



THE KEYNOTER



The Campaign of 1928

Herbert Hoover vs. Al Smith

The National League of Republican Clubs &
the National Association of Democratic Clubs

Willie Wanted Stevenson • Charles Dawes for Senator



THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Quarterly

Volume 2003, Number 4

Winter 2003

Editor's Message

The election of 1928 was a rarity – it did not offer voters a choice between the lesser of two evils. Both Republican Herbert Hoover and Democrat Al Smith were generally perceived as unusually skilled and substantial statesmen. Of course, Smith's Catholic faith was a big problem to a large segment of bigoted voters but his skill as the governor of the nation's largest state was never in dispute. Hoover seemed to stand even above his party, attracting intellectuals and artists into his camp. He was the engineer, an international statesman who fed the hungry and offered the prospect of a government organized on more scientific principles than the grubby political games of the past.

A few years back I had the chance to visit an old college friend, Tim Walch, who is director of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library in West Branch, Iowa. Aside from catching up on personal matters, it was also a chance to learn more about the much-maligned former president. I encourage anyone interested in American politics to give the Hoover Library and the nearby Herbert Hoover National Historic Site a visit. All the neat presidential sites are not on the coasts. This one is in the middle of the country and worth going to see.

Michael Kelly
Editor

FEATURES:

The Campaign of 1928	Page 3
The 1928 Primaries	Page 8
The 1928 General Election.....	Page 8
The Let's Go Button Returns	Page 9
Herbert Hoover Trivia.....	Page 10
Al Smith's Crowd.....	Page 14
A Catholic for President?	Page 15
The Running Mates	Page 16
Al Smith After 1928	Page 17
Hoover and Smith Coattails	Page 18
Charles Dawes for Senator	Page 20
The FDR Clocks, part V	Page 21
Taft Out – Wilson In	Page 23
National Political Clubs	Page 24
Willie Wanted Stevenson	Page 27

DEPARTMENTS:

Collecting History: The Lost Item	Page 22
---	---------

Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Larry Brokofsky, Germaine Broussard, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, Harvey Goldberg, Ted Hake, David Holcomb, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, Ken Hosner, Brian Krapf, Library of Congress, Robert Rouse, Al Salter, Tom Salter, Timothy Walch, Ed Sullivan and Edward Wright..

Covers: Front: A collage of material from the 1928 campaign, including an art photograph consisting of a photograph of a photograph of Hoover, something quite groundbreaking in 1928. **Back:** Cardboard cutout hanger showing Smith and Robinson along with the sidewalks of New York.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

“The Enduring Image of Theodore Roosevelt” will be featured along with an important essay on Political Americana by Pulitzer Prize winning historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and many other features.

All correspondence about content should be addressed to:

Editor

Michael Kelly
1901 Montclair Avenue
Flint, MI 48503
[Email: mkelly@mcc.edu]

Associate Editor

Robert Fratkin

All correspondence about mailing and copies should be addressed to:

Publisher

Joe Hayes
P.O. Box 1149
Cibolo, TX 78108
[Email: apic@texas.net]

Contributing Editors

Steve Baxley
Stephen Cresswell
David Frent

Editorial Board

Robert Fratkin
Harvey Goldberg
Michael Kelly
Brian Krapf
Phil Ross
Edmund Sullivan

Contributors

Robert Fratkin
Harvey Goldberg
Ike Hoover
Robert Rouse
Paul Rozycki
Al Salter

Support Services

Germaine Broussard
Kay Sampson Kelly

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.

©2003 APIC Texas 78108
Printed in USA
by Lebo Graphics



Hoover and Smith: The Campaign of 1928

by Harvey Goldberg



Alfred E. Smith was first nominated for the presidency at the 1920 Democratic National Convention – the one that eventually nominated James M. Cox. But this was merely a sign of his home state's admiration. Four years later Smith eagerly sought the nomination to no avail. In spite of much enthusiasm surrounding his name, the New York Governor was both Catholic and a "wet" (not a wholehearted prohibitionist). Add to this the fact that many southern delegates to the 1924 convention had been elected by the Ku Klux Klan, which hated Catholics (and many other groups) and Smith lost the nomination to John W. Davis. Disappointed, Al Smith went back to New York, winning a third term and then a fourth term as governor.

When 1928 arrived, Smith was ready to try again. The Democratic Party was tired of losing in November and southern delegates slowly swung into the Smith camp after seeing that no other Democrat could match his political record and election success. The name of "The Happy Warrior" rang out from coast to coast. Smith was nominated on the first ballot at the Democratic National Convention in Houston, Texas, with Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas as his running mate.

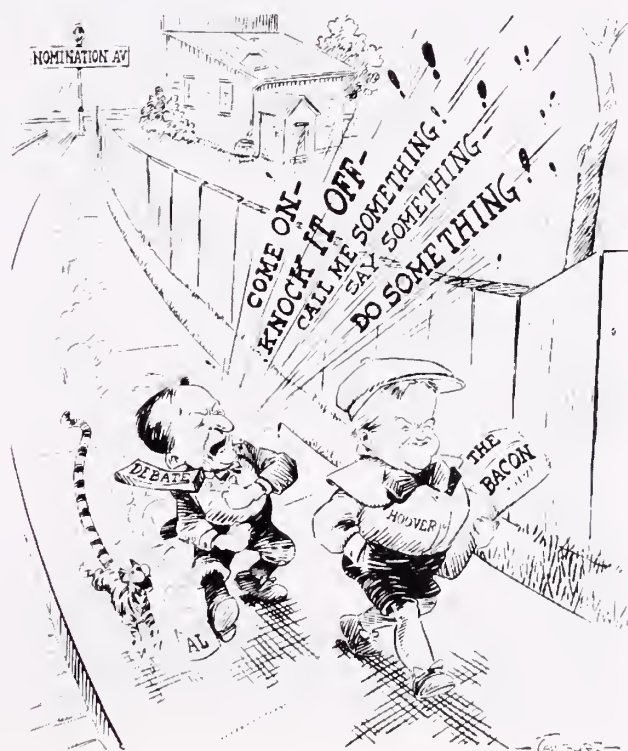
Smith promised to link the urban East with the rural South in a coalition of voters that would pick up the key big population states. His "Dry Protestant" running mate, Joseph Robinson, balanced Smith's "Wet Catholic" stance. Their platform downplayed the tariff issue and Prohibition, supporting instead a federal farm program, public works projects, and federal aid to education.

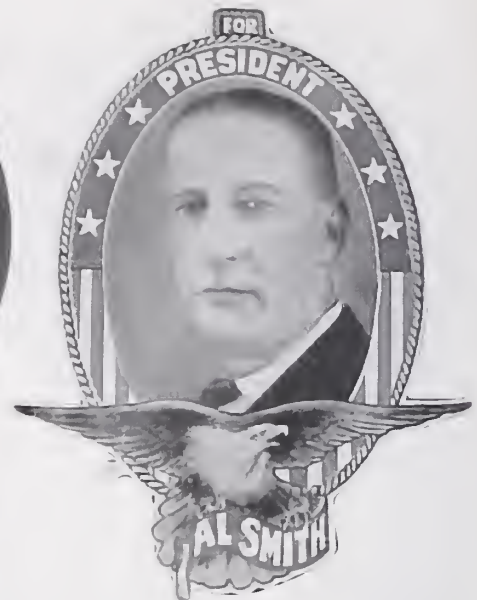
The Republicans had been victorious in the last eight presidential elections and hoped to continue their command of the Oval Office. When Herbert Hoover came to the Republican convention in Kansas City in the summer of 1928, no other candidate had much of a chance for the nomination. He arrived with 450 votes pledged from the party primaries, the support of women, progressives, the new business elite and corporate interests, and almost all party regulars. The convention nominated Hoover on the first ballot, along with Senate Majority Leader Charles Curtis from Kansas for vice president. The Republican platform pledged continued prosperity with lower taxes, a protective tariff, opposition to farm subsidies, and a vigorous enforcement of Prohibition.

From the start of the campaign, Smith ran into difficulty on three issues: Religion, Prohibition, and Tammany Hall. For

almost a century, the religious issue had been important in national elections. But it had usually been anonymously whispered or insinuated. Not so in 1928: it was out in the open. No Catholic had ever been elected president and vicious rumors in an openly hateful anti-Catholic campaign hit Smith with regularity. Some preachers in rural areas delivered Sunday sermons warning that a vote for Smith was a vote for the Devil. Anti-Smith literature, distributed by the Ku Klux Klan all over the nation, claimed that President Smith would take orders from the Pope and make Catholicism the state religion. When Smith addressed a massive rally in Oklahoma City on the subject of religious intolerance, crosses were burned around the stadium and he was jeered as he spoke. The next evening, thousands filled the same stadium to hear an anti-Smith speech called "Al Smith and the Forces of Hell."

Always opposed to Prohibition, Smith was unable to shake his earlier criticism of the Eighteenth Amendment (which pro-





Above: 3 1/2" buttons.

Above: Window decal (shown reduced).



HOOVER
-
CURTIS
VOLUNTEER
NOV. 6th
1928
VICTORY!



The tiny 9/16" Texas button (shown enlarged and original size) reflects an important political fact: Hoover broke the "Solid South" and carried several states of the old Confederacy. The "Signed Up fo Hoover" button above might be political or might be from Hoover's days as a relief administrator.

Democratic National Committee
1775 BROADWAY
NEW YORK

RECEIVED OF FRANK W. YESS
THE SUM OF FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS
IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUND TO PAY THE NECESSARY EXPENSES OF THE
CAMPAIGN IN BEHALF OF THE ELECTION OF ALFRED E. SMITH AS PRESIDENT
AND JOSEPH T. ROBINSON AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

No. 37454
Dated October 30, 1928

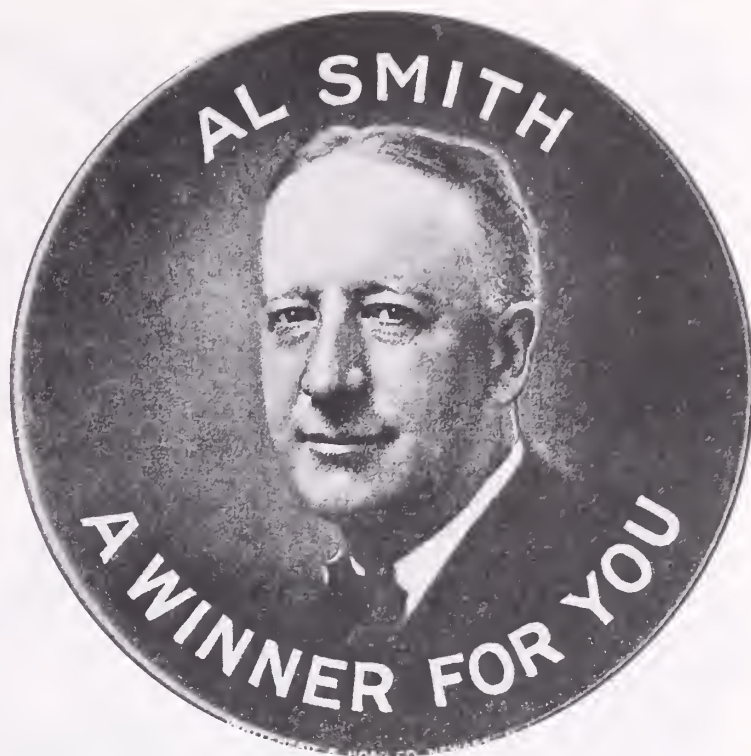
W. W. Washburn CHAIRMAN
James W. Keenan PRESIDENT
Herbert H. Gelman CLERK

hibited the manufacture, sale or transport of liquor) as a foolish attempt to legislate morality. The Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and other supporters of the temperance movement called him "Al-coholic" Smith and spread rumors about his own addiction to drink.

Smith's long association with Tammany Hall also worked against him, especially in the South and West. To rural voters, the Tammany political machine exemplified big-city corruption, immoral Irish and radical Italian immigrants, patronage, organized crime, "speakeasies," and prostitution. And Smith had to be a Tammany man. How else could he have gotten from the streets of New York's Lower East Side to the governor's mansion in Albany and become the Democratic presidential nominee?

By contrast, Herbert Hoover stood above the turmoil of politics. He was a Quaker, an honest and ethical person. As Secretary of Commerce during the Harding and Coolidge Administrations, he had set up a new Division of Commercial Standards that greatly aided business. He brought an engineer's efficiency to the front in this era of radio, aviation, and new technologies, with a vision for economic growth. Hoover also had the image of a great humanitarian who had brought relief to millions around the world during World War I and, more recently, to the victims of the Great Mississippi Flood of 1927.

A GOP circular promised "a chicken in every pot and two



A beautiful 4" button (see the 1" version on page 6).



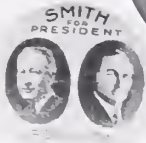
Bottom: Two oval brooches (shown reduced). For correct size see Smith/Comstock oval on page 19.

cars in every garage" and continued great prosperity with every salesgirl and elevator boy cleaning up on the stock market, etc. Hoover's well-written radio speeches presented him as a dignified statesman in contrast to the more offhanded Al Smith, whose East Side New Yorker accent sounded strange to Midwesterners hearing him on the radio. Even Smith's theme song, "The Sidewalks of New York," failed to play well much beyond Manhattan.

It would outwardly seem that the nation could not lose, regardless of which man was elected. But the victor would have a difficult time repairing the damage done during the campaign. And it was a very nasty campaign. The religious issue was uncontained. Nothing in campaign history could truly compare with it. As the campaign progressed, both the religious issue and Smith's views on Prohibition were eroding the Democratic South. At the same time, Hoover personally repudiated the support of religious bigots and denounced the issue of religion.

The bottom line, however, was that the Democrats and Al Smith were unable to convince the American people that their prosperity and lifestyles were in danger. Few saw the clouds of depression on the far horizon. What was the use of pledging for reform and progressive moves when unemployment was low, wages were high, and consumer goods were plentiful? Who listened to claims of government inefficiency when people were earning more money than ever before?

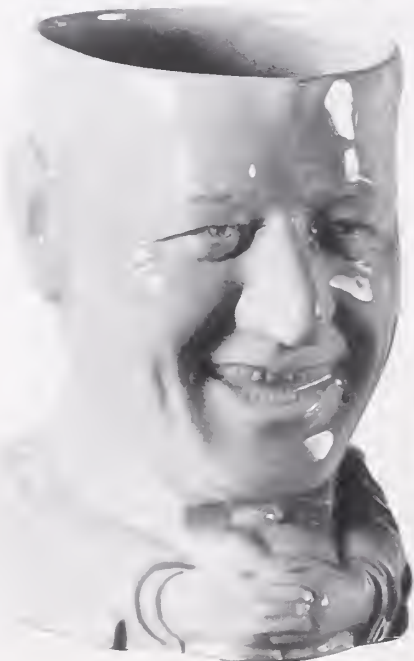
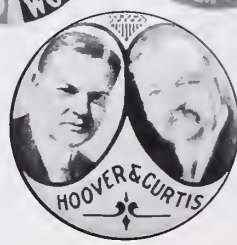
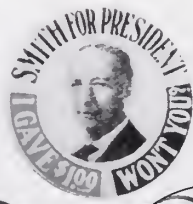
Republicans swept the election in November. Hoover carried forty states, including Smith's home state of New York, all the Border States and even five traditionally Democratic states in the Solid South. The popular vote was a lopsided 21,391,993 votes (58.2%) for Hoover and 15,016,169 votes (40.9%) for Smith. The Electoral College tally was even more unbalanced: 444 to 87. With 13 million more people voting in 1928 than had turned out in 1924, Smith won twice as many Democratic votes as John W. Davis had won in 1924 and almost as many votes as



Note the error in the jugate below with an extra S in Curtis.

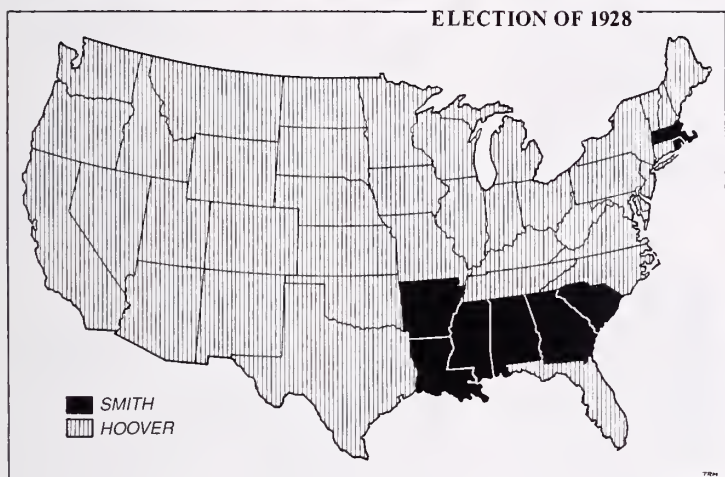


The "Guiding Star" button below comes with both red and blue stars



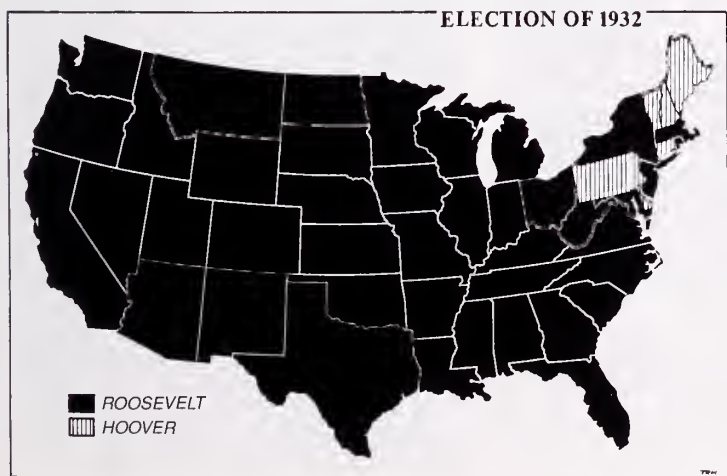
had been won by 1924's victorious Republican, Calvin Coolidge. Nonetheless, although many of America's big cities voted Democratic, the national and rural surge for Hoover swamped Smith's big city base of support.

The bitterest pill was that Hoover won New York State's 45 electoral votes by more than a quarter of a million votes. In November of 1928, Herbert Hoover seemed to the majority of voters to be the right man for the presidency. When the Depression struck less than a year later, many of these same voters, in hindsight, thought the right man would appear to have been Alfred E. Smith. What changes in history would have been wrought with a Democratic victory in 1928? Would the Great Depression have been avoided or reduced? Would FDR ever have been nominated or elected? This is another version of the ultimately unanswerable question, "what might have been"?★



Button on the left is 2½" while that on the right is 3½". The top button is shown full size. The window sticker below is shown reduced.

Talk about a swing! Hoover's 1928 landslide left Smith with only six Deep South states plus heavily Catholic Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Four years later, Hoover could only manage a bare half dozen states.





The 1928 Primaries

by Michael Kelly

The primaries were good predictors of the nominees in 1928. The season opened with New Hampshire on March 13 but no candidate filed and unpledged delegates were elected on both sides. On March 20, Republican Frank Lowden, a former Illinois governor, and Democrat Al Smith were both unopposed in North Dakota's primary. Michigan's April 2 primary pitted Hoover against Lowden and Gov. Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts. Hoover easily won with 97.6% to Lowden's 1.8% and Coolidge's 0.6%. On the Democratic side, Al Smith swept with 98.3% over Montana Sen. Thomas Walsh (1.3%) and Missouri Sen. James Reed (0.4%).

Wisconsin's progressives boosted their progressive neighbor, Sen. George Norris of Nebraska, on April 3 with 87% followed in declining order by Hoover, Lowden, Coolidge and Charles Dawes while the Democrats gave a victory to Reed (75%) over Smith (24.3%) and Walsh (0.7%). Lowden swept his home state of Illinois on April 10 with 99.3%, followed by Hoover, Coolidge and Dawes. Illinois Democrats gave Smith 91.7% over Reed (7.9%) and William McAdoo (0.4%). That same day, Nebraska Republicans boosted their hometown hero, George Norris, with 91.8% over Hoover, Lowden, Dawes and Coolidge. Nebraska Democrats went for a favorite son, Sen. Gilbert Hitchcock (91.5%), with Smith pulling 8.5%.

Ohio's April 24 primary saw Hoover topping Ohio's favorite son, Gov. Frank Willis, 68.1% to 26.5% with Lowden, Dawes and Coolidge far behind. Ohio Democrats went for Smith (65.9%) over two local candidates - former Sen. Atlee Pomerene (21.7%) and future Sen. Victor Donahey (12.3%).

Hoover and Smith both topped the field in Massachusetts on April 28. Hoover took 85.2% by write-in over local favorite Coolidge (6.6% by write-in) while Smith won 98.1% over Walsh.

On May 1, California Republicans went for Hoover unopposed while Smith took 54.1% over Reed (24.1%) and Walsh (18.8%) among Democrats. Indiana stuck with favorite sons

on May 7: Republican Sen. James Watson narrowly beat Hoover 53% to 47% while Democrats picked Evans Woollen without opposition. Maryland on May 7 went for Hoover but the Democrats didn't hold a primary. New Jersey on May 15 found Hoover and Smith unopposed.

Three days later, Smith (48.5%) easily topped Walsh (31.3%) and Reed (17.7%) in Oregon while Hoover swept Lowden with 98.7% of the GOP votes. Contested primaries ended in West Virginia on May 29 where Hoover (46%) came close

to upsetting favorite son Sen. Guy Goff (54%) while Smith (50%) narrowly topped Reed (46.4%).

In the end, both Hoover and Smith easily topped their respective primary fields, showing strength across the nation and reaching the convention guaranteed easy first ballot victories.★



1928: The General Election

by Michael Kelly

The popularity of both Hoover and Smith meant less attention went to the minor parties. The Progressive Party of Robert LaFollette that had run so well in 1924 was gone. The Socialist Party was back with Norman Thomas of New York and James Maurer from Pennsylvania, but its 267,420 votes was a fraction of its heyday under Eugene Debs. The Communists put forward William Foster of Illinois and Benjamin Gitlow of New York. But only 48,770 votes were recorded for the Communist Party. The venerable Socialist Workers Party took the next spot with 21,603 votes for its ticket of Verne Reynolds and Jeremiah Crowley, both of who hailed from New York (which would have cause a constitutional problem if they had won). Just behind the SLP came the even older Prohibition Party with William Varney of New York and James Edgerton of Virginia. Bringing up the rear was the Farmer Labor Party ticket of Frank Webb of California and Will Vereen of Georgia. The Farmer Laborites only managed to scrape together 6,390 votes. Only two minor party buttons are known from 1928, the Communists and the Socialists.

These totals pale behind Hoover's 21,391,993 votes (and 444 in the electoral college) or even Smith's 15,016,169 (87 electoral votes). Just goes to show you what happens when both major parties nominate good people.★



Senator James E.

WATSON

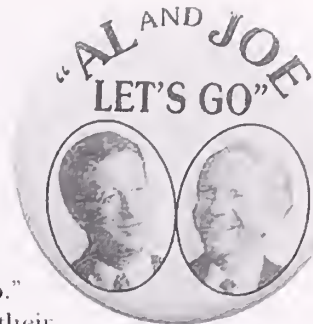
Hoosier Candidate

PRESIDENT



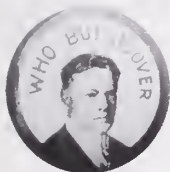
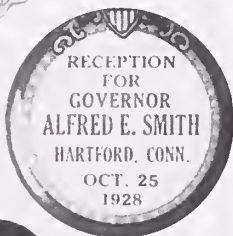
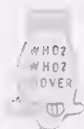
Minor party buttons from 1928.

The "Let's Go" Button Returns

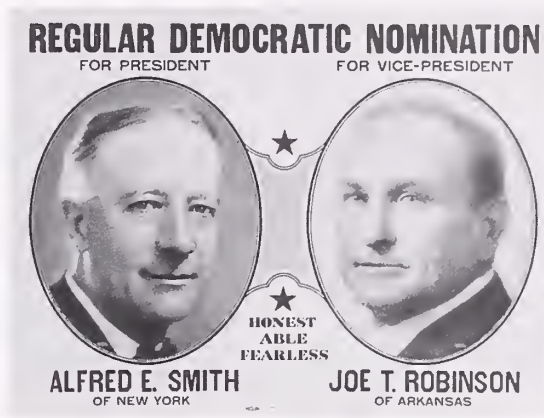


In 1928, loyal Democrats rallied around their ticket of Al Smith and Joe Robinson. In the Bronx, Billy Wagner (who billed himself as "The Button, Badge and Banner Man") printed up a jugate button with the snappy slogan "Al and Joe - Let's Go."

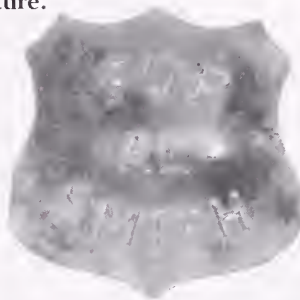
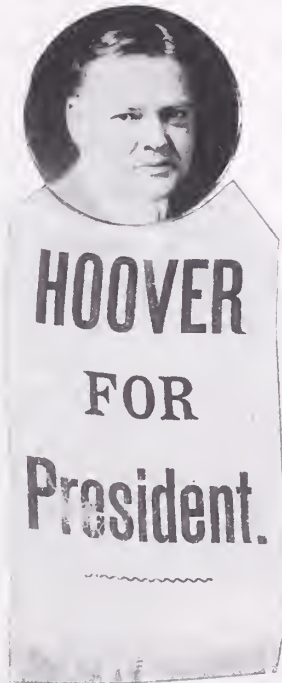
Seventy-two years later, loyal Democrats once again rallied around their ticket of Al Gore and Joe Lieberman. The parallel was irresistible to a collector-oriented button maker, who issued the same pin with pictures of the new "Al and Joe" team. The 1928 version is 1 3/4" while the 2000 version is 2 1/2". [MK]



Center: celluloid-covered picture.



(Poster (reduced))



The economy was booming in 1928 and both candidates were popular. That resulted in a wide range of material for both candidates.

Bottom left: sewing kit. Bottom right: window sticker (reduced).

Herbert Hoover Trivia

Here are some facts about our much-maligned 31st President:

- Hoover was the first President born west of the Mississippi - in Iowa;
- He was the first president to have served in a cabinet post other than Secretary of State or Secretary of War.
- Hoover was the first president to have a telephone on his desk in the White House.
- Hoover was the last President whose term of office ended on March 3. The 20th Amendment to the Constitution ("The Lame Duck Amendment") was proposed toward the end of Hoover's term.
- The first asteroid named for an American President was Hooveria - discovered in 1920 by Johann Palisan of Vienna, Austria. (Could this name also be applied to the collection of Hoover campaign items?)
- Hoover was one of the most honored presidents. He received over 50 honorary degrees from American universities, and more than 20 honorary degrees from foreign universities.
- Herbert Hoover lived longer after his term of office (almost 32 years) than any other president.

- Submitted by Harvey Goldberg

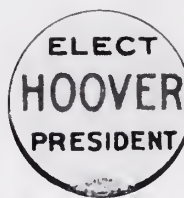


NEWARK N. J.
*
HOOVER
FOR
PRESIDENT
*



Window banner.

Al Smith Day
SEPTEMBER
2, 1928



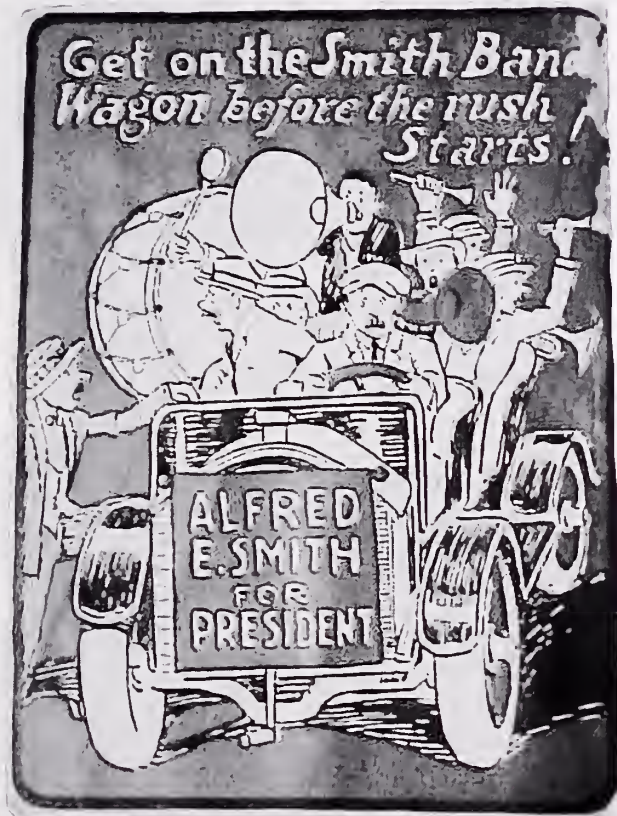
Left: A lightbulb with its filament in the shape of the GOP elephant and Herbert Hoover's initials. Above: Smith and Hoover pencils with erasers in the shape of their heads.



These three buttons were made by the same manufacturer. On the left we see a rare smiling picture of Hoover and on the right a rare button with photo of Smith wearing his derby. There may be a Hoover/Curtis jugate as well, but it is currently unknown. Below: A glass theater slide.



"The Boys" down at Tammany Hall were solid for Al Smith.



Window sticker.

VOTE FOR
"AL" SMITH

—AND—
 The STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET
 SECOND ROW ON VOTING MACHINE
 To Vote Right, Pull Down Every Lever Over
 Name With the Star

"AL"
AL
SMITH



Upper left: Talk about high tech! Two new technologies are marshaled for Hoover: a brand new truck and those new fangled moving pictures. Above: Window sticker (reduced) and a button for women drivers supporting Hoover (full size).



Above: Stovepipe covers.



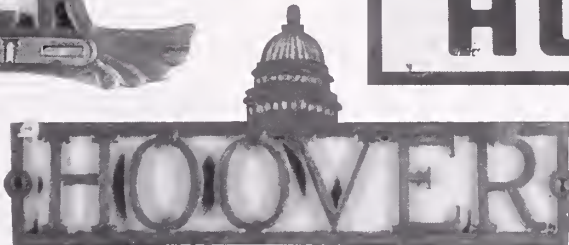
Outside: Flag holders. Inside: Metal bumper tags.



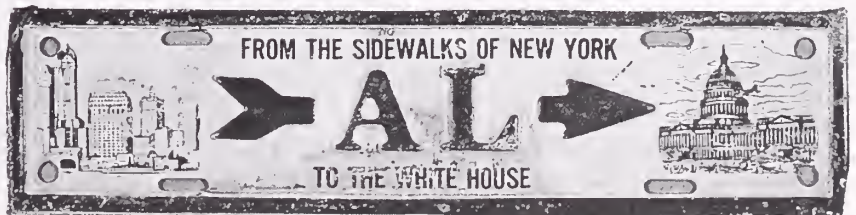
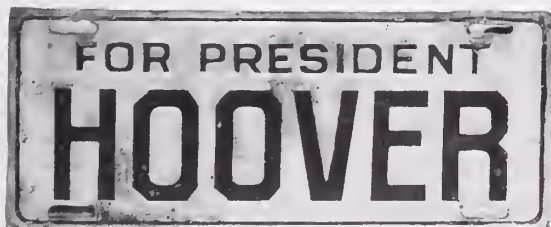
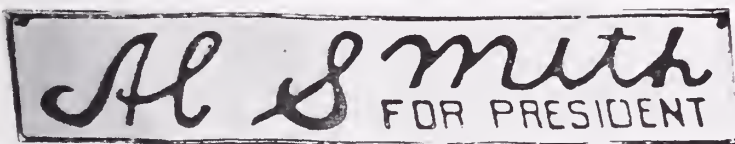
Above and to the left: These unusual campaign items are reflectors that were attached to car bumpers. Sunlight passed through the top to a mirror, which reflected the candidate's name to the viewer.



The new automobiles were quickly turned into mobile signs for Hoover and Smith.



These license plates are shown reduced. They are a variety of sizes.



“Al Smith’s Crowd.”

A speech by U.S. Sen. Thomas J. Heflin (Democrat - Alabama), delivered on the floor of the Senate on January 18, 1928



What did I see in the [1924 Democratic] convention at New York? I saw Roman Catholic delegates in the corridors of the hotels noisily demanding that the Ku-Klux-Klan be denounced by the Democratic convention. I talked to a number of them. I said, “Gentlemen, that question has got no business in this convention; you may not like the Klan, but you have got no business trying to get a National Democratic Convention to denounce it. It is a Protestant order and Protestants generally think that you want it denounced because you are Catholics. What would you think if it sought to denounce the Knights of Columbus by the convention? Nobody but Catholics can join that order.”

“No,” they replied, “we want the convention to denounce it.” I said, “If you do, you will tear the Democratic Party to pieces,” and a number of them replied, “To hell with the party if it will not denounce the Klan.”

So I tell you Senators again that they put Roman Catholic government above everything, above the Democratic Party, and above their country. That is plain talk, but it is the plain truth.

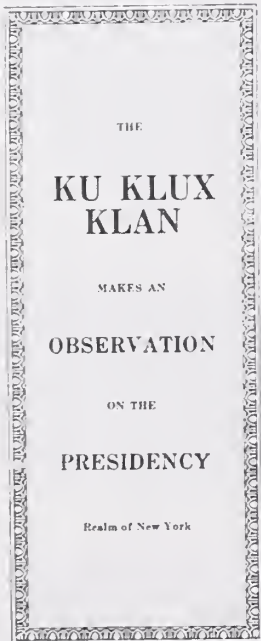
What happened? They proceeded with their fight. In the committee room William Jennings Bryan-peace to his ashes, God rest his soul-struggled to keep that issue out of the convention. He and his friends defeated [it] in the committee on platform and resolutions, and then they came out on the convention floor with it, and Roman Catholics who are prominent in their party demanded that the convention put their denunciation in the Democratic platform. Five thousand lawless hoodlums, Roman Catholics from Tammany, stood in the rear of the hall, and when one Roman Catholic official, a Senator, was speaking in favor of denouncing the Klan, they cheered him to the echo.

Then, when Mr. Bryan came out to try to prevent this threatened split in the party, to try to calm the element that sought to kill the hope of party success, what did they do? This bunch of Tammanyites hissed him and heckled him, and it was nearly 30 minutes before he could say a word. I, with others, putting our hands up to our mouths in this fashion (illustrating), hollered to them to desist...[Then,] an officious Roman Catholic official of some sort on the platform of the convention came up and put his hand on my shoulder and told me if I did not stop that noise he would have to put me out.

Well, I wish Senators could have seen the situation. I told him, “If you do not get back where you belong, I will knock you off this platform.” And he got back. That is the situation that we found there, when they were doing what? When as Roman Catholics—not as Americans, not as Democrats—they were demanding that a Democratic convention that had nothing on earth to do with the Ku Klux fraternity, or any other fraternity, should damn it and denounce it in convention.

What happened? They called the roll and the proposition was defeated by four votes. Then they went to work from Saturday night until Monday morning to get some of the delegates to change their minds and reconsider the proposition and put it in the platform. I told some of the delegates from my state that if Alabama voted for that motion I would denounce the delegation over my signature in the state and go to the mat with them all. And the Alabama delegation did not go with them to reconsider the proposition.

Some Senators know about that. What next? John W. Davis—a very able, clever gentleman but the poorest politician that ever stood in front of a political army—permitted these gentlemen, not as Americans, not as Democrats, but as Roman



— and he asks the American people to elect him President.

ENTHRONED — CARDINAL BONZANO — ITALIAN
KNEELING — GOVERNOR SMITH — AMERICAN

The KU KLUX KLAN

HOLDS

That Any Man Who
KNEELS
Before His Fellow Man
KISSING
Hand or Ring

Will do the
BIDDING
of That Fellow-Man




Catholics, to insist that he denounce the Ku-Klux Klan and finish our chances of success at the polls after the convention had rejected that motion.

Then they sent word to Mr. Coolidge, so it is said, to join Mr. Davis in denouncing the Klan. A bunch of priests called on him and told him Davis was going to denounce the Klan, it is said, and that he had better denounce it, too, and they would eliminate that question as an issue.

Coolidge said he did not make a chatterbox out of his mouth about things that were not in the platform. (Laughter.) And he got elected. But what did John W. Davis do? John W. Davis denounced it after this group of Catholics from Tammany, New York City, Al Smith's crowd, insisted that he denounce it...And in an evil hour Davis denounced the Klan and lost four States by that action.

Mr. President, in the name of all that is dear to us as a free people, I call on my countrymen to wake up. The climax of this move is Al Smith's candidacy for President. Wake up, Americans! Gird your loins for political battle, the like of which you here not seen in all the tide of time in this country. Get ready for this battle. The Roman Catholics of every country on the earth are backing his campaign. Already they are spending money in the South buying up newspapers, seeking to control the vehicles that carry the news to the people. They are sending writers down there from New York and other places to misrepresent and slander our State, all this to build a foundation on which to work for Al Smith for President.

The Roman Catholic edict has gone forth in secret articles, "Al Smith is to be made President." Doctor McDaniel said: "Of



ALFRED E. SMITH

=

Product
of
Parochial
Schools

all countries the Pope wants to control this country." "The Knights of Columbus slogan," said Doctor Chapman, "is make America Catholic." Here they tell you in their book that they will force the propaganda of Protestants to cease, they will lay the heavy hand of a Catholic state upon you and crush the life out of Protestantism in America.★

Source: *Congressional Record* (January 28, 1928), 1st Session, 70th Congress, vol. 69, pt. 2, 1654-55, 1658.

When

When a jackass learns to sing tenor,
And the rattlesnake walks on legs;
When the razor-back shoat grows
feathers,
And the milk cow sets on eggs;
When the bluebird mates with the
woodpecker,
And the hoot owls mate with the
wrens;
When the bullfrog sails on snowy
wings,
And the sapsucker chums with the
hens;
When cotton grows on fig trees,
And apples hang from the rose;
When Catholics rule the United
States,
And the Jews grow a straight nose;
When Pope Pius is head of the Ku
Klux Klan,
In the land of Uncle Sam—

Then—

AL SMITH will be President—
And the country won't be worth
a DAMN ! !

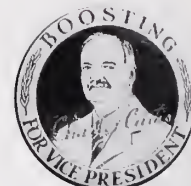
NCW Vote for Hoover

A Catholic for President?

The Catholic Church is an international church with adherents in every nation, directed to some degree by the Vatican in Rome. Given Catholicism's authoritarian tradition, some Protestants feared Catholics could not be trusted with power, as they would follow orders from Rome. The abortion issue is clear evidence that doesn't happen; Catholics like Ted Kennedy have reservations about papal doctrine. In 1856, the first Republican candidate for President, John Fremont, was attacked as a secret Catholic (based on his French ancestry and his being married by a Catholic priest). The first avowed Catholic presidential candidate appeared in 1872 when the Straight Out Democratic ticket (Democrats unwilling to support Horace Greeley) nominated Charles O'Connor, who drew little support. Al Smith's crushing defeat kept Catholics off the national ticket until 1960 when John F. Kennedy was elected. Since JFK's assassination, no Catholic has been nominated by either party, although a few were picked as running mates (Miller in 1964, Muskie in 1968 and Ferraro in 1984). [MK]



The Running Mates: Charles Curtis and Joe Robinson



by Michael Kelly.

The second place on the tickets in 1928 were both filled by influential senators who grew up on the frontier, became attorneys and would serve as Majority Leader of the Senate. The Republicans picked Sen. Charles Curtis of Kansas while the Democrats named Sen. Joseph Robinson of Arkansas.

Curtis was born in 1860 and grew up bridging two worlds: that of his Native American grandmother on the Kaw Indian Reservation and that of his white father in the streets of Topeka. Although he never graduated from high school, he read law and became an active attorney (such things happened on the frontier), being elected county attorney in 1884 and U.S. congressman in 1892. In 1907, the state legislature elected Curtis to the U.S. Senate. By the end of his Senate career, he was Majority Leader.

Curtis was very popular and in 1924 and 1928, Kansas Republicans supported him as their favorite son for President. At the 1928 GOP convention, Curtis was named as vice presidential running mate to Hoover and helped the Republican ticket to a landslide victory.

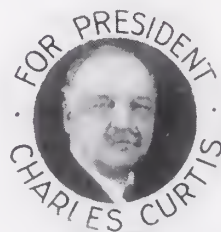
As Vice President, Curtis achieved the highest national position for a native Kansan and for a Native American. During his term, he addressed the Academy Awards ceremony in Hollywood over radio and formally opened the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. After the defeat of the Hoover/Curtis ticket in 1932, Curtis retired. He continued

to live in Washington where he died four years later.

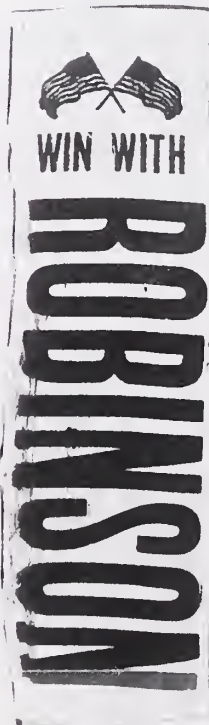
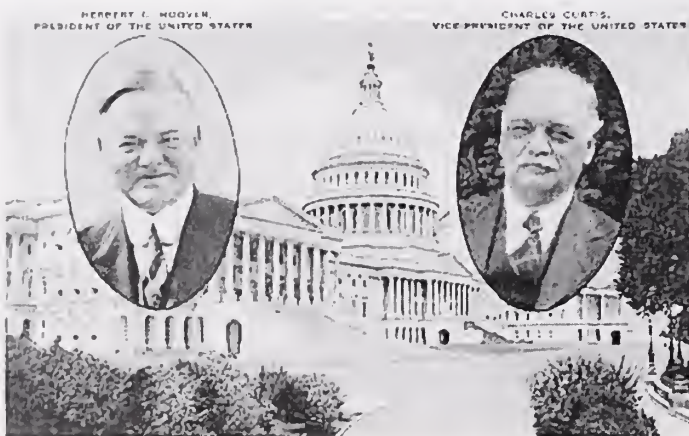
Joseph Taylor Robinson was born in 1872 in a log cabin in the frontier state of Arkansas. He attended the University of Arkansas and earned a law degree at the University of Virginia. Even before beginning practice as a lawyer, Robinson was elected to the Arkansas state legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1902, serving five terms. He supported progressive measures to reform government and control big business as well as voting for the income tax and woman suffrage amendments.

In 1912, Robinson was elected Governor of Arkansas on a platform of fiscal and administrative reform. Ten days after he was inaugurated governor, one of Arkansas' U.S. senators died and the state legislature elected Robinson to the vacant Senate seat. The rare sequence of events meant that he had served as Congressman, Governor, and Senator within a two-week period. He was the last senator from Arkansas to be elected by vote of a state legislature.

Robinson was re-elected to four more Senate terms. In 1928 he was nominated for Vice President on the Democratic ticket with Al Smith, but the Smith/Robinson ticket was soundly beaten. The loss didn't stop Robinson, who went on to be Senate Majority Leader under Franklin Roosevelt from 1932 until his death in 1937. He was a leading spokesman for the Roosevelt New Deal in Congress until he suffered a fatal heart attack while working for Roosevelt's "court-packing" proposal.★



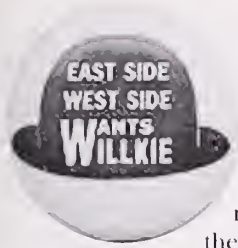
Congressional, senatorial and presidential buttons for Charles Curtis.



Senator Joseph Robinson of Arkansas.

Al Smith after 1928

by Paul Rozycki



Defeat at the presidential level is never easy. Some who lose go quietly into the night of retirement. Others rest easy on the laurels of “having fought the good fight.” Yet others become a voice in the wilderness, forever trying to understand what went wrong.

Franklin Roosevelt christened Al Smith the “Happy Warrior” in his nomination speeches of 1924 and 1928, but after his loss to Hoover in 1928, he was anything but a “Happy Warrior.” He distanced himself from the man who had given him that label, nominated him twice for president and succeeded him in the governor’s office in Albany.

The rift between FDR and Smith began as soon as Roosevelt took over the governorship following the 1928 election. Roosevelt retained few of Smith’s appointees and Smith irritated Roosevelt by staying in Albany, offering unsolicited advice to the new governor. Though a defeated presidential candidate, Smith was still the titular head of his party and resented the charming new personality who now filled the governor’s chair.

To assist Smith, who faced financial difficulties after the 1929 stock market crash, those who financed the Empire State Building offered him the job of President of the Empire State Corporation with a \$65,000 annual salary. The boy who began his career at the Fulton Fish Market was now living on 5th Avenue.

By 1932, with the Great Depression at its worst, Democrats had every reason to feel confident their nominee would replace Hoover in the White House. More than any other candidate, Franklin Roosevelt had worked hard to prepare the way for his own nomination. Smith, though he would have loved a second chance at the White House, remained noncommittal about his possible candidacy until very late in the game. By that time Roosevelt had nearly secured the required two-thirds majority of the Democratic Convention votes. A final deal with John Nance Garner of Texas (who also received first ballot votes) and his principal backer, William Randolph Hearst, gave Roosevelt the nomination. The



Above: Celluloid pin with decal picture of Al Smith in white tie and tails. Top: Buttons reflecting Smith’s support for Landon in 1936 and Willkie in 1940.

anger of the Smith delegates was so great that they blocked the traditional move to make the nomination unanimous. Later, only after much coaxing, did Smith reluctantly endorse FDR.

After the landslide of 1932, Roosevelt pulled his “brain trust” together to create the New Deal. Smith was offered no position in the new administration. As the New Deal and its many alphabet agencies grew, Smith’s opposition grew to the huge expansion of governmental powers.

In 1934 he founded the Liberty League with others who felt that the New Deal was unconstitutional and perhaps even revolutionary. The League published pamphlets and provided speakers to denounce the New Deal as a step toward socialism in the United States. In a capstone speech to the Liberty League, broadcast nationwide, Smith concluded “There can be only one atmosphere of government—the clear, pure, fresh air of free America, or the foul breath of Communistic Russia.”

With such attacks, the Liberty League not only failed to block FDR’s re-nomination but provided a perfect foil for him to run against. Smith supported Republican Governor Alf Landon in 1936. Rather than attacking Republican Alf Landon, Roosevelt campaigned against “reactionary plutocrats” who were trying to undo the New Deal.

FDR’s decision to run for a third term in 1940 brought out increased opposition in the Democratic Party. Smith “took a walk” again from the Democratic Party, supporting Wendell Willkie, and joined his campaign train as it wound its way down the east coast.

It took the events leading up to WWII to bring a modest reconciliation. Smith supported Roosevelt’s Lend Lease policy with Great Britain and finally earned an invitation to the White House where the two Democratic leaders could find some common ground.

By 1943, Smith’s health was failing. His wife died in May of 1944 and “The Happy Warrior” died on October 4th, a month before FDR’s fourth presidential victory.★





Hoover and Smith: the Coattail Candidates

by Robert Rouse



In 1928, Herbert Hoover was regarded as one of the best-prepared presidential candidates in American history, so it is a little surprising that more local candidates did not issue coattail items to identify with him. The candidates who issued items were from the Midwest, Northeast, and Florida. Conversely, in 1932 President Hoover was widely reviled yet he attracted about the same number of coattail candidates.

In Minnesota, Arthur E. Nelson lost the 1928 Senate election to the popular incumbent Henrik Shipstead by a margin of 2-to-1. Fourteen years later Nelson defeated two candidates to earn a single term in the Senate.

The Turner/Field jugate mirror is a 1932 item from Iowa. Henry Field, a seed merchant and radio pioneer, lost the Senate race to Richard Murphy while Governor Dan Turner lost his reelection bid to the popular Clyde Herring.

Illinois Republicans issued a name pin to promote Louis Emmerson for Governor against Democrat Floyd Thompson. Emmerson won.

Four years later Illinois' Republicans were more prolific, issuing buttons for "Hoover/Small." Len Small, Governor from 1921 to 1929, tried a comeback in 1932 but lost to Henry Horner, the seventh Jewish governor in America. The "Glenn/Hoover/Small" button promoted Otis F. Glenn for Senator as well. Glenn defeated Chicago Mayor Anton Cermak in a special election to replace Sen. Frank Smith when he had been expelled from the Senate. Rockford Congressman John Buckbee also issued a coattail button in 1932. He served from 1927 until his death in 1936.

Both parties distributed coattail buttons in Michigan in 1928. Republicans used the gold and green "H/G" to re-elect Governor Fred Green to a second term. Democrats issued a Smith/Comstock name pin and a rare black and white elliptical jugate showing Smith with William Comstock, who lost his second bid for governor that year. But persistence pays off. After a third loss in 1930, Comstock was finally elected governor in the

Roosevelt landslide of 1932.

In Ohio, Myers Cooper was elected governor in 1928 on Hoover's coattails. He lost the gubernatorial elections of 1926 and 1930. The "Smith/Hunt/Clarke" pin is from Toledo. Graham Hunt lost a special Senate Election to popular Congressman Theodore Burton by 2-to-1. In the 9th congressional district (Toledo), William P. Clarke lost to the incumbent, William Chalmers, by a similar margin.

In the Northeast, Charles Tobey was elected Governor of New Hampshire in 1928 and Frank G. Allen was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1928 in a very close race. He lost the office two years later in another close race. Benjamin Loring Young lost the Senate race to David Walsh who served in the Senate from 1927 to 1947. Allen and Young appear on both a trigate and on a name pin.

A trigate mirror was distributed in New Jersey in 1928 supporting Hamilton Kean for Senator and Morgan Larson for governor. Both won their races by substantial margins in this Republican year.

In Florida, a solidly Democratic southern state, William Howey lost the 1928 governor's race to Democrat Doyle Carlton.

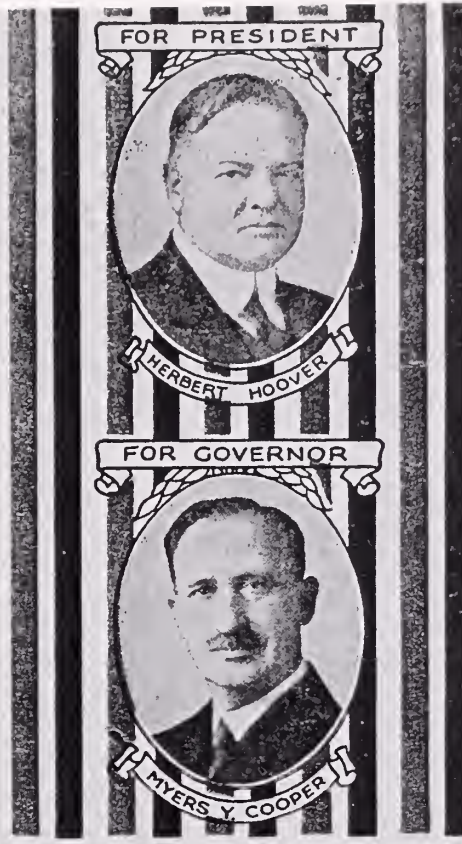
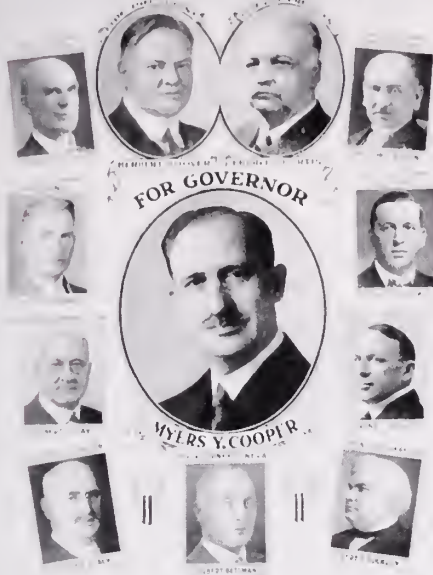
Two New York Smith buttons are sometimes presented as presidential items: "Smith/Corning" and "Al' Smith/'Bob' Wagner." Edwin Corning was Smith's lieutenant governor and in 1926 Al Smith won his fourth term as governor while Robert F. Wagner won the first of his four terms in the Senate. Wagner was a close ally of FDR and introduced many New Deal programs in the Senate. His son, Robert F. Wagner, Jr., served as Mayor of New York from 1954 to 1965.

Hoover was born in West Branch, Iowa and he and his wife are buried there on the grounds of his Library and Museum. Both his parents died at the age of 34 so, in 1884, he was sent to live with a maternal aunt and uncle in Newburg, Oregon. Hence the "Hoover of Oregon" pin. The man with Smith in the jugate pictured at the top of this article is yet to be identified.★



A variety of coattail items for Hoover and Smith. The jugate on the top right of this page shows Al with an unknown person. On the next page, two "H/G" buttons boost Hoover with Michigan Gov. Fred Green. The tiny button exists in two versions, one with a white union bug at 2 o'clock and the other without.

OHIO'S REPUBLICAN TICKET



Above: Poster. Center: Sewing Kit.



Note the H/G button on the left has a union bug.



Above: front and back of a coin tin used to collect dimes for Smith (shown reduced).

First Steps

Charles Dawes: Early Memorabilia of National Party Nominees for President and Vice President

by Albert Salter

The U.S. Senate campaign photo of thirty-six year old Charles Gates Dawes appears in three forms in my collection. First, on a 7/8" celluloid, then on two 1 3/4" sepia, gold-rimmed badges suspended from different ribbons. It's the only 1902 campaign photograph of young, mustached Dawes I've ever seen, and Dawes's stark stare is riveting. At times I think I see naked ambition in his eyes, other times determination, even resignation, as if posing for photographs is a necessary evil of any campaign.

Few men in public life have given so much of themselves in service for their country as Dawes. Longtime friend of Democrat William Jennings Bryan, and close WW I buddy of John J. Pershing, Illinois Republican Charles Dawes's political career first drew attention when he served as Western Treasurer for William McKinley's 1896 presidential campaign.

McKinley appointed Dawes Comptroller of the Currency, a post he resigned to seek a place in the U.S. Senate in 1902. A reformer who had challenged an entrenched Illinois Republican machine two years before, Dawes was denied the critical party support needed to win the seat. Disappointed and bitter, he returned to his successful career as businessman and banker, and built a reputation as a valued public servant. Supporters worked to secure his presidential nomination in 1920, but his cause was soon lost with others, most notably fellow Illinoisan, Governor Frank O. Lowden, in that convention's infamous smoke-filled room.

In 1923 Dawes's work developing a new payment schedule of war reparations for Germany - that would eventually lead to his sharing the Nobel Peace Prize - brought him further recognition. However, as popular and respected as he now was, delegates to the Republican national convention of 1924, once again turned away from Dawes - perhaps feeling they owed something to Lowden for what happened in 1920 - and named the recent governor as Calvin Coolidge's running mate.

It was only when Lowden declined the nomination that Dawes was selected. The Republican Party that had long overlooked this brilliant and effective politician now took a closer look. So did the nation.★

As I am presently doing research on the subject of early career 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. I may be reached at Albert Salter, 11216 Eastwood Drive, Hagerstown, MD 21742.



Vice President under Coolidge, Charles Dawes was a presidential hopeful in 1920. His trademark was an "upside-down" pipe, which he had invented and appears on the button from the Dawes Services Men' Club.



FDR Clocks Part 5: The Search Continues

by Mark Furr

This article is being written as a supplement to the excellent work by Tom Tedford previously published in recent issues of *The Keynoter*. His three-part presentation of Franklin Roosevelt 3D political clocks and lamps was extremely informative and most definitely has become a valuable reference for FDR political item collectors. Nevertheless, as a collector focusing purely on FDR items since 1989, I have come across three other noteworthy items that have not been previously mentioned. For this reason – and the fact that I have not seen any other examples of these items since I began collecting – I would place all three items in either the “rare” or at least “extremely hard to find” categories.

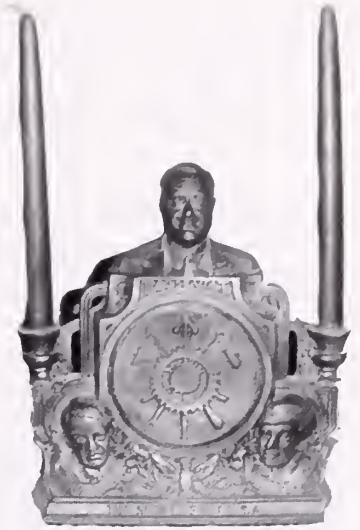
The first item is an example of “The Spirit of the U.S.A.” clock, which as described by Tedford as “a fairly common NRA clock featuring a bust of FDR with small lights on either side of the bust. Beneath the clock are the profiles of General Hugh Johnson ... and Frances Perkins.” Two separate versions of this item were described, one with an NRA eagle under the clock face and one with the letters “NRA” under the eagle. A third “clockless” version also exists. This item is identical to the aforementioned version which possesses only the eagle under the clock face, except this variety has a solid metal casting instead of a clock and has candle holders in place of the electric lights. The centrally placed metal casting depicts two concentric mechanical gears crossed by various laborers’ tools (Fig 1).

The second item is another version similar to the United “Man of the Hour” clock series, except it also contains a lamp. This clock is similar to the 16” version with the sailboat medallion. It is unknown to this collector whether this particular version was also made with the presidential seal medallion.

The complete height of this 3D combination clock/lamp (without the shade) is 17.5”. The back of the clock has a protruding extended letter “H” and the readable letters “PATD”. Unfortunately, when found, the condition of this item was extremely poor; it had been severely damaged, the medallion and lettering had both experienced a great deal of wear, and it had unfortunately been attacked by an enthusiastic individual in possession of a can of gold spray paint (Fig 2 and Fig 3).

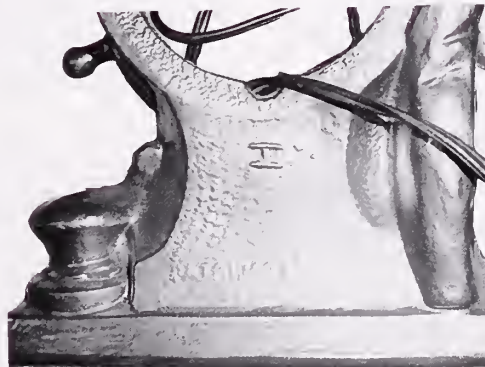
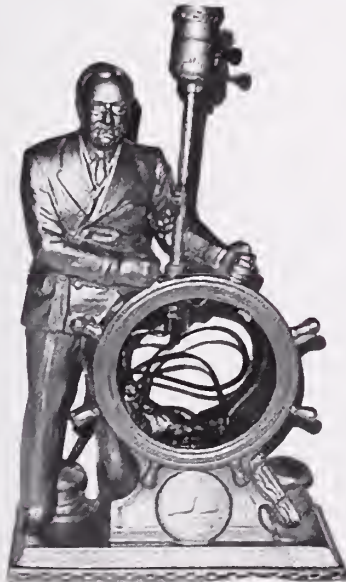
The third item is another similar version of the United “Man of the Hour” lamp that possesses an extended lamp with a fabric shade and depicts a sailboat medallion. The height of this version of the lamp (without the shade) is 23”. It is also unknown to this collector whether the medallion in this version also came with the presidential seal. This particular clock (Fig 4) had also been assaulted in the past by an enthusiast in possession of black spray paint.

I sincerely hope this information assists other FDR 3D collectors in their quest, and I look forward to the publication of additional information by anyone who has found other remarkable FDR items that have yet to be revealed.★



(Figure 1)

The FDR clocks and related items are an interesting specialty for political collectors.



Left: Figure 2. Above: Figure 3. Right: Figure 4. New variations on the FDR clocks (including lamps and candlesticks) continue to be discovered by industrious collectors.

F.D.R. THE MAN OF THE HOUR

Collecting History

The Lost Item and Other Favorites

by Robert Fratkin

Collecting is an amalgam of what we win or find and what we miss or are outbid on. Now with eBay, we have even more opportunities to be disappointed. Each of us can catalogue our most important finds, but we also harbor memories of that special few that got away. In my case, the "lost" piece I remember most was on an April day several years ago when I left the North Haven APIC show early Saturday morning to drive down to Long Island to an auction of material from the Ike Hoover estate.

With a coincidental name of two future presidents, Ike Hoover came to the White House in the administration of Benjamin Harrison as an electrician, when Congress appropriated \$35,000 to electrify the White House. He stayed at the White House over 42 years, most of that time as the Chief Usher, the major-domo of the White House staff, remaining until 1933. Hoover's book, *Forty Two Years in the White House*, was published in 1934.

There were many interesting pieces in his estate, from White House Christmas Cards to personal notes from Presidents and First Ladies, White House invitations, and a few unusual items. One was a revolver and a gun registration permit signed by J. Edgar Hoover. I was pleased that I won a few of these items.

But there was the item that I lost. In 1915, President Woodrow Wilson sent out engraved invitations (with embossed gold eagle) to a cinema showing at the White House of D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation*. This silent film reflected a Southern view of reconstruction, based on Thomas Dixon's book, *The Clansman*, a novel that glorified the role of the Ku Klux Klan, which had subsidized the making of the film. I had previously been unaware that the event had taken place, and I bid actively, but was finally outbid. I look back on the moment when I stopped bidding and wonder "what if." Wilson, born and raised in rural Staunton, Virginia, was also the President who resegregated the Federal Civil Service, a condition that continued in most federal employment until the 1960s.

I don't usually collect autographs, but I have several in my collection because of their historical interest. Among my favorites are the three shown here. In 1910, Charles Evans Hughes resigned as Governor of New York to accept appointment to the U.S. Supreme Court. I am still excited that I have the letter that Gov. Hughes sent to the NY Legislature officially resigning as Governor. He not only signed it, he noted the actual time of his resignation under the date. In those days, documents such as this wound up in the personal files of the Speaker of the Assembly, who took his files when he left office.

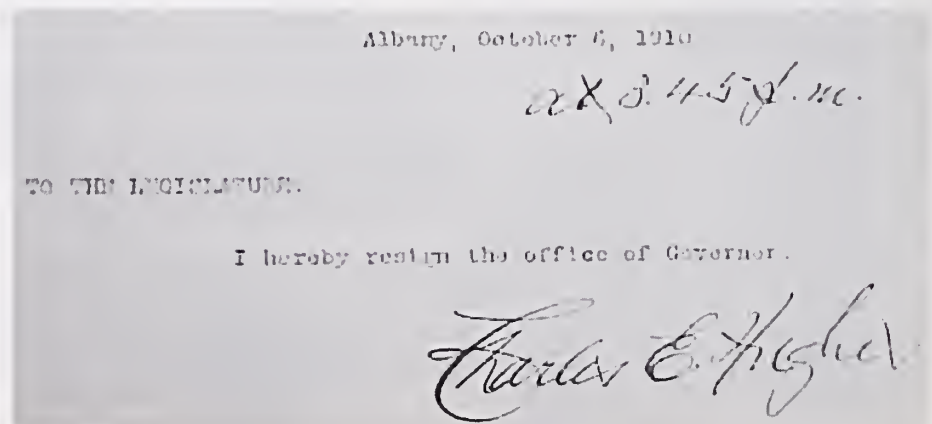
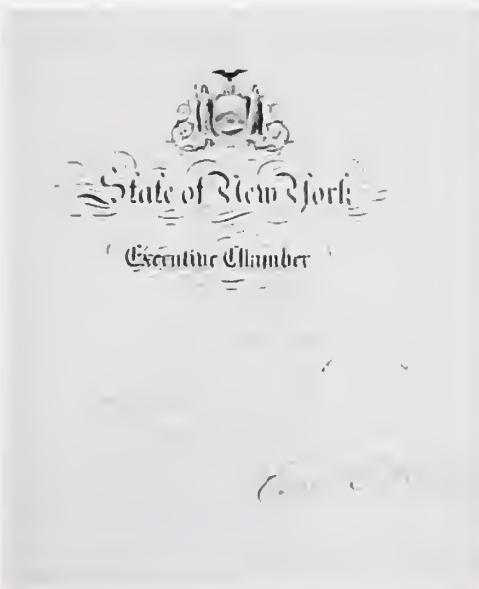
The second is a large card written and signed by John W. Davis in 1919, while he was Ambassador to Great Britain, "They have rights who dare maintain them."

The third is interesting not because of its signer, Vice President Henry Wallace, but because of the irony of whom he signed it to and its message, "For Robert E. Hannegan with best regards." Robert Hannegan was Commissioner of Internal Revenue 1943-45 and U.S. Postmaster General from 1945-47. But more importantly, he was Chairman of the Democratic Party from 1944-47, and FDR's 1944 campaign chairman. Hannegan was from Missouri, a Truman ally, and the man responsible for pushing Wallace off the ticket in 1944 and getting Senator Harry Truman the Vice Presidential nomination.

As Hannegan later told it, he went to see President Roosevelt just before the 1944 Democratic National Convention, seeking FDR's acquiescence to the possibility of having Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas or Senator Truman as the vice presidential candidate if the convention chose not to renominate Wallace. Within the political leadership of the party (but not FDR) at the time, there was a general agreement that Wallace had to be replaced on the 1944 ticket, but that it couldn't happen without at least tacit support from the President. FDR told Hannegan that if that should occur, Douglas or Truman would be acceptable, and that he would give him a letter affirming this.

However, when Truman supporter Hannegan went into the outer office and asked for the letter to be typed, he reversed the names, putting Truman's name first, thereby implying that Truman was FDR's first choice. So much for Wallace's kind regards.★

Charles Evans Hughes was the GOP presidential nominee in 1916.



“Taft Out—Wilson In” A remembrance by Ike Hoover

Woodrow Wilson had just arrived at the White House from the Shoreham Hotel and after a formal greeting from President Taft, Wilson was invited by the president to have their picture taken together. The President took Mr. Wilson by the arm and they both moved through the red room to the South porch where a score of photographers who had been granted permission had arranged their machines. These were both the photograph and moving picture variety.

As Mr. Taft walked through the red room, he was stopped to don his overcoat & hat as Mr. Wilson still had his on and some little conversation was taking place between them. President Taft remarked that it was just four years ago that he and Roosevelt had had their pictures taken in the same identical place. Mr. Wilson made no reply to this more than “Is that so.” So the two men stood on the same spot as it were that had been used by others under like circumstances for the purpose of being photographed.

A very large number of pictures were made and the antics of the operators in their haste was really amusing. The two men were asked to toe a line that had been made on the porch by face powder taken from a vanity box of one of the operators who was a female of the interesting type. They were asked to shake hands which was readily granted, to face each other which was done by both without a flinch, asked to look this way and that and finally asked to look away from the cameras and operators entirely that a side view might be taken. It was at this time when about the first word was spoken by either during this picture taking performance.

The two men had moved mechanically in response to all the former requests but to this last request, coming as it did



Incoming President Woodrow Wilson shares a laugh with outgoing President William Taft on inauguration day. This is the photo described in Ike Hoover’s article.

from the lady member of the party, Mr. Wilson turned toward her instead of looking away and remarked that they would much prefer to look toward the lady. This brought a broad smile from all present and the picture taking episode ended with good feeling all around.★

This excerpt is taken from Ike Hoover’s published memoir, *Forty-two Years in the White House* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1933; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974).

*“They have rights who dare maintain them”
John W. Davis
London, Eng.
June 8th, 1919.*

Left: John W. Davis was a congressman and ambassador before running for president in 1924. Below: Henry Wallace was one of FDR’s vice presidents and ran for president himself in 1948.

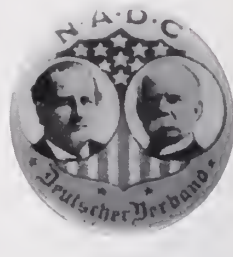
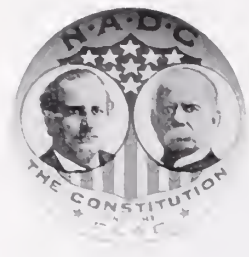


*For Robert E. Hannigan
with best regards
Henry A. Wallace*

*For Robert E. Hannigan
with best regards
Henry A. Wallace*

Political Campaign Styles: The National League of Republican Clubs and the National Association Of Democratic Clubs

by Steve Baxley



Political collectors are aware of changing political campaign styles. In the 19th century, party loyalty made participants more involved in party politics. Michael E. McGerr, in his book, *The Decline of Popular Politics: The American North 1865-1928*, discusses what he calls spectacular and educational styles. The spectacular style of parades, pole raisings, strong local clubs, and rallies had been used to unite loyal partisans to get excited about the campaign and go to the polls on election day. The educational style had originated with Samuel J. Tilden in 1876. Tilden had created the Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge, a literary bureau that sought to educate rather than excite. Both styles overlapped during the 19th century.

Many reformers (called Mugwumps) were dissatisfied with party politics. The reform movement within party politics had

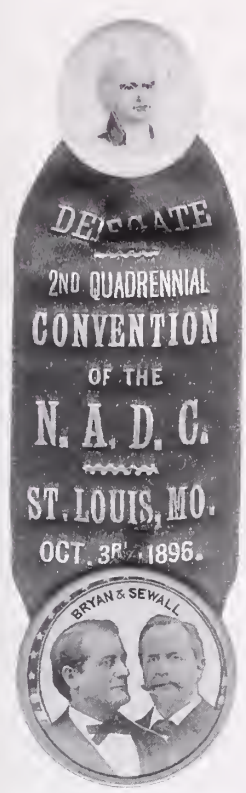


its own party in 1872, the Liberal Republican Party. But the failure of an alternate party movement led the reformers to an attitude of being above loyal partisanship. In the future, both parties would have to be increasingly concerned with converting independent voters rather than just exciting loyal partisans.

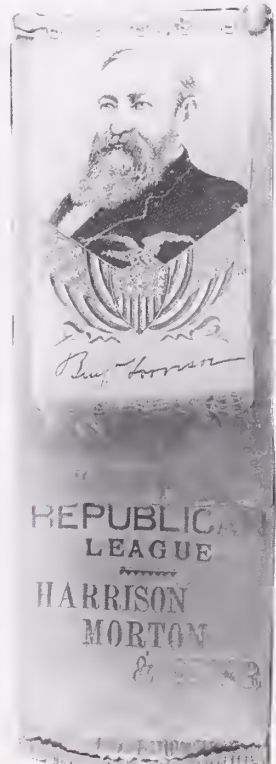
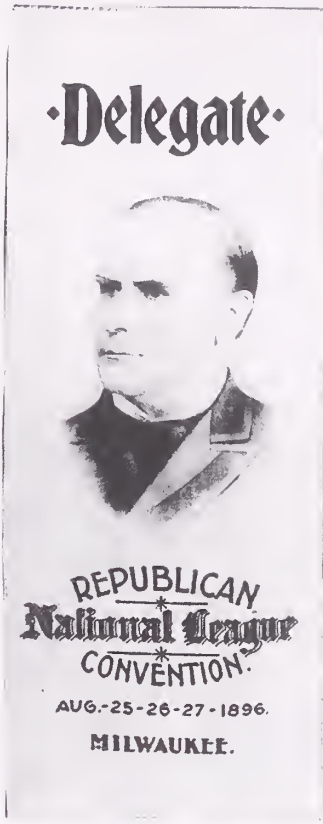
The educational campaign style was brought to the Republicans in the 1880s by James S. Clarkson, an energetic businessman and editor from Iowa. Clarkson helped create the National League of Republican Clubs in 1887. The goal was to create a permanent organization to replace the temporary local clubs and marching units. Clarkson was vice chairman of the Republican campaign in 1888, but the chairman of the Republican cause was a Pennsylvania party boss, Matthew Quay. An old style politician, Quay had no problem with the partisan displays of parades and marching units. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was a supporter of the new educational style. Commenting on the 1888 campaign, he said, "There are some symptoms of a desire to convert this into a shouting campaign at the outset to rely upon many bands and numerous torches..."

In 1888, the New York Young Men's Democratic Club founded the National Association of Democratic Clubs. Members of the New York club included wealthy members who supported Cleveland, municipal reform, and a low tariff. The National Association of Democratic Clubs was organized to appeal to party regulars and reformers who considered themselves independents. The National Association of Democratic Clubs was also an attempt to establish permanent organizations that would educate voters during and after elections.

The two buttons at the top are from the National Association of Democratic Clubs (NADC). The button on the left shows the Bryan/Stevenson ticket with the motto "The Constitution and the Flag," a standard appeal to patriotism. The more uncommon version on the right carries the phrase "Deutscher Verband," which means "German association." Germans were actually the most common ethnic group in America but some unpleasantness associated with two world wars has resulted in less overt demonstrations of German ethnicity in the last half century.



Chauncey E. Black of Pennsylvania was President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs and was not a strong supporter of partisanship. "The trouble has been that men were accustomed to clubs-to shouting and marching and not to associations intended for deliberation. The better class of people will not join clubs, either social or political." For Black, the association was to be used for education. The changes in political style were gradual, but became increasingly dominant. In the new century, voter participation would continue to decline. There would still be political clubs, but they would never reach the intensity of the 19th century.★



A variety of campaign ribbons from NADC and Republican League clubs. For many years, William Randolph Hearst was president of the NADC. The Quay ribbon below shows support for Pennsylvania's GOP boss and presidential favorite son, Matt Quay.



Willie Wanted Stevenson.

by Harvey Goldberg

Pictured here is one of the best-known pins for Adlai Stevenson's 1952 campaign for president: the "I Like Stevenson" button featuring Willie, a cartoon soldier drawn by cartoonist Bill Mauldin. Willie and his pal Joe became symbols of the ordinary G.I., suffering through the danger and drudgery of life among the lower ranks in the front line. The cartoon figures became widely popular with soldiers and civilians alike and Bill Mauldin went on to a successful career as a political cartoonist. This button aimed to attract veterans to the Stevenson camp.

In 1952, just seven years after the end of World War II and at the height of the Korean War, the term "Veteran" pulled a lot of weight. Democratic strategists hoped to successfully go after the votes of the servicemen and veterans. But that in itself was a difficult task for Stevenson: Ike was a war hero - commanding general of D-Day, and had promised to "go to Korea" if he was elected. Adlai Stevenson had never been in the service, spending most of the war in a civilian job in Washington.

The "I like Stevenson" litho was a pin with two intended meanings. One is a play on Eisenhower's "I like Ike" slogan, the other shows an ordinary G.I. rather than a general, implying that not all military personnel and veterans would vote for General Eisenhower.

The 1½" litho was widely distributed during Stevenson's campaign. The specimen shown is a black and white pin-back. There is also a rare 1¼" red and white version (shown below). The same cartoon appeared on a "Veteran for Stevenson" flier. The hand-shaped "V" on the flier (used on a "Volunteer for Stevenson" pin and tab as well as the flier) also offered a double meaning. It was not just the letter "V", but also the universal Allied gesture for "Victory" during the war - another gesture for the veterans.

Bill Mauldin always wanted to be a cartoonist and was studying toward that goal when World War II interfered. He found himself in the U.S. Army's 45th Infantry Division. But the war only served to advance his career. In 1940 he created two cartoon characters "Willie and Joe" for the division newspaper, which became a regular feature ("Up Front") in *Stars and Stripes*, the military newspaper issued to the troops during the war.

Mauldin's frequently anti-authority cartoons sometimes got him in trouble with the brass. In 1945, General George S. Patton wrote to *Stars and Stripes* and threatened to ban the paper from his Third Army unless they quit printing Mauldin's cartoons. General Eisenhower didn't mind the cartoons at all and arranged a meeting between Mauldin and Patton. They met and argued but didn't change each other's minds. Mauldin later said that he thought Patton was a nut, but a great soldier and said he thought they parted as



Although the black and white 1½" litho button at the top of this page isn't hard to find, there are several other varieties that are much more rare. The red and white 1¼" (bottom center) version is harder to find and the ¾" coaster pictured above is hard as well. Note also the ¾" by 7" green brochure using the Willie cartoon combined with the "V for Victory" symbol for Veterans for Stevenson. The V also appears on the blue and white Volunteer button and tab.

friends. It's suspected, however, that Patton carried a grudge, since he later threatened to have Mauldin jailed.

In 1945 Mauldin won the Pulitzer Prize for his book "Up Front." Following the war, he continued his career with a new twist. In 1952 Mauldin supported Adlai Stevenson for president, making his own trip to Korea. Use of his cartoon character on these campaign items was just a sampling of his political involvement. As an editorial cartoonist, his drawings came out against McCarthyism, the KKK, and later, against the Vietnam war.

He won a second Pulitzer Prize in 1959, the National Cartoonists' Man of the Year (Reuben) Award in 1969, and had even acted in Walter Houston's big screen version of "The Red Badge of Courage" alongside the most decorated hero of World War II, Audie Murphy. Bill Mauldin died in January 2003 at the age of 81.★



Left: Willie and Joe "Up Front." Right: Mauldin Cartoon on the assassination of JFK



Early Al Smith Buttons



Many Al Smith buttons predate 1928. The "No Oil on Al" button is from 1924 when he was a strong hopeful at the convention. It refers to the Teapot Dome scandal when federal oil reserves were given to insiders on a sweetheart deal. The "Sunday Baseball" button is one of a series that includes "Boxing" and "Movies." All three refer to Smith's repeal of "blue laws" that forbade most recreation on Sunday, the only day when most urban workers had time off. There are buttons for NYC Mayor Jimmy Walker that also claim credit for the changes. [MK]



Landon campaign car from 1936. Man: "Of course I'm a Republican!" Woman: "I've heard that one before." (Photo submitted by Stephen Baxley).

APIC OFFICERS - President: Brian Krapf; **Vice Presidents:** Region #1 - Mark Evans, Region #2 - Lynn Christy, Region #3 - James J. Gifford, Region #4 - Thomas M. Kitchen, Region #5 - Larry Brokofsky, Region #6 - Cary Jung, Region #7 - Charlie Hertlein, **Secretary/Treasurer:** Joseph D. Hayes; **Board of Directors:** Bruce DeMay, Ray Farina, Dan Schofield, Peter Economou, Richard Hatfield, Harvey Goldberg, Roger Van Sickle, Jack Dixey, Ronnie Lapinsky Sax, Mike McQuillen, Wendell Peterson, Morry Greener, Bill Guelkow, Pat Lennington, Trent LeDoux, Robert Banwart, Adam Gottlieb, David Wilson, William D. Kirsner, Tom Peeling, David Quintin; **National Chapter Coordinator:** Melyssa Fratkin; **Senior Contributing Editor, APIC Keynoter:** Michael Kelly; **Past Presidents:** Chris Hearn, Neal Machander, Norman Loewenstern, Robert Fratkin, Larry Krug, U.L. "Chick" Harris, Geary Vlk
Membership Information: applications may be obtained by writing to the Secretary-Treasurer at: P.O. Box 1149, Cibolo, TX 78108, Telephone: (210) 945-2811.
APIC NEWSLETTER AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Harvey Goldberg, Editor, P.O. Box 922, Clark, NJ 07066.

