



THE KEYNOTER



Grant vs. Seymour: The Campaign of 1868
"The Pride of America" • "Man of Words vs. Man of Deed"
"The Bowtie Brigade" - An APIC Interview with Paul Simon



THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Quarterly

Volume 2003, Number 1

Spring 2003

Editor's Message

Back in 1997, I had the luxury (for a political junkie anyway) of watching live election returns from Great Britain on CNN. For four elections in a row, the Conservative Party of Margaret Thatcher and then John Major had triumphed. But that year a newly centrist Labour Party (rebranded as "New Labour") under Tony Blair swept the Tories out of power.

Live TV followed Prime Minister Major on his lonely ride to the Conservative Party headquarters in London where he faced a room packed with gloating media and heartbroken young party workers. He was calm and self-possessed in that way that can only be described as English. He calmly summed up the end of his political career thus: "Politics is a rough old trade."

Politics is certainly a rough old trade but the election of 1868 reminds us that some elections are rougher than others. Just look at the cartoon on the cover. It was drawn by the most famous political artist of the time, Thomas Nast, and first appeared on the cover of one of the nation's leading publications. It shows Republican U.S. Grant killing Democrat Horatio Seymour with a sword.

The next time you shake your head when Democrats claim that George W. Bush is just two I.Q. points above a moron or Republicans describe Bill Clinton as the moral equivalent of Jack the Ripper, remember 1868 when the politics really got rough.

The recent film by Martin Scorsese, "Gangs of New York", touches on that era. The film has lots of historical inaccuracies but it does give one a taste of those days when a successful politician wasn't the guy who could smooth-talk the media, it was the big lug still standing after the brawl.

Politics is a rough old trade.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Steve Baxley, Dan Duncan, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, David and Janice Frent, Theodore Hake, Brad Koplinski, James Kotche, Brian Krapf, Library and Archives of New Hampshire's Political Tradition, James Milgram, Robin and Julie Powell, Richard Rector, Al Salter, Ed Sullivan and Jim Tinch.

Covers: *Front:* "Victory!" - A Thomas Nast cartoon from the cover of the November 14, 1868 issue of the Harper's Weekly showing Grant victorious over Seymour in the 1868 campaign. Quite a harsh portrayal of an election victory by contemporary standards. *Back:* "The Great November Contest: Patriotism vs. Bummerism" - A pro-Seymour cartoon published in 1868 by Bromley and Company of New York. Seymour and Blair as horses draw a wagon carrying Miss Columbia, the Spirit of the Constitution and - amazingly - Lincoln as crowds cheer. Grant and Colfax draw a wagon carrying Thaddeus Stevens, a Negro woman and man, Salmon P. Chase and the Grim Reaper.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

In 1948, America teetered on the beginning of a Cold War with our World War II ally Russia. Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party rose to oppose anti-communism and support a progressive agenda. Some never-before-published material from the 1948 Wallace campaign will be featured along with other interesting topics.

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Printed in USA
by Lebeco Graphics



The Election of 1868

by Michael Kelly



Rhetoric can often become extreme in the heat of our contemporary political battles. Claims are made that the nation has never before faced such a critical decision and the candidate's victory is a matter of life and death.

However, to describe the election of 1868 as a matter of life and death was not inflated rhetoric; it was a fact. While the campaign in the North was waged with banners, badges, speeches and songs, the same campaign in the South was waged with guns, knives, fire and blood.

In essence, the election of 1868 was a continuation of the Civil War by other means with the citizenship of freed blacks as the key issue. On one side of the contest was a radicalized Republican Party determined to empower former slaves in the old Confederacy with the right to vote. On the other stood a reactionary Democratic Party claiming that the end of the rebellion meant the Southern states were back in the Union as if they had never left. A popular Democrats slogan stated, "The Union as it was and the Constitution as it is" to claim the South never really left and Negroes should not be given the right to vote by constitutional amendment.

The battle began early as a struggle by a Republican Congress increasingly influenced by radicals like Massachusetts' Sen. Charles Sumner and Rep. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania against the administration of President Andrew Johnson (a pro-Union Democrat nominated as Lincoln's running-mate in 1864 to attract Democratic votes). Johnson may have opposed the rebellion but felt little concern for the freed slaves. He felt that the black population was the business of each state and he did not object to local attempts to reinstate slavery through the "black codes" and highly restrictive labor laws.

As 1868 arrived, the candidate for the Republicans was clear: U.S. Grant. He had been considered a potential presidential candidate ever since his victories on the battlefield won him popular acclaim (even as early as 1864 some disgruntled Republicans wanted to replace Lincoln with Grant, but the general resolutely supported the president). But he had broken with the Johnson administration, which was enough for the Republicans to embrace him.

The Republican convention opened only days after President Johnson had avoided removal from office by a single vote. For the first time in history, a national major party convention included a dozen black delegates, such as P.B.S. Pinchback (a future governor of Louisiana) and Robert Smalls (a future congressman from

South Carolina).

The Republican platform endorsed Congressional Reconstruction, mourned the death of President Lincoln, denounced President Johnson, encouraged immigration, and advocated veterans' pensions. It was a coronation with Grant winning every single vote on the first ballot.

The leading candidates for vice president were Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio (who would have become President had Johnson been removed), Speaker of the House Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, plus several favorite-son nominees. Wade led on the first four ballots but was overtaken by Colfax, who secured the nomination on the sixth ballot.

Grant accepted the Republican presidential nomination with a letter of acceptance that was brief, broad, and patriotic. It closed with the statement, "Let us have peace." The words promised an end to national turmoil and became the slogan of the Republican campaign.

Typical of the enthusiasm for the war hero was the rousing campaign song (with lyrics credited to the pun "Ason O'Fagun") titled "For President Ulysses Grant A-Smoking His Cigar."

And now, let politicians wait,
There's work for men to do.
We'll place one in the Chair of State
Who wears the army blue.
The people know just what they want -
Less talk, and no more war -
For President, Ulysses Grant,
a-smoking his cigar!

The Democrats had a much more difficult choice. The once-mighty party of Jefferson and Jackson found itself the party of rebels, copperheads (pro-Confederacy northerners) and draft rioters. The old agrarian party of Jefferson was just starting to feel the tremors of new forces such as the advocates of silver currency (who wouldn't triumph until 1896) and the immigrant-rich machines from cities like New York (that wouldn't triumph nationally until 1928).

Early on, the Democrats had also hoped to convince Grant to be their presidential candidate to paper over economic divisions in the party and wash away the stain of treason. The general, however, refused to be associated with the Democratic Party and, once Republicans rallied around him, the idea was dropped.

President Andrew Johnson had assumed his support for Democratic principles would earn him the nomination but his impeachment left him too damaged to win. Ohio Congressman George Pendleton, who had been McClellan's 1864 running mate, was the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1868. A principled opponent of Lincoln during the war, Pendleton was well known and had strong support in the Western states. However, his "soft money" views drew strong opposition from Eastern Democrats like former New York governor Horatio Seymour and lawyer Samuel Tilden. A "hard money" alternative was Indiana Sen. Thomas Hendricks.

Another strong hopeful was, oddly enough, the abolitionist Republican Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who sought the



The 1868 campaign was hard-fought and produced many handsome items such as these jugate badges.

Democratic nomination after it was evident the Republicans would pick Grant. The main obstacle to Chase was his insistence on suffrage and other rights for black Americans. Despite an early boom, Chase's hopes faded by the time of the convention.

On July 4 the Democratic National Convention opened in New York City, meeting in the new Tammany Hall building. Horatio Seymour was elected the convention's chairman. The party platform demanded the end of Reconstruction, the elimination of the Freedmen's Bureau and amnesty for all former Confederates, attacking the Republicans for "military despotism and Negro supremacy."

Pendleton won 105 votes on the first ballot with President Johnson second with 65, followed by Sanford Church of New York with 34 and Gen. Winfield Hancock (who would become the nominee in 1880) with 33½. Others winning votes (in declining order) were New Jersey Gov. Joel Parker, Connecticut Gov. James English, Wisconsin Sen. James Doolittle, Asa Packer of Pennsylvania, Reverdy Johnson and at the tail end Francis P. Blair Jr. with 1/2 of a vote. Pendleton gained for several ballots. Hancock moved into a weak second with Hendricks in third position as support for Johnson melted away. But Pendleton wasn't able to break through. Hancock moved into the lead for several ballots and Hendricks gained strength but neither could gain a majority. Chase's name was put into nomination on ballot 17; Pendleton's name was withdrawn on ballot 18. A deadlock loomed.

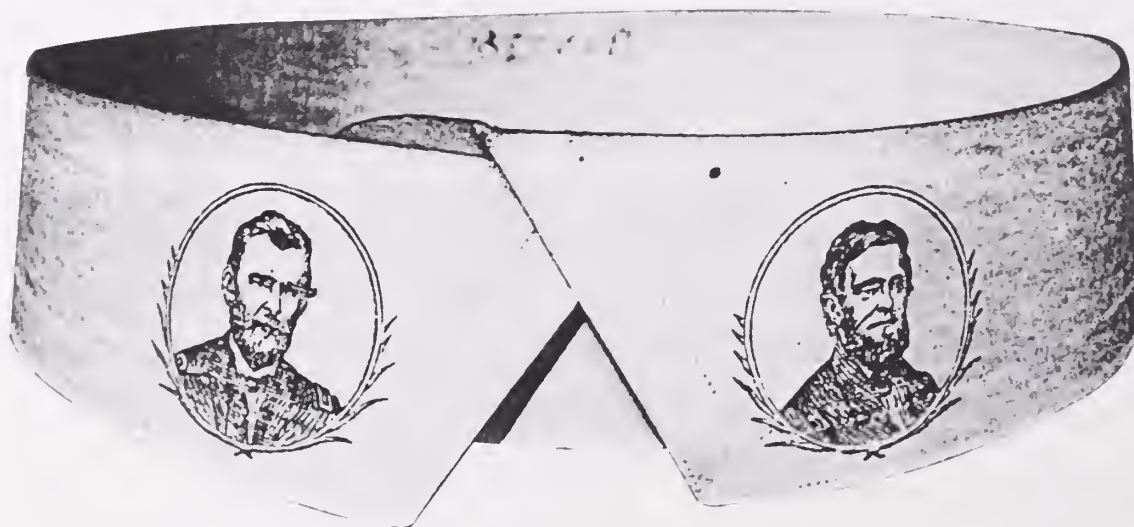
On ballot 22, Horatio Seymour's name was put forward to popular acclaim. Seymour probably didn't want the nomination but quickly found himself nominated unanimously. For vice-president tired delegates unanimously selected Frank Blair Jr. of Missouri, a former abolitionist congressman and brother of a former Lincoln cabinet member.

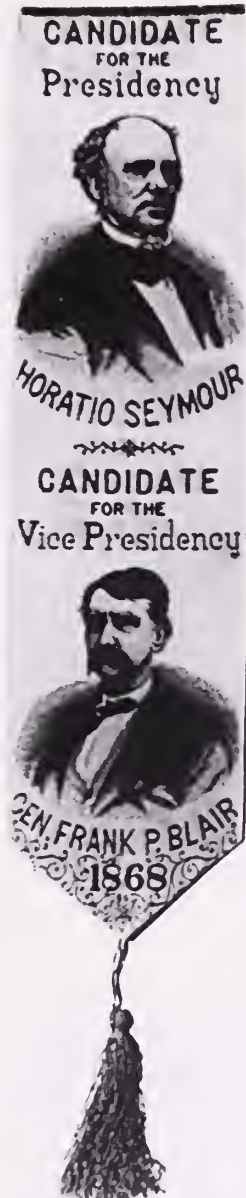
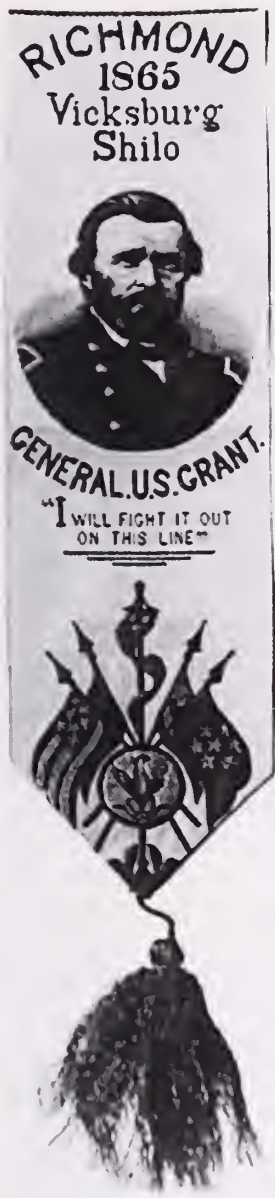
Delegates may have loved Seymour but elsewhere in the country reaction was puzzled. The song "Nasby's Lament Over the New York Nominations" written in the dialect of Petroleum V. Nasby, a comic figure created by humorist David Locke (although Locke himself didn't write the song) reflects that view.

I'm weeping, feller dimmycrats,
A sorry tale I'll tell
About the New York nomenees,
About the Yankee sell;
I bet a hat on Pendleton -
Was certain I would win;
I feel that I have been picked up
And badly taken in.
They couldn't get enuff uv men



Above: A lantern featuring U.S. Grant. Lower left: a celluloid shirt collar picturing Grant and Colfax.





Two handsome multi-colored ribbons from 1868. Note that many Grant items highlighted his wartime exploits.

To nominate in full.
 They tuk an abolitionist
 To make the ticket whole.
 I swore I wouldn't vote for Chase
 To ask it wasn't fair;
 But then I'd rather vote for him
 Than vote for Mister Blair.

At the time presidential nominees did not campaign openly, leaving the campaign to thousands of speakers and organizers who gave speeches, circulated literature, and held enthusiastic rallies, torchlight parades and barbecues. Republicans marching clubs called themselves the "Tanners" in honor of Grant's previous career as a hide tanner or the "Boys in Blue" in tribute to the Union soldiers he had commanded.

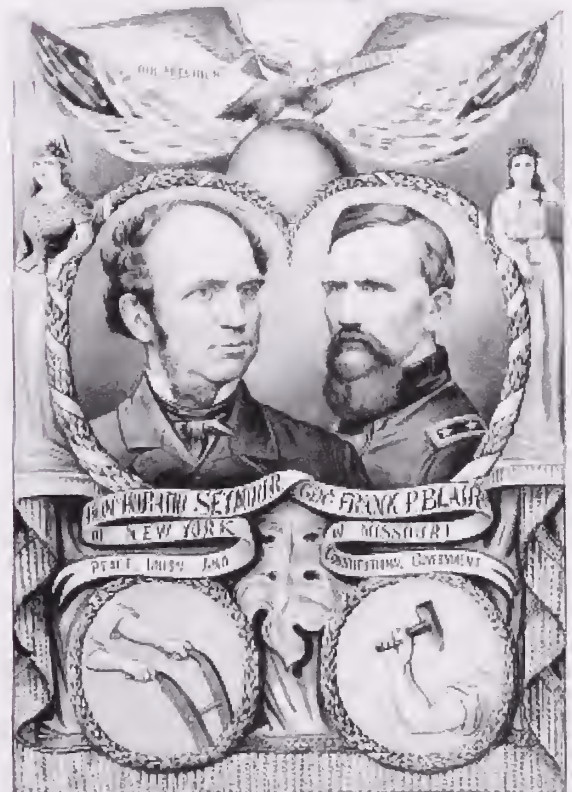
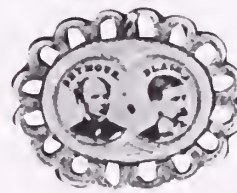
Republicans promoted themselves as the party that saved the union, freed the slaves, and was reforming the South. They "waved the bloody shirt" to remind voters that the Democratic Party had backed slavery and secession and opposed the Union war effort.

Violence against black and Republican political activity in the South was described in detail. Seymour's behavior during the 1863 New York City draft riot was a popular topic, one that Thomas Nast drove home in his *Harper's Weekly* cartoons.

Democrats responded with claims that Republicans advocated racial equality and attacked Grant as a drunken, ignorant, Negro-loving dictator. They sang songs like "I am Captain Grant of the Black Marines - The stupidest man that ever was seen" and waved signs reading "Grant the Butcher" and "Grant the Drunkard."

Democrats became so concerned about defeat that Seymour actually violated protocol and went on a campaign tour with stops in Syracuse, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Columbus, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Chicago. It didn't help.

Final results gave Grant 52.7% and 214 electoral votes to Seymour's 47.3% and 80 electoral votes. Grant carried 26 states to Seymour's 8. Grant won most of the South except for Kentucky, Louisiana and Georgia while Seymour carried his home state of New York plus New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland and Oregon in the North. The states of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas didn't vote, as they hadn't yet been readmitted to the Union. It was the first time black men were allowed to vote in a presidential election and reflected how the South might vote if black voters were allowed to get to the polls. It was one of the last times they would vote in large numbers for the next century.★



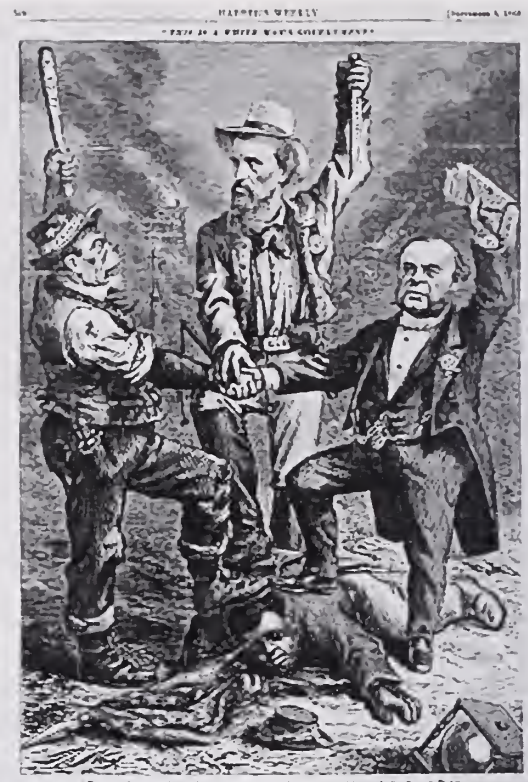
Democratic Grand National Banner

"The White Man's Ticket."

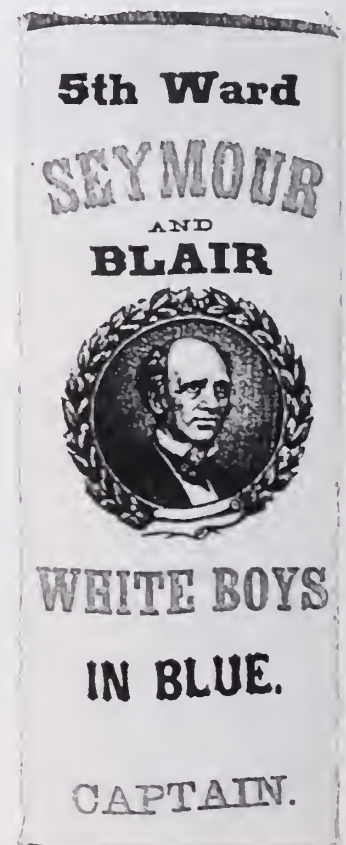
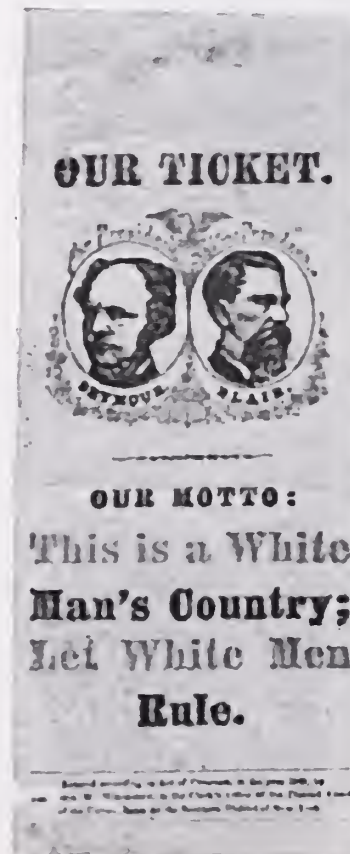
The 1868 Democratic platform warned citizens that evil Republicans supported "Negro Equality." The campaign marked the most blatant racial appeal ever made in a national campaign. Note the Thomas Nast cartoon at the bottom showing a murdered black man with a quote from a Virginia newspaper, stating that the killed man is "one vote less." Thomas Nast's cartoons were a powerful force, leading Grant to state, "Two things elected me. The sword of Sheridan and the pencil of Nast."

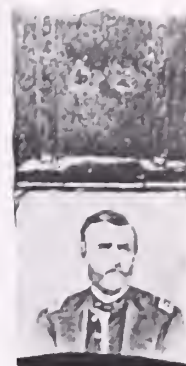


"ONE VOTE LESS" - Richmond Whig



Above: A Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* showing an Irish rioter (big city Democratic machines), a Confederate soldier (the unreconstructed South) and a Wall Street banker (sacrificing justice for profits) standing triumphant over a black Union veteran. Note the flag ground into the dirt.

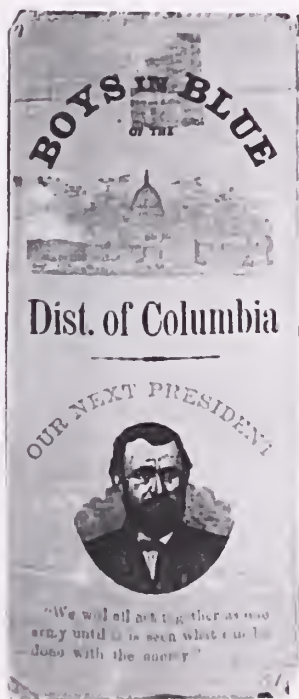




Mechanical pin in the shape of an Army knapsack.



Grant's reputation as a war hero inspired many items with a military theme. Top center: a famous photograph of Grant in camp.



Many Republican marching clubs called themselves the "Boys in Blue" after the Union Army. Note the Seymour ribbon making the distinction that he was backed by the "White Boys in Blue."



1868: A Southern View

by Brian Krapf



Editor's note: There are divergent views of history. APIC member Brian Krapf relates a story that presents the view from the perspective of many Southern whites.

I consider myself fortunate to live in Savannah, Georgia. My family has lived here for several generations, which allows to me not only enjoy and perpetuate my love of Southern history, but also live it, feel it and belong to it. Since its founding in 1733, Savannah has been respected as a center of culture, a vital national port, and a distinguished trade and business community. Indeed, when Union General William Tecumseh Sherman captured the City and presented it to President Abraham Lincoln as a Christmas present in 1864, he found a European-modeled city so sophisticated, progressive and urban that he could not bring himself to follow his normal pattern of pillage and destruction.

Despite General Sherman's preservation, Savannah suffered similar post-war reconstruction bans and restrictions experienced by other Southern cities. Election year 1868 found Savannah embroiled in military governance, distrust of Northerners, and racial tension. Post-war frustration and problems intensified as carpetbag rule sought to punish the former Confederate states through military domination. Adding to the tension was the formation and activism of the Ku Klux Klan, which had come into being that same year. Meanwhile, in Washington, President Andrew Johnson had survived impeachment by a single vote. While Johnson tried to recover from his political wounds, that summer found Union general and war hero Ulysses S. Grant the Republican nominee, squaring off against Democratic nominee and former New York Governor Horatio Seymour, whose platform was decidedly pro-South. The Nation would choose its new President on November 3, 1868.

On the evening of November 2, trouble began to brew in Savannah. On the outskirts of the City, "scalawags" (Southern whites who supported the Republican Reconstruction government) planned and held rallies to stir the emotions of the black community, urging civil disobedience and even violence at the polls the next day. The scalawags intended to disregard the county precinct voting organization by mobilizing black voters and having them cast their ballots away from their home area at the courthouse precinct; they counted on the blacks being turned away from the polls since they were not in their home precincts, adding racial tension to an already precarious and tense situation. Not only would this plan cause disruption of an orderly and systematic voting process, but would also cause the county's vote to be illegal and disqualified. The scalawags' mobilization efforts were successful, but

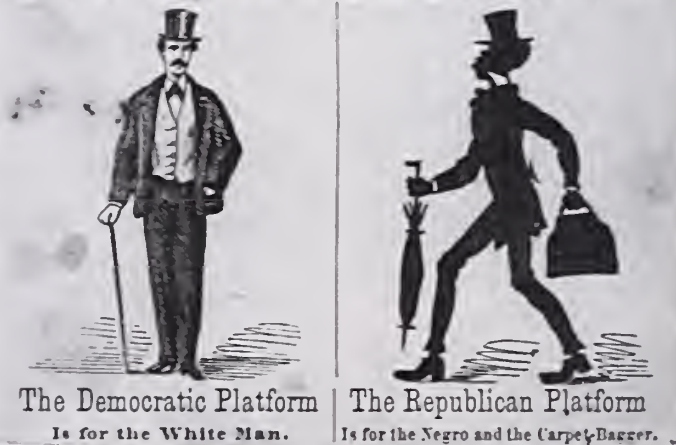
they got even more than they bargained for. The *Savannah Morning News* of November 4, 1868 reported, "Never before was an Election Day marked by such scenes of excitement, riot and bloodshed." Indeed, an editorial printed the same day blamed Election Day riots on "white men in the community, who for their own ambition and corrupt purposes, have sought to control the Negro population by imposing their worst passions against the whites and exciting them to deeds of violence and blood....The blood that was shed Tuesday is upon the hands of these white wretches."

On the morning of Election Day, November 3, 1868, the scalawags and their roused groups of black voters arrived at the Chatham County Courthouse, seeking entrance to the polls. In response, a large group of white men, armed with clubs and sticks, blocked the courthouse steps. According to the November 4 *Savannah Morning News*, "They [black voters] rallied at the polls' opening, outnumbering white voters, 3-1. When courthouse doors opened, they rushed in and completely blocked the entrance. White men who came up to vote were pushed away."

An ensuing fight prompted County Sheriff Dooner to leave his courthouse office and attempt to calm the crowd. When his pleas for civil obedience were ignored, he called out several deputies to disperse both factions, who, by this time, were embroiled in a fight. One deputy was clubbed in the head and trampled as he lay bleeding on the ground. Sheriff Dooner was then prompted to call upon the city police, led by Chief R.H. Anderson, a former Confederate general. A dozen city patrolmen were dispatched, and their arrival only fueled the fire. According to the *Savannah Morning News*, "The police's heavy clubs did fearful execution."

While they did use clubs in an attempt to quell the riot,

THE TWO PLATFORMS.



Democratic handout card.



Here is a rarity: a 1868 stereocard showing Grant for President rally held in the courthouse square in Savannah, Georgia. The rally was held for the benefit of the union occupation soldiers who can be seen in the foreground. The square is directly in front of the old courthouse where the violence described in this article occurred.

news reports note none of the policemen drew their pistols, at least at first. Soon, however, a shot rang out from the crowd, followed by what the newspaper describes as “the sound of a hundred pistols.” Firing continued for nearly 10 minutes, scattering would-be black voters and their scalawag leaders who turned and fired upon the pursuing police officers. Police officer R.E. Reed was shot in the stomach and later died during surgery. Officer Samuel Bryson was shot in the spine and instantly paralyzed. Officer McMahon was hit in the thigh. Fifteen-year-old Sallie Kolock was playing in the living room of her family’s Courthouse Square home when a bullet came through a window and killed her. Similarly, Sam Parson, an elderly black man, who was walking innocently up the street, was killed instantly when he was shot through the heart. Another black pedestrian, Peter Hopkins, was shot in the chest and also died instantly.

Henry Bacon, a black man who witnessed Parson’s death, gave sworn testimony as to what he witnessed that day: “I was standing, this morning, the third day of November, 1868, in front of the Courthouse. I heard the report of firearms. I then stepped in front of the square and saw the police firing on the colored people: and the colored people were firing upon the city police. I saw, during the firing, two colored persons fall. I looked around and saw the deceased fall. I did not see any other white person or persons fire except the city police.”

Skirmishes were not just limited to the poll hours; another had broken out election night eve in the black community on the outskirts of town, leaving two white men and one black man dead. For several days, Savannah police officers and armed white civilians patrolled the streets of Savannah, while groups of armed black men organized to protect their neighborhoods in the outlying county areas.

Despite the devastating violence and loss of life at the

county courthouse poll, voting at the county precincts was peaceful, with both blacks and whites casting their ballots. The votes cast totaled 4,938, with 4,150 in favor of Horatio Seymour. Grant won the election, narrowly capturing the nation’s popular vote, 3,013,421 votes to Seymour’s 2,707,829. He carried the Electoral College by a landslide, with 214 votes to Seymour’s 80. Contrary to expectations, Grant did receive a great deal of support from the former Confederate States. Of the former states that voted, the Republicans carried Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee. The Democrats carried Georgia and Louisiana and three border states—Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky—as well as three Northern states—New York, New Jersey and Oregon. Mississippi, Texas and Virginia were ineligible to vote under post war Reconstruction laws. The fact that two Southern States voted for the Democratic candidate led to national charges of violence, fraud and intimidation.

The events that transpired in Savannah on Election Day 1868 were unique, but looking beyond the city borders, the election was unique in and of itself. 1868 marked the first national election in nearly a decade in which the South had participated, though the results were not to their liking. Grant’s victory ended one phase of Reconstruction and ushered in another. The battle for control of the South shifted from a Washington-based power struggle over who would control Reconstruction, to one in which national factions struggled for control of Southern state houses. Reconstruction forces finally departed Georgia in 1872, at the end of Grant’s first term in office. When they did, a white conservative government was established. In response to the excesses of reconstruction, this new government passed laws reversing Black advances. For nearly a century, Jim Crow would rule, with Election Day 1868 in Savannah serving as a precursor to almost 100 years of segregation.★

The "Pride of America" Ribbons

by Michael Kelly

Certain designs are basic to campaign items, such as a RWB stripes or designs utilizing the American flag. But sometimes button manufacturers (especially those targeting the collector market) will recreate a particularly popular specific design, such as the TR "Stand Pat" button from 1904 or the 1908 Taft-Sherman elephant ears, both of which have reappeared in recent years featuring modern candidates. The idea of reusing an old design on a campaign item for nostalgic reasons may be older than we believed.

This article shows a Henry Clay ribbon from 1844 and a U.S. Grant ribbon from 1868. Clearly they are related. The Republican Party descended from the old Whig Party and during its first decades many a Republican would identify himself as a "Whig Republican" to distinguish his philosophical journey to the new party from those who had previously been Democrats or Free Soilers.

The ribbons illustrated here might indicate that a group of old Whigs wanted to show their colors while boosting Grant. Although there are some variations, the two designs are too close to be coincidental. Of the four art elements only the top one is different (though still similar) and the wording is almost identical. The main verbal variation identifies Clay as the "Protector of American Industry" while the Grant version calls him the "Protector of American Liberty" (a logical change as Clay's issues were economic while Grant's virtues were military).

It isn't hard to image an old-line Whig taking his treasured Henry Clay ribbon out of the dresser and carrying it down to a textile shop to use as an example for a new Grant for President ribbon. A few years ago, Colin Powell made the distinction that he was a

"Rockefeller Republican" when announcing his loyalty to the GOP. Likewise many old line Whigs in 1868 might have wished to make clear the particular strain of Republicanism to which they adhered. Then again, maybe it was just a textile manufacturer thinking that collectors would buy a bunch of the new Grant ribbons if he used the Clay design from 1844.★

No Third Term...for Grant.

by Michael Kelly

It's a word button from the 1940 Willkie campaign: "Washington Wouldn't. Grant Couldn't. Roosevelt Shouldn't. I'm Against a Third Term." Maybe Roosevelt shouldn't but he did. Washington hadn't even really wanted a first term, had to be pressured into a second and flatly refused a third. But what about Grant?

When Grant left the White House in 1877, he was in good financial shape due to a lucky investment in a gold mine. But he hadn't stayed in the Army long enough for a military pension and former presidents didn't receive pensions in those days. By 1880, Grant was starting to worry about money and another term in the White House seemed a more pleasant prospect than having to go into business.

The organization Republicans (known as Stalwarts) thought another term for Grant would give them the federal patronage denied them by the austere

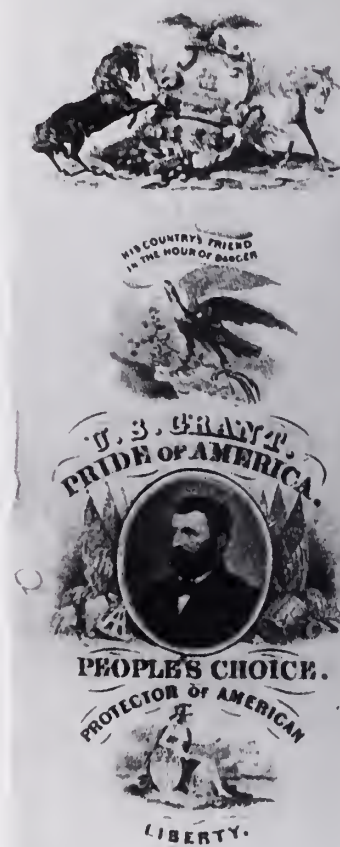
honesty of Republican President Rutherford Hayes. Under the leadership of New York Sen. Roscoe Conkling, Grant forces arrived at the

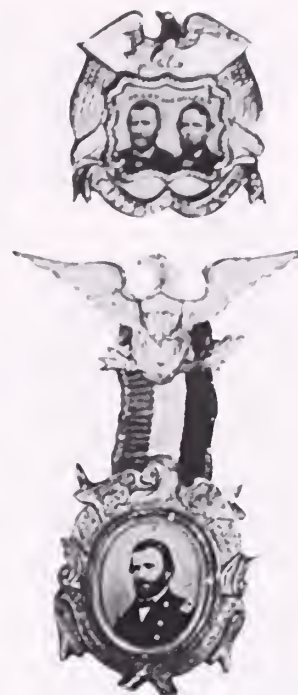
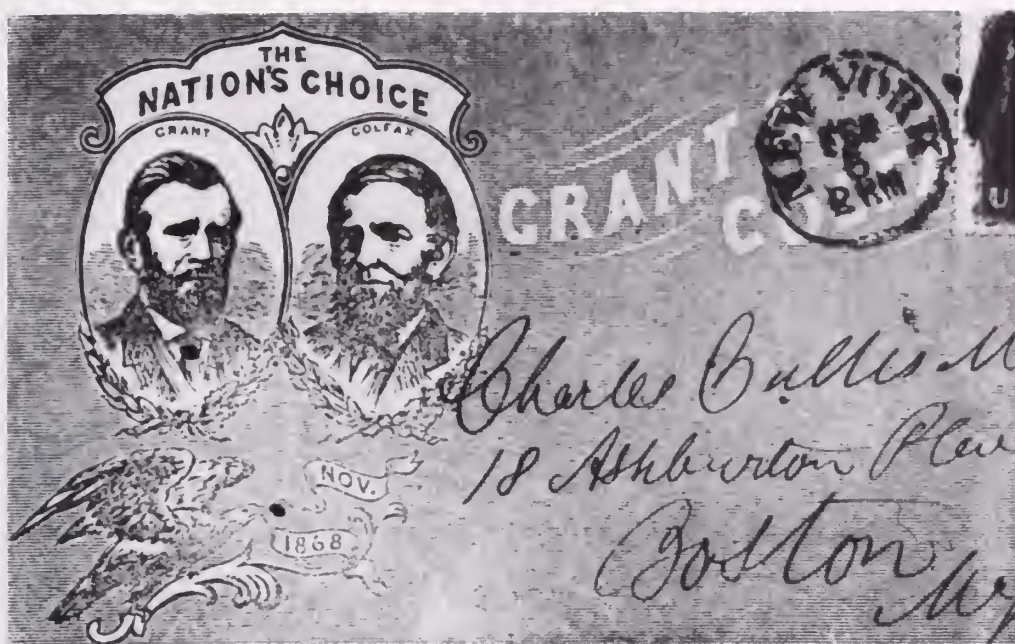
1880 national convention in Chicago ready to put their hero over. Against him stood a new popular favorite, James G. Blaine of Maine. Other strong candidates included Treasury Secretary John Sherman, Sen. George Edmunds, and Rep. Elihu Washburn. Minnesota Sen. William Windom held his own state's votes until the end.

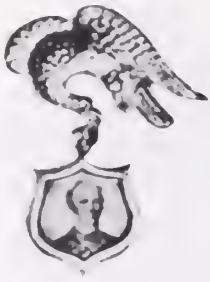
The convention fell into immediate deadlock and seemed to freeze in place. Compare the totals from the 1st ballot and the 28th ballot:

Candidate	1st ballot	28th ballot
Grant	304	307
Blaine	284	279
Sherman	93	91
Edmunds	33	31
Washburne	31	35
Windom	10	10

Grant's delegates held firm. His vote stood at 304 on the first ballot and 306 on the last ballot. But the anti-Grant delegates were equally determined to stop him. On the 36th ballot the anti-Grant delegates switched to a dark horse, Ohio Congressman James Garfield, who won the nomination in a total surprise. There would be no third term for Ulysses S. Grant.★







The Man of Words versus the Man of Deeds

by Steve Baxley



For most voters in the election of 1868, the word traitor sparked strong emotions. The horrors of the Civil War were still embedded in their memories. Disloyalty to the Union was not a character trait desirable in a national leader. If any candidate had displayed such disloyalty in any way, the Republican Party wanted the voters to know about it.

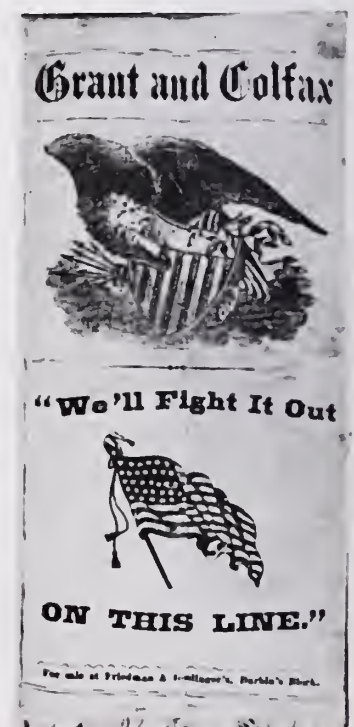
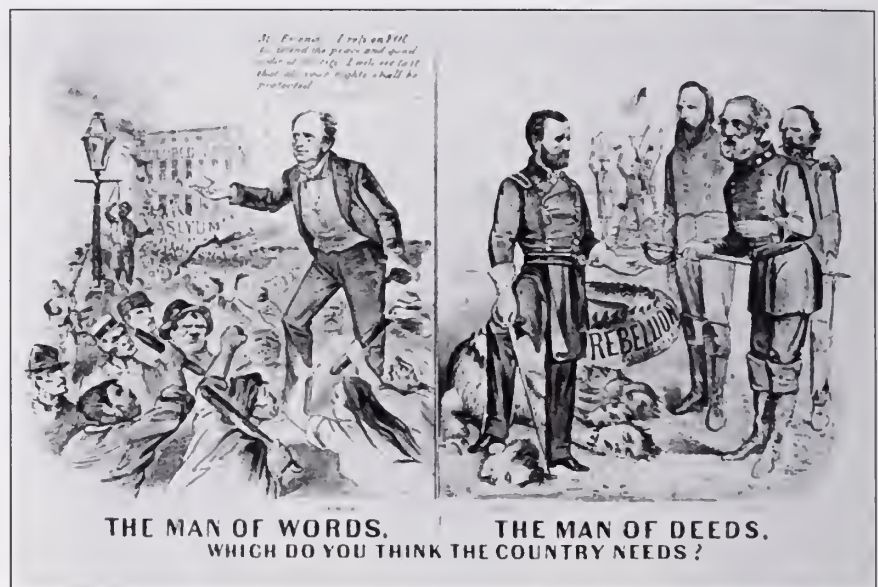
An interesting 1868 political print illustrates this campaign tactic. The print quotes Seymour addressing the mob during the New York City Draft Riots in 1863:

"My friends, I rely on YOU to defend the peace and good order of the city. I will see to it that all your rights shall be protected."

In the background, a riotous mob listens, the Colored Orphan Asylum burns, and a black man hangs from a lamppost. Governor Seymour appeases the crowd with his words, but takes no strong action to stop the mob. Draft officers had started drawing names for the draft on Saturday, July 11, 1863. On July 13, the rioting started and continued for 4 days. The large Irish population objected to being drafted to fight a war to free blacks. They feared that emancipated blacks would move north and take their jobs. They were opposed to the draft and the emancipation of blacks. Unlike Seymour, who had simply consoled the riotous rebels, Grant, as general of the Union

forces, had taken strong action to defeat the rebellious armies of the Confederacy. "Which do you think the country needs?"

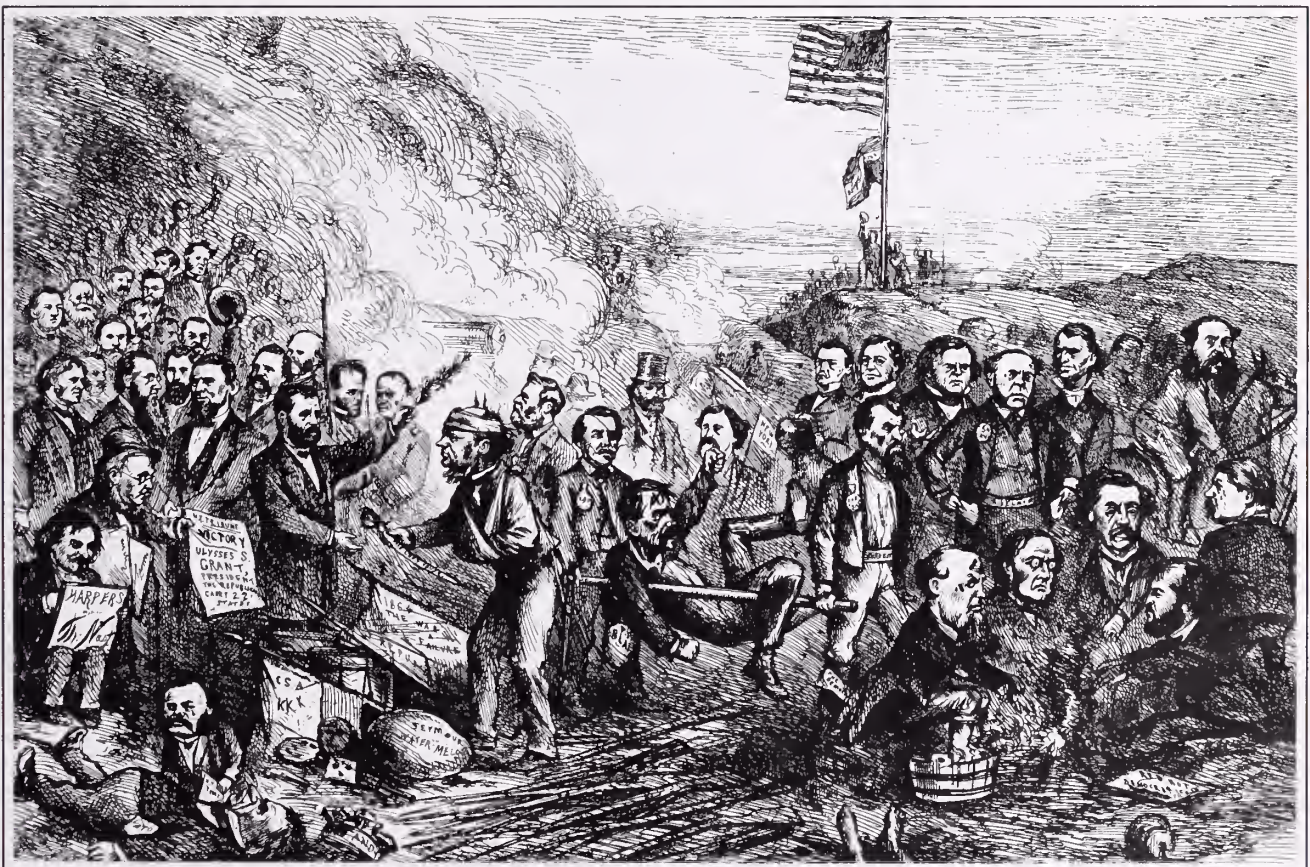
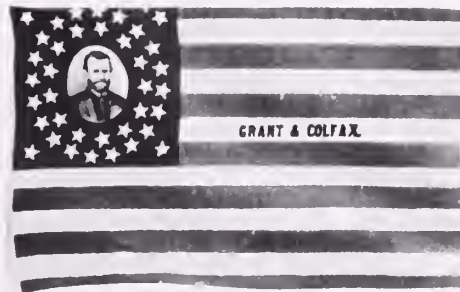
Because of his strong action, Grant is portrayed as the man who has the strong character traits that are needed to lead in these rebellious times. It really didn't matter whether the image of Seymour was accurate; the message was effective image-making for U.S. Grant.★



Two hanging lanterns (Grant on left, Seymour center) often used at rallies and parades. Further right: A handsome Seymour badge and a Grant & Colfax ribbon.



C.D.V.



Post-election cartoon by Thomas Nast.

Very Early Nixon

by Albert Salter

We thought we knew him: the man named Nixon who was born in 1913 to a middle class working family in Yorba Linda, California. He grew up during the Great Depression amongst orange groves later replaced by suburban homes with swimming pools and freeways. In 1934 he graduated from Whittier, a small liberal arts college near Los Angeles named for Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier.

While in college he sang in a men's glee club known as "The Ambassadors of Song," and one of my prized pieces of Richard Nixon early memorabilia is a program for a concert performed by the Ambassadors at Whittier during Nixon's senior year. In a photograph of the group on one of the program's outside pages, Dick Nixon, smiling, stands in the back row, his head held higher than anyone else in the picture. On an inside page, his name is listed as one of eight who sang bass.

In 1943 Nixon entered the U.S. navy as Lieutenant, j.g., and when discharged in 1946 ran for the U.S. House seat in California's 12th district. While in the House he gained prominence in his pursuit of Alger Hiss in the famous "pumpkin papers" case. Nominated for the U.S. Senate in 1950, Nixon conducted a bitter campaign against Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, accusing her of being a Communist sympathizer. In his campaigns for the U.S. House and the U.S. Senate, his supporters circulated thimbles imprinted with

Nixon's name and the office he sought. The same tactic was used in his run for president in 1960.

Richard Nixon was a dominant figure in American politics from 1952 when he was elected vice president, through his incomplete term as president in 1974. During that period he appeared on every Republican national ticket except 1964. Neither Eisenhower nor Kennedy, not to mention Johnson, had as great and as lasting an effect on how we conduct our national politics today as did Richard Nixon. Since Watergate we take nothing for granted.

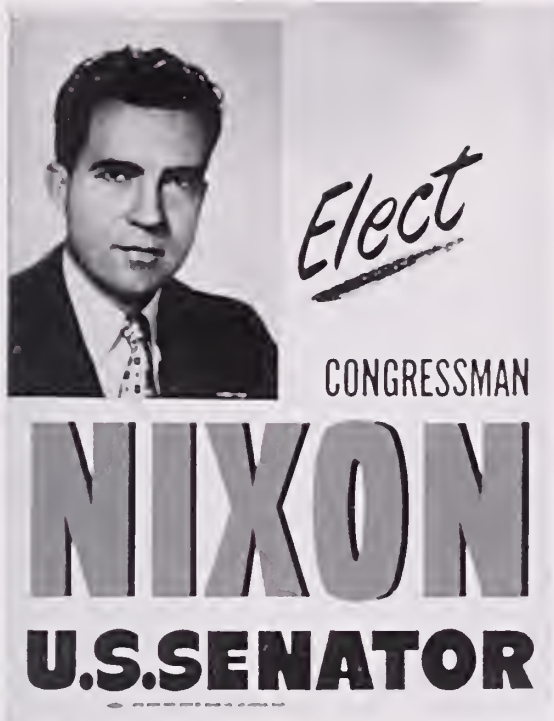
When Nixon resigned in anticipation of impeachment, we felt we knew him less than when he was a young, aggressive member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Now we're resigned that we may never know the real Richard Nixon, the young bass singer with the Ambassadors of Song, or the departing president lifting his arms to show a "V" for victory as he left the White House in disgrace.

As I am presently doing research on the subject of early memorabilia of national nominees, I'd appreciate knowing of such artifacts in your collection. If you can send me a Xerox copy of any such piece for any nominee with as much information on the item as possible, I will see that you receive appropriate credit if the piece is shown in this series. My new address is in your 2003 APIC Directory.★

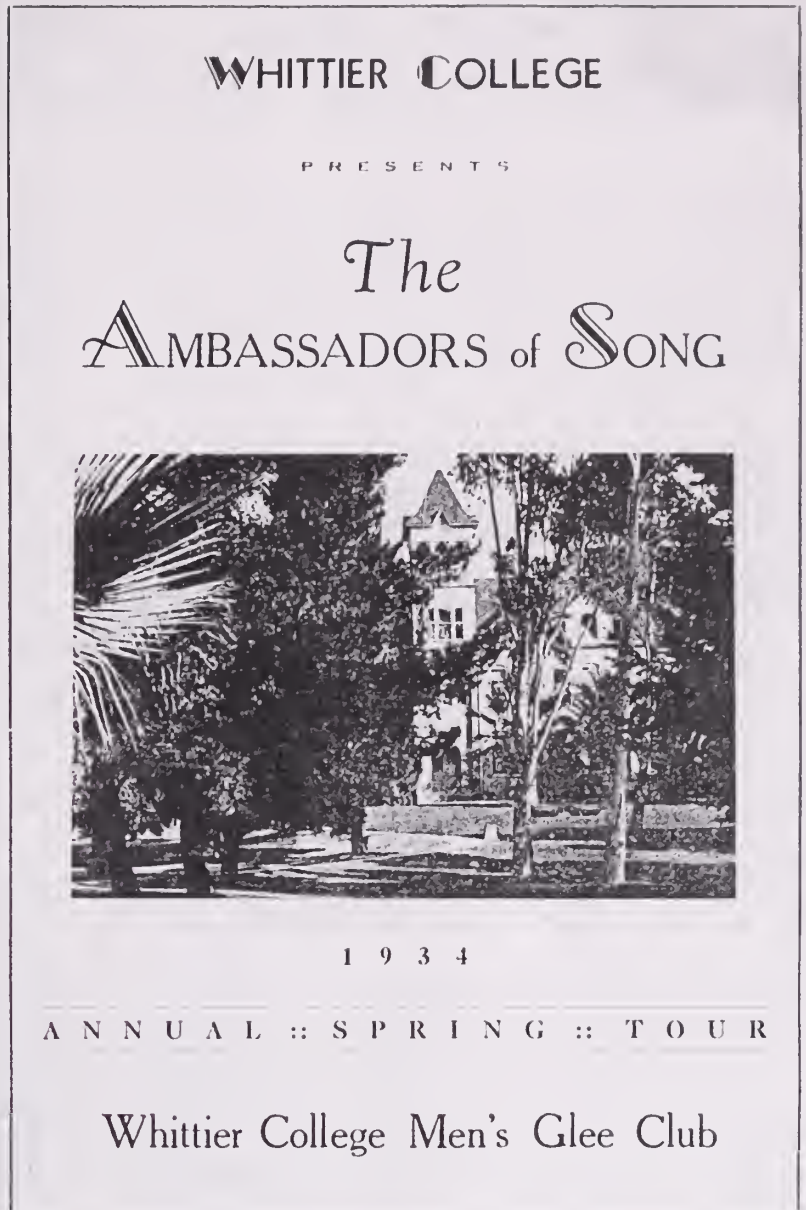
"The Ambassadors of Song" from Whittier College. Richard Nixon is in the back row on the left (his head is higher than any other).



A M B A S S A D O R S O F S O N G



Early Nixon items. Above: poster from this 1950 senate race. Right: cover of the 1934 tour program book. Below: a brochure from the 1950 race. Nixon's career rose like a rocket. Elected to Congress in 1946, he won a Senate seat in 1950 and was elected Vice President in 1952.



“White Back” Celluloid Buttons: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

by Julie and Robin Powell

This article summarizes information about political celluloid buttons that have white metal backs. The color is ivory, like Venetian blinds. The items include reproduction and fantasy pins (brummagem), repins (original button papers later made into completed buttons with non-original other components), and some genuine buttons.

The Keynoter kept collectors well informed as large numbers of white-backed fakes and repins entered the marketplace from 1966 through 1973. The buttons are common at flea markets and on Internet auctions. Lacking telltale notations such as REPRODUCTION, they are easily misinterpreted as genuine.

“Good Apples”

Some genuine white-backed celluloid buttons, including ones relating to Watergate, were produced from 1972 through 1976, as noted in the Fall/Winter 1985 (brummagem) issue of *The Keynoter*. Certain pre-1972 white-backed buttons are genuine as well.

Fig. 1 shows 1 genuine 1972 button and 17 genuine pre-1972 items. Figs. 2-4 illustrate the wide range of white-backed fakes and repins. Fig. 5 has sketches of 3 “backbugs” (called BB-1, -2, and -3), union labels that are stamped into the metal backs of some white-backed and other celluloids; these specific labels can help to define a button’s age.

Buttons in the top and middle groups in Fig. 1 relate to 1964 or 1968. They have disclaimers on the curl (A. G. Trimble Co. in 12 cases, Emress Specialty Co. in 2) and labels on their metal backs. Pins in the top group display a blurry form of BB-1, while those in the middle group have BB-2; both labels are consistent with 1964-1968.

The Wallace button, a 1972 pin, has BB-3 and a Trimble Co. disclaimer. The “Nixon in ‘68” and “Bob Smith for Congress” buttons have no disclaimers and no backbugs. The Smith pin stems from a Republican primary race in PA in 1970. Reports in *The Keynoter* in 1969 and 1973 indicate that the Nixon and Wallace pins were reproduced and that copies have unpainted backs. The Draft Rockefeller pin is a genuine white-backed 3” button. Other examples of genuine white-backed larger celluloids (not pictured) include 3 1/2” Truman-Barkley and Dewey-Warren jugates, Eisenhower name pins, Goldwater single-picture buttons, and some locals pins.

“Bad Apples”

The 48 white-backed fakes and repins shown in Figs. 2 and 3 include 1 item that is 1” (the “Click with Dick” button, upper right part of Fig. 3) and 1 that is 2” (the Willkie button in Fig. 3). The others are 1 1/4” or 1 3/4”. All have bugless backs and no disclaimers. The plastic covering uniformly appears to be acetate (very smooth to touch; highly, evenly, and sharply reflective). Only 12 of the 48 pins (25%) have union labels on the curl of the front button papers (decals). Several of the

labels are smudged; interpretable ones are from New York City or Baltimore.

The decals relate to elections from 1904 to 1972. The printing is generally of good quality; dark or blurry exceptions include the Nixon-Lodge, Ted Kennedy, and Eldridge Cleaver buttons in Fig. 3.

Most of the 1 1/4” pins have fat, sharply angled, wide-flanged collets; some of the collets, however, are average in thickness, narrowly-flanged, or rounded.

The Wilson button in Fig. 3 belongs to the “Emress Set” of unmarked brummagem celluloids. Members of this set seldom have white backs. The 2” Willkie button is a fantasy item that usually comes with an unpainted back or as a mirror. The buttons in Figs. 3 and 4 show that ribbons, donkey attachments and the like, or ornate metal frames are not reliable signs that a button is genuine.

“Ugly Apples”

As reported by *The Keynoter*, steps were taken to camouflage some of the white-backed fakes and repins. Fig. 4 shows some of the results. The steps included: 1) gluing newspaper in the back; 2) staining the buttons (“fake foxing”); 3) daubing gray or other enamel paint over the back; 4) treating the collets and backs (? with strong acid) to create artificial rust; 5) scuffing the front surfaces to reduce the shininess; and 6) inserting genuine button papers in the back. Fig. 4 shows the front and back of a metal-rimmed Harding button, an FDR button and a Dewey-Warren jugate that display fake foxing, and the back of a 1 3/4” fake that has artificial rust.

The newspaper inserts usually are from an article or a financial page. That in the Harding pin, however, makes the button look like a biscuit company promotion. The dark FDR pin in Fig. 2, the “AL and JOE” item in Fig. 3, and the Dewey-Warren and FDR items in Fig. 4 have fake foxing. The discoloration sometimes has a strange reddish or pink hue. The artificial rust on the button in the lower right in Fig. 4 consists of grotesque shiny, yellowish-brown deposits that don’t look much like normal rust. The FDR button contains a backpage from Lucké Badge, a Baltimore button-maker.

Discussion

The buttons in Figs. 2-4 embrace most of the white-backed fakes and repins currently housed in APIC’s Library of Brummagem Items and Repins. Others like them exist. Donations to the collection are welcome and can be sent to Brad Koplinski, John Olsen, or us.

The 2” Willkie celluloid in Fig. 3 and one member of the 2” General Motors Set (pictured on the front cover of the Fall/Winter 1985 *Keynoter*) are the largest white-backed brummagem buttons we’ve seen; the 1” Nixon celluloid, the smallest. The typical white-backed fake or repin is either 1 1/4” or 1 3/4” and has 1) an acetate surface, 2) no disclaimer on the



Figure 1: Some "Good Apples." Not all white-backed celluloids are fakes. Those pictured here are examples of legitimate campaign items and there are many more.

curl, 3) no union bug on the back, and 4), if it's a 1 1/4" button, a thick, angled, wide-flanged collet.

The disclaimers and backbugs on the buttons in the top and middle groups in Fig. 1 led us to suspect that the items are ok. The collets and backbugs are identical to those found on some genuine 1964 and 1968 buttons with unpainted backs. Disclaimers occur on some brummagem pins but none that we know of has a Trimble or Emress notation. A collector who worked for the Trimble Company recalls that some of the buttons the firm sold in 1964 and 1968 have white backs. Three fellow collectors told us that some of the buttons they collected in 1964 or 1968 have white-backs. So we regard the 2 groups of buttons and others like them as probably genuine.

We've heard that "All white-backers are bad," and "All pre-1972 white-backed celluloids are no good." A rule of thumb we suggest is that: 1) pre-1964 political celluloids that are 2" or less and that have bugless white backs are fakes or repins; 2) 1964, 1968, and 1972 white-backed pins are a mixed bag (some ok, some not); and 3) those with union bugs on the metal backs are probably ok. Sharply defined versions of BB-1 occur on some genuine 1952-1961 celluloids (original versions of the 1 3/4" 1960 buttons in Fig. 3, for example, often have distinctly defined BB-1). BB-2, BB-3, and hazy versions of BB-1 occur on some fakes and on some genuine pins. Our research so far indicates that buttons with hazy versions of BB-1 date from 1964-1968; those with BB-2, from 1964-1969; and those with BB-3, from 1970-1972.

At least 2 different versions of the Robert Kennedy 1 3/4" button in Fig. 3 were issued during the 1968 primary campaign. One has an unpainted back with BB-2. Another has a white back with BB-2. Versions with bugless white backs are probable repins.

Some of the fakes were sold as "Antiqued Reproductions." The Harding and FDR buttons in Fig. 4 appear to represent forthright attempts to deceive.

Genuine backpapers (with Whitehead and Hoag logos, for example) often mean buttons are ok. But authentic backpapers can be inserted into brummagem buttons. A John W. Davis fake (Davis #7 in the *The Keynoter's* "brummagem issue") usually has the wrong backpaper (Offset Gravure rather than Whitehead and Hoag). The backpaper in the



FDR pin in Fig. 3 is appropriate to the decal. The union bug on the decal typifies a product of Lucké Badge. The backpaper in this probable repin appears to reflect a clever ruse; absent the reddish color of the pin's fake foxing, we might

not have checked under the backpaper and we might have missed the white back.

After *The Keynoter* called attention to white-backed fakes and to the efforts to disguise them, at least 3 generations of



Figure 2: Some "Bad Apples." Many collectors will be disappointed to see familiar buttons in this group, some of which may have made it into their collection. Knowledge of the field is critical in avoided being fooled by some of the skillful forgeries floating around. Note that all of these lack union bugs on the back metal. Check your collection carefully.

what we call “relatives of the white-backed bunch” surfaced. The relatives have decals and collets identical to those of the white-backed fakes and repins, but contain backs that are unpainted. Buttons in the first wave of relatives (1 1/4” or 1 3/4”) exhibit BB-2; this backbug was illustrated in the *The Keynoter* in 1968 but the label’s significance was not noted at the time. Pins in the second wave (1 1/4”) display BB-3. The unpainted backs of buttons in the third wave (1 1/4”) contain no bugs; but the collets have wide flanges (2 mm), which,

together with the acetate surfaces and shiny backs, point to brummiagem.

The collets on the white-backed bunch and their relatives usually don’t fit with the vintage the fronts suggest, but some the collets are similar to those used on original celluloids in the 1940s or 50s. The shininess and smoothness of the acetate surfaces are very helpful as additional clues to pre-World War II fakes and repins (acetate replaced celluloid mainly during the 1940s). A small number of the fakes we’ve seen seem to



Figure 3: Some More “Bad Apples.” Ranging as far back as Woodrow Wilson, these fakes have fooled many a collector.



Figure 4: Some “Ugly Apples.” Forgers sometimes put old paper behind a button or artificially damage them to give the fakes an appearance of age.

have celluloid coverings; perhaps leftover stocks of celluloid remained available into the 1960s. Fortunately, the signs indicating a button is a fake or repin are usually multiple.

In the introduction for *The Keynoter*'s 1985 brummagem issue, Bob Fratkin and Chris Hearn stress the need to study genuine buttons from different periods and to examine all aspects of a button's qualities. The items described here underscore both points. There's no substitute for knowing the characteristics of genuine buttons and of fakes and for being able to inspect a button first hand.

Collectors sometimes avoid buttons for which reproductions or repins exist; flag-bordered celluloids are an example. Learning and recognizing the features that differentiate original items from copies and from repins can be among the more rewarding aspects of the hobby. While that learning is underway, buying from reputable dealers who subscribe to APIC's Code of Ethics (as at APIC bourse sessions) and consulting veteran collectors are good ideas. Asking about the back of a button you're buying on eBay is a good idea as well.

Summary

Research we conducted over the last 4 years and information published in *The Keynoter* in the late 1960s and early 1970s indicate the following.

- 1) Pre-1964 political celluloids that are 2" or less and that have no union bugs on their white backs are fakes or repins.
- 2) 1964, 1968, and 1972 white-backed political celluloids constitute a mixed bag (some ok, some not).
- 3) White-backed celluloids with union bugs on the metal backs are probably ok.
- 4) White-backed fakes and repins usually exhibit multiple

signs that something is wrong. The same holds for 3 generations of relatives of the white-backed bunch.

5) Those signs include wrong size, acetate coverings on pre-World War II buttons, collets that don't fit with the vintage the decals suggest, and, in some cases, artificial aging that looks unrealistic.

6) BB-2 and BB-3 are found on some genuine celluloids and on some fakes and repins; either backlabel on a pre-1964 celluloid means the item is a reproduction or fantasy button that is "a relative of the white-backed bunch."

Notes

The brummagem issue of *The Keynoter* is now out of print, as are a 1974 compilation of brummagem articles from *The Keynoter* and the brummagem synopsis we published in 1999. But copies of these publications occasionally turn up at APIC shows. We urge newer collectors to be on the lookout for them and hope a new brummagem issue of *The Keynoter* can be prepared in the not-distant future.

We're not sure who produced the white-backed fakes and repins and their relatives. BB-1, -2, and -3 seem to be members of a long line of labels (Sheet Metal Workers, Local 137) found on the metal backs of celluloid pinbacks made by the Benjamin Harris Co. of New York City (NYC). That firm apparently produced buttons for retailers such as Emress and, later, the A. G. Trimble Co. and Columbia Advertising.

The Harris Co. reportedly purchased Lucké Badge's equipment and materials when the latter firm went out of business. That may explain why 1) some genuine political buttons from the early 1960s have decals of NYC origin and backs typical of buttons from Lucké Badge, 2) some white-backed repins contain collets and backs typical of pins made in NYC but decals like those on celluloids previously issued by Lucké Badge, and 3) the FDR pin in Fig. 4 has a Lucké Badge backpaper.

Whoever made the fakes and repins apparently had access to leftover decals and backpapers from Lucké Badge and from other producers, as well as access to attachments, coverings, collets, and backs like those on genuine buttons made by the Harris Co. in 1966-1972. The strange artificial aging of some white-backed fakes and repins is found also in certain other brummagem pins, including some members of the "Emress Set." Ads from the late 1960s and early 1970s (shown in *The Keynoter*) offered for sale white-backed fakes combined with Emress Set fakes or with the "Columbia Advertising (CA) Set" of brummagem buttons. Whoever made the white-backed bunch may have had a hand in making the Emress and CA Sets of fakes as well.★



Figure 5: Union labels on metal backs (shown enlarged). The union bug stamped into the metal backing a celluloid button is usually a good sign that the item is legitimate.

Profiles in Deed

The APIC Hall of Fame: Joseph M. Jacobs APIC #2084

by Albert Salter



Joe Jacobs brought attention to the world of political memorabilia in 1981 by outbidding Malcolm "Steve" Forbes for a 1 1/4" Cox/Roosevelt jugate in the Warner Auction held in New York City. The winning bid of \$33,000 marked the first time a political campaign piece had been auctioned at a five-figure price. The bid also brought new national awareness of APIC. But that's only one incident in the incredible story of Joseph M. Jacobs.

Beginning in 1933 when FDR became president and Joe went to Washington as part of the New Deal's labor team, Jacobs assembled and preserved over the next five decades the finest and largest single candidate collection of memorabilia in existence. As well as public records, it included treasured personal items acquired from Eleanor Roosevelt on Joe's visits to the Roosevelt home in Hyde Park after the president's death. In addition to the more than 45,000 Roosevelt documents and campaign pieces, he also collected Truman, LBJ, Hubert Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson, Ross Perot, and labor history memorabilia. But it was the Franklin Roosevelt collection that defined him. Roosevelt was a social activist, and that was a description that fit Joe Jacobs his entire life.

As a college student at Syracuse University, Joe became a great admirer of Clarence Darrow whose early work for labor organizations gave working men renewed hope in an often hostile environment. When Jacobs moved to Chicago to attend John Marshall law school he came to know Darrow and frequently attended sessions at the Dill Pickle Club off Washington Square to hear the great defense attorney debate and challenge the views of others. Darrow wanted Joe to become his clerk, but Joe's Uncle Irving Abrams, in whose home Joe was living at the time, insisted Joe become his law clerk instead. Joe opened his own practice in Chicago in 1931.

When Franklin Roosevelt led his great social crusade, workers flocked to unions and Joe recognized the new opportunities and needs of labor. He represented millinery workers, firefighters, police officers, butchers, teachers, and others who had previously lacked a strong voice in negotiations. In 1936 he was named legal counsel for the Chicago Federation of Labor, and over his more than 50 years as a labor lawyer he prepared cases to be heard by the Supreme Court and was involved in landmark labor legislation. He earned a reputation as the "Dean of Labor Lawyers," and gained the respect and confidence of such labor leaders as William Green, George Meany, Sidney Hillman, Walter Reuther, and others.

Joe never stopped collecting, and considered his Wells Street office in the Chicago loop a museum of political memorabilia, spending hours with visitors discussing his FDR collection and encouraging new collectors in their search. When he attended APIC

shows, he'd fascinate listeners each evening with stories of his own experience and of the people he had known. He was the last one to go to bed and the first in line when the bourse opened the next morning. No one was more excited about discovering a new item than Joe Jacobs.

He donated over 30,000 documents, books, press releases, the official collection of Roosevelt's speeches, plus campaign items, to the University of Illinois in 1974. In 1982 in commemoration of the centenary of FDR's birth, selections from that collection were on exhibit by the university library for ten weeks. And in 1980 he donated 1000 Adlai Stevenson items to the Illinois Historical Society.

Joe retired in 1990 from Jacobs, Burns, Sugarman and Orlove at the age of 83. During that year he donated about 5000 FDR items to the state of Illinois. That collection is now at Roosevelt University's Center for New Deal Studies in Chicago. His Hubert Humphrey collection went to the Humphrey Center in Minneapolis. Much of the memorabilia involving James M. Cox and FDR from the 1920 campaign is now displayed at the headquarters of Cox Enterprises in Atlanta.

After Joe's induction into the APIC Hall of Fame, a new APIC award was inaugurated in 1989. It read "For a lifetime of unparalleled achievement, leadership by deed and by example, dedication and service to the American Political Items Collectors." The first to receive that recognition was Joe Jacobs. The award now carries his name for all those who follow him. Joe lost his son, Mark in 1984. Mark had provided invaluable assistance to his father, and was an avid collector in his own right. He is remembered through the Mark Jacobs/Smithsonian Institution internship annually awarded by APIC to a graduating senior or full-time college student.

Born in New York November 11, 1907, Joe Jacobs died December 1, 1995 in his beloved Chicago. As *The Keynoter* reported when Joe was still an active APIC member, "All political collectors and students of our political heritage are in his debt."★

For further information see:

Adams, Bruce, "He's Got The Button," *Americana Magazine*, December, 1983

Center for New Deal Studies - Ephemera, Roosevelt University, Chicago, <http://roosevelt.edu/newdeal/ephemera.htm>. [As downloaded Nov. 18, 2002.]

Fischer, Roger & Fratkan, Robert, "President and Editor's Message," *The Keynoter*, Spring/Summer, 1983. ["Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Age of the New Deal."]

FDR Remembered, Selections from the Joseph M. Jacobs Collection of Rooseveltiana, The Library, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, January 28 to April 12, 1982. [Program of items exhibited.]

Grauer, Neil A., "Political Pin Ups," *Cigar Aficionado*, published Autumn, 1996. <http://www.cigaraficionado.com/Cigar/Aficionado/Archives/199609/fs996.html>. [As downloaded Nov. 18, 2002.]

"Joe Jacobs: Labor Lawyer, Activist Retires After 59 Years of Making History," *Chicago Federation of Labor Federation News*, December 1990.

"The Man with 45,000 Reasons to Remember F.D.R.," *Button World Magazine*, Vol.1, No. 2, [Nov. Dec., 1971]

Letter to author from Lois Jacobs King, dated Nov. 19, 2002, in APIC Archives.

Thanks to Robert Fratkan, Larry Krug, "Mitch" Kuhn, and especially Lois Jacobs King, for their invaluable help in preparing this article.



“The Bowtie Brigade” Paul Simon For President

(a Keynoter interview by Richard Rector)

Paul Simon was born on November 29, 1928 in Eugene Oregon. He left college in his junior year to purchase a small town newspaper. As a young publisher, he exposed organized crime activities in southern Illinois and was called to testify before Sen. Estes Kefauver's Committee on Organized Crime. In 1954, Simon was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives. During his time in the legislature he received an endorsement in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* penned by future presidential hopeful Pat Buchanan.

Simon served in the Illinois House until 1968 when he was elected Lt. Governor as Republican Richard Ogilvie was elected Governor (the only time in state history that the Governor and Lt. Governor were of different parties). Four years later he lost his bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination to Chicago attorney Dan Walker, who was elected Governor but later sent to federal prison.

In 1974, Paul Simon was elected to the first of five terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1984, despite the Reagan landslide, Simon defeated Republican Senator Charles Percy (himself a presidential hopeful).

Simon was the last candidate to enter the race for the 1988 Democratic Presidential nomination. He ran second in many of the early contests and won his home state primary in Illinois. He dropped out after the Wisconsin primary, finishing in fourth place in primary popular vote with 1,018,136 votes and 217 delegates.

In 1990, he won a tough re-election over Congresswoman Lynn Martin (later Secretary of Labor under the first President Bush). Simon retired in 1996 and now heads the Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale.

Keynoter: The bowtie goes back to your first campaign. Can you tell us that story?

Simon: Well, I happened to wear a bowtie for about three days, and a newspaper in Alton, Illinois identified me as “The candidate with the bowtie” and I thought “What the heck? I’ll be the candidate with the bowtie.” I’ve had public relations people tell me I ought to get rid of it. But it becomes kind of a symbol and during campaigns

you may have seen one of these little bowtie things [lapel pins] that we had. People don’t wear campaign buttons other than when they go to rallies or something but ordinarily they don’t wear them. The little bowtie is just low key enough that people will wear it.

I had an interesting experience in November. I went over for the Freedom Forum to Ghana, which was preparing for an election and had seven candidates for President. One of them taught for a while at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois and had seen me on television with the bowtie. He used the bowtie as his symbol and he gave me ten bowties when I was over there. I regret to tell you that he came in third out of seven candidates. He didn’t win; maybe like someone else you know. [laughs]

Keynoter: Would you tell us about your 1968 election as Illinois Lt. Governor and your term as Lt. Governor?

Simon: In those days you voted separately for Governor and Lt. Governor in Illinois. That has since changed. But I ran with a fellow named Sam Shapiro who had been Lt. Governor and took over as Governor when Otto Kerner became a federal judge. Unexpectedly, we had a very close election and the Republican candidate [Richard Ogilvie] for Governor won and I won. It was the first time that had happened in Illinois history. As Lt. Governor I worked on a variety of problems and took on the role of ombudsman and just did what I could to help people. It gave me a great deal of visibility. Four years later I ran for Governor and lost a very close race in the primary.

Keynoter: Please tell us about your 1972 bid for the Democratic Gubernatorial nomination?

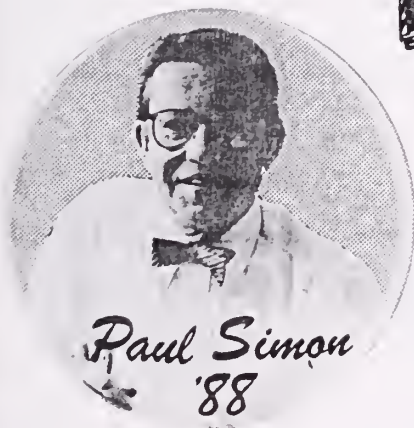
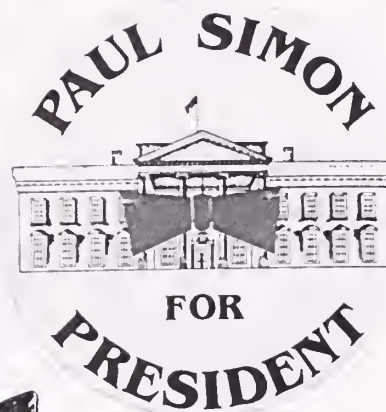
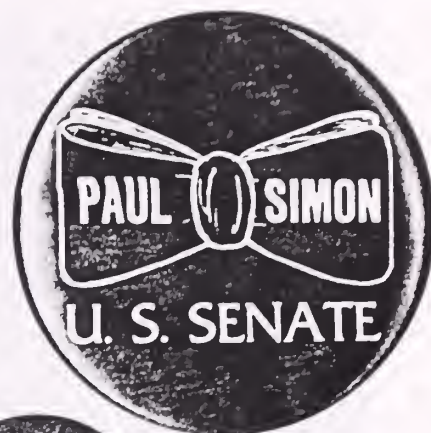
Simon: I had lined up a great deal of support and I indicated – I didn’t say this publicly – but I indicated to Mayor Daley that I would be a candidate whether I got his endorsement or not. His endorsement up to that point had meant the nomination. He eventually did endorse me. I had an opponent who ran against me, Dan Walker, and he used the Daley endorsement as a tool against me. He frankly out-promised me on all kinds of things. He used the tool of television, which really hadn’t been used much up to that point, and I didn’t use it effectively. I can’t blame anyone but myself for losing the primary. It’s one of those things that I barely lost, but I lost.



Above: Bumper sticker. Right: Vendor button.



**Paul
Simon**
US SENATE



Simon

FOR PRESIDENT



Above: Sen. Simon makes a point with the APIC Keynoter on the table. Below: Two buttons from Simon's congressional races.



Keynoter: Can you tell us about your election to Congress in the famous Watergate election of 1974?

Simon: After losing the race for Governor in 1972 I taught at what was then Sangamon State University (now the University of Illinois/Springfield) and lectured at Harvard for one semester. A seat in the House became vacant and my home was just eight miles outside the district but I knew that you couldn't run for Congress being outside the district. So I moved from the small town of Troy down to Carbondale, which (by Washington standards) is still pretty small: 26,000 people. But that became our home and then I ran for the House. I had a primary fight and a general election fight but I ended up winning. I was in the House ten years and then was elected to the Senate in 1984.

Keynoter: As a freshmen member of congress you organized a 1976 Draft Humphrey movement. Can you tell us about that experience?

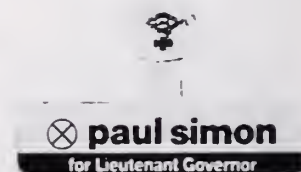
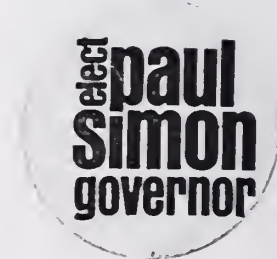
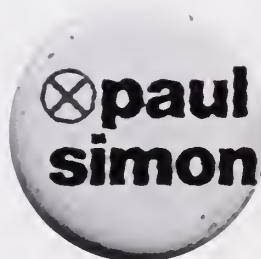
Simon: It wasn't clear who was going to be the candidate. Jimmy Carter was out there. I wasn't sure how genuine Jimmy Carter was in terms of race relations, something that I grew up being very sensitive on. The other principal candidate at that point was Mo Udall, a good friend; but I wasn't sure that Mo could be elected. I thought Hubert Humphrey could be elected. All the polls showed that he would win, but Hubert had had a bout with cancer and he wasn't sure that he wanted to run. The polls kept coming in solidly that he was the strongest candidate that we could put up on the

Democratic side. So some of us finally formed a draft Humphrey movement because he couldn't decide whether he wanted to be a candidate or not. Then it got down to the final point where, if we could win the New Jersey primary, he would be the nominee because the Party leaders were really very comfortable with Hubert Humphrey. He said that he was going to talk it over with his wife, Muriel, and didn't think he would be a candidate. He called me about eight the next morning and said "Paul, Muriel and I talked to about two in the morning and I have decided to become a candidate. Can you get some of your colleagues in the House over for a press conference?"

Well, we had no trouble lining up people, reporters and House members. Then about ten o'clock in the morning, I got a call from his assistant who said, "There has been a switch in signals. He has decided he is not going to be a candidate." He said, "We have scheduled a noon press conference. Can you be over here about 11:30?" So I went over about 11:30 and I remember Fritz Mondale was there, I was there, Hubert was there. He said that "I called a few people and I just decided that I don't want to do it." I don't know who all he talked to. I know he talked to [then DNC chairman] Bob Strauss. He did not encourage him. He talked to [former Congressman] Peter Rodino and Peter had discouraged him. Maybe just those two phone calls are what did it. I don't know. Anyway, we had a room full of people in the Rayburn Building expecting him to announce his candidacy for President and he announced that he wouldn't be a candidate for President.

Keynoter: Tell us about your election to the Senate in 1984?

Simon: I really had not planned to run for the Senate. I had been asked by party leaders to run for Governor on two different occasions and decided that I was going to stick to the House at least for a while. On one occasion I had been asked to run against Chuck Percy (that would have been in 1978) and declined. Then the pressures kind of mounted on me to run for Senator. Well, I shouldn't say pressures, but people came and said that they would raise money for me if I would run. Then I received letters from everyone – from Eppie Lederer [better known as Ann Landers] to just an unusual array of people – urging me to become a candidate. I finally decided to do it. But, frankly, had I known that Ronald Reagan was going to carry Illinois that year by almost a million votes, I would



Buttons from Paul Simon's races for Lieutenant Governor and Governor of Illinois.

**Simon
for
Senate
1984**



never have become a candidate. But as it turned out, I won; not by a large majority, but I won. There were only two of us who defeated incumbent members of the Senate that year [1992 Presidential hopeful] Tom Harkin and I. In Tom's case his opponent [Sen. Roger Jepsen] used an American Express card at a massage parlor which the *Des Moines Register* published and that did not help his candidacy. I ended up winning by 89,000 votes, which I used to think was a small margin. But then I look at the 2000 Presidential race in Florida and think that I won by a huge majority. [laughter]

Keynoter: Why did you seek the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1988?

Simon: Well, I guess that, if you are interested in policy, there is one place where you can do more for policy than any other. I was new in the Senate. I had been there four years. I was not planning to run but there was a little talk. I remember Congressman Bill Lehman from Florida doing an interview on CNN and he said, "Well, our strongest candidate would be Paul Simon." Then there were 15 members of the House from eight or nine different states that wrote me a letter urging me to become a candidate and made the letter public. It was enough to get reporters talking and then Richard Reeves wrote a column in which he said that the best candidate for president isn't running and talked about me. At that point the California Democratic state chairman called and asked me to become a candidate. But I still felt uneasy about it.

At that point [Arkansas Senator] Dale Bumpers was talking about becoming a candidate. I had great respect for Dale, so I went to him and told him I was going to endorse him. I called a press conference and endorsed Dale Bumpers. That kind of ended the presidential thing and then Dale was having some problems with his knee. He kept postponing his announcement and finally he called a press conference and said, "I'm not going to be a candidate".

At that point my phone started ringing off the hook. My wife and I took a weekend off to Florida and I decided to become a candidate. But I entered it later than the other candidates. I didn't have a campaign manager or anything, but I announced that I was going to become a candidate for president and started off from scratch.

I remember the first poll I saw in Iowa showed that I had 1% of the vote in support but that gradually grew, I'm pleased to say.

Keynoter: In her interview Rep. Pat Schroeder said that one of the reasons she decided not to run was a late start made it too hard to raise funds. Was that a problem for you?

Simon: Yes, there's no question. Mike Dukakis, Al Gore and Dick Gephardt had been out there six months or a year prior to my getting into the race. There's no question that, if I had gotten into it earlier, I think I would have won. I came in a close second as it was. I think the other thing is Dick Gephardt focused his attention

almost solely on Iowa. I focused my attention on fifty states. I was in great shape in places like New York. If I could have won those early primaries, I would have swept New York and that was true in many states. But, in retrospect, I should have focused more on Iowa. Dick won Iowa but he was not able to capitalize on it because he did not have the strength elsewhere. I had the strength elsewhere but not quite enough in Iowa, although the December poll of the *Des Moines Register* showed me 25 points ahead for the Democratic nomination. Then Gary Hart came back into the race and for whatever reason Gary obviously appealed to the same people that I did and it just cut my lead. I ended up running second.

Keynoter: You participated in all of the nationally televised Democratic Presidential debates. How do you feel about your performance in those debates?

Simon: Oh, not as good as it should have been but I think the debates are a very healthy thing.

Keynoter: That year NBC had an odd debate that featured the seven Democratic as well as the six Republican Presidential hopefuls. How did that work out?

Simon: I did more poorly there than some of the other debates. Sometimes you feel like you have won; sometimes you feel like you didn't win. At that point, I was ahead in the polls and so my colleagues were jumping at me. I wasn't as prepared. Particularly, I was advocating a balanced budget amendment and they were saying, "You are going to have to have tax increases to have this." I really didn't have a precise solid answer. So I didn't do as well as I should have.



Sen. Paul Simon with Keynoter writer Richard Rector.

Keynoter: Also on NBC, you appeared on *Saturday Night Live*. Can you tell us about that experience and do you think it boosted your candidacy?

Simon: I don't know whether it helped my candidacy or not, but it was a fun experience. They first asked me to do a skit making fun of Gary Hart and Joe Biden and I declined. I just didn't feel comfortable doing that. Then they asked me to be on with the singer Paul Simon and they started the show, "Our host for tonight is Paul Simon." The two of us walked out and had this debate about which one of us was supposed to be the host. It was a great experience and fun. Obviously, he ended up being the host and not me. But you learn something about our culture. The next morning I was on the David Brinkley show. For about two weeks afterwards, people would come up to me and say, "I saw you on *Saturday Night Live*." No one ever came up to me and said, "I saw you on the David Brinkley Show". You find out what people watch and what they don't watch.

Keynoter: The 1988 Iowa caucus was a close race. Rep. Dick Gephardt is credited with winning but they never finished counting the vote. Do you think the results might have been different if they had finished counting the vote?

Simon: Well, NBC did a story about two weeks later saying that maybe I was the winner in Iowa. I frankly don't have any idea. I think we have to assume that Dick won. But, even if I won technically, what they did was just close the tabulations once television stopped covering it. They just stopped calculating the votes. Dick ended up getting the impact of a win and that's the big thing. The news the next morning was Dick Gephardt wins the Iowa Caucus.

Keynoter: After the New Hampshire primary, you concentrated on winning the Illinois Primary where you faced another Illinoisan, Jesse Jackson. Can you tell us about the Illinois Primary?

Simon: I stayed in the Illinois primary. I wanted to stay through Wisconsin because I felt that if I could carry Wisconsin, then I felt that I would be in reasonably good shape in the succeeding states, but Illinois preceded that. At this point I found out that we were running a deficit. I don't know why and this is my fault probably entirely. I had assumed that my instructions were being followed that the campaign would be run on a pay-as-you-go basis. All of a sudden, I discovered that we had a big debt. So I said that "I'm not going to spend any money in Illinois" and Mike Dukakis and Al



Gore spent a great deal on television in Illinois. Of course, Jesse Jackson was also from Illinois but I ended up winning the state primary pretty decisively.

Keynoter: You hung on until after the Wisconsin Primary. Why did you then suspend your candidacy?

Simon: Well, at that point, you know you can't run second or third all the time and stay in the battle. You have to win some and I wasn't winning any. So I just suspended my candidacy.

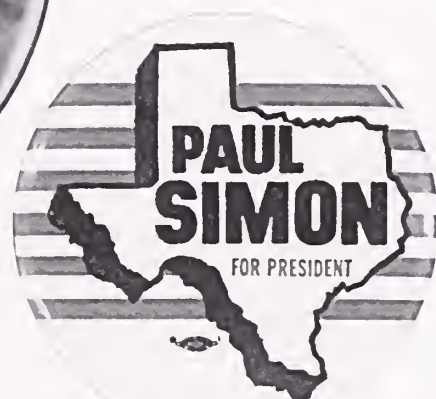
Keynoter: If you had won the Democratic Presidential nomination do you think the results would have been any different?

Simon: I suppose that every candidate feels this but I believe I would have won a general election. I have always had a great ability to appeal to Republicans and Independents. Despite taking all kinds of unpopular positions, I ended up my 1990 race with the biggest plurality of any candidate for Senator or Governor of either political party in the nation. So I think I could have done well and I think that I would have run the kind of campaign where the public would have been educated whether I won or lost.

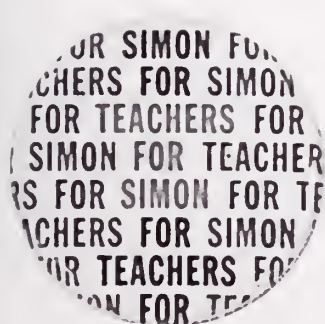
Keynoter: Thank you.★



Anti-Simon buttons and sticker (lower left).



A variety of Simon for President buttons.



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