



THE KEYNOTER



SAUDI ARABIA

Desert Storm: The Gulf War

Political Postcards • APIC Hall of Fame

George Lincoln Rockwell • Anti-Hitler Items from World War II

Editor's Message

China's noted diplomat Chou En-lai once said, "diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means." The same may well be said about the connection between war and politics. Even the most casual glance at American politics reveals a tie between military prowess and political ambition.

Our first president, George Washington, was the commanding general of the Revolutionary War. The War of 1812 gave us Gen. Andrew Jackson and the Mexican-American War put Gen. Zachary Taylor in the White House. President William Henry Harrison was a war hero and the campaign of 1852 featured two generals from the Mexican-American War: Gen. Winfield Scott and Gen. Franklin Pierce. Interestingly, Scott was the better general but Pierce the more successful politician.

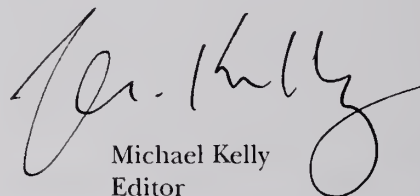
The Civil War made Lincoln our greatest president after Washington and produced his 1864 opponent, Gen. George McClellan. That led to a string of Civil War generals in the White House: Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Harrison. During that era, the closest the Democrats came to defeating the Republican generals was 1880 when they nominated Gen. Winfield Hancock.

Even William McKinley's supporters in 1896 pointed out that the young man had been a major in the Civil War and his 1900 running mate, Theodore Roosevelt, was famed for his action in the Spanish-American War. For a few months in 1900, it looked as though President McKinley might be denied renomination in favor of Admiral George Dewey, but Dewey's lack of political acumen cut his political career short.

Woodrow Wilson's fame is tied to World War I and Gen. John Pershing was boosted for president but thought better of it. Gen. Leonard Wood was the leading GOP candidate in 1920 before losing to Harding in a smoke-filled room. World War II gave mythical status to FDR and gave Gen. Dwight Eisenhower two popular terms as President and Gen. Douglas MacArthur a national campaign. JFK supporters made much of his "PT 109" experience and the Vietnam War destroyed Lyndon Johnson.

Winning the Cold War is still seen by many as Ronald Reagan's greatest achievement while Desert Storm was the high point of the first George Bush presidency.

In the end, perhaps it is Gen. Robert E. Lee who summed it up best: "It is well that war is so terrible - we would grow too fond of it." Looking back, it is hard to say we haven't.



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

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Covers: Front: A map of the Desert Storm theater and some related political buttons backing President Bush for re-election in 1992. **Back:** Anti-Hitler sheet music from 1942, printed in red and black.



IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Dr. Edmund Sullivan looks at political folk art and an APIC interview with 1984 VP nominee Geraldine Ferraro highlight a jam-packed issue.



Desert Storm

By Christopher B. Hearn

Just over ten years ago, a United Nations-led coalition ousted the forces of Iraq from Kuwait, a rout that capped arguably the most successful military victory in 600 years. However, when the events began to occur in August 1990 that culminated in Desert Storm, things did not look as bright.

On August 2, 1990 Iraqi tanks rolled into and occupied the small country of Kuwait, declaring it part of Greater Iraq. On that day, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 660 that condemned the invasion and demanded Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. The vote was passed without a dissenting vote. It was the first of 12 passed by the Security Council seeking Iraq's withdrawal.

On August 8, President Bush addressed the American people and asked for support "in a decision I've made to stand up for what's right and condemn what's wrong, all in the cause of peace. We agree that this is not an American problem or a European problem or a Middle East problem; it is the world's problem." President Bush then announced that US military forces would join those of other nations in Saudi Arabia to confront Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. This was the first stage of "Operation Desert Shield."

The US policy throughout the crisis remained: Iraq's immediate, unconditional and complete withdrawal from Kuwait; the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government; the establishment of peace and security in the Gulf; and the protection of American lives. All actions were taken under the auspices of the United Nations, and only when diplomacy failed to remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait did the international community back the use of force. There were significant debates within the US Congress whether or not to support US military action in the Gulf area. Most debates were divided along political party lines. However, when the vote

was taken in the US Senate to support President Bush's efforts, a few Senators, including Al Gore of Tennessee, voted with the majority to back military action to expel the Iraqis from Kuwait.

On August 8, Iraqi troops began rounding up US and British citizens in Kuwait City and transferring them to Iraq. Saudi Arabia's King Fahd invited friendly forces to Saudi Arabia to reinforce its defenses. President Bush then ordered a squadron of F-15 fighters to a Saudi air base, along with the 82nd Airborne Division. Iraq then officially announced annexation of Kuwait, referring to it as Iraq's "19th Province." The Iraqi forces began a systematic program of terrorizing the Kuwaiti population and looting the country, stealing everything, whether it was nailed down or not. Hotels in Baghdad soon sported soap from Kuwaiti Airlines.

On August 16, President Bush ordered the US Navy to intercept shipping to or from Iraq and Kuwait. To help stop Iraqi aggression, the US forged an international military coalition to enforce UN economic sanctions. At its peak, some 30 nations provided forces on the Arabian Peninsula and in the Gulf to support Desert Shield. The US committed more than 530,000 troops, 1,800 aircraft and approximately 100 ships. Naval vessels from 14 different nations patrolled the Gulf area. Saudi Arabia, Great Britain and France deployed combat aircraft and armored and infantry forces. Egypt and Syria, as well as other Gulf nations, also provided ground troops.

Throughout this effort, the international coalition opposing Iraq maintained a unity and purpose that was critical to its



ultimate success. On August 20, President Bush referred to the detained foreigners as "hostages." By August 24, twenty-five foreign missions in Kuwait refused to comply with Iraq's demand that they close; Iraqi troops then surrounded nine, including the US and British missions. Soon, an estimated 11,000 Westerners were being held in Iraq and Kuwait. These Iraqi "guests" soon became "human shields" against possible air attacks on Iraqi military and industrial sites. On September 11, President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress and stated, "We will not let this aggression stand."

By October 3, Amnesty International accused Iraqi troops of torturing and executing scores of people in Kuwait. Two days later Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney stated that Iraq had deployed in excess of 350,000 troops, more than 20 divisions, in Kuwait and southern Iraq. At the time of hostilities the Iraqi Army was the fourth largest in the world.

The crisis produced more than one million refugees, 300,000 of them Kuwaitis. Over 750,000 escaped from Kuwait and Iraq to Jordan. Saddam Hussein soon recognized that his "human shields" were having the reverse effect



Every war produces heroes. In Desert Storm, it was President Bush, Gen. Colin Powell and Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf. Powell was widely boosted for president or vice president and even Schwarzkopf was approached to run for office, but both generals stayed out of elective politics. In 2000, they both campaigned for George W. Bush. Powell wound up as his Secretary of State.



SUPPORT
PRESIDENT
BUSH
AND OUR
TROOPS IN
DESERT
STORM



Ever since George Washington, military victories had political overtones. Many of these items celebrate the victory on the battlefield but also boost the Republican Party in the coming election. The middle button includes Defense Secretary Richard Cheney along with others.

than he had hoped and started releasing women and children and then all foreigners held in Iraq and Kuwait.

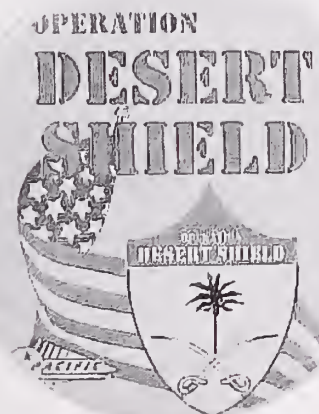
In December, Amnesty International issued a second report on the "arbitrary arrest and detention without trial of thousands of civilians and military personnel; the widespread torture of such persons in custody; the imposition of the death penalty and the extrajudicial execution of hundreds of unarmed civilians, including children." The report added that hundreds of Kuwaitis had "disappeared." To this day, the Iraqi Government has refused to account for those who disappeared. Even with all of these hardships, the Kuwaiti Resistance remained active by helping refugees escape, hiding foreigners, gathering intelligence and launching guerrilla attacks on occupation forces. The Kuwaiti populace largely refused to return to work or collaborate with the occupying forces.

On November 29, the UN Security Council voted 12 to 2, with China abstaining, to approve the use of force if Iraq did not withdraw from Kuwait by January 15, 1991. Only Cuba and Yemen voted against the measure.

For six months the US and its coalition made a sustained effort to resolve the crisis in a diplomatic way. However, on January 16, 1991, one day after the UN deadline, the coalition launched "Operation Desert Storm" with air attacks on military targets in Kuwait and Iraq. Few who witnessed the live broadcasts from Iraq of the cruise missile attacks will

ever forget the images. With Bernard Shaw of CNN reporting, this was the first time that a war was brought real-time into America's living rooms via television.

The air war was precise, devastating and overwhelmingly successful, with coalition aircraft losses and pilots well below projections. Gen. Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, stated that the idea was to cut off the head of the Iraqi snake and then kill it. Yet, the coalition forces went to extraordinary lengths, using satellite data, reconnaissance photographs and other intelligence methods to strike only military targets and avoiding civilian, religious, archeological and historical sites. The targets of the allied air campaign fell into three categories: first, military forces deployed in southern Iraq and Kuwait; second, facilities for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and third, strategic targets that con-



Before Desert Storm, an offensive operation to liberate Kuwait, came Desert Shield. Desert Shield was a defensive operation to protect Saudi Arabia from further potential Iraqi aggression.

tributed to Iraq's war-making capability: command and control centers, government ministries, roads, bridges, airfields, missile sites, and fuel depots.

Coalition forces utilized precision technology: laser-guided bombs, radar-evading Stealth fighters, cruise missiles and other types of so-called "smart" weapons. "Carpet bombing" was never used. Saddam Hussein then launched his weapons of mass destruction, Scud missiles, deliberately targeted against Saudi and Israeli cities. These weapons were so inaccurate that they were more of a terror weapon than a military threat.

In the end, the air war prepared the battlefield for a decisive and short ground campaign to liberate Kuwait. Early on the morning of February 24, 1991, after a final coalition ultimatum for immediate withdrawal had passed, the coalition launched a broad ground offensive. The 100-hour ground war that followed was based on superior weapons, mobility and tactics of coalition forces. General Norman Schwarzkopf commented on Saddam Hussein. "He is neither a strategist nor is he schooled in the operational art, nor is he a tactician, nor is he a general, nor is he a soldier." To prepare for the onslaught the coalition conducted a massive, undetected movement of armor and airborne forces far to the west along the Saudi-Iraqi border. These forces raced north as far as the Euphrates River then swung east to outflank and encircle Iraqi forces. US Marines threatened an amphibious landing, diverting Iraqi troops into a shoreline defense of Kuwait City against an assault that never materialized.

In the first phase, Saudi, Kuwaiti, other Gulf Cooperation Council forces and US Marine and Army task forces penetrated defensive barriers and minefields and advanced into Kuwait. During phase two, a second Saudi force, with Egyptian and Syrian units, also assaulted Iraqi defensive lines. In the west, French forces raced far into Iraq, capturing an airfield and establishing defensive positions on the left flank of the coalition line. US airborne troops launched a helicopter assault to establish a base deep in Iraq, from which they conducted a rapid advance to the Euphrates River. At the same time, US and British armored units swept into Iraq in a massive flanking maneuver. The advance was swifter and the number of coalition casualties lighter than even the most optimistic predictions. Over 10,000 body bags

had been put in place for possible use by Allied forces but were never needed. Throughout the conflict, Iraqi soldiers, often abandoned by their officers, surrendered in huge numbers, some even surrendered to an allied air drone. Most were sick, hungry, thirsty, and exhausted. Many of them, veterans of the Iran-Iraq war, had endured over 40 days of intensive bombing, trapped with minefields to their front and roaming execution squads (in the Soviet model) to their back. More than 60,000 Iraqi soldiers surrendered by the war's end.

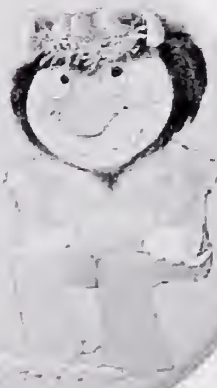
Within two days, the Iraqi occupation forces began a panicked race out of Kuwait, stopping only to loot, burn and kill. The Iraqi forces stole, shot or ate most of the animals in Kuwait's zoo. The infamous "Road of Death" north of Kuwait City was soon littered with everything from destroyed armored vehicles to looted Mercedes automobiles. By February 27, Kuwaiti, Saudi and other Arab forces entered and liberated Kuwait City. To the north, US and British armored forces engaged and destroyed division after division of Iraq's elite Republican Guard. Only a few Iraqi units were able to escape across the Euphrates River. It became obvious that the UN objective had been met and, to stop the killing, President Bush declared on national television "Kuwait is liberated. Iraq is defeated."

With the destruction so total and the Iraqi forces in full retreat, President Bush announced a unilateral cessation of hostilities beginning on the morning of February 28. Kuwait was free! But the oil fields were on fire, and one million refugees remained outside the war zone. The oil fires created one of the world's worst ecological disasters. The world soon set in motion a monumental effort to extinguish the fires. Within a matter of months they were all extinguished. Even today, there the scars are still evident in Kuwait, but the spirit of the Kuwaiti people quickly returned and has thrived. The beaches are free of mines, but the whereabouts of some 700 missing Kuwaitis has not been determined.

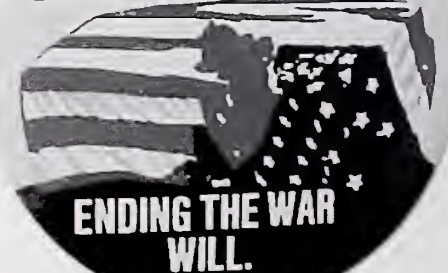
The debate continues today whether or not coalition forces should have driven to Baghdad and removed Saddam Hussein. The removal of Hussein was never part of the coalition's mission. To maintain the solidarity of the coalition, the focus remained simply the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait. For humanitarian reasons and for political reasons, the



I'M A
WILD
THING
FOR
PEACE

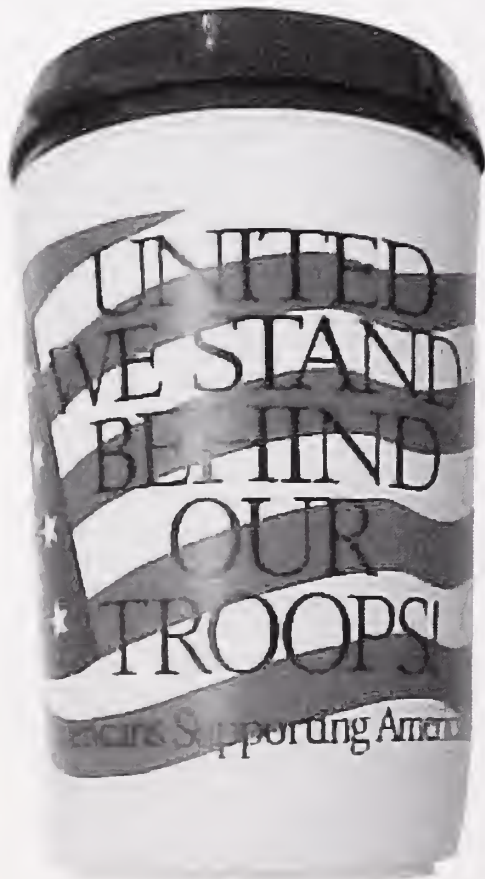


YELLOW
RIBBONS WON'T
BRING THE TROOPS HOME



Desert Storm has its anti-war buttons. Some revisited old themes ("Hell No, We Won't Go!") or established new ones ("How many lives per barrel?"). Cartoon bad boy Bart Simpson was recruited to oppose the war, as was one of children's book artist Maurice Sendak's "wild things." The button about broccoli refers to President Bush's publicly stated dislike of that vegetable.





The American flag is always a common symbol for patriotic items and Desert Storm material uses it freely. The small rectangle directly above is a refrigerator magnet, a new genre of promotional item to appear in recent decades.



coalition never intended to become an occupying army in Iraq. The goal was to secure the sovereignty of Kuwait—and that mission was met.

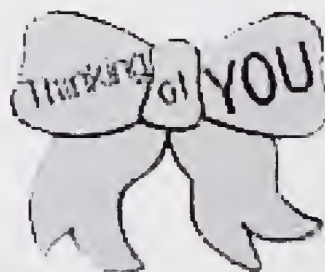
Winning the Public Relations War

The war against Saddam Hussein was fought not only on the battlefields of Iraq and Kuwait, but also in the newspapers, on television and in the hearts and minds of the world. To win this part of the war, several Coalition governments developed campaigns to reinforce public support for the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait. Of interest to political items collectors are the different pins and badges produced by the Governments of Kuwait, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada. Throughout the conflict, the Kuwaiti Government in exile produced a number of badges that said "Free Kuwait." Several others called for the end to Iraqi occupation of Kuwait. The Government in exile also issued pins with the Emir of Kuwait and President Bush. One 2 1/4" picture pin was produced, at the specific request of the Emir, in honor of President Bush's visit to Kuwait after the war. This was the same visit in which Saddam Hussein sent a car bomb to kill the former President.

In the United States, buttons supporting the US effort were produced on an almost daily basis. You could not go on

or near a military base without seeing the familiar yellow ribbon pins and buttons. Workers in hardware stores, fast food restaurants, gas stations, almost everywhere, proudly displayed their support for America's military effort in Desert Storm. The slogan "Support Our Troops" was printed on everything from cigarette lighters and T-shirts to flags and hats. When the heroes returned for their victory parades, several items honored them. Of particular interest are the items that picture the leaders of the US effort, President Bush, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell, General Norman Schwarzkopf and Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney.

Quick test. Can you identify the button designed and distributed overseas by the Central Intelligence Agency? Find the answer in the next issue of *The Keynoter*.★



It seems as if every popular crisis in the last twenty years has called forth ribbons of various colors. The craze was started by a fairly awful pop song in which a returning convict asks his long-suffering girl friend to "tie a yellow ribbon 'round the old oak tree" if she will take him back. Starting with President Jimmy Carter's Iranian hostage crisis, ribbons appear whenever people feel the need to make a public expression of support.



**BE A
PATRIOT
NOT A
SCUD !!**



**SMACK
IRAQ**

**IRAQ MUST
PAY FOR
SADDAM-IZING
KUWAIT**



The "SCUD" BUSTER



THE PATRIOT

MADE IN U.S.A.

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein quickly became demonized, as did his "Scud" missiles, which were stopped by US "Patriot" missiles. The button on the top right is actually anti-Bush.



The point of Desert Storm was the liberation of Kuwait, a tiny oil-rich country overrun by Iraq. Kuwaitis produced their own buttons and badges, featuring their own leaders.



Desert Storm featured one of history's most amazing military alliances, actively involving almost two score of nations from across the globe. The "United We Stand" button directly above features the flags of the allies. To its right is a button issued by a popular English newspaper. Below it is a Francophone Canadian button supporting "Operation Tempete du Desert."





Military cloth patches from Desert Shield and Desert Storm.



A variety of items, including buttons, cloth patches and a china plate.



Ask about our 20%
discount for Military
Personnel





Many cities held triumphal welcome home parades for returning military. Many corporations jumped on the bandwagon by issuing items associating their businesses with the popular cause (something that goes back to the earliest days of political and cause material.)



“HAVING WONDERFUL TIME with Political Post Cards. WISH YOU WERE HERE”

By Albert Salter

Despite the allure of celluloid buttons, posters, pennants, and porcelains, I love political post cards. To some they are the most mundane political memorabilia category, but to me they frequently carry a story hidden to the casual observer or new collector.

The cards in my albums don't reach the breadth and width of a Hal Ottaway, David Frent, or George Miller collection, but I'd like to share some of my favorites with you.

I've separated these post cards into seven broad categories: 1) **campaign**, which at times stress issues or party as well as candidates, 2) **presidential**, 3) **advertising**, using a president or presidential candidate to promote a product, 4) **meeting or rally announcements**, 5) **solicitations**, frequently with a return card attached, 6) **memorial**, 7) **protests and causes**. Some of these categories of course, particularly campaign, include mechanical features such as pop-ups, impossible to present properly on a printed page.

When David Frent introduced the Post Card Project in the summer, 1980 issue of *The Keynoter*, one gained a deep appreciation for the variety of cards marketed for candidates in the early years of the last century. No other memorabilia category has a history of such struggles in its infancy.

Post card historian George Miller and others have reminded us that a year after the Dingley tariff bill of 1897 established high protective rates for imported printed matter, including postcards, congress enacted the Private Card Mailing Act that allowed private post cards to be mailed at the same penny rate reserved for government cards. Previously private cards had required a 2 cent rate.

Most of the attractive post cards at the turn of the century were manufactured in Germany where more sophisticated printing equipment was available. But by 1908 at least 50 different domestic post card publishers were involved soliciting congress to impose a higher tariff on cards from Germany. American companies distributed post cards to customers to mail to congressmen containing the lines, "The imprint of this card shows it was made in Germany. We have skilled labor to make it here." As a result, with the passage of the Payne-Aldrich act in 1909, foreign manufacturers had a more difficult time competing with American printers.

Government postal cards of the late 19th century were not designed for political campaigns. They carried views or advertisements. But there were times when the allure of presidential politics was used to promote a product. One I found some years ago was published by a New York

evening newspaper, *The Mail and Express*, carrying a headline "PRESIDENT HARRISON'S LONG JOURNEY." The card's message invites readers to follow the president's 9000 mile journey in "the leading evening paper." (Fig. 1.)

What is especially interesting is the newspaper's claim that "Opposition politicians are sure to misrepresent and try to give political insignificance to the trip." The newspaper goes on to say, somewhat defensively, "We want Republican leaders to know just how President Harrison is received throughout the land."

The Evening Mail and The Evening Express had merged in 1882, and were promoting this 1891 excursion by Harrison to build needed circulation. Harrison's travel from all we

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S LONG JOURNEY.

9000 Miles Excursion! Innumerable, Vivid Incidents to be Printed Daily in

THE MAIL AND EXPRESS.

THE LEADING EVENING PAPER.

Opposition politicians are sure to misrepresent and try to give political insignificance to the trip. The Mail and Express has dispatched an advance correspondent whose daily telegraphic reports, added to the regular dispatches from the Presidential train, will make The Mail and Express of special interest. We want the Republican leaders to know just how President Harrison is received throughout the land.

ONE POUND OF INFORMATION IS BETTER THAN A TON OF REFORMATION. CIRCULATE THE TRUTH.

On the receipt of \$2.00 we will send to one address ten copies of The Mail and Express daily, except Sunday, during the month of the Presidential tour. On the receipt of \$1.00 we will send four copies to one address. If you buy them and circulate them, you will be entitled to great credit for exercising a beneficent public influence. You will have a splendid metropolitan journal at a wonderfully low price.



REMIT TO THE MAIL AND EXPRESS, 33 PARK ROW, NEW YORK.

President Benjamin Harrison's journey out to the Western states promised to provide readers of *The Mail and Express* news of "innumerable, vivid events." (Figure 1)

have read, was frequently restricted due to the seriousness of his wife's illness. The presidential trip was consequently of deep interest and perhaps even some apprehension. In fact, the following year on October 25, during his campaign for re-election against Grover Cleveland, the man Harrison had defeated four years earlier, the president's wife, Carrie died in the White House of tuberculosis. The campaign for president ceased at that point and Cleveland was elected the following month.

Walking through a Tyson's Corner mall in Northern Virginia during an antiques and collectibles show some years ago, I stopped and examined a batch of post cards and found a 1900 campaign

card picturing a youthful William Jennings Bryan and former Vice President, Adlai Stevenson. It was Stevenson, of course, who had served under Grover Cleveland when Cleveland regained the presidency from Harrison in the 1892 election. This handsome sepia design (Fig. 2), a private mailing card, was published by Henry Rinu, Jr., "Authorized by Act of Congress of May 19, 1898." It cost me \$13.50, which gives some indication of how post cards were undervalued until recently.

Another hard to locate campaign post card from that election is a colorful jugate of McKinley and Roosevelt, published by Arthur Strauss, New York. (Fig. 3)

But the rush of elaborately designed color post cards didn't come until the 1904 campaign with Teddy Roosevelt capturing the attention of most manufacturers. TR's bombastic personality and the fact he was already president undoubtedly enhanced his commercial value as a postcard subject. Judge Parker, his opponent, usually looked as dour as a one room schoolmaster ready to paddle an errant student, while TR, all the years of his presidency, was easy to caricature. (Figs. 4a & 4b)

There was one candidate whose name first appeared on a presidential ballot in 1900 as a Social Democrat, and who garnered over 916,000 votes in the election won by Warren Harding twenty years later. Eugene Debs was serving a prison term at the time, convicted of criticizing the government in a case involving sedition. Never elected president, his strength and determination that led to the founding of the American Socialist party are obvious in the 1908 card in my collection. The post card is dog-eared and worn as was Debs in the end after imprisonment and endless battles. But it's a treasure to me. (Fig. 5)

Invitations to join a rally are often subject matter for post cards. The one I've selected to show here is a 1916



A handsome Bryan/Stevenson jugate postcard from 1900 (Figure 2).

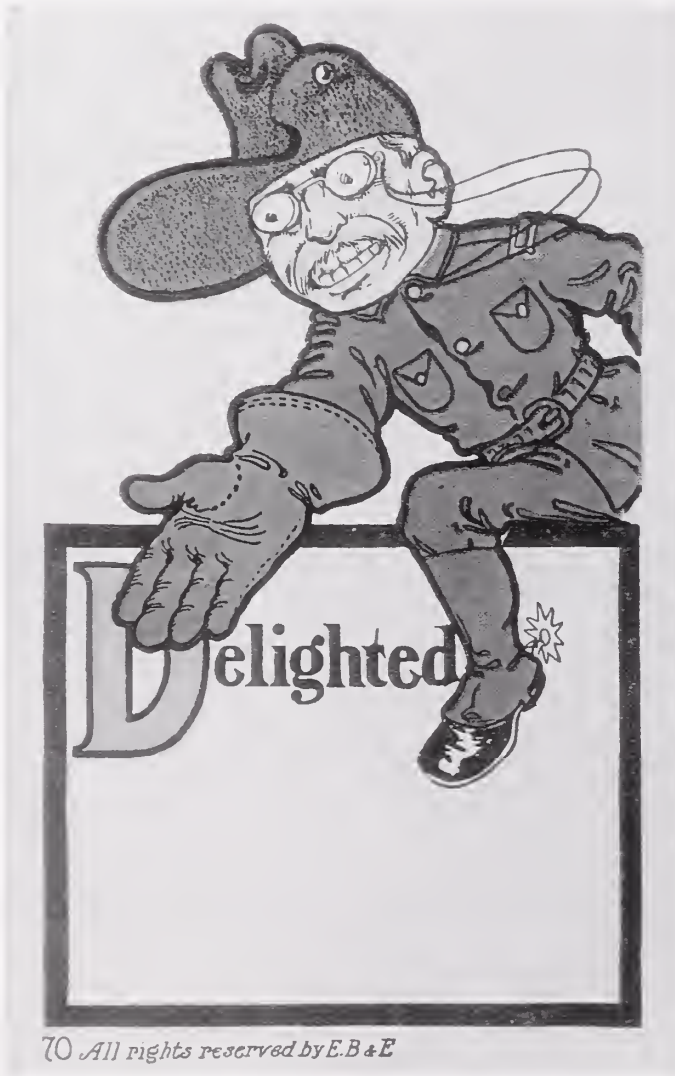
invitation from the Amerind Democratic Club of the 2nd Assembly District of the Borough of Queens. It urges Democrats to attend a rally featuring fireworks and music in honor of "Wilson, Marshall, Seabury and Victory." (Fig. 6)

Judge Samuel Seabury had been backed by both Progressives and Democrats for a seat on the New York Court of Appeals in 1913. Three years later, as an enemy of the Tammany wing of the Democratic party, he ran for governor, feeling he'd have the backing of both Democrats and Progressives. TR turned his back on him however, and an embittered Seabury lost his bid to move into the governor's residence in Albany.

In view of the fact he'd entered the political ring carrying a whip to tame the Tammany Tiger, he was surprised when the Appellate division later appointed him as chief investigator of the case involving Jimmy Walker, the charming and colorful but loose and corrupt mayor of New York City. His hate and disdain for Beau James were unbounded. But it is Walker we remember, while Seabury is buried on the back of a post card.

In those days before instant polling, *The Literary Digest* was best remembered for its infamous miscalculation in 1936 of Alf Landon beating Franklin Roosevelt. But *The Digest* had routinely mailed post cards seeking presidential preferences or positions on issues with a return card sometimes attached. It was considered a reliable method of measuring public opinion.

For that reason, the 1920 post card is of special interest. Names you'd expect to see on the Democratic side such as James Cox, Newton Baker, even Woodrow Wilson, and those you'd expect to find on the Republican right side, Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Charles Hughes and others, are all in place. But note the positioning of Herbert Hoover. He's set dead in the middle. (Fig. 7)



The new century brought an increase in political postcards. Top: McKinley/Roosevelt jugate (Figure 3). Left: No name was needed to recognize TR (Figure 4a), but his 1904 opponent, Alton B. Parker (Figure 4b), was hardly so well established in the public consciousness.

Early in the year both major parties were considering Hoover a standard bearer as a result of the outstanding post war job he had done for European food relief. I know of no other post card that makes this dilemma obvious.

The Literary Digest was not the only pollster in the field during those years. The *Boston American* in one post card poll in 1928 asked the reader how he voted in 1924 and how he intended to vote in the current election. (Fig. 8) None of these surveys were scientific by today's standards, but they had to be more fun and perhaps took more deliberation than one gives today when called by a telemarketer.

There is not much drama in post cards featuring sitting presidents. But one exception is a popular post card of Franklin Roosevelt sitting behind the wheel of his open air roadster in Warm Springs, Georgia. (Fig. 9) The car was specially equipped to compensate for his handicap, and FDR's constant and exuberant smile is a reminder of days when the personal trials and tribulations of presidents were private and respected. In this scene the president is parked in front of the "Little White House" that represented hope to him. To many it may, indeed, have seemed evidence of his faith and courage.

During the most recent presidential campaign, the cry for tax cuts was loud and constant. It's not a new issue, of course. One of the more graphic examples of protest is a post card published by the Committee for Constitutional Government in 1947. "You make it! We take it!" is the cry. The villain tax collector is obviously a representative or senator robbing citizens of their hard-earned dollars during the Truman administration. (Fig. 10) This lament is recycled every election.

Women's suffrage, however, is the classic cause that was finally resolved nationwide in 1920. The 1911 illustrated post card which shows a male drunkard in a saloon, and a mother with a babe in arms, stating "This Man Can Vote" and "This Woman Cannot," (Fig. 11) was one approach used by the suffrage movement to shame the opposition.



Above: Socialist Eugene V. Debs (Figure 5).
Below: New York Democrats were urged to rally behind Wilson/Marshall and Seabury (Figure 6).

Wilson, Marshall, Seabury and Victory

★ AMERIND DEMOCRATIC CLUB ★

Comprising the 7, 8, 15, 16, 17 and 18 E. D. of the 2nd Assembly District of the Borough of Queens

Grand Rally, Mass Meeting and Parade

will be held at JAS. F. O'BRIEN'S HALL, Broadway and Corona Ave., Elmhurst
TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 24, 1916.

All Democrats are requested to meet at the Club House, Elmhurst Ave. and Ninth St., Elmhurst, at 7.30 p. m. to parade to the hall. Prominent National, State and Local Candidates will address the meeting.

FIREWORKS AND MUSIC

Signed.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE AMERIND DEMOCRATIC CLUB



SECRET BALLOT—No Signature—No Condition— No Obligation—Just Mark Your Choice—Mail at Once

IND. Put a Cross in Square Before Name of Political Party You Voted
At the Last Presidential Election

Democratic Republican (If you vote for either Party, write name of Party.)

Put the figure "1" before the name of your FIRST CHOICE, and "2" before the name of your SECOND CHOICE for candidate of the party with which you expect to vote this year; OR, if the names you prefer are not on these lists, write them on the blank lines below.

DEMOCRATIC (Alphabetically Arranged) **REPUBLICAN**

NEWTON D. BAKER	G. M. HITCHCOCK	NICHOLAS M. BUTLER	CHARLES E. HUGHES
WILLIAM J. BRYAN	T. R. MARSHALL	ARTHUR CAPPER	HIRAM W. JOHNSON
CHAMP CLARK	Wm. G. McADOO	CALVIN COOLIDGE	FRANK O. LOWDEN
JAMES M. COX	A. M. PALMER	ALBERT B. CUMMINS	JOHN J. PERSHING
JOSEPHUS DANIELS	Wm. C. REDFIELD	JAMES P. GOODRICH	MILES POINDENTER
EDWARD I. EDWARDS	WOODROW WILSON	WARREN G. HARDING	WILLIAM H. TAFT
JAMES W. GERARD	HERBERT HOOVER		LEONARD WOOD



This 1920 mail poll sought to determine the people's choice for both parties. At the time, it wasn't clear where to place Herbert Hoover (Figure 7).



The postcard polls were still being taken in 1928. By that time, Hoover had joined the Republicans. He won a landslide over New York's competent but rough-edged governor, Al Smith (Figure 8).

Boston American Presidential Straw Ballot

HOOVER or SMITH?

How I Will Vote 1928

How I Voted in 1924

Hoover

Coolidge

Smith

Davis

City _____ Ward _____

Precinct _____ Town _____

Please check your vote and fill in town or city, ward and precinct.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Little White House, Warm Springs, Georgia



FDR's "Little White House" in Warm Springs, Georgia provided him with a retreat and a chance for therapy on the effects from polio (Figure 9).

The card here was produced by the Socialist Party, reinforcing the claim that social change in the 20th century in this country almost always came from the left.

The last category, the memorial post card, is relatively common. A rash of Kennedy cards broke out after his horrible assassination. (Fig. 12) The particular version shown here is one without a post card back, but the photograph of the gravesite typifies what was offered the public as a souvenir token of the time. It was commercially successful.

More interesting is the Wm. McKinley and Mrs. McKinley card, copyright 1907 by Harry E. Fife of Canton, Ohio, again without a post card back, and published six years after McKinley's assassination. (Fig. 13) It shows McKinley and his wife at ages 28 and 22 years, respectively, gazing at each other across the site of the Presbyterian church on a street renamed McKinley Avenue, where the two were married in 1871.

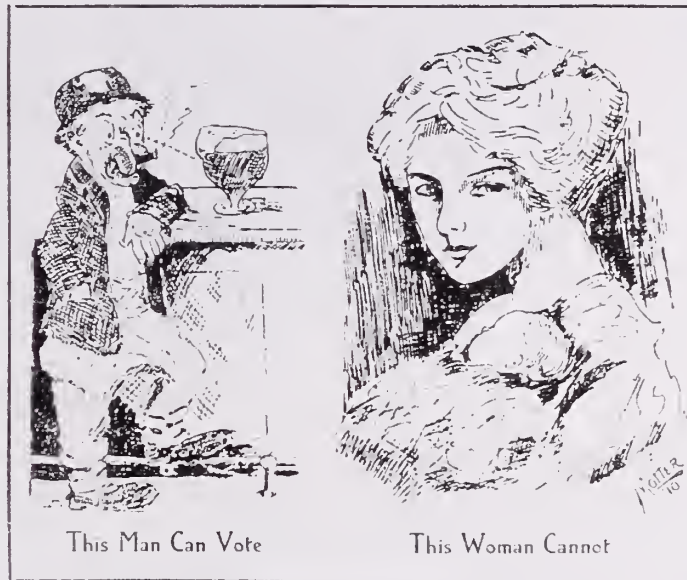
The card's design reflects the sentimentality of the era, while the Kennedy card appears to carry some of the shock still felt by those who could not leave the president's graveside.

Since World War II the use of the post card in presidential campaigns has gone down hill as if on a ski slope. It is no longer needed to circulate a candidate's image or to remind one to vote. The advent of television and the internet, and even the handout of brochures at factory entrances or as targeted direct mail, have diminished the political post card's value.

But none of that has diminished my interest in what the political post card has meant in understanding the machinations of political life of past generations. The presidential portrait poses of nominees, the brassy colors, the humor, the threats, the bitterness, and the hope of being heard and understood, are all there. These cards come alive, forming a pattern of how people approached



Above: This anti-tax postcard may be from the Truman years (Figure 10) but the issue is a factor in almost every presidential election. Below: Cause material also appears in post-card form. This 1911 Socialist Party postcard (Figure 11) contrasts how a man, besotted with demonic beer, has the right to vote while a virtuous mother and homemaker is denied that right.



LOOK UPON THIS PICTURE AND UPON THAT!

This semblance of a man votes—he votes because he is a male.

This woman cannot vote BECAUSE SHE IS A WOMAN!

There are two reasons why she should be given equal suffrage with man: 1st. Because she wants to vote.

2d. Because she should have a voice in the destiny of the child in her arms.

QUESTION—Are you with us for justice to woman and child?

politics and how campaigns were conducted during a more innocent age. They were what entered the home when the mail was delivered. They stood alone without tutored images on screen interrupting dinner or a favorite program. They were kept in albums as memories.

These are some of the reasons I still have a wonderful time looking over the albums in my collection, wishing you were here.★



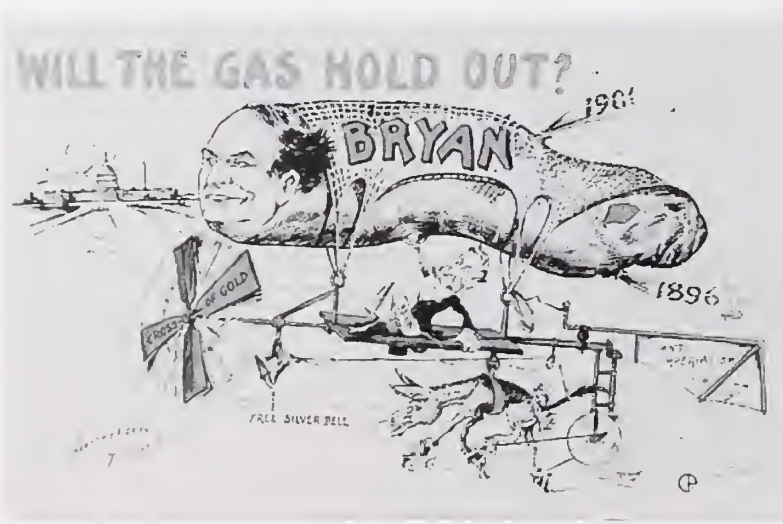
The death of a President always inspires a wealth of memorial material. A common example is this image memorializing JFK



A McKinley memorial post-card (Figure 13) with his wife. Above are three McKinley jugate buttons (with his wife and both VPs.)



The First Presbyterian Church of Canton, Ohio, Corner Tuscarawas and Plum St., now McKinley Ave., with uncompleted tower as it appeared at the time of the marriage of Wm. McKinley, Jr. and Ida Dewalt Saxton, January 25th, 1871.
Copyright 1907 by Harry E. Fife, Canton, Ohio



Gasbag Bryan postcard

By Steve Baxley

Depending on your party affiliation, William Jennings Bryan could be seen as one of the greatest orators in history or a bag of hot air. This creative political postcard pokes some fun at the Bryan airship headed for Washington in 1908. The Cross of Gold speech propeller got him off the ground in 1896. In 1900, the Anti-Imperialism fin failed to guide him in the right direction. Bryan rang the Free Silver Bell again in 1900, but it didn't keep him from going out to pasture. Running mate John Kern is along for the ride, trying to patch up the leaks in 1908, but is there enough gas left to get him there? In a great year for political postcards, this item must be rated one of the best. This item sold on the Internet for \$1592.★

PROFILES IN DEED: The APIC Hall of Fame

By Albert Salter

Every second APIC considers honoring one or more of its members with induction into the APIC Hall of Fame. This distinction is awarded those who have made exemplary contributions to the understanding, appreciation, and interest in the collection and preservation of political memorabilia, and to the maintenance and growth of the APIC organization.

The Hall of Fame concept was introduced at the Hartford National Convention in 1976 by President Larry Krug, and the first inductees were ten prime movers and founders who were responsible for the benefits of membership we all now enjoy. One of those ten was J. Doyle DeWitt, whose profile appears below.

Until now there has been no concerted effort to publish a short profile of all those who have been honored. But now, after APIC has reached its mature age, and twenty-five years after Krug first introduced the Hall of Fame idea, we have realized that the outstanding deeds and contributions made by this stalwart group should be known to all of us who have subsequently benefited from their efforts.

The idea was suggested by APIC member Richard Baer, but it is a project in which we need the participation of all members who know or knew Hall of Fame members, and who can supply us with background information appropriate to include in an APIC profile.

As you can see by what follows, inductees deserve our respect, admiration, and affection.

J. DOYLE DEWITT, APIC #25

J. Doyle DeWitt, insurance executive who became President of The Travelers Insurance Companies in 1952, and then Board Chairman in 1964, started collecting political memorabilia in 1928. What evolved was the country's premier collection of political artifacts that eventually became the foundation collection of the Museum of American Political Life in Hartford, Connecticut, and the reason for its creation.

As an APIC member, DeWitt organized displays of his collection as early as 1952 under the exhibit title of "America Goes to the Polls," when no more than 6,000 items of over 30,000 could be shown at one time. Presentation of his collection was one of the reasons the first APIC national convention in 1964 was held in Hartford where a 5,000 foot exhibit space was available.

His collection was one of the first to receive national recognition, including a feature in a July, 1960 campaign issue of *Life* magazine which generated a considerable amount of new interest in the field of political items.

In 1967, a selection of the DeWitt collection was placed on display at the Montreal Expo, marking the first international exhibition of American political memorabilia. Subsequent to that, some of the more outstanding pieces were included in a British Isles "traveling show" during the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976, and the following year, parts of the collection were included in the inaugural exhibit at the George Pompidou Center in Paris.

A charter member of the regional APIC chapter that would eventually carry his name, DeWitt published *A Century of Campaign Buttons, 1789-1889* in 1958, featuring a variety of different memorabilia rather than buttons. He also contributed a number of articles and monographs that are still major reference sources today.

J. Doyle DeWitt was more responsible for drawing attention to the importance of preserving political memorabilia than any other person of his day. As DeWitt was a trustee of the University of Hartford, it is fitting that the Museum of American Political Life is housed on the university campus as a constant tribute to his foresight, perseverance, and undying love of things political.

Deceased in 1972, DeWitt was among the first ten APIC members to be inducted into the APIC Hall of Fame at its inception in 1976.

Please let me hear from you if you have any information on APIC Hall of Fame inductees you feel should be included in "Profiles in Deed."

For further information see Cutter, Robert A. "The Orphan Finds a Home," *The Keynoter*, Vol. 89, No. 2, Fall, 1989

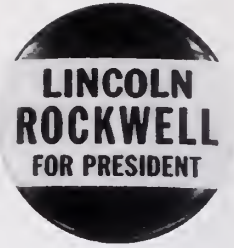
Sullivan, Ed "American Political Items Collectors - The First Fifty," *The Keynoter*, Vol. 95, No. 2, Summer, 1995



September 1952: J. Doyle DeWitt (in dark suit) introducing his "America Goes to the Polls" exhibit in Hartford to Gov. Theodore McKeldin of Maryland (far left) and Gov. John Lodge of Connecticut (second from left).

GEORGE LINCOLN ROCKWELL: The Candidate Who Couldn't Run For President

By Stephen K. Hauser



With all of the eccentric and downright bizarre characters who have managed to mount a rag-tag campaign for the White House as "fringe candidates" over the years, one would think that no one could fail to make the race, if he were so inclined. Indeed, although it may not truly be possible for any American child to grow up to be president, it is clearly possible for anyone to try. Past candidacies such as those of Chief Burning Wood (a.k.a. Austin Burton), Americus Liberator, Lar (America First) Daly, Don DuMont, Larry (Bozo) Harmon or perennial favorite Pat Paulsen would seem to prove it. All were able to mount presidential campaigns.

And yet, there remains one man who, try as he might, could not manage to launch his presidential bid. That would-be candidate was George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled leader of the American Nazi Party, based in Arlington, Virginia. The year was 1964. With an ideology so extreme and so foreign to the American experience, Rockwell managed to alienate even the so-called lunatic fringe of U.S. politics in his efforts to place his name before the voters that year. In fact, his entire campaign was seemingly geared to offend most '64 voters.

George Lincoln Rockwell had been born in Illinois on March 9, 1918, and was raised in Maine. His father was vaude-

ville comedian George "Doc" Rockwell, who later worked as a regular on the Fred Allen radio show. Reportedly, he named his son "Lincoln" because he was long and gangly. The younger Rockwell always claimed that he was "proud" to be named after the Great Emancipator. (WOKY-Talkie radio show, WOKY A.M. radio, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 9, 1967.)

Young Rockwell was a student at Brown University, and a cartoonist for the school's humor magazine, when World War II broke out in 1941. Like many other college students at the time, he dropped out to enlist in the U.S. Navy. He served honorably during the war, by the end of which he was commanding a naval attack squadron based at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. After the war, he served with U.S. forces stationed in Iceland, where he met and married the niece of the Icelandic ambassador to Washington, D.C. He also saw action as a flier in the Korean War in the early 1950s, subsequently leaving active duty with the rank of Commander. His military experience was apparently a positive one for him.

Rockwell had long been interested in politics, and joined a variety of conservative political movements. He supported the ill-fated presidential candidacy of Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1952, and worked briefly for William F. Buckley, Jr., who was just beginning his new *National Review* magazine. Rockwell also attempted to start his own publication, *U.S. Lady*, designed for the wives of U.S. servicemen. That venture quickly folded. He did, however, manage to write several opinion pieces in the late 1950s for *American Mercury* magazine, the conservative stepchild of the publication originally founded by H.L. Mencken in 1924.

During this time, something was happening to Rockwell's politics, and perhaps to his mind. His opinions went from conservative to ultraconservative to radical to just plain odd. His views on race moved from southern segregationist to white supremacist to bald racism. And he developed a visceral hatred of Jews, made all the more inexplicable by the fact that, as he later admitted in a radio interview, no Jewish person had ever done him any previous harm. He repudiated the Ku Klux Klan only because they were anti-Catholic, which he said he could not go along with. Needless to say, Rockwell lost a lot of his former friends during this stage of his life.

At this time in his life, which some might view as an ongoing nervous breakdown, Rockwell found a second-hand copy of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in a used book store, and began reading it. In spite of Hitler's meandering and amateurish writing style, he proclaimed himself "transfixed" by the text. Soon, he shocked his neighbors in suburban Arlington, Virginia in 1959 by hoisting a Nazi swastika flag on a pole in his front yard, and shining a floodlight on it. As expected, newspaper interviews and angry confrontations with area residents soon followed. Rockwell told the press he was organizing the American Nazi Party.





This small sticker was sold by the American Nazi Party (ANP) in packs of ten starting in 1964. Other similar stickers also exist with other racist and Nazi slogans. The button on the preceding page was originally a vendor button but was used and sold by the ANP.

The next few years were a jumble of tiny street demonstrations, long-winded harangues in Judiciary Park in Washington, D.C. and a variety of cheap publicity stunts. Rockwell had learned the printer's trade, and a steady stream of bigoted leaflets and overtly racist handbills emanated from the used printing press in his basement. Newspaper reporters, always eager for a weird story, sought him out for quotes, and he reportedly reveled in the coverage, although much of it made him look as crazy as a loon. In 1960, he was even committed by a judge to a state mental institution in New York, after his arrest in a demonstration there. This did not faze Rockwell. He was later released, and wrote a booklet about it, entitled "How to Get Out or Stay Out of the Insane Asylum".

The anti-social behavior continued. He picketed the opening of the movie *Exodus* in Boston, and drove a "Hate Bus" (actually a Volkswagen minivan) through the south in imitation of the black Freedom Riders of the early 1960s. In between such staged events, he found time to pen his autobiography, modestly titled *This Time the World*. Short on help, he bound the copies himself and sold it from his Arlington headquarters, "autographed upon request." He appeared on the Joe Pyne late night T.V. program to promote it, one of the few syndicated "controversy" programs on American television in those days. In spite of all this, Rockwell attracted very few followers to his Nazi group, and what few did join were a motley crew indeed. The size of his "political party" was estimated at between 20 and 200 followers nationwide.

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reported to Congress in 1966 that the American Nazi Party was ineffectual. "The national membership of this group is less than 100...[But] Rockwell through his 'political party' still cherishes political power at the national level. According to his plan, should his organization take command of the leadership of the U.S. Government, the Nazis will exterminate Jews by Hitlerian methods and banish all Negroes to Africa." (J. Edgar Hoover, testimony to the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. House of Representatives, 89th Congress, Thursday, February 10th, 1966.)

Hoover considered Rockwell's group to be so pathetic as to no longer merit continued surveillance. He was right, however, about the Commander's desire for political power. In fact, Rockwell had already attempted a campaign for President of the United States.

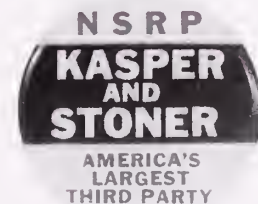
He had remained out of politics in 1960 and 1962, except for criticism of the John F. Kennedy administration in the

pages of the *Rockwell Report*, his anti-establishment, anti-Semitic newsletter. When President Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, Rockwell nevertheless sent his condolences to the President's family. He felt he had lost a worthy opponent, which was a bit of a stretch. Still, Rockwell was half right. On November 16, 1963—only a few days earlier—he had announced his candidacy for the Republican party presidential nomination in 1964. The *New York Times* carried a brief story that day stating that Rockwell intended to enter the G.O.P. primary in New Hampshire the following March. The *New York Times* further reported in a follow-up story on January 25, 1964 that Rockwell had indeed taken out papers at the office of the New Hampshire Secretary of State, confirming his intention to run.

Things would not go smoothly, however. In order to enter the New Hampshire primary in those days, each candidate had to find at least one voter registered in the state willing to file for delegate on their behalf. To the credit of New Hampshire Republicans, no one in the state was willing to file a candidacy for party delegate on behalf of an avowed Nazi. (New Hampshire did not yet have their later monetary filing requirement for presidential aspirants.)

This proved to be only a temporary setback. Congressional Quarterly's *CQ Weekly Reports* noted on February 7, 1964 that Rockwell had switched parties. He would now oppose President Lyndon B. Johnson in the state's Democratic party primary. The reason for the new strategy was simple. Rockwell could find no member of the G.O.P. willing to ally their name with his. A single Democrat had been located though. One Terrance P. Ray of Nashua agreed to serve as a Rockwell delegate on the Democratic side. Only one week later, however, the *New York Times* reported on February 14th that Rockwell was off the ballot again. It seemed that Mr. Ray had never bothered to register to vote, and hence was not eligible to serve as a delegate on anyone's behalf. This fiasco proved to be a bit embarrassing to Rockwell.

Esquire magazine, with tongue-in-cheek, later recalled his effort: "He looked still more ridiculous when he entered the 1964 presidential primary race in New Hampshire and then found that the single state resident he could persuade to run as a pledged delegate was not a registered voter." (*Esquire*, February, 1967, page 137.)



Rockwell tried to win the presidential nomination of the National States Rights Party (NSRP) in 1964 and attended its convention. He was barred from entering the room as even the vicious racists of the NSRP thought him too extreme. Instead, John Frederick Kasper was drafted for the nomination. Kasper never acknowledged the nomination and supported Goldwater. Nonetheless, Kasper won 6,953 votes.

VOTE WHITE!

ROCKWELL

FOR GOVERNOR

Bumper sticker from Rockwell's 1965 campaign for governor of Virginia (shown reduced).

This put Rockwell out of the party primary circus for good. He had apparently lost interest in contesting any more primaries. He was, however, not abandoning his campaign. He decided instead to make himself available as the nominee of the National States' Rights Party, a white racist outfit headquartered in Georgia. The NSRP had run Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus (without his permission) for the White House in 1960. Rockwell announced that he would attend the 1964 NSRP national convention in March, and, sure enough, he showed up with a few uniformed followers on March 2nd at the Louisville, Kentucky hotel where the NSRP was choosing its presidential ticket.

This proved to be yet another campaign debacle. Not only was Rockwell not nominated, party chairman Edward R. Fields refused to let the Nazi leader inside the hotel ballroom where the delegates were meeting. Instead, the party chose John Frederick Kasper, a southern foe of desegregation active in the White Citizens' Council, for president. The notorious J.B. Stoner, long active in KKK circles, was picked for vice-president. (Mr. Kasper, it should be noted, was not an NSRP member, and was nominated without his consent. Actually, Kasper was supporting Sen. Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona that year.) Rockwell had now been denied a second chance to run for president in 1964, and to make matters worse, he had lost out to a fellow who wasn't even running! (The *New York Times*, March 3, 1964.)

With Rockwell denied a minor party nomination, he could easily have simply slunk on back to Arlington, licking his wounds. But he had one more idea up his sleeve. He could run on his own Nazi party line in Virginia, and seek the presidency as a write-in candidate elsewhere. This idea evaporated rather quickly when he was informed by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in Virginia that state statutes prohibited the use of the words "Nazi" or "National Socialist" on state ballots. Rockwell already had run up against this restriction, when he had to incorporate his American Nazi Party in Virginia as the "George Lincoln Rockwell Party, Inc.", because state authorities would not accept papers bearing the former name. He did try to file as an independent in Virginia, but his "stormtrooper" followers were not able to gather the few hundred signatures needed to place his name on the ballot there. He was no doubt too infamous in his home state by that time, and average voters simply shied away from signing.

Rockwell's write-in campaign did not fare much better. By now, the novelty of a Nazi in the race for president had worn off, and the press did not bother to cover most of his antics. His few supporters were reduced to embarrassing stunts, such as picketing G.O.P. nominee Barry M. Goldwater, whom Rockwell called a "Kosher Conservative" in obvious reference to the Arizona Senator's Jewish ethnic heritage. When Sen. Goldwater arrived for a news conference in Washington, D.C. after winning the Republican party nomination in San Francisco, he was met by about 500 cheering supporters...and about a dozen American Nazis, who wore Rockwell buttons and carried large signs reading "We Want Rockwell". A fight ensued between the Nazis and the Republican onlookers, and Goldwater was whisked away. One Nazi later told a *New York Times* reporter that he supported Rockwell over Goldwater because of the Senator's "liberal record." Goldwater, meanwhile, said that the Nazis had a "constitutional right" to support anyone they wanted, but added that they were "pitiful." (The *New York Times*, July 21, 1964.)

Little more was heard from Rockwell prior to the 1964 presidential election. On November 3rd, President Johnson won in a landslide victory with 43,129,484 popular votes and 486 electoral votes. Sen. Goldwater had 27,178,188 popular votes and 52 electoral votes, representing only six states. Several minor party nominees divided up 113,356 scattering votes. (The National States' Rights Party slate of Kasper and Stoner, which had been chosen over Rockwell in March, trailed with 6,953 votes from three states.) It is at least encouraging that America's only avowed Nazi presidential candidate was shut out by the voters on election day.



Rockwell produced no buttons for the 1965 gubernatorial campaign. Above left is a button boosting the successful Democratic team of Gov. Mills Godwin and Lt. Gov. Fred Pollard. The enamel pin above right was sold by the ANP to its followers and collectors.

This put Rockwell's presidential ambitions on hold. He had previously stated that he would run in 1964 and 1968, and win in 1972! Now he made no further mention of a 1968 White House bid. Still, he did announce in the spring of 1965 that he would make his second presidential run in 1972, which must be one of the earliest presidential announcements on record. (The *New York Times*, April 22, 1965.)

Rockwell's 1964 campaign did leave behind a couple of interesting items for collectors to search for in antique shops. A 1¼" celluloid button reading: "Lincoln Rockwell for President" in black letters on white was used in the campaign. It may originally have been a vendor item, but Rockwell also sold and mailed them from his Arlington headquarters by way of his mailing list and ads placed in his party newspaper. The party also produced a "Rockwell for President" mini-sticker with a black swastika on the left-hand side. Other stickers with often obnoxious slogans were also offered for sale at modest amounts, along with 8"x10" glossy photographs of Rockwell, "suitable for framing". More were no doubt sold to collectors than to actual supporters.

Rockwell's grandstand electioneering continued in early 1965, when he announced his intention to seek the governorship of Virginia. This time, he said, he would not run as a "Nazi", but would place his name on the ballot as the candidate of the White Constitutional Party, a ballot name Rockwell created just for the gubernatorial race. He filed petitions with the Secretary of the Commonwealth contain-

ing at least 250 valid signatures of registered voters in July, and opened a small campaign headquarters bedecked with American and Confederate flags in Richmond. He also signed up for a booth at the Virginia State Fair that summer. (The *New York Times*, October 19, 1964; April 20, 1965; July 25, 1965; August 6, 1965 editions.)

Ultimately, there were four candidates for Virginia's governorship in 1965. In addition to Rockwell, the nominees were moderate Republican A. Linwood Holton, Jr., Democrat Mills E. Godwin, also a moderate, and Conservative party challenger William A. Story, a local school board member. The Story candidacy was a last-minute affair. He was a coordinator for the John Birch Society in the state, and was urged into the race by fellow conservatives who saw both Holton and Godwin as too liberal on the issue of integration. They feared that unless a legitimate conservative entered the race, Rockwell might well amass a large protest vote, embarrassing all Virginia. Actually, Story's entry into the fray no doubt held Rockwell's total down.

Rockwell produced no campaign buttons in his run for the governor's mansion. Only handout literature, and a few "Vote White, Rockwell for Governor" bumper stickers were issued, although his three opponents did have buttons manufactured. Although he did buy some television time, it appeared that the race for governor was just another publicity-seeking stunt by Rockwell, and not a serious campaign. When the votes were counted in November, Democrat Mills

See & Hear GEORGE LINCOLN

ROCKWELL

WHITE MAN'S CANDIDATE FOR

GOVERNOR

HEAR Rockwell speak on how White People can save Virginia from race-mixing and Federal domination!!

WHITE MAN'S RALLY!

Tuesday · 26 October · 7:30 PM

NORFOLK, Va.

ROUTE 460 GALBERRY ROAD

In Bowen Hill, Chesapeake



REAGAN
AND
ROCKWELL
IN '68



Rockwell's notoriety is reflected in the buttons above. They really aren't Rockwell pieces as much as anti-Ronald Reagan buttons, equating the then-Governor of California with the Nazi. They first appeared in 1967 after Gov. Reagan refused to stop the first state execution in several years.

Godwin was the winner, with 47.7% of the vote. Republican Holton polled a distant 37.6%, while Conservative candidate Story had 13.5%. The hapless Rockwell brought up the rear with 6,366 votes, or 1.2%. (*Facts on File*, 1965 edition; *New York Times*, November 4, 1965.)

The Virginia gubernatorial contest would mark Rockwell's last political race. He attempted to support the candidacy of Georgia restaurateur Lester G. Maddox for governor of Georgia in 1966, but the horrified Maddox roundly repudiated his endorsement, saying it sounded like a 'dirty trick' by his opposition. (*The New York Times*, December 17, 1966.) Other mainstream candidates also wanted nothing to do with Rockwell, and considered him a political pariah.

Still, there was an odd 1968 button related to Rockwell. After Gov. Ronald W. Reagan of California had refused to block the execution of an African-American inmate on death row, protests in the state flared. The execution, the first in California since 1963, was scheduled for April, 1967. On the appointed day, Rockwell showed up at the penitentiary with a large sign that read: "Gas, the Only Answer to Red Treason & Black Crime". He quickly got into a fight with anti-death penalty demonstrators, and was hauled off by police...but not before the T.V. cameras had recorded his antics.

Later on, to protest the execution, faux Reagan campaign buttons were manufactured by the Governor's opponents that read: "Reagan and Rockwell in '68". The pins were less an attempt to attack Rockwell than they were an effort to insult Reagan, who was planning a 1968 presidential bid. The celluloid buttons, in various colors, still show up occasionally

on auction lists. Rockwell's subsequent death later in 1967 ended the circulation of these items during the campaign, however.

Whether Rockwell would have sought the presidency again in 1972 as he had promised, we will never know. On Friday, August 25, 1967, he left his Arlington headquarters to wash his clothes at a nearby laundromat. He had recently finished writing his second and last book, *White Power*, a lengthy attack on the civil rights movement. At the nearby shopping center, a disgruntled former follower lay in wait on the roof with a rifle. He shot Rockwell as he got into his car after leaving the laundromat, and according to eyewitnesses, Rockwell died almost instantly. The assassin was apprehended nearby, and later sentenced to twenty years in prison. (*The Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 26, 1967, page one.)

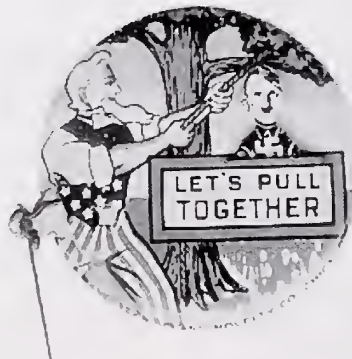
A bizarre and discomfiting political life had come to an ignominious end. The "candidate who couldn't run for president" was dead.

[This article benefited from the assistance provided to me by the late Stephen Pauler of Newton, Massachusetts, who shared his Rockwell collectibles with me. Also of help in supplying materials were Keynoter editor Michael Kelly of Michigan, Bull Moose editor Jon D. Curtis of Wisconsin, and the late Timothy Coughlin of Missouri. It should be noted here clearly that none of these gentlemen had any interest whatsoever in the politics of George Lincoln Rockwell, save for the interest shown by collectors and historians. Such is my own interest as well.]

(This is Stephen K. Hauser's fourth contribution to the Keynoter. His prior articles have dealt with the Theocratic Party, the Universal Party, and the Socialist Party's 1976 presidential campaign.)★

WHITE
POWER

"White Power" was the name of Rockwell's second book as well as the rallying cry in his opposition to Open Housing in Chicago's suburbs in 1966. The ANP produced this button.



World War II produced plenty of colorful buttons that reflected popular animosity towards Hitler. The middle button (an unusual 1 1/2" size) is a mechanical: pull the string and Uncle Sam strings up Adolf.

ANTI-HITLER ITEMS

By Steve Baxley

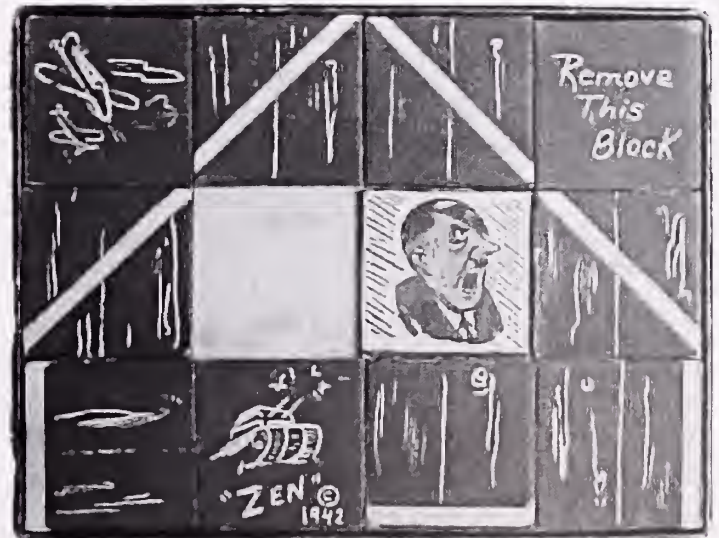
Americans have a renewed interest in the sacrifices made by military personnel and civilians at home during World War II. Perhaps it was Tom Brokaw's *The Greatest Generation* or Steven Spielberg's "Saving Private Ryan," or simply the start of construction of a national monument honoring World War II veterans that sparked this interest.

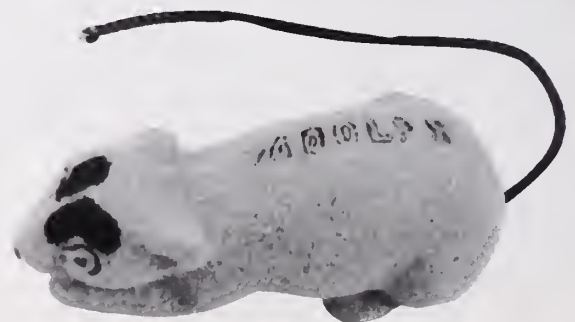
World War II military collectibles have been popular for many years. Items used on the home front to support American troops at war are now popular items. While not political campaign items, many home front items are crossover items that can be considered political items. Most political collectors would categorize them as Cause items. Home front items from all American wars are collectible. Expansion, imperialism, and involvement in foreign wars have been major political issues because of the traditions established in the Monroe Doctrine and Washington's Farewell Address.

The fight against Hitler was a fight for the survival of the American political system. While many American First supporters opposed involvement in the war with Germany, Americans generally united in the war effort. Anti-Hitler items are blatant in their ridicule, often portraying Hitler as a rat, a pig, or a skunk. The images are simple, but direct. Their message is perfectly clear. Americans united behind Hitler must defeat Hitler and save the American way of life.★

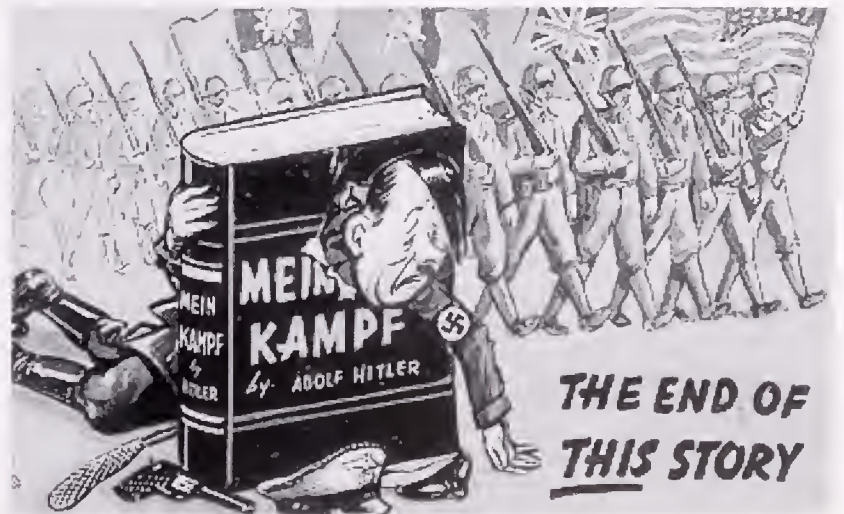
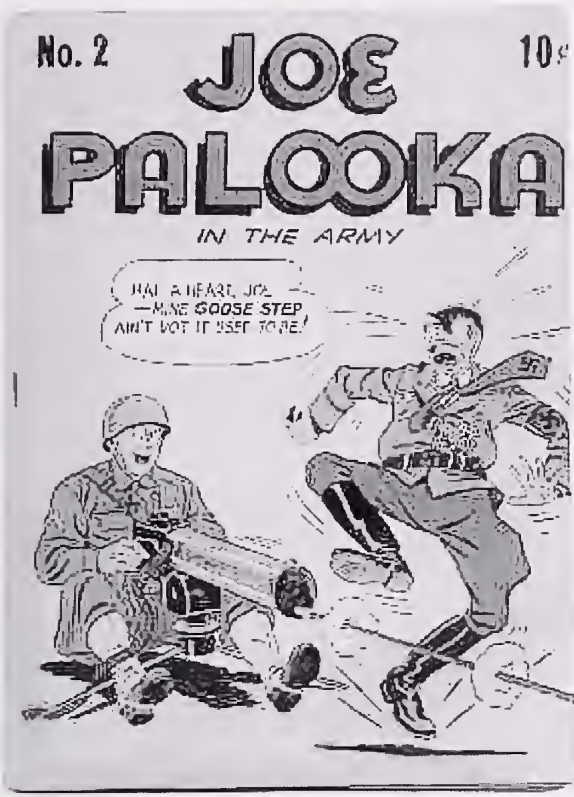


Top: early anti-Nazi badge from before America's entry into the war. Above and below: cover and puzzle by "Zen" of Bridgeport, Connecticut that let the player "put Hitler in the dog house." Left: small posters portraying a big Uncle Sam with his allies (shown smaller) China, England and Russia. Note how Churchill's England and Stalin's Russia are shown as close pals.





Top left: a novelty pincushion, allowing one to stick it to Hitler while sewing. Top right: even comic book super heroes joined the war effort. Middle right: a sheet of toilet paper inviting you to “wipe out Hitler.” Bottom right: a stuffed rat labeled “Adolf.” Bottom left: not even trade magazines could resist using propaganda.



Top: Two wartime comic books. Bottom: three cards featuring anti-Hitler themes.

der Fuehrer's Face

from the **WALT DISNEY**
MOTION PICTURE



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