



# THE KEYNOTER

## LEONARD WOOD



## Our Next President

Leonard Wood for President

The Universal Party • William Gaynor • Henry Wallace Coattails

## Editor's Message

As we approach the end of this tumultuous century (and a millenium to boot!), it might be interesting to give a thought to the last time that our Republic went through such a change of calendars. Although such a change has no real concrete meaning (other cultures don't recognize our system of dates and all time measurement is theoretical in the final analysis), we still see the power of change in popular perceptions.

Jump to 1800. Thomas Jefferson entered the White House, overturning the early Federalists who had governed the nation since its founding. During that century the Whigs would create grassroots campaigns with the plethora of material that has made such a difference to those of us who collect.

Look at your 1900 McKinley-Roosevelt jugates. McKinley is a man of the past. A veteran of the Civil War, he wore high collared shirts with old-fashioned ties. Teddy Roosevelt is a man of the future, a veteran of the Spanish-American War wearing shirts with turned down collars and the sort of neckties that men would wear in the coming century. That century would see the new-fangled celluloid buttons reach heights of glory and the arrival of radio, TV and other new media.

What the election of 2000 holds is hard to predict. Al Gore looks like the probable Democratic nominee (although with more than two years to go before the convention, anything is still possible). On the Republican side, the field is wide open with no dominant figures. Whoever the GOP nominates (and it could be a near unknown like Ohio's John Kasich), the campaign will be fought on new, shifting ground.

And what is the future of buttons? With campaign budgets being more and more committed to TV and other media, is there a place for the modest little lapel-borne billboard we have come to know and love? When a real campaign orders actual material these days, it is apt to go for those cheaper stickers rather than buttons. If it weren't for vendors (many of whom appear to be aiming at collectors more than voters), would there be any buttons made at all?

Forgive the philosophical tone. Blame it on the millenium.



Michael Kelly  
Editor

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**Covers: Front:** Black and white 13" x 19" poster backing Leonard Wood for President. **Back:** Black and white 11" x 14" poster supporting Frank Lowden in the Illinois GOP gubernatorial primary.

## IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Cox/Roosevelt jugate from 1920 is the "Holy Grail" of political Americana. Although running mate Franklin D. Roosevelt gets much of the attention, the top of that ticket was James M. Cox, Ohio governor and former congressman. Cox went on to great success in newspaper publishing and electronic communication. We are particularly pleased that the Fall 1998 *Keynoter* will be a special James Cox edition, and will be illustrated by the political memorabilia collection of Cox Enterprises, probably the finest single candidate collection in the United States.





# Soldier, Administrator, & Statesman: General Leonard Wood

By William Alley



Few men have served their country so well and yet been denied the goals they strived for so diligently. In the case of Gen. Leonard Wood, this was to happen to him three times during his lifetime of service.

Born on October 9, 1860, Leonard Wood grew up along the shores of Buzzards Bay on Cape Cod. The son of a Civil War surgeon, the young Wood followed his father's footsteps by attending Harvard Medical School. After his graduation in 1883, Wood began an internship at Boston City Hospital. Although praised by the staff as a fine young doctor, Wood did not get along with the head administrator, Dr. Rowe. In 1884, Dr. Rowe discharged Wood, declaring, "There goes a young man who will never come to any good."

After a brief stint in private practice in Boston, Wood was persuaded by a friend to take the exams for the Army Medical Corps. Wood passed the exams with high marks, but a lack of vacancies in the corps put him on a waiting list. He instead agreed to hire out as a civilian doctor serving with the army in Arizona.

After his arrival in Arizona in 1885, Wood was attached to an expedition led by Captain (later General) Henry W. Lawton, who was pursuing a band of Apaches led by Geronimo. Wood's performance during the successful pursuit of Geronimo brought him high praise and a commission in the Army Medical Corps.

While on leave in Washington, D.C. Dr. Wood married, on November 18, 1890, Louise Condit-Smith, the niece of a Supreme Court Justice. After serving in various postings, Wood, now a Captain, was finally transferred to the nation's capital. Appointed White House Physician by President Cleveland, Wood soon came in contact with "everyone worth knowing." After the inauguration of President McKinley in 1897, Wood was in frequent attendance at the White House, treating the epileptic first lady.

In June of 1897, Wood met a young man who was to have a great impact on his life, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt. The two young men soon developed a close friendship. Foremost among their discussions during this time was the deteriorating situation in Cuba. Their bellicose opinions were far from secret, and after the destruction of the battleship *Maine* in 1898, President McKinley would teasingly ask Dr. Wood during his visits to the White House, "Well, have you and Theodore declared war yet?"

Shortly before war was declared in April of 1898, Wood was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for his service during the Arizona Campaign. After the declaration of war, Capt. Wood of the Medical Corps was appointed a Colonel of Volunteers and given the command of the First Volunteer Cavalry, popularly known as the Rough Riders.

As commander of the Rough Riders, Wood demonstrated his superior administrative abilities. With a talent for cutting red tape and bypassing bureaucratic obstacles,

Wood was able to organize, equip, and train his regiment in record time. After his first engagement against the Spanish at the battle of Las Guasimas, Wood was promoted to Brigadier General of Volunteers, which rank he held when the city of Santiago fell in July.

After the fall of Santiago, Gen. Wood was ordered to take command of the city. As a city long under siege, Santiago was a pesthouse, described as a "city of death over which the buzzards circled." As a physician, Wood realized that his first priority was the removal of the dead and the prevention of any further outbreaks of yellow fever. Wood's efficient and successful transformation of Santiago led to his being chosen to replace the ailing military governor of the entire province of Santiago. Wood set to work cleaning up the province and repairing the infrastructure of the province after years of Spanish neglect and the ravages of insurrection and war. Wood was again promoted, to the rank of Major General of Volunteers. He was quickly becoming a national celebrity back in the states.

When the administration of the island's military governor, General John R. Brooke, failed to restore stability to the island, General Wood was appointed as his replacement. The appointment of a medical officer and general of volunteers over senior regular army officers generated a great deal of opposition and lingering resentment among the army establishment. President McKinley stood behind his appointment, however, and instructed Wood to "Go down there and get the (Cuban) people ready for a republican form of government . . . I leave the details up to you."

Wood's commission as a Major-General of Volunteers was set to expire near the close of 1900. Unless the President acted soon on his earlier promise to appoint Wood a general in the regular army, the Governor-General of Cuba would soon revert to the rank of Captain in the Army Medical Corps. In spite of stiff opposition from the regular army, McKinley sent Wood's nomination to be Brigadier General (Reg.) to the Senate in February of 1901. Confirmation quickly followed.

As governor of Cuba, Wood set to work preparing the island for self government. He oversaw the election of a new Cuban President and, after the convening of the new Cuban legislature, transferred power to the new government on May 20, 1902. That afternoon Wood sailed home. Wood's reputation as an administrator was recognized around the world. The British, who possessed a great deal of experience, recognized Wood as having the "attributes of a great colonial governor."

The island of Mindanao in the Philippines was not yet under the civilian rule of Governor William H. Taft. President Roosevelt promoted Wood to Major General (Reg.) and offered him command of the American troops there with the promise that he would later be promoted to commanding general of the entire Philippine division. Wood immediately sailed for the Philippines and his



headquarters at Zamboango.

With Wood stationed at far off Zamboango, his political enemies, still smarting over his appointments over regular army officers, went on the attack. Led by Mark Hanna in the Senate, Wood's experience was challenged and charges made that his appointments were based on his friendship with President Roosevelt. Conveniently ignored was the fact that most of the promotions enjoyed by Wood were made by Hanna's friend, President McKinley. Supporters of the sugar trust joined in these attacks on Wood because, as governor of Cuba, he had supported reciprocity for Cuban sugar to help the new Cuban government. With the death of Hanna in February of 1904, however, the opposition to Wood in Washington soon evaporated.

Gen. Wood made quick progress in pacifying the Moro Province on Mindanao and ending the slave trade there, but in the fall of 1904, the active and vibrant soldier began to detect a growing numbness in his left arm and leg. Doctors traced this ailment to a large bump on his skull, a souvenir of a collision with a heavy chandelier hanging over his desk back in Santiago. The doctors suspected the formation of a tumor and recommended that Wood return to the United States for treatment. In July of 1905 the surgery was performed, and by October the general was back at his desk in the Philippines. The following February President Roosevelt made good on his promise to promote Wood to commanding general of the Philippine division.


In February of 1908, Wood was again promoted, this time to command of the Department of the East with headquarters on Governors Island in New York. This was a highly coveted assignment in the army, and included all of the east coast, Puerto Rico, and Panama under its jurisdiction. General Wood used his position as commander of the Eastern Division to improve the preparedness of the forces under his command. President Roosevelt's successor, William H. Taft, bestowed another promotion on Wood in December 1909 when he appointed the general Chief of Staff of the army. 1909 also saw Wood undergoing a second operation on his skull at Johns Hopkins. A large tumor was removed. Within a month Wood was back to work on a program of modernizing the army's organization and level of preparedness.

During the election of 1912, Wood was personally inclined to support his old friend Theodore Roosevelt, but as an active duty military officer, he kept out of the political arena. The incoming administration of Woodrow Wilson kept Wood on as Chief of Staff, and the general went forward with his modernization of the army.

As Chief of Staff Wood instituted a program of camps to train college students to be officers and also issued the orders sending General John J. Pershing to El Paso in response to the incursions of Pancho Villa. When Wood presented President Wilson with a contingency plan to invade Mexico in pursuit of Villa, the President was outraged, claiming that "planning is not neutral."

When Wood's term as Chief of Staff ended in 1914, he resumed command of the Eastern Division. When war broke out in Europe that summer, General Wood, knowing that the United States Army was ill prepared for a major war, pushed vigorously for a program of preparedness. When the Wilson administration appeared to turn a deaf ear to the general, Wood stepped up his calls for pre-

CUBA  
FOR  
AMERICAN  
PLATTSBURGH



PHILIPPINES  
LEONARD  
WOOD  
WASHINGTON

### LEONARD WOOD'S FOURTEEN POINTS

1. **AMERICAN—100 PER CENT.**  
Devoted his whole life to the service of his country, and knows intimately every section of the United States and its possessions.
2. **EQUIPPED FOR NATION'S HIGHEST OFFICE**  
Mentally, morally, physically fit. Courageous and unbiased, he insures a square deal for all.
3. **A MAN OF DEEDS, NOT WORDS**  
Cuba, the Philippines, the Plattsburgh Camps, and the whole of his national preparedness campaign are imperishable achievements.
4. **STATESMAN**  
The rehabilitation of Cuba, the building of a modern independent republic from the ruins of a four-hundred-year old Spanish Crown Colony, constitutes one of the greatest feats of statesmanship in modern times.
5. **DIPLOMAT**  
In his mission of civilization, he won the cooperation of Cubans and Filipinos, strangers in race, language and religion.
6. **BUSINESS ADMINISTRATOR**  
He found Cuba bankrupt, raised over sixty millions of dollars, made enduring public improvements, and left the country debt free.
7. **AUTHORITY ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**  
Foresaw and foretold the European war through his extensive knowledge of foreign relations. Predicted its menace to the United States. Launched his program of military preparedness in 1909 and continued it until victory was achieved.
8. **JUDGE OF MEN**  
Selected Reed to wipe out yellow fever; Olcott, Dodge, and Van Horn to construct and develop Cuba's railways; and Hanna and Frye to create the island's modern school system.
9. **PEACEMAKER**  
Pacified the unruly Moro province in the Philippines, stamped out piracy, slave trading, and internal warfare, leaving the province law-abiding and prosperous.
10. **ORGANIZER AND BUILDER**  
The Cuban schools, hospitals, harbors, lighthouses, railroads, highways, and telegraph system, and the Philippine fortifications are monuments to his labors.
11. **PROVED LEADER**  
Has had wider and more diverse executive and administrative experience than any other man mentioned for the Presidency.
12. **CHAMPION OF LAW AND ORDER**  
Stands for equal justice for public, employe, and employer. Restored order in Omaha; prevented disorder in steel and coal strikes.
13. **STANDS ON HIS OWN MERITS**  
Roosevelt said of Wood: "His rise has been astonishing, and it has been due purely to his own striking qualifications and striking achievements."
14. **HE DID NOT KEEP US OUT OF WAR  
BUT PAVED THE WAY TO VICTORY.**

LEONARD WOOD CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Hotel Imperial New York City	The New Willard Hotel Washington, D. C.	Congress Hotel Chicago, Ill.
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The Red Scare of 1919 was still evident in 1920. Note Leonard Wood's "Fourteen Points" (an obvious reference to incumbent President Woodrow Wilson). The first point is that Wood is "American - 100 per cent."



paredness. Friction soon grew between Wood and Wilson. On orders from the President, Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison, himself a proponent of preparedness who would later resign over this same issue, issued orders barring officers from "giving out for publication any interview, statement, discussion or article on the military situation in the United States or abroad." A gag order had been placed on Wood.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, Wood organized a training camp for civilians at Plattsburg, New York. Backed by such individuals as Theodore Roosevelt and Bernard Baruch, who donated \$10,000 for the camp, the Plattsburg movement amounted to a call for a citizen army, and camps sprang up across the country. When asked by a pacifist just what war he was preparing for, Wood replied, "I will answer you, madam, if you can tell me for what particular storm the captain of that ship is prepared. You may notice that he has all his life boats hung and ready."

With the approach of the 1916 Presidential election, many Republicans saw Wood as the one candidate who could unite the Progressive and Old Guard factions of the party and defeat Wilson. In the end, however the nomination went to Charles Evans Hughes. Wood's association with a reunited Republican leadership further eroded his relationship with the Wilson administration. Not wanting to provide Wood with any more opportunities than necessary, Wilson had Wood's Eastern Department split into three divisions. Wood was then given the choice of command of the southern division or command in Manila or Hawaii, the equivalent of exile. Wood chose the southern command. His request for a combat command overseas was also denied.

This obvious slap at the country's senior major-general created an outcry across the nation. It was obvious that Wood was being punished for his early stand for preparedness and his ties to the Republican party. The extent of the public reaction forced Wilson to relent somewhat. While still denied a role with the expeditionary force, which even our British and French allies supported, Wilson did put Wood to use training new recruits at Camp Funston, Kansas. When these new troops of the 89th Division were sent to Europe, however, their commander was ordered to remain home. Wilson did not want to create a war hero to challenge his party in the next election.



**"For American Ideals" is a slogan perhaps unique to 1920. See the article later in this issue on the Red Scare of 1919.**

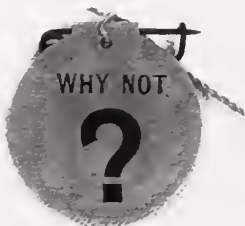
At what would seem to be the pinnacle of his career in the United States Army, Wood, the most experienced and senior officer in the army, was left out of the war for purely political considerations. One can only imagine the disappointment he must have felt at having been sidelined at a training command.

In February of 1919, Wood again tested the waters of the political arena. At a memorial address in Kansas City for his friend Theodore Roosevelt, Wood gave what amounted to a statement of his own beliefs. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* saw that speech as a "bold and convincing bid for the Republican nomination."

The Wood for President movement gained momentum and the non-partisan Leonard Wood League opened branches across the country. Wood hired John T. King, the Republican national committeeman from Connecticut as his political manager. Wood later also hired William Cooper Proctor as his campaign manager. Friction between the two managers ultimately led to King's dismissal.

As a candidate for president, Wood faced some serious obstacles. Being both a de facto candidate and active duty army officer restricted the general's ability to speak out on many issues. One issue open to him was the red menace, which he denounced at every turn. During the primaries Wood fared well, and a *Literary Digest* poll showed Wood as the country's favorite. The Republican Old Guard, however, still had some misgivings about Wood being too independent of the party organization. The progressive wing of the party also had misgivings about a candidate with such strong anti-red views and opposition to the League of Nations. The progressives also distrusted his receipt of money from the "trusts" and feared he would use the power of the Presidency against labor.

When the 1920 Republican Convention opened, no particular group of bosses dominated. Opposition to Wood



**A good group of Leonard Wood items. On the left are two views of a flipper which changes when its string is pulled. There are two versions of the brass shell on the right.**



centered on a group of senators who feared that the general would not defer to the Senate as "the ultimate source of power." This group preferred a more malleable candidate. The two leading candidates at the opening of the convention were General Wood and Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois. Also active during the primaries were Hiram Johnson of California, Warren G. Harding of Ohio, and Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. It was Wood who came to the convention with the most delegates. Wood had also spent money freely, with a Senate investigating committee discovering that \$1,500,000 had been spent on his campaign. This led Senator Borah, a Johnson supporter, to accuse the Wood campaign of trying to buy the nomination. Governor Lowden also spent a great deal of money on his campaign, amid charges that he was bribing delegates.

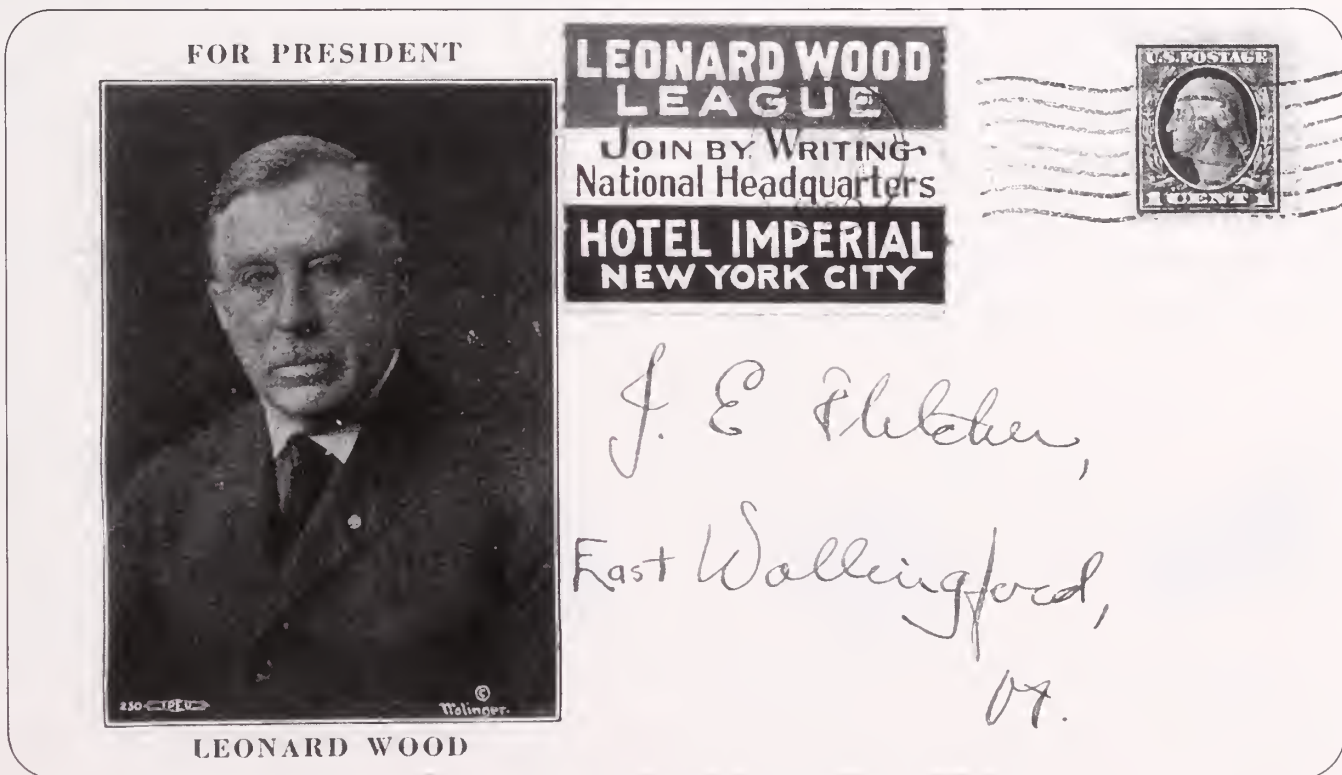
Wood's name was placed in nomination on July 12 by

Henry J. Allen, Governor of Kansas. His seconding speech by Mrs. Douglas Robinson had a tremendous impact on the delegates and was considered by many to be the high point of the convention. The momentum seemed to be lining up behind the general. After the first ballot a group of Senators dubbed the "Flying Squadron" began canvassing the uncommitted delegates in an effort to stop the Wood drive. They succeeded in increasing Lowden's count to 282 1/2 votes by the third ballot, but Wood's total had also increased to 303. By the fourth ballot Wood still led with 314 1/2 votes to Lowden's 289. Harding had dropped to 61 1/2 votes. Fearing a Wood bandwagon, the Lowden supporters on the platform conferred and called for an adjournment. Calls for a roll call went unheeded by the chair and the voice vote was ruled in favor of adjournment.

That night a meeting was held in a room at the Blackstone Hotel to decide how to break the deadlock at the convention. It was decided that Warren Harding should be the compromise candidate. The Wood and Lowden forces tried to come to an agreement to prevent a Harding nomination, but neither candidate would agree to second place on a joint ticket. Worn out by a difficult convention, the delegates finally nominated Harding and selected Calvin Coolidge as his running mate. Leonard Wood again had to face disappointment.

Wood's third major disappointment followed shortly after Harding's landslide victory over James Cox. In spite of widespread support among rank and file Republicans to appoint Wood Secretary of War, Harding instead chose John W. Weeks. Many of the same Senators that wanted to keep Wood out of the White House also wanted to keep him out of the Cabinet. It was ironic that the party that had savaged the Wilson administration for wasting Wood's talents was now doing the same thing.

Wood clearly wanted the position of Secretary of War, and was disappointed at being overlooked. When





Harding offered him the position of Governor of the Philippines. Wood saw the appointment as a sort of exile that would keep him away from affairs in Washington. Wood declined the appointment, but did agree to go to Manila on a mission to investigate the state of affairs left there by the Wilson administration. Afterward, he intended to accept the offer of Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

After travelling all over the Philippine Islands, Wood reported back that the situation was a mess. Graft was rampant and the Filipinos were far from ready for self government. After reading Wood's report, Harding again asked the general to accept the position of governor. This time Wood agreed, telling a friend "I can't help recognizing, and I hope I can say it without egotism, that there are very few of us Americans who have had experience governing dependencies. It so happens that I am one of those men."

After his inauguration on October 15, 1921, Wood set out to improve the political and financial health of the islands. He proved to be very successful in his endeavors, although his opposition to autonomy alienated most of the Filipino leaders. In 1924, he opposed legislation calling for independence. He felt more time was needed before the islands were ready for that step.

In 1926, at the age of sixty-six, Wood's health began to fail. The tumor in his skull had returned, along with the lameness and headaches. In May of 1927 the general and his wife returned to the United States. On August 6, Wood underwent an operation on his tumor under local anesthesia. He did not survive.★



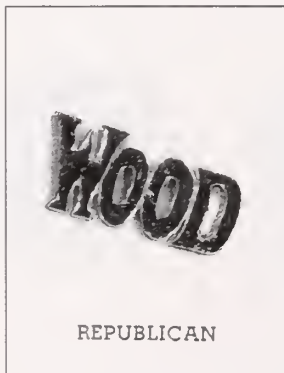
## Wood? Not Wood?

By Ed Mitchell

Wood is hardly a rare word in our language. Most of us live in homes built of wood, burn wood in our fireplaces and go for walks in the woods. So it isn't a surprise that there are a number of buttons and pins that carry the word "Wood" beyond those associated with Leonard Wood's 1920 race for president. This article describes at least four items we know aren't from Leonard Wood's campaign.

The two jewelry pins reading "Wood" attached to cards reading "Republican" do not appear to be Leonard Wood. They may be from a Republican hopeful for Mayor of New York City during the Fifties. The button reading "Wood" with the other letters arranged around a large "W" is thought to be from Pennsylvania gubernatorial candidate Edward R. Wood.

That Ed Wood, by the way, is no relation to the movie director named Ed Wood, who won a quirky kind of fame for making the worst movie in American film history ("Plan Nine from Outer Space"). That Ed Wood might have enjoyed the Universal Party article elsewhere in this issue. The explanation for the "Win With Leonard" button has yet to emerge, but it is clearly not a Leonard Wood button.







# The 1920 Primaries

By Michael Kelly



The primary trail was not the road to victory in 1920 when it came to picking presidential nominees. The Republican nominee, Warren Harding, won only one primary – his home state of Ohio – and that turned out to be a narrow win over Leonard Wood (47.6% to 41.9%) without even a majority of votes cast. Harding's only other primary venture, Indiana, was a pathetic failure. Indiana Republicans gave their neighbor only 9.2% and a fourth place finish.

Leonard Wood kicked off the primary season with a solid win in New Hampshire but traded victories with his rivals thereafter. Wood also won South Dakota, Wisconsin, New Jersey, Maryland, Indiana, Vermont and West Virginia. Senator Hiram Johnson of California took top honors in North Dakota, Michigan, Nebraska, Montana,

California, Oregon and North Carolina to garner more total popular votes than Wood. Illinois Governor Frank Lowden took only his home state but gathered plenty of delegates in non-primary contests.

On the Democratic side, the eventual nominee, Governor James Cox, also won only his home state of Ohio. The candidate who ran best in the primaries was California's William Gibbs McAdoo, who ran first in North Dakota, Michigan, Vermont and Oregon while running second in Illinois, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The only other hopeful to carry a state beyond his own home was Edward Edwards of New Jersey, who managed a win in Illinois.

The voice of the people proved a poor prophet as Harding and Cox took the nominations with the former winning the White House.

Republican		Democratic	
Votes	%	Votes	%
<b>March 9 New Hampshire</b>			
Leonard Wood (N.H.)	8,591	53.0	Unpledged delegates
Unpledged delegates	5,604	34.6	
Hiram Johnson (Calif.)	2,000	12.3	
<b>March 16 North Dakota</b>			
Johnson	30,573	96.1	William G. McAdoo (N.Y.) <sup>1</sup>
Leonard Wood <sup>1</sup>	987	3.1	Others <sup>2</sup>
Frank O. Lowden (Ill.) <sup>1</sup>	265	.8	
<b>March 23 South Dakota</b>			
Leonard Wood	31,265	36.5	Others
Lowden	26,981	31.5	
Johnson	26,301	30.7	
Others	1,144	1.3	
<b>April 5 Michigan</b>			
Johnson	156,939	38.4	McAdoo
Leonard Wood	112,568	27.5	Edward I. Edwards (N.J.)
Lowden	62,418	15.3	A. Mitchell Palmer (Pa.)
Herbert C. Hoover (Calif)	52,503	12.8	Others
Others	24,729	6.0	
<b>April 6 New York</b>			
Unpledged delegates	199,149	100.0	Unpledged delegates
<b>April 6 Wisconsin</b>			
Leonard Wood <sup>1</sup>	4,505	15.0	James M. Cox (Ohio) <sup>1</sup>
Hoover <sup>1</sup>	3,910	13.0	Others
Johnson <sup>1</sup>	2,413	8.0	
Lowden <sup>1</sup>	921	3.1	
Others	18,350	60.9	
<b>April 13 Illinois</b>			
Lowden	236,802	51.1	Edwards <sup>1</sup>
Leonard Wood	156,719	33.8	McAdoo <sup>1</sup>
Johnson	64,201	13.8	Cox <sup>1</sup>
Hoover <sup>1</sup>	3,401	.7	Others
Others	2,674	.6	
<b>April 20 Nebraska</b>			
Johnson	63,161	46.2	Gilbert M. Hitchcock (Neb)
Leonard Wood	42,385	31.0	Others
John J. Pershing (Mo.)	27,669	20.3	
Others	3,432	2.5	
<b>April 23 Montana</b>			
Johnson	21,034	52.4	Others <sup>1</sup>
Leonard Wood	6,804	17.0	
Lowden	6,503	16.2	
Hoover	5,076	12.6	
Warren G. Harding (Ohio)	723	1.8	
<b>April 27 Massachusetts</b>			
Unpledged delegates	93,356	100.0	Unpledged delegates
<b>April 27 New Jersey</b>			
Leonard Wood	52,909	50.2	Edwards
Johnson	51,685	49.0	McAdoo <sup>1</sup>
Hoover	900	.9	Others
<b>April 27 Ohio</b>			
Harding	123,257	47.6	Cox
Leonard Wood	108,565	41.9	McAdoo <sup>1</sup>
Johnson <sup>1</sup>	16,783	6.5	Others
Hoover <sup>1</sup>	10,467	4.0	

Republican		Democratic	
Votes	%	Votes	%
<b>May 3 Maryland</b>			
Leonard Wood	15,900	66.4	<sup>2</sup>
Johnson	8,059	33.6	
<b>May 4 California</b>			
Johnson	369,853	63.9	Unpledged delegates
Hoover	209,009	36.1	
<b>May 4 Indiana</b>			
Leonard Wood	85,708	37.9	<sup>2</sup>
Johnson	79,840	35.3	
Lowden	39,627	17.5	
Harding	20,782	9.2	
<b>May 18 Pennsylvania</b>			
Edward R. Wood (Pa.)	257,841	92.3	Palmer
Johnson <sup>1</sup>	10,869	3.8	McAdoo
Leonard Wood <sup>1</sup>	3,878	1.4	Edwards <sup>1</sup>
Hoover <sup>1</sup>	2,825	1.0	Others <sup>2</sup>
Others <sup>2</sup>	4,059	1.5	
<b>May 18 Vermont</b>			
Leonard Wood	3,451	66.1	McAdoo <sup>1</sup>
Hoover <sup>1</sup>	564	10.8	Edwards <sup>1</sup>
Johnson <sup>1</sup>	402	7.7	Cox <sup>1</sup>
Lowden <sup>1</sup>	29	.5	Others
Others	777	14.9	
<b>May 21 Oregon</b>			
Johnson	46,163	38.4	McAdoo
Leonard Wood	43,770	36.5	Others
Lowden	15,581	13.0	
Hoover	14,557	12.1	
<b>May 25 West Virginia</b>			
Leonard Wood	27,255	44.6	<sup>2</sup>
Others	33,849	55.4	
<b>June 5 North Carolina</b>			
Johnson	15,375	73.3	<sup>2</sup>
Leonard Wood	5,603	26.7	
<b>TOTALS</b>			
Johnson	965,651	30.3	Unpledged delegates
Leonard Wood	710,863	22.3	Palmer
Lowden	389,127	12.2	Cox
Hoover	303,212	9.5	McAdoo
Unpledged delegates	298,109	9.4	Hitchcock
Edward R. Wood	257,841	8.1	Edwards
Harding	144,762	4.5	Others
Pershing	27,669	.9	
Others	89,014	2.8	
		3,186,248	

Notes:  
 1 - Write-in votes.  
 2 - No names entered and no preference vote recorded

# “America First”

## The 1919 Red Scare and 1920 Presidential Hopefuls

By Steve Baxley

Many times in American history, military heroes have used their war experience for a run at the White House. In 1919, America had been in a domestic war of sorts as it sought to expel foreign radicals it felt endangered our system of government.

In 1917, the Bolsheviks seized power from the Tsar of Russia. In 1919, in the United States, citizens and newspapers were blaming radicals from the International Workers of the World (IWW) for labor strikes and bombings. Ole Hanson, Mayor of Seattle, believed that a massive general strike in Seattle was planned by the IWW and was a conspiracy to start a revolution in America. Hanson later resigned as mayor and hit the lecture circuit speaking on Bolshevism versus Americanism; he had received national acclaim and was seen as courageous for standing up to the strikers. Bombs sent to the homes of leading politicians and industrialists convinced the public that the radicals were stirring up a revolution. As public fear of radicalism grew, there were several politicians who sought to boost their political prospects by becoming heroes of the rapidly developing “Great Red Scare of 1919”.

One of the first anti-radicals to receive attention was Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington. Poindexter had supported the open shop and had been quite critical of Wilson’s internationalism and the League of Nations. Believing that the Justice Department was weak in using existing laws to deport alien radicals, Poindexter became very critical of the Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer. Poindexter was successful in getting the Senate to pass a resolution asking the Attorney General to explain why foreign radicals were not being deported. Three weeks later, the first of the Palmer raids resulted in the arrest of several hundred members of the Union of Russian Workers. In further Palmer Raids, 249 aliens were deported by his direction, and over 4,000 suspected radicals were arrested in 33 cities.

In October 1919, Poindexter announced that he was a candidate for President in 1920. In his first official campaign speech, he again stressed that strikes were part of a Bolshevik plot to incite revolution. Poindexter entered presidential primaries in South Dakota and Michigan. The slogan used



on one campaign button read “No Red Without the White and Blue.”

He lost to Leonard Wood in South Dakota and Hiram Johnson in Michigan. The only endorsement he received was from the Washington state Republican convention. Poindexter still believed he could secure the nomination in a deadlock, but he was from a small western state that offered the Republicans little hope of winning the White House.

Another Republican, however, did ride the Red Scare to national prominence. While Governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge’s strong stand in the Boston Police Strike made him a national hero. Coolidge was not seen as particularly anti-Red, but as a courageous leader who became a symbol of law and order. “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time,” Coolidge had declared.

Coolidge’s friend, Frank Stearns, had published *Have Faith in Massachusetts*, a book of speeches Coolidge made while he was Governor of Massachusetts. Before the 1920 Republican National Convention, thousands of copies of this book were distributed, illustrating the straight-forward Americanism of the Coolidge style.

After Harding had secured the Republican Presidential nomination, the name of Sen. Irvine Lenroot from Wisconsin was placed in nomination for Vice President. Surprisingly, when Coolidge’s name was placed in nomination, the convention erupted with demonstrations and applause. Coolidge’s stand during the Boston Police Strike gave him the Vice Presidency and eventually the Presidency, when Warren Harding died in office.

Leonard Wood, another participant in the Great Red Scare, was a front-running hopeful for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1920. General Wood had led Army troops into areas in the Midwest with problems with law and order. In Omaha, Nebraska, a howling mob had attacked the mayor and lynched a black man. Wood and his troops restored order in the city after the riot. When 35,000 steelworkers went on strike in Gary, Indiana, Wood and his troops also restored order in that city. Wood blamed both



Defending America from the Bolshevik revolution seemed to be a critical issue as the 1920 election approached. Senator Poindexter called for “No Red Without the White and Blue.” A more popular slogan was “America First!”



disorders on the conspiracy of foreign radicals. He stressed the 100 per cent Americanism that had become popular during WWI. Wood sought to acquire delegates through the primaries rather than soliciting support from the Old Guard of the Republican Party organization.

There were three tough opponents determined to deny him the nomination: Warren G. Harding, Frank Lowden, and Hiram Johnson. When the *New York World* revealed that contributors to Wood's campaign included several millionaires, William Borah had all the ammo he needed to call for a resolution investigating campaign spending. Wood had spent over \$1 million more than Frank Lowden. Wood still took the most delegates into the convention, but it wasn't enough to give him the victory. The Great Red Scare had run out of steam for Leonard Wood.

The final 1920 candidate who hoped to ride the Great Red Scare into the White House was a Democrat, former U.S. Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer. Palmer entered presidential primaries in Michigan and Georgia. Palmer was strongly opposed by labor, a difficult obstacle to overcome in Michigan. He placed fifth. Palmer, of course, blamed Detroit's alien reds, radicals, and revolutionaries for his

defeat. In Georgia, he finished a close second to Georgia firebrand Tom Watson. At the Democratic Convention in San Francisco, Palmer led on the first ballot, followed by William Gibbs McAdoo and James Middleton Cox. However, Palmer's support eroded and the convention nominated Cox. The most successful red-hunter of them all had failed to get the nomination.

Only Calvin Coolidge had succeeded in riding the Law and Order crusade to the White House and, though many thought radicals were also behind the police strike, Coolidge was never really perceived as a red-hunter. His stand for law and order in general had made him a national hero. The Red Scare was unable to carry other hopefuls to fulfill their dreams. The Red Scare of 1919 was soon forgotten, but would return stronger than ever in the 1950s as the Cold War heated up. New red-hunting heroes would arise during the second Great Red Scare and a young man named Richard Nixon would use red-baiting to win a Congressional seat. He would expose the world communist conspiracy with microfilm found in a pumpkin. He would become President of the United States and open the door to Red China. The twists and turns of history are truly remarkable.★



“America First” was a common slogan during the 1920 November election, as on the poster (top left). The colorful window decal beneath it goes further, calling for “America Always First.” It also echoes Harding’s call for “Normalcy” and boosts Coolidge’s Law and Order reputation.

# Indianapolis Wood Day

## March 12, 1920

By Michael Kelly

These days, we are used to candidates who campaign at a frantic pace. In earlier times, that was not the case. Presidential nominees in the early Republic would not even acknowledge that they were really candidates. For nearly a century little was expected of a presidential candidate beyond an occasional letter filled with pious platitudes and vague references to issues open to diverse interpretations. A few 19th century candidates — notably Horace Greeley and William Jennings Bryan — stumped the nation, but the model was more apt to be William McKinley with his “front porch” campaign. Leonard Wood’s 1920 campaign may have been an unusual one in that regard.

The headline in the March 12, 1920 *Indianapolis Star* reads “Wood To Spend Very Busy Day in Indianapolis.” In the style of the era, there were several sub-headlines. “General Will Inspect Fort, Address Marion and Columbia Club Members and Attend Masonic Banquet” went the first: “Many Boosters Coming” promised the second. A third sub-headline advised that “Supporters of Army Man from All Parts of State to Attend Conference.”

The opening sentence of the news story provided a sense of just how busy a day Indianapolis Wood Day would be.

“Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood, a candidate for the Republican nomination for the presidency, will visit Indiana today for the first time since he has started an active campaign, and he will be busy every minute of the time after he leaves his [railroad] car at 7 o’clock this morning at the Union Station until he departs on a late train tonight for St. Louis.”

That 63-word sentence indicates the pace to be set by General Wood. According to the paper, his schedule included the following events:

7 am – Arrives from Chicago.

8 am – Leaves for Fort Benjamin Harrison on Inspection Trip.

10:30 am – Arrives at headquarters in Claypool Hotel.

11:15 am – Inspects Soldiers and Sailors Monument.

12 noon – Attends reception at Marion Club.

1 pm – Makes public address at Columbia Club.

3 pm – Holds conference with campaign managers at headquarters

5:30 pm – Public address in assembly room of Claypool Hotel.

6:15 pm – Goes to Scottish Rite Cathedral for banquet and address to Society of Actual Past Masters, Free and Accepted Masons.

The military man was clearly attempting to carry the mantle of the late Theodore Roosevelt during his campaign. The small entourage accompanying him on the train included Nicholas Roosevelt, a nephew of the former president. During his speech before the Columbia Club, Wood praised TR “as a man who was not afraid to bring the best men of his time to his aid.” The obvious, if unstated, conclusion his audience should draw was that TR had often brought Leonard Wood to his aid. It also contained another message; President Woodrow Wilson had been unwilling to utilize Wood during World War I for fear of further enhancing his reputation.

Somewhere during the day, Wood had time to pose for this photo with his supporters. It no doubt became a treasured memento of March 12, 1920: Indianapolis Wood Day.★





# Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood

[Edmund Morris' *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* is perhaps the finest of the many TR biographies. The following excerpt described the beginning of the strong friendship between TR and Wood, a friendship with significant historical consequences.]



“Wood was a doctor by profession and a soldier by choice; he excelled in both capacities. His looks were noble, his physical presence splendid as a Viking’s. Tall, fair, lithe, and powerfully muscled, he walked with the slightly pigeon-toed stride of a born athlete, and was forever compulsively kicking a football around an empty lot, the leather thudding nearly flat as he drove it against the wall.

“Roosevelt, who as Civil Service Commissioner had won fame as the most strenuous pedestrian in Washington, was impressed to discover that this newcomer could outpace and outclimb him with no sign of fatigue. ‘He walked me off my legs,’ [TR] told [Henry Cabot] Lodge, with some surprise. Ever the boy, he hero-worshipped Wood (although the doctor was two years his junior) as a fighter of Apaches and a vanquisher of Geronimo. Wood’s personality was clear, forceful, honest, and unassuming. Best of all, he was an ardent expansionist, and could not stop talking about Cuba as a wound on the national conscience. Roosevelt decided that this quiet, charming man with excellent military connections (Wood was married to the niece of U.S. Army Commanding General Nelson A. Miles) must needs be cultivated.”

This picture is from 1916 when TR was still expected to run for president again. Upon TR’s death in 1919, Leonard Wood decided he should seek the White House in 1920.★

## A Vendor Set Revisited

By Marshall Levin

An article in the Summer 1988 *Keynoter* (“Two Good Vendor Sets”) pointed out that campaign buttons made for vendors to sell to the public were once a legitimate part of presidential politics. That, of course, was before collectors organized and created a pliant market for other collectors and dealers to plunder. In any event, the article described a set of slogan buttons from the 1952 conventions featuring word play (“Kefauver Take Over,” “Hustle for Russell,” etc.). There are other buttons from that set not pictured in that article – at least two more for the Democrats and three for Eisenhower. All are 1-1/4” celluloids with the same printing trades union label (local 9) on the face or curl and the metal workers union label stamped on the back. “We Need Adlai Badly” is blue on cream. “My Pick Is Dick” (Russell, not Nixon) is blue on yellow. The three Eisenhowers are blue on yellow. Are there still others lurking out there in someone’s collection? I’d like to think there’s at least an “I Like Ike,” but if there is, I haven’t seen it.★



“You know, nothing ever really rhymed with ‘Adlai.’ ”





# Cause Buttons Get A Book

Book Review by Michael Kelly



*All For The Cause (Campaign Buttons for Social Change: 1960s – 1990s)* by William A. Sievert. Published by Decoy Magazine for Splash, Inc., P.O. Box 155, Rehoboth Beach, DE 19971. 120 pages, over 1,250 items pictured (\$29.95). For information call 302/644-9001.

Collectors of political Americana have tended to be personality-oriented rather than issue-oriented. Items — no matter how handsome or timely — lacking a candidate's name tend to be valued below those carrying that personal touch. But all along there have been those collectors more motivated by issues than personalities: those who are more delighted with a Sacco/Vanzetti button than a Coolidge/Dawes button.

Coming in the same year that Dr. Edmund Sullivan is publishing a book on material from social causes and issues cause collectors will be pleased to see that William A. Sievert (APIC #11283) has published *All For The Cause* to begin to create a reference library for cause collectors. As the title suggests, Sievert focuses on the material from his own adulthood. Items pre-dating the Sixties are given only passing acknowledgement.

Interestingly, however, the author's interest in collecting started with his paternal grandfather, who is described as "the kind of man who liked to let people know where he stood...He almost always sported a lapel pin for his favorite politicians, matching the bumper sticker on his Nash Rambler. My grandfather saved all the campaign buttons he wore, and over the course of his lifetime, he accumulated several cigar boxes full of political memorabilia — mostly for Republicans." It was looking through those boxes at the age of ten that Sievert discovered two cause buttons ("Votes for Women" and "California Dry Vote Yes") that sparked his interest.

He writes that "it wasn't difficult to talk my grandfather into parting with those two pieces. After all, he was a fairly serious drinker who had deeply opposed prohibition, and he wasn't particularly thrilled with the idea of women having driver's licenses, much less the serious responsibility of electing government officials. But I treasured those two tiny buttons. They communicated so much in so few words and so little space about matters of heartfelt importance..." Thus he summarizes what must touch every cause collector.

Sievert's interest, however, remains those events, causes and issues through which he personally lived and with which he was involved. He intends the book to "serve not only as a guide to these collectible pieces of history, but also as a capsule history of three decades of activism. The book explains why the protests of the 1960s through 1980s were so important. For those of us who participated, it is an exciting reminiscence. For younger readers who may like to wear peace signs on their jacket, it can provide insight into what all the fuss was about."

"The fuss" is clearly laid out in a useful and effective manner. The book is divided into ten chapters, beginning with "The Birth of a Movement," which traces the protest

movement of the Sixties to the SDS Port Huron Statement. Brief reference is given to earlier leftist movements, and one might feel that the author, like so many others of his generation, feels as if "The Movement" was born fully-grown like the mythical Venus. But that is a carping criticism. The book claims to cover the period from the Sixties and Sievert is concise and spare in his summaries of the issues inspiring a wide variety of buttons. And the book does show us a wide variety of buttons, over 1,250 of them.

Chapters cover the Peace Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, the Chicano Movement, the Ecology Movement, the Women's Movement, the Workers' Movement and the Gay Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement is traced from the crusade for equality to militant Black power. The chapter on Gay Rights includes a first rate range of material. Presidential candidates appear here and there when their campaigns tried to hitch onto causes or when their efforts were a target of protest. There is an entire chapter on anti-Reagan material, although it focuses on material from his presidency and neglects some of the wonderful and well-made anti-Reagan buttons from his days as California governor.

That notwithstanding, it is hard to criticize the illustrations in *All For The Cause*. There are a ton of buttons pictured, many in full color.

The chapter "Candidates as Causes" focuses on issue-driven presidential efforts such as those of Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, Robert Kennedy and Shirley Chisholm. That chapter also cites the Peace and Freedom Party but the absence of other minor parties may reflect the author's





ideological preferences, as it is hard to think of any minor party effort that isn't cause-oriented in one way or another. These ideological preferences also mean that only left-wing causes are included. One will find pro-choice material but no pro-life, anti-Nixon material in abundance but no anti-Carter, lots of demands for gay rights but nary a call for school prayer. Sievert is certainly free to define "protest" and "cause" in this manner, but readers should know that is what they are getting.

What they are getting is a fine piece of work. Sievert includes sections on button sizes, recognizing fakes, manufacturers, getting involved with the hobby and care of collectibles. He also includes a bibliography of various radical causes and – yes, folks – a price guide. As is always the case with any price guide, individuals will dispute the price of specific buttons, but Sievert has given the field of cause buttons its first solid frame of reference. No doubt, one will eventually see cause buttons in auctions noted as being "unlisted."

*All For The Cause* is a useful contribution to the field. At a modest price (\$29.95), many collectors will no doubt choose to add it to their libraries.

Oh, by the way. Remember Sievert's grandfather and his cigar boxes filled with buttons? Sievert never got them. As Sievert went off to college and turned into a Sixties radical, his grandfather "became disenchanted with me because of my visible role in student activism...As a sign of protest, he gave his substantial button collection, mostly from the first half of the century, to an old chum rather than passing it on to me. His decision was a price I paid for standing up for my beliefs." Somehow, despite empathizing with the loss, there is a sense that there was something fitting about all that. His grandfather left him a legacy more important than those cigar boxes filled with buttons. It was a legacy that one should stand for something, even when it costs one dearly. I suspect that, in their hearts, the two men are more alike than different.★



*All For The Cause* contains an abundance of illustrated cause buttons. Above is a selection of pro-ERA material, including several from the Socialist Workers Party. Below is a Black Panthers grouping which contains a Huey Newton congressional pin and two Eldridge Cleaver presidential buttons. Cleaver, who recently died, ended his life a conservative Republican.







# Rainey, Wallace, Ravetz: The Story Behind the Button

By Stephen Cresswell

(Reprinted from Cresswell's Internet webzine, *Buttons and Ballots*)



Philadelphia, 1948: Joseph H. Rainey, a Philadelphia city judge, was one of the highest-ranking African American elected officials in the nation that year. Rainey shocked many observers that March when he abandoned the Democratic Party, gave up his own reelection plans, and announced as a congressional candidate on Henry Wallace's Progressive Party ticket. Some political writers accused Rainey of simply having hurt feelings from the Democrats' refusal to nominate him for Congress on their ticket. Rainey did admit his major reason for breaking with the Democrats was party leaders' refusal to nominate a black candidate to represent the largely black 4th congressional district.

Rainey said he endorsed Wallace because Wallace was "the only leader to step forth with a program embracing the tenets of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt." Also running for office on the Henry Wallace slate was Philadelphia physician Elkin Ravetz, a World War II veteran. Ravetz (whose parents were Latvian) was running for the state Senate from the 7th senatorial district. In addition to Rainey and Ravetz, eight other Philadelphia men and women were on the Progressive ticket, all of them seeking seats in the state House of Representatives.

Rainey's candidacy created a storm of controversy because he was local president of the NAACP, and this organization had always had a policy of steering clear of partisan politics. Yet while national NAACP leaders tried to distance themselves from the Wallace movement, one leader, W.E.B. DuBois spoke in the city on June 18th, praising Wallace and Rainey as candidates who would work for an end to segregation, for equal employment opportunities, and for world peace. DuBois, a major scholar of African American history and sociology, was national research director for the NAACP. Like Rainey, he came under fire from the national NAACP president for getting so embroiled in partisan politics.

Rainey's chief platform as a candidate was racial equality. He urged that the one-third of a million black Philadelphians deserved to have a voice in Washington. While some black leaders were endorsing Truman, Rainey accused the President of lecturing Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia on democracy and human rights, then turning his back when black Southerners were the victims of hate crimes.

Rainey made national headlines when he traveled to Birmingham, Alabama, to attend the Southern Negro Youth Congress, where he was slated to speak along with Wallace's vice-presidential candidate, U.S. Senator Glen Taylor. The police chief warned Rainey he would be arrested if he tried to speak to an integrated audience, but Rainey ignored the warning and did address the bi-racial group. His speech was an angry one. He shouted that the Birmingham police were "heathens and barbarians," and added that "I would rather be free among the dead than living among slaves." Rainey noted that some accused the Progressive party of being made up of "Reds," but added that it had become an American custom to label as "red" any group that stood for abolishing discrimination. Rainey's



hosts hurried him to the Birmingham airport after his speech, and he was not arrested. Senator Taylor was not so lucky. He was arrested when he tried to enter a church door marked "colored." Five policemen grabbed him and escorted him to jail, where he was detained and fingerprinted.

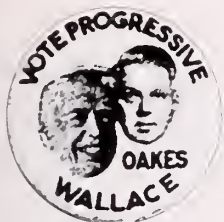
The newspaper clipping with this article shows Joseph H. Rainey (at right), together with his Republican opponent incumbent opponent Franklin J. Murphy (left), and his Democratic rival Earl Chudoff. Most political observers in Philadelphia predicted Rainey would play a crucial role in the outcome of the election. *The New York Times* made that same prediction. On October 10, the Times stated that the Democrats would probably pick up an additional congressional seat, the one from the 4th district, "if it were not for the presence in this race of a Progressive candidate, Magistrate Joseph M. Rainey, who is counted upon to pull enough votes from the Democratic nominee, Earl Chudoff, to insure Representative Maloney's re-election."

As it turned out, on election day nearly everyone had overestimated the strength of Progressive Party candidates like Wallace, Rainey, and Ravetz. Nationwide, Wallace got about 2 percent of the vote. Rainey and Ravetz did about twice as well, but polled only a little better than 4 votes out of every 100 cast in their races.

Thus this button is a coattail button supporting Henry Wallace for president. It is an unusual coattail in that the other two offices included are U.S. Representative and state Senator, though the 4th congressional district and the 7th senatorial district did not coincide exactly.

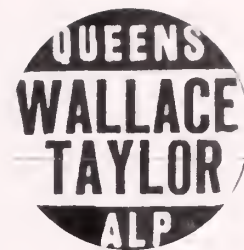
Although a modest mimeograph, the pictured invitation to a benefit tea for Rainey and Ravetz is still interesting. The outside of the invitation says "You are Invited..." An inside page states that the tea was sponsored by the 28th and 32nd Ward branches of the Progressive party. Note that Paul Robeson, well-known vocalist and actor, provided the entertainment at the "tea." Robeson played on Broadway in roles ranging from Othello to Porgy. His radical politics would later get him into trouble with the House Un-American Activities Committee. ★





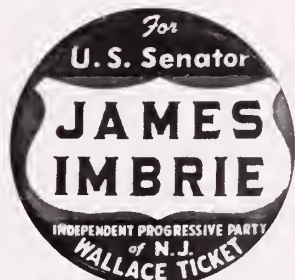
# A Few Other Candidates Affiliated with Wallace

By Stephen Cresswell and Steve Baxley



Although the best known name associated with Henry Wallace on campaign material is that of his running mate, Idaho's colorful U.S. Senator Glen Taylor (known as the "singing cowboy"), the Progressive Party did produce some coattail material beyond the Rainey/Wallace/Ravetz button from Pennsylvania. The party fielded local tickets in many places across America.

While reading through issues of the African American newspaper *The Philadelphia Tribune* from May and June of 1948, we ran across mention of several other congressional candidates affiliated with Henry Wallace's Progressive Party. Dr. Ulysses Campbell was running with Wallace in New Jersey, seeking a congressional seat like Rainey. Campbell won widespread notice when he brought attention to black citizens being refused admission to a small drama house in Orange, New Jersey. He issued a 1 1/2" button that bears his picture with the words "Campbell To Congress/On The Wallace Ticket/Independent Progressive Party."



Also on the New Jersey ticket that year was U.S. Senate hopeful James Imbrie, whose campaign issued a 1 1/2" button as well (pictured here for the first time): "For U.S. Senator/James Imbrie/Independent Progressive Party/Of N.J./Wallace Ticket."

Another Progressive Party candidate for the U.S. Senate was Larkin Marshall, a black editor from Macon, Georgia. Marshall had won fame years earlier for helping to get the movie "The Birth of a Nation" banned from California because of its racist themes.

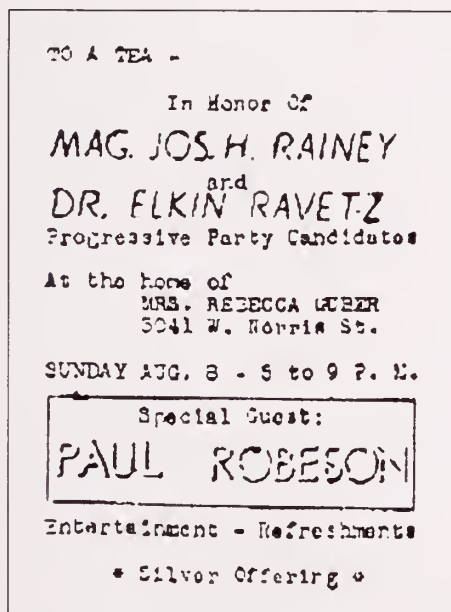
A book called *American State Governors* lists every gubernatorial nominee to run in every state for every year and, as such, is an important tool for tracing the history of third parties. A stroll through the 1948 entries in this book reveals that of the thirty-two gubernatorial races held in 1948, ten had Progressive Party candidates. A few other candidates might also have been affiliated with Wallace—these candidates are labeled "independent," "party unknown," or in one case, "People's Progressive." The ten states featuring Progressive Party candidates for governor were: Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Texas, and Washington. The only Progressive candidates for governor who gained as much as 1 percent of the vote were the candidates in Minnesota (1.2 percent), and Washington state (2.2 percent). The candidate who won the largest number of actual votes was Russell H. Fluent running in Washington; he won 19,224 votes.

The Progressive gubernatorial effort in Illinois sparked another button (known to readers of Ted Hake's books) reading "Vote Progressive/Wallace/Oakes" with a jugate photo of the two candidates. Grant Oakes was President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Union. In January 1948, the CIO Executive Board voted 33-11 with two abstentions and six absentees to oppose the Progressive Party in the fall election. Oakes was a Wallace supporter and was one of the 11 who voted to endorse Wallace for President.

In Illinois, the law required that the Progressives run a candidate for Governor to qualify as a new party. The Progressive Party of Illinois picked Grant Oakes as its candidate for Governor. After legal battles in the Superior Court of Cook County, circuit courts, and finally the state Supreme Court, the Progressives were allowed to place candidates on the ballot in Cook County. However, they could only place Cook County candidates on the ballot. Presidential, vice presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial candidates did not appear on the state primary ballot on April 13 or on the General Election ballot in November.

Because of Oakes' activities as a Union leader and as a candidate for Governor, it is difficult to attribute whether the Wallace/Oakes button was used to promote Wallace and the Progressive Party within the CIO labor organization or as a coattail button to promote Wallace for President and Oakes for Governor of Illinois. If a union button, it could have been used for the Union Executive Board vote and other internal votes. If used as a coattail item in Illinois, the button may have been used with anticipation that their candidate for Governor would be placed on the ballot.

(Continued on page 32)



The modest level of the Progressive Party's campaign on the local level is evident from this inexpensive mimeographed invitation to a Rainey/Ravetz fund raiser, despite the fact that the guest of honor was the internationally celebrated opera singer and activist Paul Robeson.

# William J. Gaynor

## Mayor and Presidential Hopeful

By George McAfee

"If the people of New Jersey want trusts broken up - and their complaints are heard even across the Hudson River - they have only to elect governors and legislators who will carry out their will." Here there was a pause and the speaker continued, "and stay at home and do it." Thus the Mayor of New York City chastised New Jersey's governor and candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, Woodrow Wilson, at a banquet where both were speakers.

Tact and diplomacy were never among Mayor William J. Gaynor's virtues, but now and then he went overboard in bluntness. At that banquet of the National Democratic Club in February 1912, he and Wilson were sitting within a few feet of each other. Wilson had just finished a speech in which, like most politicians of the day, he denounced the trusts. New Jersey's laws were particularly lenient toward these holding companies, but Governor Wilson had done nothing to repeal the laws. The mayor had gone directly to this discrepancy between talk and action. He continued, bitingly: "We must not lay ourselves open to the charge of being demagogues." He went on relentlessly about statesmen roaming all over the country and, presumably, neglecting their duties. The speech got great applause, while Woodrow Wilson, unaccustomed to being lectured to by anybody, let alone by so quirky and atypical a politician as Gaynor, sat in stony silence.

William J. Gaynor was born February 2, 1848, in Oneida County, New York, one of seven children of an Irish immigrant blacksmith. He studied and later taught at Assumption Academy and De la Salle Institute in preparation for a religious career. However, his wide reading was not conducive to the unquestioning piety expected in a religious order. Formal creeds and doctrines became untenable for him.

He later went into the office of Horatio Seymour in Utica to read for the law. After passing the bar, he moved to Brooklyn and opened a cubbyhole law office. His practice quickly prospered. Soon he was writing articles for law journals and winning cases over such distinguished lawyers as Elihu Root.

Gaynor gradually became involved in politics and, although a Democrat, in 1889 he was suggested as mayor of Brooklyn to the Republicans who were seeking a reform candidate to oppose the entrenched, corrupt and incompetent Democratic machine. He was seriously considered and might have accepted if the nomination had been made. Four years later, he was again under pressure to run for mayor, but the Republicans — still reluctant to head their ticket with a Democrat — bypassed him as a mayoral candidate. However, in a bid for the independent reform vote, the Republican Party nominated him for justice of the state Supreme Court. Despite a corrupt and illegal campaign by the machine, rivaling any in history, Gaynor won easily. His candor, wry humor, and the

clear, logical rationale of his positions overcame kidnappings, assault and battery, forgery and massive vote fraud.

Gaynor took the oath of office as Supreme Court Justice on January 2, 1894. His contemporaries thought "his deliberation was at times impulsive. When called upon to make a decision, he would review all the alternatives coolly and deliberately — and then embrace with passionate impetuosity the one he chose. His was that rare combination of qualities — vigorous powers of cerebration and red-hot impulses, sometimes side by side and sometimes interfering with each other. The result inevitably was repeated frustration and apparent inconsistency — a nature storm-driven and a prey to cross-purposes."

The cases Gaynor decided and the opinions he wrote over the years kept him in the news and he was constantly boosted for higher office (either governor or mayor of New York). The *New York World* never quit insisting that if he had run for governor in 1898 he would have won in a landslide and nipped the career of Teddy Roosevelt in the bud. Gaynor always claimed he wanted no higher office and had aligned himself with no party organizations, but he was tempted on more than one occasion to accept a nomination for governor. In 1909 the Republicans were engineering a fusionist municipal ticket in conjunction with a citizen's group called the Committee of One Hundred. Again they toyed with the notion of Gaynor to head the ticket, but the good government committee angered him by asking for a pledge that he would not also accept nomination from the Tammany Hall Democrats.

Publisher William Randolph Hearst pledged Gaynor his support regardless of who nominated him; Hearst further insisted that he himself was through running for office. Charles F. Murphy, boss of the Democratic party, needed a popular and uncorrupted candidate to head the ticket and, to the surprise of the city and the candidate, he named Gaynor his nominee for mayor. Gaynor accepted the nomination though making it clear he had made no pledges and would be under no obligation to Tammany Hall.

Biographer Lately Thomas writes, "Though he was sixty-one, it was not his age that told against him. His hair and beard were gray but his step was light, his movements agile, his perceptions quick and clear. It was by temperament, training, and experience that he was ill equipped to withstand the stresses produced by political strife. Name almost any quality generally believed needful to success in politics, and Gaynor lacked it. A politician must have the hide of a pachyderm to shed criticism without a quiver of sensibility. Judge Gaynor was abnormally thin-skinned. A politician works within a party, supporting and supported by it. Gaynor had no party. He stood alone. A politician functions by means of compromise. Gaynor's conclusions were abrupt, forthright, and final. A politician's private life is open to public scrutiny. Gaynor defended his





private concerns from intrusions of any sort fanatically. And so on down the list... Men with his concepts of public morality and public responsibility were going out of fashion."

When asked who his campaign manager would be, Gaynor replied he didn't think he would have one. "I scarcely know what that means...I am absolutely a novice in all matters pertaining to the routine work of a political campaign." This startling intelligence was greeted with ribaldry and skepticism. So was his announcement that his campaign headquarters would be his home in Brooklyn. The notion of a candidate for mayor of New York making his bid from Brooklyn seemed grotesque to Manhattan voters. When Gaynor began returning campaign contributions, press and public alike were further dumbfounded by this Mad Hatter's excursion into politics.

Hearst was lukewarm in his praise for Gaynor. "I believe Judge Gaynor is a good man and would make a good mayor, but I am sincerely sorry that Tammany is to be allowed to use his good name for another raid on this pillaged city...I think the independents should do their best to elect Judge Gaynor and defeat Tammany." Then something happened that changed the picture totally. Hearst's wholly owned party, the Independence League, held its primary election and most of the delegates chosen to the city convention pledged themselves to nominate Judge Gaynor. Hearst immediately screamed that Boss Murphy had stolen his party by infiltrating its ranks and forbade the party secretary to call the convention. "The main objection, and perhaps the only objection, to Judge Gaynor," he said, "is that he is allied with the most atrocious array of soiled and damaged political rags and remnants that have ever been exposed for sale on the bargain counters of Tammany Hall." The next day, in a boisterous rally, complete with fireworks and bands, Hearst was beseeched to accept the Independence League's nomination for mayor. Hearst accepted.

Gaynor was shocked by the defection. He had counted on Independence League support, and issued a bitter blast to the press detailing Hearst's pledge of support and his betrayal. Gaynor had a powerful enemy in Hearst and a well financed, if lackluster, one in the fusionist candidate, banker Otto Bannard. The campaign degenerated into mudslinging, with Gaynor giving as good as he got. He nicknamed Hearst "Willie-Run-for-Everything" and "Willie Rule-or-Ruin." If Gaynor had not already been well known to the public, people "would believe his mind to be unhinged...With his ruffian vocabulary, he has reduced himself from a respectable figure to the most despicable one that was ever presented for high office in this city," said the *New York Tribune*. In addition to invective, Gaynor also bemused his audiences and the press with his classical allusions. People were used to high-

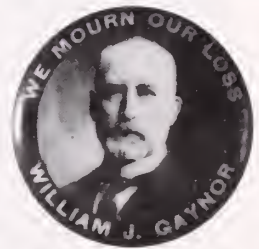
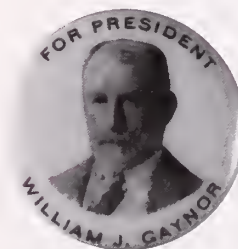
flown speeches quoting Shakespeare and the Bible, but Epictetus, Themistocles, Marcus Aurelius and Cicero were newcomers to New York political dialogue.

The newspapers, all but one of which opposed Gaynor, called the campaign "one of slime, and personal depravity," "malodorous," "a frenzy of mudslinging, of calumny, of slander, of vituperation, of abuse, and of ignorance." Still one admitted, "nothing has been gained by a safe and sane administration; so it is possible that an energetic crazy man could do some good."

Gaynor's favorite speech line, "I know the people of New York, and they know me," seems to have been accurate. When the votes were counted Gaynor had won 43% of the total; Bannard got 30% and Hearst ran third with 27%. One anomaly was that, although Gaynor was elected, the remainder of the Tammany ticket went down in defeat. Tammany was to suffer more. After Gaynor was sworn in on January 1, 1910, of the dozens of appointments made by the new mayor, only three were Tammany men. Boss Murphy murmured, "The new officials are all good men, I suppose."

Gaynor began rooting out abuses and corruption in the police department, fire department, water commission, docks, ferries and the rest. He restored honesty to the Bureau of Weights and Measures and pared down padded payrolls throughout the bloated bureaucracy. He firmly believed in the Jeffersonian maxim that the best government is the least government. He ran an open administration and communicated with the public through the newspapers and the U. S. Mail. When people found out that he read and personally answered all letters, his mail ballooned. In the first three months he dictated and signed fifteen thousand letters, many of them only a sentence or two. "Dear Madam: I thank you very much for sending me the Kipling poem. I shall put it in my scrapbook." "Dear Sir: Your letter is at hand and I have read enough of it to see that you are a mere scamp. Nevertheless I sometimes derive profit from the sayings and doings of scamps." "Dear Sir: No, I would prefer not to give an interview on the subject of the sewer."

Because of his easy mastery of the New York municipal machinery, Gaynor became the rising star on the national political scene by the summer of 1910. The Democratic presidential nomination for 1912 was still up in the air. William Jennings Bryan's time had passed - surely - after three defeats. Judson Harmon was in his second year as Governor of Ohio but having trouble with a Republican legislature. Woodrow Wilson was still president of Princeton. Former governor Joseph Folk of Missouri had lost his bid for the Senate and was now out on the



Although he never formally announced as a presidential candidate, the abundance of Gaynor-for-President buttons indicate that he had wide support in the nation.



Chautauqua circuit. Governor John A. Johnson of Minnesota, an early favorite for 1912, had died. Champ Clark was the Minority Leader of the House, still awaiting his life's ambition of being Speaker of the House, with no thought of higher goals, so far. There was no other Democrat besides Gaynor who commanded nationwide attention.

In Texas, self-appointed king-maker Col. E. M. House decided that, with his help, Gaynor could become the next president. He arranged to meet Gaynor in New York and was charmed by his personality and awed by his "depth of learning in political and governmental problems." House told him that, if he would run for governor in 1910 and win, he would be a cinch for the nomination. Gaynor argued that the mayor of New York held a position of greater power, complexity, and responsibility than the governor of any state. Still impressed, though doubting that a mayor could be elected president, House went back to Texas.

In August 1910, Gaynor suffered an assassination attempt. A madman shot him in the neck. The wound was first thought to be fatal, but surgeons stopped the bleeding, leaving the bullet in place. Gaynor endured a long convalescence reading Stoic philosophy and relearning to speak. The bullet had damaged his vocal cords as well as the nerves and ligaments that control the tongue. His wounding and his courageous recovery projected him even more strongly into national prominence. Calling Gaynor "a man of destiny," Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier Journal* and elder statesman of the

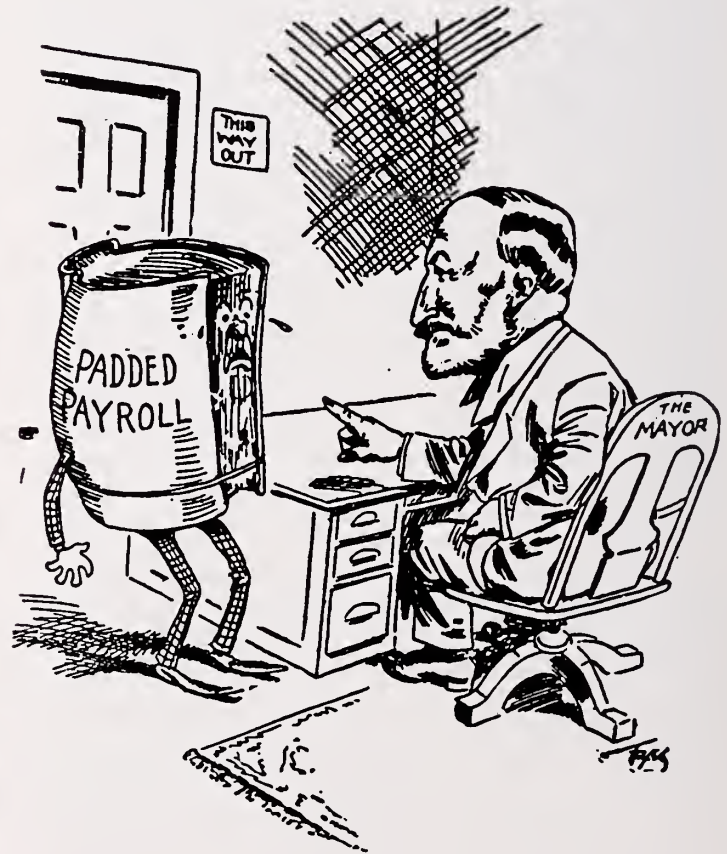


Some versions of these word buttons appeared for many presidential candidates in 1912. See the story about 1912 vendor sets in the Winter 1994 issue of *The Keynoter*.



WHAT! NO OLD FASHIONED COURTESY LEFT IN NEW YORK CITY?

March 2, 1910



ANOTHER OUTRAGE  
Veteran employee of the city let go, without even a word of commendation.



party, said that the shooting had brought the mayor "to the knowledge of thousands of people who have heretofore considered him as the shadow of a name."

Still pressured to take the gubernatorial nomination, Gaynor considered it thoughtfully before turning it down. He was eager to get back to his job as mayor where there was still graft to be rooted out and a massive subway extension to be built. Soon after Gaynor's return to City Hall, Colonel House visited New York again and invited Gaynor to address the Texas Legislature. According to House, his invitation was accepted with enthusiasm. In January, a formal invitation arrived from Texas and House wired Gaynor to pick a convenient date. However, Gaynor replied that — while he would be glad to meet the legislature if he were going that way — he had never agreed to go and had no plans to do so.

House found it hard to understand that Gaynor had no serious wish to become President of the United States but he turned his attention to the newly elected Governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson did indeed have such a wish. While it was flattering to be spoken of as a possible president, Gaynor appeared to have none of the fire-in-the-belly ambition that drove Theodore Roosevelt or Wilson.

Despite being back at work, Gaynor was a different man from the one who had been mayor before the shooting. The alteration, not immediately noticeable, consisted in an aggravation and intensifying of certain flaws of character by the shock of his wound and his convales-

cence in silent self-communion. His intransigence, his suspiciousness, his disdain of other strong natures, his intolerance of opposition when embarked on a course that he believed necessary and just, his impatience with the dull, the obstructive, and the malicious - these were intensified by the impact of the assassin's bullet upon his spirit as well as his body. To those around him it was painfully clear that Gaynor's strength had been restored only fitfully. He was constantly fighting fatigue. The bullet in his throat brought on long spasms of coughing and retching that left him limp.

Although he had spurned Col. House's attempt to get him involved in a national campaign for the presidency, there was continued widespread interest in him. However, he still was not running. He told two thousand women teachers who cheered him as "our next President": "Don't! Just leave me alone. Don't put that bee in anybody's head. It has spoiled too many useful men in this country already...I am simply a very humdrum, matter-of-fact, everyday man, working just like you. And I am content with what I have to do. Now, don't try to make me discontented."

When admirers announced the opening of a Gaynor-for-President headquarters in New York, the mayor wrote that while "of course I have to recognize that you are free to do as you see fit, nevertheless if you consult my wishes you will not do this thing." To a friend he said, "I have kept aloof from the matter [of the Presidency], and the order of the day seems to be that if you want a thing you



This handsome convention badge boosts Gaynor because "He Can Win," always a powerful argument when political conventions choose presidential candidates.



"SO THIS IS THE WHITE HOUSE"





This is yet another vendor button from 1912. The conventions that year appear to have produced a bumper crop of different buttons for different presidential hopefuls.

must fight for it." That was the rub. Gaynor was naturally combative. Throughout his life, he was more than ready to fight for anything he really wanted to obtain. Out of sheer exuberance, he even sometimes got into fights that did not concern him.

His disinclination to fight for the Democratic nomination was the most convincing proof of his indifference to the nomination itself. Also, there was his own awareness that he was not well, that he was tired, old, and ailing.

Gaynor still could not completely dampen all interest in his possible candidacy. One member of the uninstructed Tennessee delegation offered to throw him many of their votes if he would help with expenses. Later, at the convention in Baltimore, a committee of the mayor's friends - inept amateurs without political experience - put up a foredoomed fight for a few days; but there was never a likelihood of success. After a record forty-six-ballot dogfight between Wilson supporters and Champ Clark supporters, the delegates nominated Woodrow Wilson. Gaynor received word of the result without turning a hair. He had never varied from his daily routine and had never given the slightest encouragement to his well-meaning but interfering friends.

In 1913, Gaynor wanted and expected renomination to a second term as mayor. Boss Murphy might have been willing, but his Tammany braves, after four years on a starvation diet, were definitely not, so the Democratic nomination went to another. The Republicans were no more helpful. Finally, the friends of the mayor formed the Gaynor League, whose nomination he accepted willingly. To rest up for the fall campaign, Gaynor and his son sailed for England for a vacation. A day before landfall, the popular — if eccentric — Mayor of the City of New York died in his sleep.

The attempt on his life had brought Gaynor nationwide fame and recognition, and extensive interest in seeing him nominated for the presidency. Ironically, the physical and personality changes wrought by his wound may have denied him the opportunity. If he had not been wounded, might he have accepted the nomination for governor in 1910? Might he have gone to Texas at House's invitation? And, as governor, or even as mayor, might he have made his usual tough fight for the nomination in a year which the Democratic candidate, whomever he might be, became a certain winner because of the Taft-Roosevelt split in the Republican Party?★



Mayor Gaynor



PROFITABLE READING

Suggested for those long winter evenings.



# BOB SHULER: Forgotten Champion of the Prohibitionists

By Stephen Cresswell



After stints of preaching in Methodist Episcopal churches in his native Tennessee and also in Texas, Rev. Bob Shuler ended up in Los Angeles County, California. He had a lot to say, and soon was attracting audiences not only with his remarkable sermons, but also with his own magazine and his own radio station. Listeners to the radio show never knew who Shuler would attack next. One week it was the local health authorities. "Back in the Tennessee mountains, where I come from, they would not allow city doctors to strip young girls seeking restaurant employment." Another week he would be asking for contributions, and would warn that if a certain listener did not send in \$100, "I'm going to tell all I know about him next Tuesday night on the air." Shuler soon had tens of thousands of regular listeners, and thousands more subscribed to *Bob Shuler's Magazine*.

The *Los Angeles Times* was critical of the celebrity preacher, and once devoted a full page to listing all the things Rev. Shuler was "agin." On the list of institutions Shuler was against were the Catholic church, the Jewish faith, the Salvation Army, the Community Chest, the morals of contemporary high school students, the Chamber of Commerce, Christian Scientists, Presbyterians, and the Anti-Saloon League. The *Times* called Shuler "the champion agin-ner of the universe."

Shuler's controversial broadcasts and articles caused him no end of trouble. Twice he was prosecuted for criminal libel, and once he went to jail for contempt of court. The prison photo above dates from that brief incarceration. In 1932 the Federal Communications Commission revoked the license for Shuler's station, KGEF, because the station "incited to religious strife," particularly in its attacks on Jews and Catholics. Shuler resolved to appeal the decision in the courts, but early court decisions upheld the FCC action.

Finally, Shuler figured out an ingenious way to keep his ideas before the people. He would run for the United States Senate. California law forbid stations to deny the airwaves to candidates for office. In the primary elections of 1932, Shuler captured headlines when he announced as a candidate in both the Democratic and Republican primaries, as well as the Prohibition Party primary. Shuler was firmly in favor of prohibition, and against repeal of the 18th Amendment. His fame as a radio evangelist gave him the immediate support of vast numbers of church-going "drys" in California. Many observers charged that Shuler knew he would not be elected Senator, but was only positioning himself for a later run for mayor of Los Angeles.

Although Shuler won only one of the three primaries he entered—that of the Prohibition Party—he did well enough

among Democrats and Republicans to dismay leaders of the two major parties. In fact, although Shuler did not place first in either of the two major party primaries, his combined vote total in those two primaries was higher than the vote totals of either of the two men who were nominated. These two men, Shuler's opponents in the general election, were Republican Tallant Tubbs and Democrat William Gibbs McAdoo. Tubbs was a "wet," a young and inexperienced politician from a wealthy San Francisco family. McAdoo was personally in favor of prohibition, but in 1932 declared he would go along with FDR and run as a "wet."

For his part, Shuler declared that "bread, not beer," was the chief issue, and he vowed to protect California products via the tariff. Still, given one wholeheartedly "wet" candidate and another who was now publicly supporting repeal, Shuler could hope to do very well in the general election by winning all the dry votes.

As it turned out, the dry votes would not be enough to carry Shuler to the United States Senate. In a ballot initiative that would repeal California's prohibition enforcement law, voters responded favorably, by about 675,000 to 275,000. As for Shuler himself, he placed third in the balloting for U.S. senator, winning just over half a million votes. Not only was Shuler rejected for U.S. Senator, but Los Angeles voters also approved a ballot measure that said no one could run for mayor who had not lived in the city two years. This measure was clearly aimed at Shuler, who lived just outside the city limits but was expected to move to Los Angeles shortly to run for mayor. Also, only three weeks after election day, a federal appeals court ruled that lower courts were "in all respects right" in yanking Shuler's radio station license.

The election was a notable one. California, long a Republican strong-hold, went Democratic. With a new Democratic U.S. Senator (McAdoo) and a new Democratic president (Roosevelt), patronage would help to build up a powerful Democratic machine in the Golden State. As for Shuler, he at least could take heart from the fact that his 26% was really very good for a third party candidate. In fact, Shuler won more votes than any other Prohibition Party candidate in history—even the presidential candidates. Thus, despite his loss, he is a real forgotten champion of the Prohibition Party.★



**This Shuler button is a 1" litho from Greenduck of Chicago. The picture is black and the words blue on a white background.**

# Not of This Earth: The Story of the Universal Party

By Stephen K. Hauser

The Universal Party grew out of America's UFO-mania of the 1950s and 1960s. I appropriated the title of this paper, "Not Of This Earth", from the name of a popular science fiction film from the '50s. It was about other worlds, and the possibility of contact with them. It is, therefore, a fitting title for an essay on the Universal Party, which fervently believed that such contact was not only possible, but was in fact going on all the time.

In the early 1950s, American newspapers and magazines began to report a rash of sightings of so-called Unidentified Flying Objects (UFOs) or, simply, "flying saucers". Witnesses of varying backgrounds (and of varying degrees of believability) came forward with remarkable stories of sightings and contacts, and some even claimed to have been taken aboard a UFO as a passenger.

Those who insisted that they had actually met with space people were known as "contactees", and were often guests on television interview programs and late night radio call-in shows. The most famous of these early contactees was George Adamski of California, who authored two books on his face-to-face experiences with outer space aliens: *Flying Saucers Have Landed* in 1953 and *Inside the Space Ships* in 1955. Almost immediately, a cult was created around Adamski, and he gave lectures and made TV appearances throughout the country until his death in 1965. He in effect established a precedent of behavior for future contactees who would seek to place their message before the press.

By the early 1960s, more and more people had stepped forward to say that they had met with extraterrestrial beings. Most also insisted that these beings had a special message for all earthlings. Generally, it was a benevolent message of coexistence and world peace. Usually, it was the duty of the contactee to spread this friendly message on behalf of the aliens, so that all the world could come to understand.

Several national organizations grew out of this contactee phenomenon. One of them was the Amalgamated Flying Saucer Clubs of America, Inc., or AFSCA. Its founder and president was Gabriel Green of Whittier, California. Although Green admitted that he had never had "the privilege of being taken aboard a flying saucer," he shared the company of people who claimed that they had, and he believed their stories. (*The Milwaukee Journal*, March 11, 1972.)

Gabriel Green founded AFSCA in 1959. The group held annual conventions attended by flying saucer buffs from around the nation, and also published a newsletter for members and subscribers, the *AFSCA World Report*. The club also published a continuing series of information sheets, and provided an extensive book list to those interested in further study.

Prior to his involvement with AFSCA, Green had served in the U.S. Navy in World War II, studied economics at Los Angeles City College, worked for the Los Angeles City Board of Education and operated his own small business. His interest in politics and economics led him to an ill-fated and little noticed campaign for U.S. Congress from Southern California in 1958, running on the Economic Security Party (ES) ticket. At the age of 34, he turned his interest to UFOs, and to activities directly related to them.

It was in 1960 that Gabe Green decided to enter the arena of national politics in order to spread the word about flying saucers and his belief in their continuing contacts with our earth. On July 4th, He announced himself as a national write-in candidate for the office of President of the United States. His vice-presidential running mate in this endeavor was Dr. Addison Brown of Portland, Oregon. The Green/Brown ticket was nominated in Los Angeles by a small convention of the newly-formed Outer Space or Flying Saucer Party. It was basically a paper organization that was an outgrowth of AFSCA.



1960 Gabriel Green for President bumper sticker.





This 1960 Gabe Green button harkens back to the campaign of Abraham Lincoln a century earlier.

Green's 1960 presidential campaign didn't exactly draw a swarm of news reporters to his side, in spite of the peculiar coincidence that he shared the same hometown—Whittier—as another White House aspirant that year, Vice-President Richard Milhous Nixon.

Green's efforts did gain him a mention in an article on "other candidates" for president in the *New York Times* Sunday Magazine that fall. "With the help of spacemen," he told NYT reporter Alvin Shuster, "I believe I can carry millions of votes and many areas. They will help me, not necessarily at the precinct level, but by supplying me with information." (*New York Times Magazine*, September 25, 1960.)

The space people must not have supplied candidate Green with very good information, or at least were not very good at American style electioneering, because he did not make the ballot in a single state. Even the states, such as Georgia, that broke down their write-in votes to the individual candidate did not list his name among the totals. No write-in ballots were recorded for the Green/Brown ticket anywhere. Green, in fact, would later claim that he had actually withdrawn from the race several days before the election and endorsed Sen. John F. Kennedy, because he knew that the outcome would be quite close. (*UFOs: Key To Earth's Destiny* by Winfield S. Brownell, 1980, Legion of Light Publications, Lytle Creek, California.)

The Green/Brown campaign for the White House did produce one handsome red, white and blue litho. photo button of Gabriel Green, touting "Abe in 1860, Gabe in 1960". It is much sought after by collectors today, and is one of the rarer 1960 third party items. Other than a brief mention in the APIC-sponsored reasearch paper on past presidential and vice-presidential nominees compiled in 1963, this pin is now about the only visible reminder that Gabe Green ever ran for president in 1960.

Green's next electoral effort couldn't have been more different. For one thing, he actually placed his name on the ballot, and, for another, he spurned third party politics to run this time as a Democrat. The race was the party primary for U.S. Senator from California, and the year was 1962.

Green's platform this time around was also different, in that it was a bit less "out of this world". Instead of discussion of the space beings and their UFOs, the candidate called for abolition of the death penalty, national health insurance, recognition of the government of Communist China, unilateral disarmament, abolition of the draft,



In 1962 Green tried to go mainstream and sought the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate.

strengthening of the United Nations and a ban on nuclear testing. Overall, he portrayed himself as "California's Anti-Bomb Candidate" and as a crusader for peace. This campaign was to remain his most serious effort.

On Tuesday, June 5th, primary election day in California, Green ran second in the Democratic column,



finishing ahead of two other candidates. He was, of course, beaten by eventual Democratic nominee Richard Richards, but he did manage to poll 171,379 votes: 9% of the total. Although this 1962 effort produced no buttons, Green did issue some small black-on-red bumper stickers and some glossy red, white and blue pamphlets containing his platform.

While Gabriel Green was running for the Senate in 1962, another Californian was beginning a crusade of his own. The Rev. Kirby James Hensley of Modesto was starting to organize a new protestant denomination: The Universal Life Church, Inc. Hensley had been born in 1911 in rural North Carolina. He had previously been a Baptist and a Pentecostal preacher, and boasted that he could neither read nor write, except for his own name.

Rev. Hensley claimed that his illiteracy had not been a problem for him in becoming a minister, because he had committed most of the Bible to memory by having it read to him again and again by his wife, Lida. "I memorized the Bible from Genesis all the way through, and then I realized I was only helping Peter, Paul and John preach their story. I had my ideas to preach too," he said. (*Time* magazine, February 21, 1969.)

Hensley's new church would, therefore, have no doctrine. Rev. Hensley had his own ideas, but no one in his congregation needed to agree with him in order to be a member in good standing of the church. He explained: "What I say don't necessarily make it so...I've changed my mind a million times and I might change again." (*Newsweek*, May 5, 1969.)

The most unique aspect of the Universal Life Church (ULC) was that the Rev. Hensley would ordain anyone

anywhere as a minister, without even a question about their faith, and make them all preachers in his church. He encouraged them all to start their own congregations around the country, and to preach whatever they wanted. "I'm going to make everybody a preacher," he explained to a newspaper reporter, "and we're going to have heaven now." (*The Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 9, 1969.)

The "noncreed" of the ULC attracted a number of Californians with unorthodox beliefs to Hensley's congregation in Modesto. Hensley himself recalls: "In 1962 we had the church going in Modesto. We were having a very mixed congregation of people from spacecraft, Pentecostal, Baptists to Catholics..." (*The Buffer Zone* by Kirby J. Hensley, Universal Life Church, Inc., 1986.)

On June 4th, 1963, a group of UFO contactees, flying saucer buffs and self-professed "new age" thinkers organized a new political party in Berkeley, California called the Universal Party. They hoped to run a presidential ticket in the 1964 general election. The newly-elected national chairman of the Universal Party was John W. Hopkins of Berkeley, and formerly of Iowa.

John W. Hopkins had met Kirby James Hensley some time before at a Music of the Spheres presentation that Hopkins was conducting. He respected Hensley as a fiery orator and as an independent thinker. And the match up of a Universal Party and a Universal Life Church seemed a natural. Rev. Hensley was asked to speak at the Universal Party convention in 1964, and was duly nominated for the presidency afterward. The party chose 88 year-old John O. Hopkins, a farmer (and the father of the party's national chairman) from Des Moines, Iowa as Hensley's running mate.



1962 Green bumper sticker.





Two early Universal Party buttons.

The Universal Party also adopted a one page platform that seemed an odd mix of liberal and conservative. Among its planks, it called for abolition of the Federal Reserve Board, the Electoral College and the Income Tax, both state and federal. Government-owned businesses were to be sold off to the highest bidder. Small businesses and farms were to be encouraged. Political lobbying in Washington was to be made illegal. Public assistance to the elderly was to be increased, as a sign of a veneration of old age, and a Congress of Nations with world police authority was to be established which would order an end to all “national acts of military aggression...” (Above from Universal Party platform for 1964.)

The party gained coverage for its candidates in *CQ Weekly Report* that fall (as a part of an article on minor parties in the 1964 general election), and was mentioned briefly as part of a feature story on American third parties by Ben A. Franklin in the Sunday, November 1st edition of the *New York Times*. There were other local stories here and there, of course, but overall the coverage was rather slim, and the party’s post office box in Berkeley wasn’t exactly filling up with mail.

The Universal Party did not obtain ballot position in a single state in 1964. They did, however, succeed in filing a slate of 40 write-in electors in the state of California, thus ensuring that any votes Hensley and Hopkins received in the Golden Gate State would be legally counted and recorded. Unfortunately, only 19 such ballots were recorded by the California Secretary of State’s office, and so the final and official total for the Universal Party for the 1964 presidential elections was 19. That is the smallest total listed for any election in the *World Almanac*, *Congressional Quarterly Guide to Presidential Elections* and Richard M. Scammon’s *America Votes* series. If the Universal Party was embarrassed or disappointed, they didn’t show it. They simply began planning for the 1968 presidential contest.

The 1964 Universal Party campaign did produce one nice item for collectors, however. The Trimble Company produced a blue-on-yellow cello. button, proclaiming “Hensley for ‘64. Vote the Universal Party.” This pin was distributed by the party itself during the campaign, but today is rather hard to find. Naturally, the party also produced pamphlets, campaign cards and a hand-out version of their national platform.

Over the next four years, the party went about its business of holding meetings and dinners and lectures. Most activity was centered around Des Moines, Iowa. There, John O. Hopkins (and his son, John W., who had moved

home for part of this time) led an active Des Moines chapter that heard lectures from a variety of well-known contactees, metaphysicians and psychics. Hopkins himself presented his Music of the Spheres program at a local restaurant to the no doubt amazed locals.

During the summer of 1967, the party board of governors met at the Jack Tar Hotel in San Francisco and decided to field a presidential ticket again the following year. The site of the 1968 convention was set for Denver, Colorado on March 2nd, 1968. A meeting room was booked at the Brown Palace Hotel in that city. The nomination was open to all candidates, but, once again, the Rev. Kirby James Hensley looked like an odds-on favorite.

The party did nominate Hensley again in Denver, as expected, and John W. Hopkins escorted him to the podium during a standing ovation from the small crowd gathered at the hotel. Hensley gave what seemed like an impromptu acceptance speech that touched on cosmic law, immortality and abolition of the income tax. “You want heaven right here”, he explained. “You can have the best church in the world and you can set it up here, but with the kind of government you have you’ll have one foot in heaven and one foot in hell.” (*The Modesto Messiah* by Lewis Ashmore, 1977, the Universal Press, Bakersfield, California.)

The party rounded out the ticket by choosing Roscoe B. MacKenna of Chicago, Illinois for vice-president. MacKenna was interested in metaphysics and was a follower of the I AM philosophy. A party platform was also drawn up, but to save time, the 1964 platform was simply readopted, but five additional planks added at the end brought it up to date. The most interesting of these new planks was one to accord “civil treatment and protection of peoples from other Worlds visiting our Planet Earth in their machines without immediate commitment to our jails.” (Above from Universal Party platform from 1968.)

The party received more news coverage than it had before. Journalist William H. Honan authored an extensive piece on 1968’s crop of third party nominees, including Hensley, for the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*. He noted Rev. Hensley’s belief that “church and state must become one”, and, of course, took note of the meager 19 votes received in 1964. He noted that Hensley expected to do better in 1968. “We do believe, however,” the Reverend told him, “that this party will elect a man by 19 and 80 if we just keep a-goin’ and don’t get radical.” (*New York Times Magazine*, October 27, 1968.)

In addition to Honan’s article, the *New York Times* also covered Hensley again a few days later in a feature story on minor parties. Naturally, they couldn’t resist alluding to the Universal Party’s new plank on civil treatment of extraterrestrials. (*New York Times*, November 3, 1968.)

The party qualified for the presidential ballot in Iowa in 1968, the first state that it had ever been ballot qualified in. This brought Hensley and MacKenna some attention as candidates in the *Des Moines Register* and other state papers in survey articles about third parties on the Iowa state ballot.

Hensley also expected the party to qualify for a ballot space in Oklahoma and in other states, but that was not to be. Iowa remained the one ballot state for '68. As if to add insult to injury, the party somehow failed to properly file their list of 40 write-in electors in Hensley's home state of California, thus depriving him of even a write-in total there.

When the votes were counted, Rev. Hensley received 142 votes from Iowa, and none recorded from anywhere else. Interestingly, Hensley had predicted 3 1/2 million votes in a newspaper interview with reporter John Berthelsen of the *Modesto Bee* before the election. Even after November was long gone, he continued to claim that he had received 3 million votes from around the country. None of them can be documented, however.

At least the Universal Party did provide collectors with some fun in 1968. The party produced a nice blue-on-yellow cell. button for: "Hensley, Pres. MacKenna, V. Pres. in '68 The Universal Party." It is a bit more common today than the 1964 Hensley button or the 1960 Green button, but it is still not easy to find.

In addition to the above pin, the party also printed a Hensley for President bumper sticker with dark letters on a light background. A Hensley for President pamphlet was distributed showing the candidate on the front with a milk pail in his hand, on his way to milk the family cow (as Hensley insisted he really did every morning). There were also Universal Party campaign cards, sent to those who wrote to the party's Berkeley address for information, and copies of the platform were also printed and mailed out.

It seems that Hensley may have been miffed at the Universal Party over his poor showing in 1968. Whether or not that was the case, the Reverend left the party in

1970, and established a new party in California, with himself as its leader. He christened the new party the Peoples' Peace Prosperity Party, or PPPP, and promptly opened up a post office box for it in Modesto.

During the summer of 1970, Hensley announced that he would be a candidate for governor of California in November. He considered running on the Peace & Freedom Party ticket, which was ballot qualified, but it was already too late for that, so he became a write-in candidate instead. Most of his campaign seems to have consisted of printing advertisements in his own *Universal Life* newspaper, published at his church and mailed around the country to those he had ordained in the past as ministers. His campaign sank without a trace before election day.

Rev. Hensley continued dabbling in politics. He ran on the PPPP ticket as a write-in candidate for President of the United States in 1972, but his campaign drew no notice. He continued placing ads in his own church newspaper, and he mailed out campaign cards to those who asked for them, but didn't seem to do much else. The inactive campaigns continued when he ran for governor of California as a write-in again in 1974, and, finally, when he sought the U.S. presidency for the fourth and final time in 1976. His *Universal Life* ads appear to be about the only record of that campaign, and he does not appear to have had buttons or other collectors' items for any of these efforts.

Hensley has since gone back to shepherding his congregation. He claims to have ordained literally millions of people around the world, and, thanks to a stream of articles about this "mail order minister" in *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News & World Report*, the *New York Times*, the *National Enquirer*, *Reason*, *National Review*, the *Baltimore Sun*, as well



1968 saw a more active effort by the Universal Party. It even qualified for the ballot in Iowa where it won 142 votes. Above is a button and to the right is a handout card.



## CORRECTIONS! CORRECTIONS!

Our Platform would correct a few problems today in our Government:

1. Make a Science of Government expense without taxes.
2. Make a Science of Money to pay Government budgets and to eliminate modern usury.
3. Make a Science of Man in our great educational enterprise so that his Soul can be discovered.
4. Make a Science of Elections so that Voice of the People will be heard and not the Money of a few.
5. Make a Science of Democracy so that Lobbyism will not make our Laws and the chosen profession.
6. Many more points are included in our free Platform obtained by writing to:

National Headquarters, THE UNIVERSAL PARTY  
P.O. Box 516, Berkeley, California 94701.





The Universal Party kept at it in 1972, issuing yet another button and more paper items.

as his very own listing in the *Encyclopedia of American Religions* and television appearances on *60 Minutes* and other news shows, there is little reason to doubt his figures.

The Universal Party, meanwhile, had to look elsewhere for a candidate in 1972. They held their nominating convention that year at the new Holiday Inn in Flagstaff, Arizona on April 8, 9 and 10.

The delegates reaffirmed their previous platform, but also added an additional plank calling for "the equality of all persons regardless of race, colour, sex, creed or national origin." (Above from Universal Party platform from 1972.)

As their presidential candidate for the fall campaign, the party chose a man who had worked with them for a long time, and who many of the party members saw as a real pioneer in the work that they were involved in and the issues that they were interested in: Gabriel Green, who now made his home in Northridge, California.

Since his 1962 senatorial effort, Green had devoted himself to the AFSCA. He continued to hold conventions and publish his newsletter and the continuing series of information sheets on UFOs and their occupants. The club held its 1965 convention at the Centennial Coliseum in Reno, Nevada. Their 1966 convention was held at Giant Rock in the desert of San Bernardino county in Southern California. Despite its remote location, the gathering attracted over 5,000 people during the October 22-23 weekend. Many flew there in their own private planes. The saucer conclave was covered by both *Newsweek* (in its November 7, 1966 issue) and *Look* magazine, in a special "Flying Saucers" edition published in early 1967. Green was quoted in both accounts, and spoke at some length of the benefits of "knowledge already received from the Space People, or promised by them...elimination of disease, poverty and smog; solving the problem of automation and unemployment; a way to finance all public work projects and aid to other countries without taxation; an extended life span; a greater measure of personal freedom, economic security and abundance; and for many liv-



In November 1972

**THE UNIVERSAL PARTY** presents:

**GABRIEL GREEN** for President  
Northridge, California — Economist — founder AFSCA  
and

**DANIEL W. FRY** for Vice President  
Merlin, Oregon — Scientist — founder Understanding, Inc.

The Peace we yearn and pray for will not come until the Nations of Earth, through better leadership, establish better governments.

For further information write: P.O. Box 516  
Berkeley, California 94701

ing today, personal journeys to other planets beyond the stars." (*Look* magazine special edition, "Flying Saucers", 1967.)

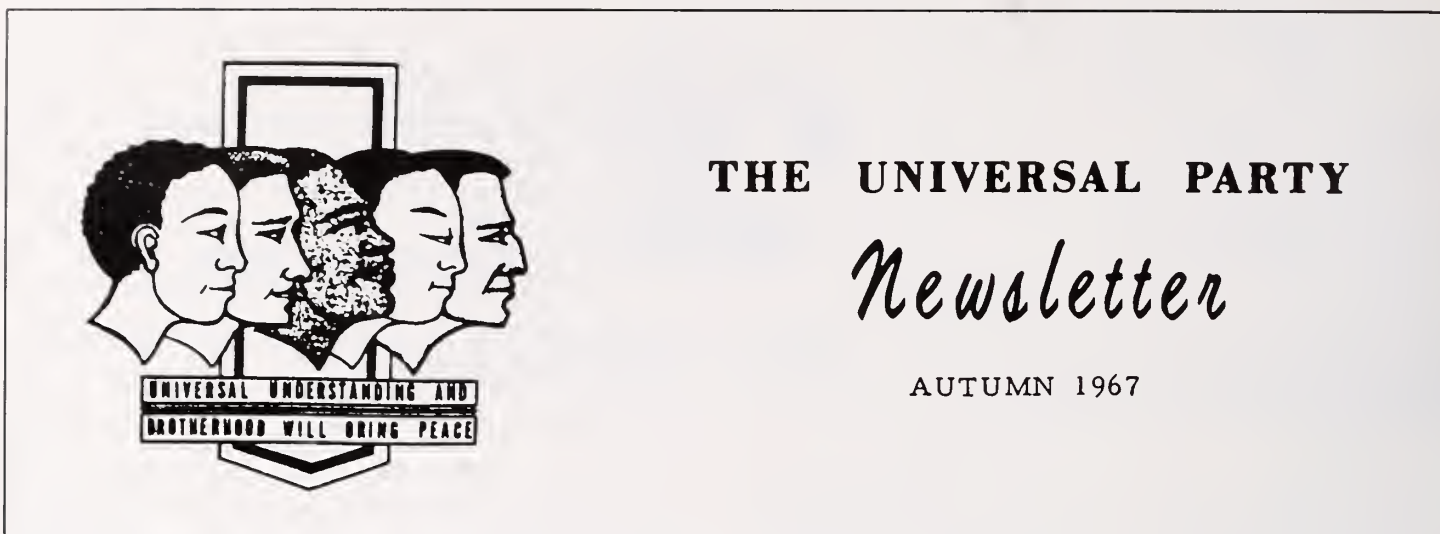
If Green sounded as if he were promising as much as, or more than, a presidential candidate, the message was not lost on the Universal Party several years later. The delegates at the 1972 Flagstaff, Arizona convention had no trouble nominating Green as their presidential standard-bearer.

His nomination created an interesting scenario. Once again, he was facing Whittier, California native Richard M. Nixon. Green remarked: "I was born just down the road from the Nixon grocery store and we traded there. Richard Nixon's uncle lived next door to us. In high school I took a typing course taught by Mrs. Nixon." (*The Milwaukee Journal*, March 11, 1972.)

In the final presidential balloting at the convention, Green received 20 votes, to 5 for Mark Brownell of Elsinore, California, 5 for Samuel G. Partridge of Grass Valley, California and 2 for Arthur Rosenblum of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. (*The Arizona Republic*, April 10, 1972.)

The delegates overwhelmingly gave the vice-presidential nod to Dr. Daniel W. Fry, 63, of Merlin, Oregon. Fry described himself as a lecturer and a scientist. He was the founder of "Understanding", a national group that tried to apply space and new age knowledge to the problems facing the nation. He even authored a booklet on this subject, entitled *The Area of Mutual Agreement: A Practical Approach to Mankind's Most Critical Problem*, which was distributed by local chapters of Understanding, Inc.

Fry was perhaps best known, however, as an early contactee. He had claimed to have been taken for a ride aboard a flying saucer on July 4th, 1950, while employed at the U.S. government rocket-testing grounds at White Sands, New Mexico. He wrote a book about the encounter, entitled *The White Sands Incident*, and reported to his readers that the saucer had taken him on a round-trip flight to New York City and back at a speed of 8,000 miles per hour. Although Dr. Fry never claimed to have



Masthead from the Universal Party newsletter.

seen his alien pilots face-to-face, he insisted that he had spoken to them. The pilot of the craft, who was actually in a mother ship hovering somewhere above, carried on conversations with Fry.

Daniel Fry's experiences were recounted in lectures, on talk shows, and even in newspaper columns and in the pages of *Look* magazine, so he was well known to the contactee community and to UFO buffs in general.

The convention concluded with the reelection of John W. Hopkins as the national chairman, and the delegates went home to work for the Green/Fry ticket. Presumably, much of their effort would be directed toward gaining ballot position in various states for their candidates.

The party provided another interesting button for collectors in the 1972 campaign. This time, the party produced a green-on-white cello. button stating: "Green, Pres. Fry, V. Pres. In '72 Vote the Universal Party". It was similar in both size and appearance to their 1968 pin.

The Universal Party also produced a green-on-black "Green for President" bumper sticker, and again printed platforms and campaign cards as hand out items. There also was a small hand-lettered handbill/poster that proclaimed, "Try Someone New In Seventy-Two—The Ones To Try Are Green & Fry." The usual press releases and activity announcements were also issued.

The party probably received more newspaper coverage in its 1972 effort than in all of its previous national campaigns put together. UPI carried a wire service story to all of its subscriber newspapers, and Green himself showed a knack for publicity. He issued one press release calling upon President Nixon to publicly promise to accord friendship and diplomatic courtesy to visitors from other planets. (Nixon, wisely, did not respond to this challenge.)

In spite of news coverage in the *New York Times* and numerous local papers, the party didn't fare much better than previously. This time, Green was able to qualify for

the ballot in Iowa, and his slate of write-in electors were certified in the state of California. On election day, November 7th, the Universal Party candidates polled 199 votes in Iowa, and 21 write-in ballots in California, for a grand total of 220 popular votes. No other write-ins could be uncovered elsewhere.

Whether this latest abysmal showing was devastating to the Universal Party leadership or not is hard to say, but the party began to deteriorate shortly thereafter. The Des Moines, Iowa chapter continued to hold meetings at local restaurants, but, as many party members were elderly, some began to pass away. John O. Hopkins died on March 31, 1973 at nearly 97, thus depriving the party of its 1964 vice-presidential nominee. By the 1980s, the Des Moines telephone book no longer listed a phone for his son, John W. Hopkins, either.

Rev. Kirby James Hensley had, of course, returned to his church in Modesto, and to his own political plans. Gabriel Green continued to head AFSCA, and, in 1986, he began a new newsletter, *United World*. Dr. Daniel W. Fry retired to Alamogordo, New Mexico. He passed away on December 20, 1992.

The death of the Universal Party can, oddly, be chronicled by collectors through a series of yearly party calendars. The party sent a calendar to those on its mailing list every year throughout the 1970s. The interesting and colorful plastic calendars stopped coming after 1975. I would imagine that they are quite collectable today. One never sees them for sale at collectors' shows.

The little calendars that the Universal Party leadership sent out are now only a memory, as is the party itself. When students of American presidential elections today look through statistical source books on national vote returns, they must wonder who those folks were that polled 19 votes in 1964, 142 votes in 1968 and 220 votes in 1972. It really all seems hardly to have been worth the effort. At least, through this article, third party and hope-



TRY SOMEONE NEW IN SEVENTY-TWO-  
THE ONES TO TRY ARE "GREEN" & "FRY"

FOR PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

**GABRIEL  
GREEN**



FOR VICE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

**DANIEL  
FRY**



OF NORTHRIDGE, CALIF.

OF MERLIN, ORE.

ECONOMIST, FOUNDER "AFSCA" | SCIENTIST, FOUNDER UNDERSTANDING

HERE ARE SOME OF THE WAYS WE CAN HELP AMERICA.

1. APPLICATION OF THE WISDOM OF OUR "FLYING SAUCER" FRIENDS.
2. USE OF SOUND ECONOMICS FOR PROSPERITY WITHOUT INFLATION.
3. STOP THE DRAFT, END WAR HONORABLY, BRING MILITARY HOME.
4. USE OF NEW CLEAN POWER SOURCES & FREE ENERGY RESEARCH.
5. ECOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENT FOR AIR, LAND, WATER & FOOD.
6. JUDICIAL REFORM & OTHER MEANS TO REDUCE CRIME, RIOTS, ETC.
7. RETURN TO GOVERNMENT BY OUR CONSTITUTION, BY & FOR THE PEOPLE.
8. HALT FOREIGN GIVEAWAYS & OTHER WASTE OF TAXPAYERS MONEY.
9. REPEAL INCOME TAX & LOWER OTHER TAXES, ON PROPERTY, ETC.
10. HELP WOMEN & YOUTH TO NEW LEADERSHIP & EQUALITY.
11. ECONOMICAL WAYS TO BETTER HEALTH CARE & HIGHER WELFARE.
12. LARGER SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS & NO CURBS ON EARNINGS

THIS IS ALL POSSIBLE, PLUS PROGRESS TOWARD A WORLD OF  
ABUNDANCE, FRIENDSHIP & PEACE, BY DIVINE HELP FROM ABOVE.  
WE NEED YOUR HELP TO PROMOTE AND VOTE -

**THE UNIVERSAL PARTY**

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, P.O. BOX 516, BERKELEY, CA. 94701

ful collectors can now have a little bit of background about that Hensley or Green button or bumper sticker that they have always wondered about.★

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SOURCES:

I have benefited from sharing literature and information on the older Universal Party with the late Stephen K. Pauler of Newton, Massachusetts. Steve was a great collector and friend, and I dedicate this paper to him.

I have spoken over the telephone to Gabriel Green, Daniel W. Fry, and Kirby J. & Lida Hensley, in early and mid 1991. All of them were kind and helpful. I thank them for taking their time with me.

I also found back issues of Kirby J. Hensley's *Universal Life* newspaper, Gabriel Green's AFSCA reports, and Universal Party mailings and information sheets to be of great help.

Most of the books and newspaper and magazine articles that I used in this essay are cited within the text. All quotes used here are cited as well, and are always from verifiable sources.

As a collector in the 1960s and 1970s, I wrote often to the Universal Party (and to most other minor parties of that era), and I used much of the announcements and materials I received in this paper.

(Stephen K. Hauser is an instructor of history at Marquette University in Milwaukee, and at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He has taught college level history courses in Milwaukee for over 11 years.)

Note: All of the vote totals listed in this essay are from Richard M. Scammon's *America Votes*, for the years 1962, 1964, 1968 and 1972. They correspond exactly with the Universal Party totals offered in the *World Almanac*.



Hensley eventually left the Universal Party to form the People's Peace Prosperity Party. It made even less impact than the Universal Party. This sticker is pictured at 80% original size.

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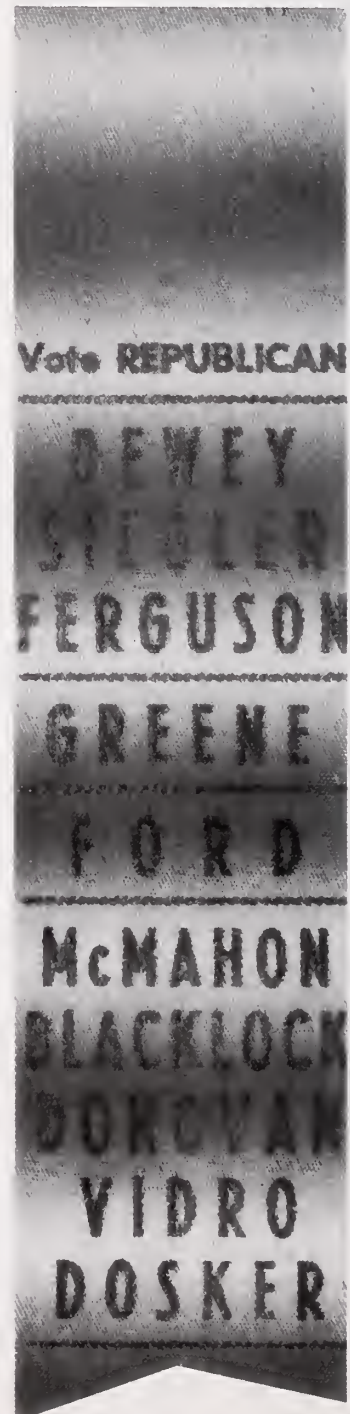
*(Continued from page 17)*

Sometimes you just cannot make a definitive statement on the exact origin of an item within its historical context, but the story of a union leader running for Governor to get a third party on the ticket is an interesting one.

Further research would undoubtedly turn up other congressional and municipal candidates. Also note that the Progressive Party did not die in November of 1948, but instead died a lingering death. There were Progressive state and local candidates in some areas in 1949, 1950, and beyond. The party nominated Vincent Hallinan for president in 1952, but Hallinan won only one-tenth as many votes as had Henry Wallace.★

## Items of Interest

Local items from future presidents are always interesting, particularly when they are from his first campaign. Wouldn't it be fun to have a Theodore Roosevelt for state assembly flier or a Jimmy Carter for state senate card? Certainly the popularity of JFK congressional material makes the point. John Gingerich of Georgia (APIC 3170) sent in the ribbon below from the 1948 race in Michigan. Tom Dewey heads the GOP ticket, along with Governor Kim Siegler and U.S. Senator Homer Ferguson. Down the line is the congressional nominee from Grand Rapids, a young attorney named Gerald Ford.★





## For the Newer Collector



# Joe Smith: The Little Man Who Wasn't There

By Michael Kelly

By the time the 1956 Republican National convention opened for business, things were pretty dull. Earlier in the year, Republicans had been in serious turmoil when it appeared that a heart attack might keep popular President Dwight D. Eisenhower from running for a second term. Various names ranging from Senate Majority Leader William Knowland of California to former Minnesota Governor Harold Stassen were nervously discussed until Ike relieved party concerns by announcing that he would, indeed, run for a second term.

That was followed by another little flurry of excitement as Stassen (perhaps in frustration at having his presidential dreams squashed yet again) launched a campaign to dump Vice President Richard Nixon from the 1956 ticket and replace him with Massachusetts Governor Christian Herter. That effort failed completely and Nixon's name wound up being placed in nomination by Herter with a seconding speech by Stassen. See the Winter 1986 *Keynoter* for more details about that milestone in Stassen's career. It did, at least, produce some handsome "Ike and Chris" buttons. The September 3, 1956 issue of *Newsweek* reported that "in the end, the only beneficiary of the 'dump Nixon' drive was Chris Del Sesto, the Republican gubernatorial candidate in Rhode Island. As the convention closed, he put in a bid for all the 'Ike and Chris' buttons Stassen had left."

Scattered dissatisfaction with Nixon did remain, however. When convention delegates sat through a tedious roll call for vice presidential nominations, every state passed in favor of Vice President Nixon. But when the roll call reached the state of Nebraska, one delegate broke ranks. When Nebraska was asked if it had any nominations for VP, the delegation chair replied that a Nebraska delegate did have a name to place in nomination. "What name?" asked the convention chairman,

Congressman Joe Martin of Massachusetts.

The Nebraska chair conferred with one of her delegates and replied, "Joe Smith."

"Joe Who?" asked the convention chairman. "Joe Smith," came the reply. Congressman Martin banged his gavel and announced, "Nebraska reserves the right to nominate Joe Smith, whoever he is." Reporters naturally began to swarm on the Nebraska delegation where it turned out that delegate Terry Carpenter, a prosperous businessman who had served one term in Congress (as a Democrat) from 1933 to 1935, had submitted the name.

As the commotion on the floor grew, Chairman Martin's temper snapped. "Take your Joe Smith and get him out of here," he roared. Convention security hustled Terry Carpenter off the floor to the delight of the reporters, looking for something unusual to report. At first Carpenter claimed that Joe Smith was a real person ("a retired fellow from Terrytown"). But observers noted that Nebraska contained no town by that name and Carpenter eventually admitted that Joe Smith was fictitious.

It may be a comment on just how dull the 1956 convention was that people found Carpenter's joke to be pretty funny. Joe Smith buttons began to appear on lapels. Democrats eventually issued Joe Smith items. One button read "Nix On Nixon - Vote for Joe Smith" while a tab read "Adlai/Estes and Joe Smith." The night after the Smith affair, convention chairman Martin began his final speech by saying "Mr. Chairman, delegates...and last but by no means least, Mr. Smith..." to laughter and applause from the hall.

Terry Carpenter basked in his moment of fame and later ran for governor, issuing a handsome picture button in the process. He wasn't elected. Nixon, on the other hand, did go on to win re-election in 1956 and eventually won the White House. He who laughs last, laughs best.★



I'M FOR  
JOE SMITH



"JOE  
SMITH"



# Humor Buttons

By Dennis Doran



Over the many year of sharing my political button collection in public and college libraries, there has been one particular category which has continually surfaced as a favorite; humorous political buttons.

These items feature personalities from television, movies, and cartoons. In a world where political candidates come and go, I am amazed at the lasting appeal these "humorous" characters have on the public.

Pat Paulson—Comedian from the Smothers Brothers television show.

Bob Hope—as Mayor James J. Walker.

Henry Winkler—as the Fonz from "Happy Days" television show.

Louise Lasser—as Mary Hartman from the "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" television show.

Robert Guillaume—as Benson from the "Benson" television show.

Carroll O'Connor—as Archie Bunker from the "All in the Family" television show.

Papoon for President - A satire campaign from comedy group from Firesign Theater album .

Harvey Dent - Gotham City's District Attorney, DC comics from the Batman movie.

Larry Hagman—As J.R. Ewing from Dallas television show.

Very few alternative political candidates have captured the attention of the public as much as show business celebrities, musicians, cartoon or favorite advertising characters. It is fun to wear 'the Beaver' for president and I enjoy the different reactions of people who spot the button. Depending on your interests there are political humor buttons to match, ie., you may find Pavarotti for president on a music instructor's jacket, or Bruce Springsteen on the shirts of the students.

The impact of show business has also lent familiar faces

to real as well as fictional political campaigns. A Perot-like candidate, J.R. Ewing, a powerfully rich Texas businessman who was not afraid to throw his money or political weight around. Bob Hope portrayed James J. Walker, Mayor of New York. Clint Eastwood was an actual Mayor of Carmel, California, who used his movie persona to sell memorabilia. If a television program is popular you will find buttons made to promote the show like Henry Winkler as Fonzie from "Happy Days", Louise Lasser of "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman", Carroll O'Connor as Archie Bunker from "All in the Family" and Robert Guillaume as "Benson". Pat Paulsen is the most recognized non-political candidate. He has used his political platform to make pokes and jokes at the expense of actual political candidates.

Papoon for President, National Surrealist Light Peoples Party from the Firesign Theater, a satirical group of the 70's used quasi-political buttons to promote their comedy album.

Another group to be considered are Charles Schulz *Peanuts* gang. Snoopy for president, has mass appeal. Charlie Brown for vice president uses his unassuming personality to fit the VP position. Whereas, Lucy for secretary of war matches her personality of being aggressive and war-like.

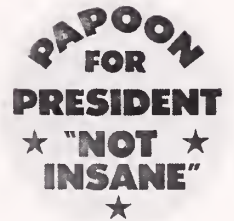
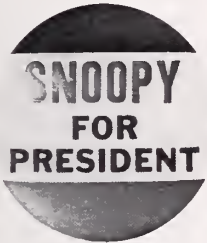
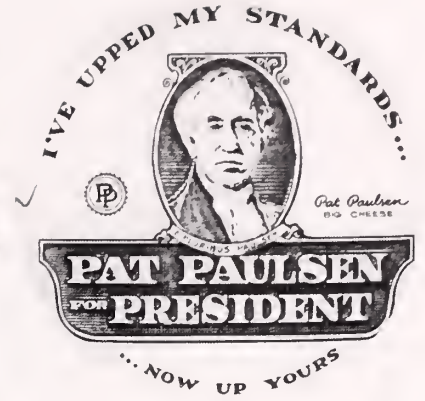
You may recognize many other cartoon or childhood characters. Each lends a warm and comfortable feeling we often associate with Miss Piggy, Kermit the Frog, Pot Belly Bear, Winnie the Pooh, and Betty Boop.

What does the Trix Rabbit, Morris the Cat, Harvey Wallbanger, the Hamm's bear have in common? They are featured on buttons to advertise products and these characters have become part of our lives through their popularity.

After the candidates have come and gone, these humorous buttons will remain popular for years to come and never go out of style.★







# FRANK O. LOWDEN



CANDIDATE FOR REPUBLICAN  
NOMINATION FOR

# GOVERNOR

