Scott were invariably depicted in uniform and identified by rank, often in equestrian poses that made for some of the most striking of all American political ribbons.

A telling commentary on the two Whig campaigns was an 1852 cartoon circulated by the Pierce forces that pictured Scott in parade dress atop a pyramid of skulls above the wry legend "An Available Candidate — The One Qualification of a Whig President!" An 1848 ribbon reading "Protection to American Industry" was the one known item from either campaign to identify Whiggery with a bona fide issue. In part, the Whigs were handicapped by the men they selected. Taylor was so aloof that he refused to acknowledge his nomination, appear at campaign events, or endorse party candidates for Congress or state office. Reflecting this was a medalet proclaiming him "Untrammelled with Party Obligations" and a bandanna reading "Neither Faction nor Party, nor Individual Interest, but the Common Welfare of Every Man in the Union." At least Taylor's nickname "Old Rough and Ready" proved useful politically, unlike the pompous, notoriously dour Scott, who was known to his men as "Old Fuss and Feathers."

By 1854 the Whig party was dead, a casualty of the rift between its free soil and proslavery factions. Among its accomplishments was the pioneering and perpetuation of material culture as a form of political communication. This legacy was passed on to its Republican descendants. Nobody witnessing the exuberant displays of split rails, torchlight processions, and trinkets galore promoting Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin in 1860 could doubt for a moment their Whig ancestry. For that tradition we collectors of political Americana should be forever thankful.★

Guide for Further Reading:

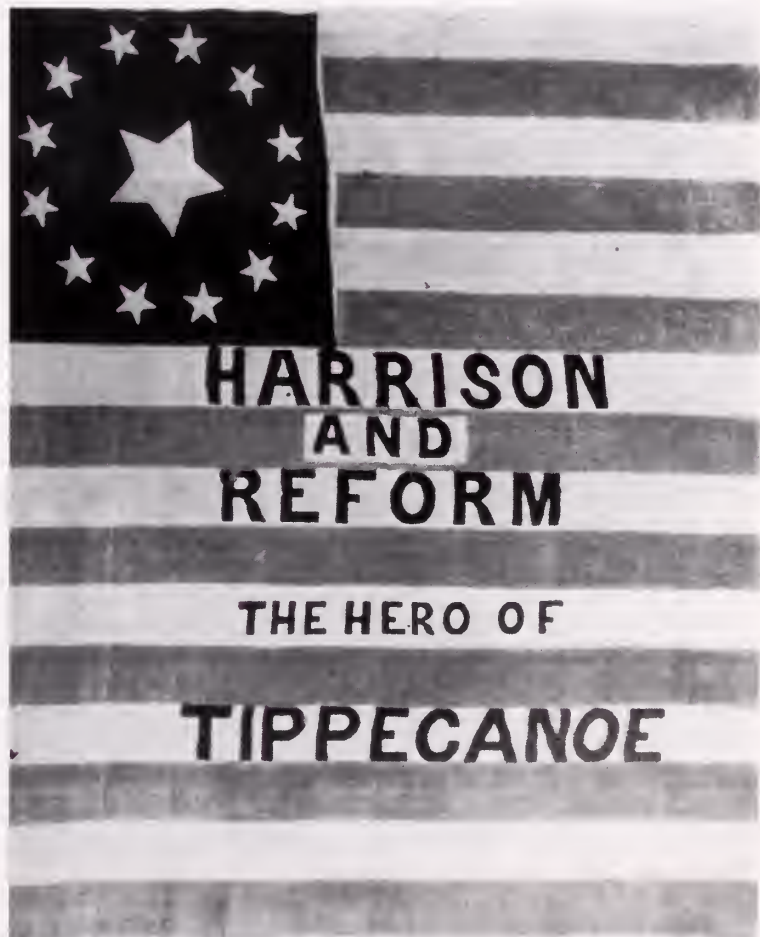
- Gunderson, Robert Gray. *The Log Cabin Campaign* (Lexington, Ky., 1957; reissue (Greenwood Press).
 Heale, M. J. *The Presidential Quest: Candidates and Images in American Political Culture, 1789-1852* (London, 1982).
 Ward, John William. *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955).
 Fischer, Roger A. *Tipppecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns, 1828-1984* (Urbana, Ill., 1988).



This handsome tureen carries a picture of the "Log Cabin" home of general William Henry Harrison.



Two handsome flags from the 1840 Whig campaign. Neither addresses any issues. One boasts "the hero of Tippecanoe" while the other calls vaguely for "Harrison and Reform"



'Tippecanoe' Flag Is Prized Here

By Joyce S. Cook

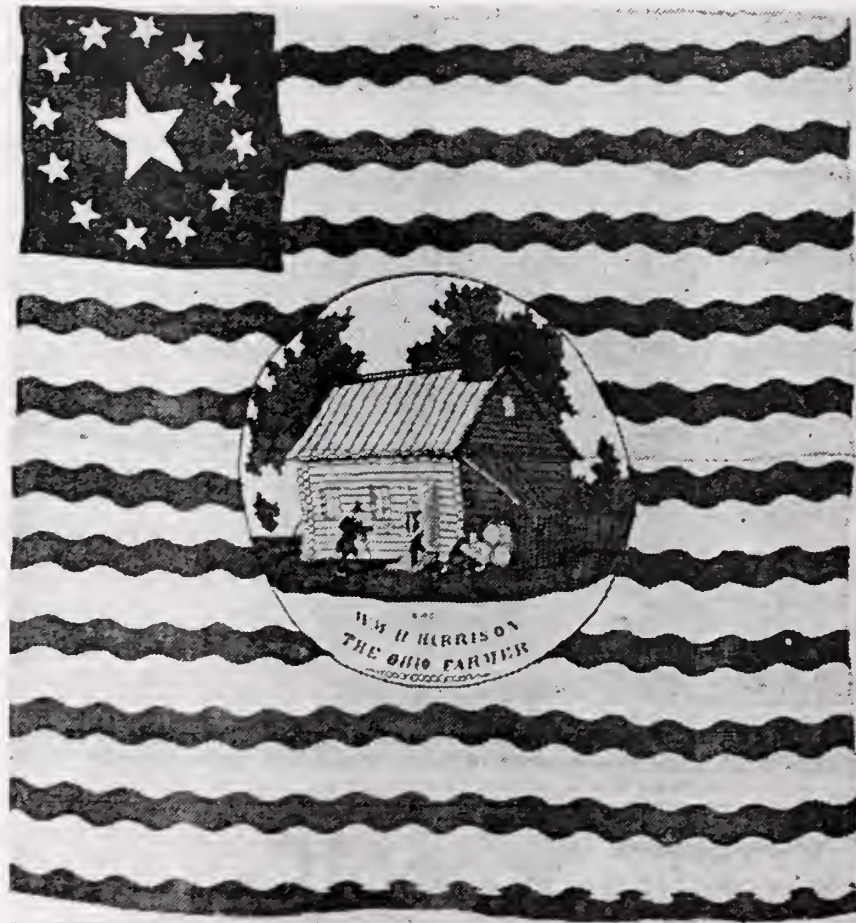
Reprinted from the Flint Journal

A silk flag used in the political campaign of William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States, is among valued historical items in the family of Mrs. J. Guy Blackinton of Flint.

The flag belonged to her grandmother, Mrs. Mary Ann Crapo Orrell. Mrs. Orrell's father, Henry H. Crapo, a pioneer Flint industrialist who was governor of Michigan from 1865 to 1868, gave it to her in 1840, when she was 13 years old.

When Crapo brought his family here in 1858 from New Bedford, Mass., Mary Ann, the eldest of 10 children, remained in Sandwich, Mass., to teach. Family records show "Miss M. A. Crapo" receiving \$275 "per annum" for her services. There were nine daughters and one son at the time the Crapos lived here.

She continued to live in Sandwich after her marriage to the Rev. John Orrell, a Unitarian minister and a native of Lancashire, England, who, after the Civil War, was moved to teach among the Negro children in the South.



RARE CAMPAIGN FLAG—During the presidential campaign of William Henry Harrison in 1840, the Whig party used this flag, symbolizing its slogan, "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too."

Shortly after Mr. Orrell went there, Crapo brought Mary Ann and her two small children to Flint. After Mr. Orrell's teaching experience, he came to join his family. They lived in one of the early homes on East Kearsley Street, across from the Crapo homestead, now Willson Park.

Because of local opposition to his religious faith, he was not permitted to preach. Instead, he worked at the Crapo mills.

The four children of the Orrell family who lived here (two died in infancy) were William Crapo Orrell; Lucy, who was married to Arthur J. Eddy of the widely known Flint family; Esther, who became the wife of a prominent Detroit educator David Mackenzie, and Flora (Mary Florence) who was married to Frank E. Willett. The Willetts were Mrs. Blackinton's parents.

The Willett home stood next to the Orrells' house on East Kearsley for many years.

★ ★ ★

THE HISTORICAL flag emblazons the famous Whig Party slogan of 1840, "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." John Tyler became vice president. It has stars to indicate the 13 original states of the Union.

It pictures Gen. Harrison in the garb of a farmer which he was after settling in Ohio in early manhood.

He is greeting a one-legged veteran of the Battle of Tippecanoe, in which Harrison distinguished himself.

A servant is drawing a mug of hard cider, the emblem of frontier hospitality, from a barrel at one side of the cabin.

Harrison, the first president to die in office, survived his inauguration by just a month.

★ ★ ★

ANOTHER SILK flag to come from Mrs. Orrell's possessions was used in 1888 during the campaign of Benjamin Harrison, the only grandson of a president to become president. Levi P. Morton, 22nd vice president, is pictured to the right of Harrison in the small insignia on the flag.

At the time of this campaign, a Washington news item noted the presentation of a "Tippecanoe" flag to the National Republican League.

Considered a rarity even at that time, it had been given by a granddaughter of William Gideon, President William Harrison's closest friend.★

“A National Currency, Revenue, and Protection”

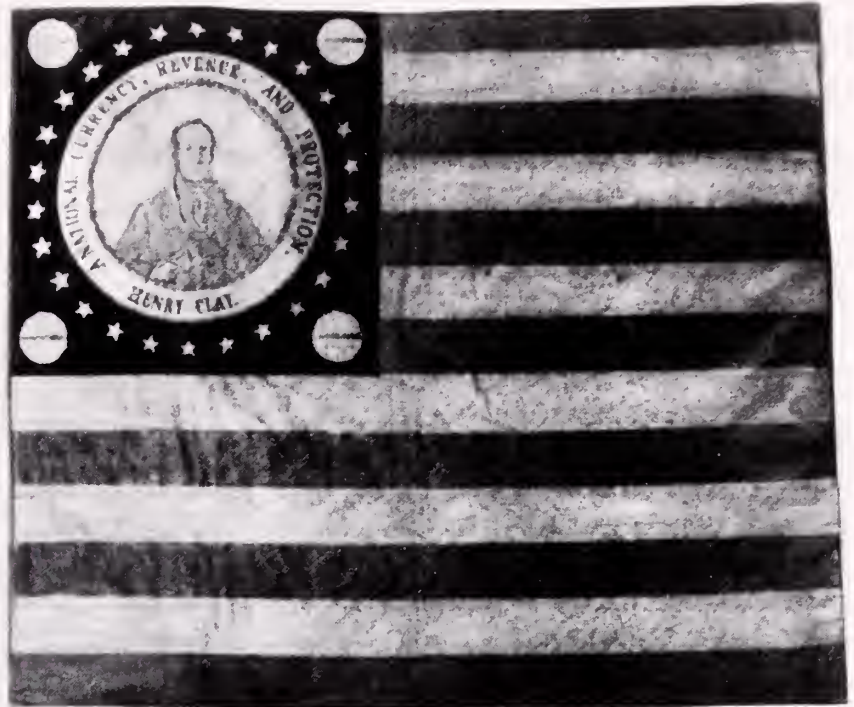
By Mark Gelke

This is one of the most interesting flag banners to appear during the 1844 campaign promoting the candidacy of Henry Clay. Containing a superb portrait of “Old Kentucky,” the flag also has some fascinating rhetoric which reflects to an unusual degree the campaign strategy adopted by the Whigs in their battle against Democratic candidate, James K. Polk. Few other flag banners of any period so thoroughly present the stances taken by the candidate and his party on the key issues of the campaign.

The Whigs believed they could capture the Presidency by stressing issues of internal economic policy alone. They called for a “sound” national currency maintained by re-establishing the Bank of the United States, destroyed by Jackson. The Whig platform also demanded a tariff to supply revenue, with incidental but substantial protection for American industry. In his campaign speeches, Clay assured voters that if these measures were enacted, all segments of the American economy would flourish. Under the wise leadership of the Whigs, there would be no recurrence of the economic disasters of the Van Buren administration!

Around the portrait of Clay is the legend: “A National Currency, Revenue, and Protection, Henry Clay.” Contained in the small circles in each corner of the blue field are the words: “Encouragement to Agriculture/Manufactures/and Commerce.”

The Whigs, however, conducted their 1844 campaign under the fatal misapprehension that they could ignore the doctrine of Manifest Destiny which was reaching the height of its influence. The drive for expansion to the Pacific was becoming an irresistible force. Thousands of



Americans, particularly in the South and West, were calling loudly for the annexation of Texas and the “re-occupation” of Oregon. Capitalizing on this fervor, the Democrats gave their unqualified support to the acquisition of both Texas and Oregon, while Clay and the Whigs straddled this critically important issue.

By combining the expansionist desires of South and West, the Democrats had found a winning formula. “Harry of the West” failed in his third and last attempt to occupy the White House.★



Unlike other Whig campaigns, the 1844 campaign of Henry Clay frequently addressed the issues, most commonly with a call for tariff protection for commerce and labor. The issue-orientation of the Clay campaign was likely a result of Clay's being an active legislative leader who could not cloak his views behind the mantle of military service.

POLITICAL CONVENTION TICKETS

“Undiscovered Gold”

By Edward Krohn

Every four years since 1832, national political parties hold their conventions to nominate candidates for the office of President and Vice President of the United States. An often overlooked area of collecting is the area of political paper. Collectors and dealers are now realizing that this area has great potential. Now might be the time for collectors to prospect for the “undiscovered gold” in convention tickets and other ephemera.

Prior to the Civil War, national political conventions attracted small groups of party regulars. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the conventions grew in importance and attendance. Tickets and programs for the conventions are highly sought after items that collectors who were not there covet. Some collectors like to relive scenes they saw on television, heard on the radio or read about in history books. Some of the excitement of the moment is sometimes brought clearer to their minds.

The earliest tickets that are commonly available to collectors are from the late 1880's and were printed on soft paper. These were not as elaborately engraved as they were in later years. (Figure 1) In the last half of the twentieth century, convention managers returned to printing rather than engraving the tickets. Democrats, beginning in 1984, returned to engraving tickets and added a hologram to the tickets to prevent counterfeiting. (Figure 2)

Security was always an issue with convention managers, but even more so in later years. In Chicago in 1968, (after the assassination of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King), convention managers were extremely fearful. Over 11,900 Chicago police, 7500 Army regulars, 7500 Illinois National Guardsmen and 1000 FBI and Secret Service agents were gathered by convention managers to keep order. The convention managers' fears were justified in light of the riots by demonstrators in Grant Park. The convention managers attempted to secure the proper admit-

tance of delegates and media, by using a metal ticket that was inserted in a security device to gain admission to the convention hall. The metal “tickets” have not been used since that time. (Figure 3 page 32)

Security continued to be an issue in later years. I attempted to obtain tickets to the Republican Convention in Houston in 1992. I filled out my ticket application and sent in the money. I did not plan to attend the convention, I only wanted some tickets for my collection and at the same time thought of the money as a donation to George Bush's re-election drive. When the tickets did not arrive, I called and was told that I needed to pick up the tickets in Houston. I explained that I was not going to Houston and that I only wanted the tickets for my collection. They said that for security purposes, each ticket holder must pick up the tickets in person and that they could not be mailed. I asked for my money back.

In the 1930's and 1940's, cities hosting the conventions issued Courtesy Cards to Delegates and Alternates. (Figure 4 page 32) I suspect that these “tickets” simply were souvenirs of the convention rather than cards or tickets that entitled the delegates to special privileges. Similarly, convention goers in Dallas and New York City were issued free telephone cards for a limited number of minutes of telephone usage time. These telephone cards have become quite valuable, simply because either the holders did not know how to use them (telephone cards in the United States were a new item then) or after their use, holders simply threw them away.

Attempting to estimate the number of tickets for each convention is almost impossible. While in recent years each ticket has been numbered, no one knows for sure how many tickets were actually issued, how many were destroyed, or how many were simply thrown away. The estimating task is complicated by the fact that at some conven-



Figure 1

tions, the closing ceremonies or other meetings were held in very large stadiums, etc.

In 1936 in Philadelphia, Franklin Roosevelt sought to have the greatest number of people witness his re-nomination. Experts have estimated that over 100,000 people attended the closing ceremonies at Franklin Field. (Figure 5 page 33) Similarly, John Kennedy in 1960 also delivered his acceptance speech to over 80,000 spectators at the Los Angeles Coliseum.

With regard to the printers and engravers of convention tickets, it seems ironic that the Democrats in 1932, 1936 and 1940 asked Quayle and Son Corp. of Chicago to print the tickets. Sixty years later Dan Quayle of a family of long-time printers in Indiana was nominated on the Republican ticket to serve as vice president. Does anyone doubt that he is somehow connected to this same family of printers who produced the tickets for the Democrats years earlier?

Other tickets relating to other convention activities are also sought by collectors. Convention Committees, pre-convention activities, etc. are examples of other items of interest to collectors. In addition, official programs, laminated

press passes, engraved appointment commissions along with engraved financing certificates are also interesting to view or collect.

For the 1996 nominating conventions, in addition to the usual tickets for delegates and other attendees, the parties issued a variety of passes and tickets to various events, official and non-official. The Democrats prepared Stadium Club and various Sky Suite passes in different colors for different days. A particularly colorful pass (ticket) was issued for the Hispanic PAC-USA. It depicts the President and Vice President.

Over seventy different passes/tickets have been identified for the 1996 Republican National Convention. Again, in addition to the normal tickets for delegates, guests and press, quite a few special tickets were prepared for various events connected with the convention. More than fifty Political Action Committees and corporations sponsored a reception for the House Republican Conference and many tickets were issued for the event.

Political parties and party nominating conventions were probably not envisioned by our Founding Fathers, neither could they have imagined how these quadrennial meetings have evolved. But for millions of convention delegates, alternates, media representatives and the general public, they certainly have made a mark on our nation's history. One way to relive those memories is to collect the tickets that admitted people to the meetings that shaped the past and the future.

Noble Publishing, Inc. in conjunction with David Phillips Publishing Co. Inc. has recently released, *Noble's Catalog and Price Guide of National Political Convention Tickets and other Convention Ephemera*. See review on page 32.

This 280 page book provides collectors, for the first time, with a ready reference guide to the exciting world of political convention paper memorabilia. The catalog fully illustrates tickets to Republican and Democratic political conventions from 1856 to 1992. It also illustrates tickets to the Bull Moose, Socialist and Silver Party conventions.

Additional sections include information on and illustrations of Official Programs, Engraved Appointment Commissions, Laminated Press Passes and Engraved Financing Certificates. Over 700 different tickets are listed in the catalog—more than 350 Democratic and over 300 Republican. The book is soft cover in a 6 x 9 format.

In addition to the illustrations, chapters on how and what tickets to collect and where to find them, a short history of national political conventions, engravers and the years they produced which tickets, tables of the number of delegates to various conventions and a price guide to the tickets are included.

The book is available at stamp and antique dealers or directly from David Phillips Publishing Co. Inc., Box 611388, North Miami, FL 33261-1388 for \$20.00. Phone 305-895-0470 or FAX 305-893-0234.★



Figure 2

Mr. Krohn is the author and editor of Noble's Catalog and Price Guide.

Convention Tickets Get A Price Guide

Book Review by Michael Kelly

Noble's Catalog and Price Guide of National Political Convention Tickets and Other Convention Ephemera.
 Edited by Edward Krohn and Published by Noble Publishing, Inc. P.O. Box 611388, N. Miami, FL 33261. (305) 895-0470

Political conventions may be the most concentrated source of political Americana. Sure, primaries and rallies produce lots of material as do whistle stop tours and campaign headquarters. But for sheer volume of buttons, stickers, posters, brochures and political novelties that can be worn, blown, waved or eaten, it is hard to top the quadrennial carnivals that are the Republican and Democratic national conventions. I attended my first convention in 1968 as a lowly staffer (my title was honorary assistant sergeant at arms...and I'd assume "honorary assistant" anything is pretty far down the food chain). In 1992, I finally made it as a delegate. Every time, I've return with sacks full of stuff, including tickets from the convention sessions.

As is the case with so many specialized publications, editor Edward Krohn is on a labor of love (see accompanying article on page 30). A college teacher, Krohn (APIC #8182) is an enthusiastic collector of paper as well as buttons. His catalog and price guide perform a

valuable service by illustrating an impressive array of convention tickets starting with those issued for the 1856 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia which named John C. Fremont as the first GOP presidential nominee. The first Democratic tickets described are from 1868's New York City convention which produced Horatio Seymour although the first Democratic ticket actually pictured is from Winfield Hancock's 1880 convention in Cincinnati.

Krohn provides photographs of the front and back (unless the latter is blank) plus information about size, color, type and printer. When multiple versions were issued, this book provides lists of the different versions, with details about use, color, date and to which area the ticket allowed its user to enter. The amount of specific information is quite impressive and of great value to anyone attempting to collect these tickets.

Also pictured are special tickets and passes from various conventions. It was a joy to see the card issued by the Mayor of Chicago to John W. Davis at the 1932 Democratic convention.

The greatest fun for most readers, I suspect, will be the progression of tickets pictured through the years. It is fun to track the changing graphics, ranging from the handsome engravings of early items to the bland lettering of modern tickets. These contain occasional insights on the period, such as the fact that the 1924 GOP tickets picture the deceased President Warren Harding as if he were a Lincoln or Washington.

The guide also includes sections of convention programs, engraved appointment commissions, laminated press passes and engraved financial receipts. Tossed in for good measure are details on nominees, ballots and



Figure 3

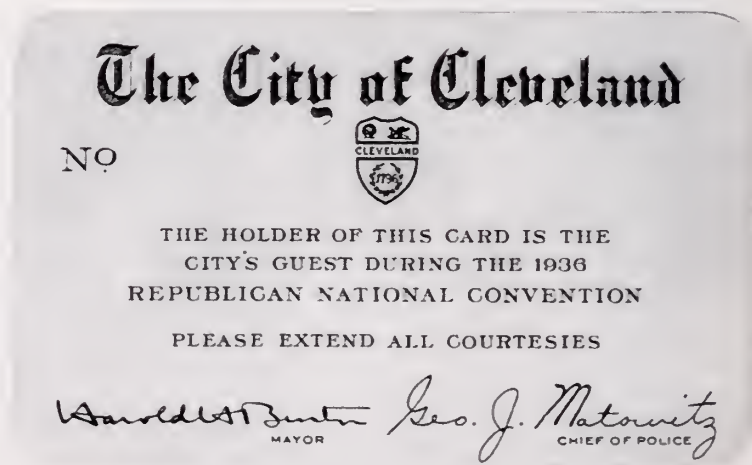
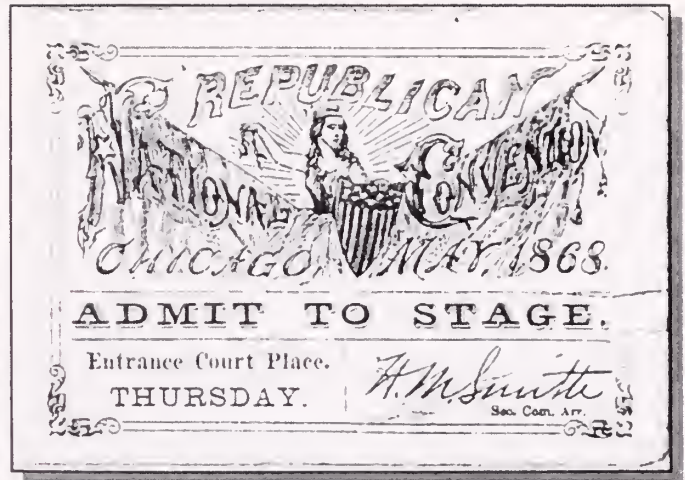


Figure 4

delegation size. Of course, this is a "catalog and price guide." No doubt some will dispute this or that determination, but Ed Krohn has included an educated estimate of the cost of each illustrated item, which can only help collectors, whatever their personal opinion.

The hobby of Political Americana has long benefited from publications like *National Political Convention Tickets and Other Convention Ephemera*. The pleasure of sharing a collector's enthusiasm is something that ties the hobby together.★



The Krohn book pictures many tickets from early political conventions.



Figure 5

FOR THE NEWER COLLECTOR

THE ROOSEVELT-GARNER CLUBS

By Harvey Goldberg



The number of changes in our nation during the terms of Franklin D. Roosevelt were unprecedented. One of the things which did not change, however, was the number of states in the United States during FDR's years in the Oval Office. From start to finish, our 32nd President prevailed over the Great Forty-Eight.

Among political collectors there is always the question of "completeness". Many of us attempt to "get them all" when items were issued in state sets. Two series of pins were put out for FDR in 1932 and 1936, the blue/gold "FDR-Garner club" items. The ever-present question lingers: were **Roosevelt-Garner Club** buttons and pins produced for all 48 states? As of today, the answer is "No". But we're still working on it. Additional specimens turn up every once in a while, so there is no definitive answer yet. So far as the "clubs" which these pins are to have represented, there are records of active campaign groups, mostly in New York and Pennsylvania, which carried the

name "Roosevelt-Garner Club".

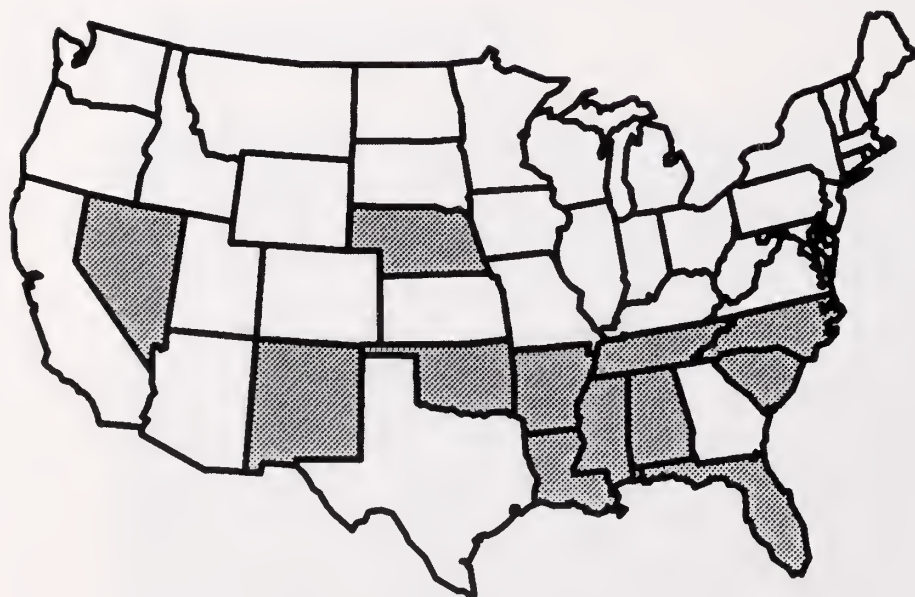
Most collectors know of the three different varieties. The earliest version was the 1 1/4" blue on brass pinback version. All indications point to the fact that these were made and used during the 1932 campaign. They were produced by D.W. Thomas & Company of New York, a firm which no longer exists.

More attractive & elaborately made, are the 1932 7/8" x 1/2" red, white, blue, & gold Roosevelt-Garner Club oval enamel pins manufactured by William T. Wagner Badges, then located at 2752 Third Avenue, Bronx, New York. These ovals were glass enamel on brass with the top segment in red (showing the state), the Roosevelt name in the white center segment, and "Garner Club" in the bottom (blue) section.

The 7/8" blue and gold celluloid versions, with a 1936 dated item among the set, were produced by the famous Bastian Brothers in Rochester, New York. Although a significant number of records can be located for Bastian Brothers, we were unable to verify whether a complete set of 49 was produced (48 states + the 1936 pin).

We still do not know if any or all of these series were produced for all states. Only one dated item is known, the 1936 celluloid. Sketchy information on the origin and manufacture of these items came from a lot of research. Few existing companies keep sixty-year-old records, even when converting old paperwork to computer storage, and those which are out of business are dead ends for researchers.

Listed on the next page is a table of all known states for the brass, enamel oval, and celluloid versions of the Roosevelt-Garner Club pins. If you know of any others, please let us know. Meanwhile, keep looking!

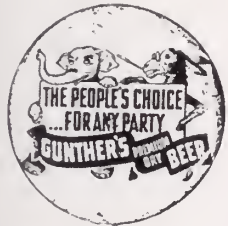


The shaded states on the map have no known FDR-Garner Club items: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Tennessee

ITEMS OF INTEREST

Roosevelt-Garner Club Pins

State Name is followed by (B)=brass, (O)=enameled oval variety, (C)=1936 celluloid, or **** = none known to date.							
Alabama	****	Iowa	B, C	Nebraska	****	Rhode Island	B, C
Arizona	B	Kansas	B, C	New Hampshire	B, C	South Carolina	****
Arkansas	****	Kentucky	B, O, C	Nevada	****	South Dakota	B
California	B, O, C	Louisiana	****	New Jersey	B, O, C	Tennessee	****
Colorado	B	Maine	B, O, C	New Mexico	****	Texas	B
Connecticut	B, O, C	Maryland	B, O, C	New York	B, O, C	Utah	B
Delaware	B	Massachusetts	B, O, C	North Carolina	****	Virginia	B
Florida	****	Michigan	B, C	North Dakota	B	Vermont	B, O, C
Georgia	B	Minnesota	B, C	Ohio	B, O, C	Washington	B
Idaho	B	Mississippi	****	Oklahoma	****	Wisconsin	B, C
Illinois	B, O, C	Missouri	B, O, C	Oregon	B, C	West Virginia	B
Indiana	B, O, C	Montana	B, C	Pennsylvania	B, O, C	Wyoming	B



This 1944 advertising button pictures an elephant that looks a bit like Tom Dewey and a donkey with some of the attributes of FDR. Real size above and enlarged to right.

Fair Try

John J. Staskiel, 30, a Red-hating CIO seaman from Kulpmont, Pa., had armed himself for the occasion. Just as Henry A. Wallace was about to address an unsegregated crowd of 4,000 in Houston last week, he let loose a barrage of eggs and tomatoes, hitting the microphones and rostrum, but only splattering Wallace's suit. Said an apologetic policeman who hustled Staskiel into the fresh air: "I gave the guy three chances and he still couldn't hit Wallace, so I threw him out."

excerpt from *Newsweek*
October 11, 1948



“Let us create a better America. There are river valleys to harness; there are slums to tear down; there are homes to be built; there are children in need of doctors; there are Americans seeking equality of opportunity; there are men in America who fear mob violence; there are millions of Americans who are not allowed to vote. There is peace to be won.”

Henry A Wallace

This unusual postcard from the 1948 Progressive Party campaign pictures hopeful Henry Wallace with his running-mate, U.S. Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho. Taylor was known as a cowboy singer.

