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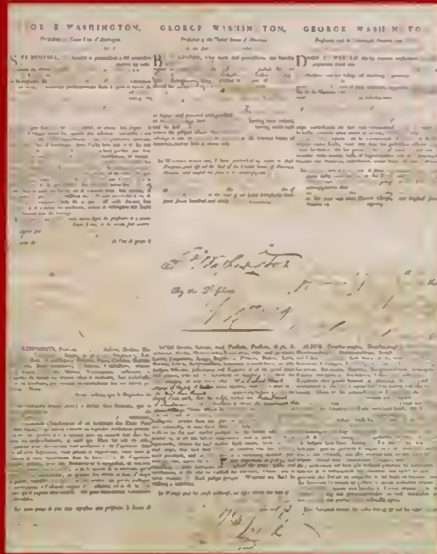


FATHER CHARLES E. COUGHLIN

Religion in Politics

Special Feature: Rev. Billy Graham Remembers Ronald Reagan

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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT



RELIGION AND POLITICS ISSUE

Dear fellow APIC members:

With the publication of this issue of *The Keynoter*, please welcome our new publisher, Modern Litho of Jefferson City, Missouri. We are excited about bringing Modern Litho on board, as they have vast experience in publishing hobby publications similar to ours. Modern Litho has already proven to be a tremendous help and undoubtedly their expertise will prove to be an asset to us as our *Keynoter* continues to experience growth and outreach to potential audiences.

Our editor, Michael Kelly, has once again put together a wonderful issue, full of historical interest. Religion in politics is certainly a divisive issue today, but as conservators of our nation's political past, we can trace its roots and evolution from the earliest days of our republic. Those outside of our hobby who fail to realize this issue has been entrenched in our political past need to read this *Keynoter*!

I would be remiss if I did not thank Reverend Billy Graham for providing his essay on his personal relationship with President Ronald Reagan. Reverend Graham has been a confidante and counselor to all of our modern day presidents, with his wise advice transcending any political ideologies or boundaries. It is a true honor to have Reverend Graham's thoughts within our pages, and I am personally humbled and appreciative that he would take time from his daily work to assist and benefit our organization.

As you read through these wonderful pages of history, please remember that collecting material is only a fraction of APIC's mission. We are not just collectors. Rather, we are conservators of our nation's cherished political past. Through our efforts, history is studied and preserved. We serve a vital role and should be proud of what we do.

Yours in Progress,

Brian Krapf
President



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EDITOR'S MESSAGE

As a product of religious education from kindergarten at St. John Vianney Catholic Grade School to college at the University of Notre Dame, I have had a front row seat to observe the role of religion in politics. One of my shaping moments was back in 1960 when Kennedy was attempting to become the first non-Protestant American president.



My Dad was in charge of Nixon's visit to my hometown and I had been given permission to leave school early to attend the rally. I still clearly recall that long walk down the corridor of my Catholic grade school carrying a hand made "We're for Nixon" sign. I was the only kid in school so excused. Not many Nixon supporters were to be found in the Catholic schools and I still remember how Sister Mary Vernard glared at me as I went past her door. More than four decades later, I resigned as chairman of my local Republican Party because I refused to conform to the evangelical agenda, whose advocates had taken an "all or nothing" position.

Funny how things like that work out.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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ILLUSTRATIONS--The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Stephen Baxley, Frank Cherry, Germaine Broussard, Ryan Coup, Robert Fratkin, John Gingerich, Harvey Goldberg, James Hedges, Brian Krapf and Albert Salter.

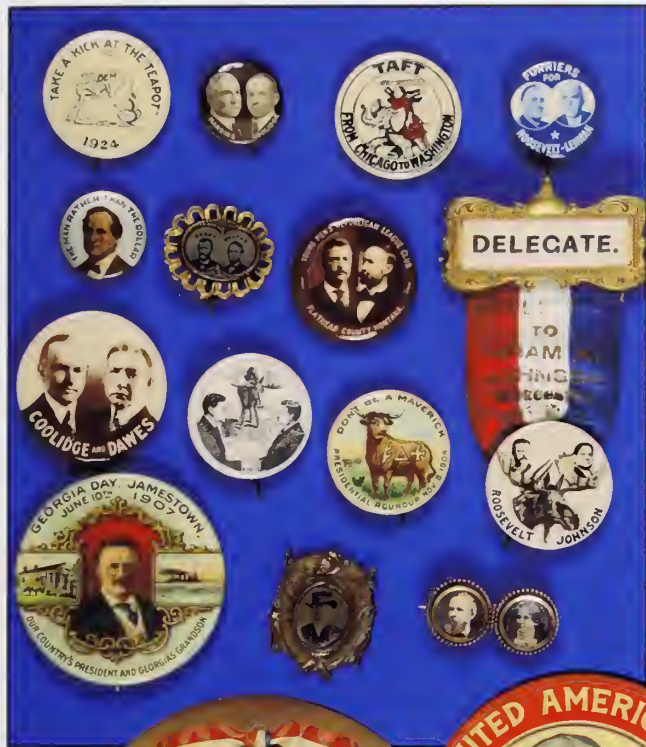
NEXT ISSUE-- We look at the impact of "Military in Politics." The role of the President as Commander-in-Chief is one of the few areas of nearly unfettered presidential power. Many president and presidential hopefuls have come from the ranks of the military and the military is almost always an issue in presidential politics.

FRONT COVER--A spectacular 9" button honoring Father Coughlin.

SUBMISSIONS--*This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to mkelly@mcc.edu. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks losing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.*

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I am a new member and have just received my copy of the Fall/Winter 2004 "Keynoter". Although I am just part-way through the issue, I wanted to thank you now for the well written and interesting articles. Great job. I am looking forward to many more.

Roger Sollie

In our home political library my wife, Gini, and I have every edition of "The Keynoter" dating back to Autumn 1979 plus five issues of "The Standard" back to Summer 1978. There is a lot of great reading and reference material in this collection but I am writing to tell you that the recent Southern Politics issue is one of the very best editions of "The Keynoter." Huzzah!

Dan Maxime

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

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Remembering President Ronald Reagan

By Rev. Billy Graham

Ronald Reagan is one of the most winsome men I have ever known. Our long friendship really started one day in 1953, when I was playing golf in Phoenix. Mrs. Loyal Davis, wife of a prominent Chicago surgeon, came up to me on the course.

"I want you to get to know my new son-in-law," she said.

I asked who he was.

"Ronald Reagan."

"You mean the film star?"

She confirmed that he had married her daughter, Nancy, some months before.

Ron (as most of his friends called him) and I actually met later that year in Dallas.

In the next two decades, my travels took me to California with some frequency, and often our paths crossed. As our friendship grew, I not only admired his quick wit and warm personality, but I also came to respect his keen insight and tough-minded approach to broad political issues. I also found him very interested in our work, even giving me friendly advice from time to time.

During the years before Ron was elected to public office, I had often detected a spiritual side to him. For example, I remember once when I gave a small dinner party at the Beverly Hilton Hotel and invited him. He brought up the subject of the Second Coming of Christ. The same subject came up with him on other occasions as well.

I have been told that where he grew up, in Dixon, Illinois, he did some preaching himself in his late teens. At the time, he was a member of the Christian Church, which was somewhat like the Baptist Church. I kept forgetting to ask him about it, however, something that I now regret.

During the eight years of Reagan's presidential administration, we saw each other a number of times. I especially appreciated his kindness in inviting Ruth and me to several state dinners for visiting foreign leaders.

One night while I was staying at the White House, Nancy and the President got into a discussion about the question of salvation -- who was going to be saved and who was going to be lost. He gave her his views on conversion and the new birth right out of the Bible. She turned to me. "Billy, is that right?"



All items with this article are from Reagan's unsuccessful bid for the presidency in 1968 and come from the collection of Frank Cherry.

I said it was and expanded a little further.

While he was president, Ronald Reagan bestowed on me one of the highest honors I could ever imagine. On February 23, 1983, he presented me with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor our government gives to an American, for service to the nation. I felt unworthy of the honor, and still do. But whatever else it means, it will always remind me of the generosity and friendship of a remarkable man and a warm and enduring personal friend, Ronald Wilson Reagan.

Billy Graham is an American evangelist who has preached around the world, reaching live audiences of 210 million people in 185 countries. He has often advised US presidents and continues to be listed as one of the "Ten Most Admired Men in the World" in Gallup Polls. Graham has authored 25 books and received the Congressional Gold Medal. This remembrance is adapted from "Just as I Am" (HarperCollins Publishers, New York. Used by permission of Rev. Graham).



Religion and Politics

By Michael Kelly

"Did you know that the Pope and Ronald Reagan are a couple of anti-Christ devils and that they are selling us all down the drain?" Neither did I.

That, however, is the opening question posed on a brochure in my Reagan collection. The brochure is graced with a picture of the pontiff and the president greeting each other warmly. It was published by a church in Arkansas.



Religion has always played a part in American politics. In the election of 1800, a Federalist newspaper in Philadelphia backing John Adams over Thomas Jefferson warned that "the only question to be asked by every American, laying his hand on his heart is 'shall I continue in allegiance to GOD --- AND A RELIGIOUS PRESIDENT; Or impiously declare for JEFFERSON AND NO GOD!!!" [Capitalization and exclamation points in the original].

Religion is one of the basic methods by which people define the world and themselves. It is only natural that religion would impact the political process in America and elsewhere. Party politics around the world, from Europe's Christian Democratic parties to the Middle East's Islamic parties to Japan's Buddhist Komeito Party, are heavily influenced by, if not based upon, religion. In recent decades, especially on the right, religious-based politics has been on the rise in America.

In 1986, the Arthur S. DeMoss Foundation (a substantial foundation supporting the religious right) printed and distributed many thousands of copies of a book entitled *The Rebirth of America*. The book was divided into three sections: America Yesterday (A Nation Established), America Today (A Nation Adrift) and America Tomorrow (A Nation Reborn). Yesterday is a retelling of American history with an emphasis on the role of Christians. "How Christians Started the Ivy League" is a typical article.

Today is a depressing recital of contemporary problems with chapters like "Television: The Menacing Medium" and "What's Happened to American Education?" Tomorrow is a methodical case for political activism by devout Christians. Potential objections ("politics are dirty") are combated with Scripture. An action plan is presented. Readers are advised "Vote your Christian convictions in preference to your party."

The book circulated widely in Christian circles and served to lay the intellectual justification for heightened political involvement by "church people." That involvement led to the presidential campaign of Rev. Pat

Robertson, a shot across the bow of the Republican Party that evangelicals wanted genuine power in the party and the country. Robertson's unexpected second place finish

in the 1988 Iowa caucus (ahead of then-Vice President George Bush) sent shock waves through the GOP.

That same year, a very different religious figure sought the Presidency as a Democrat: Rev. Jesse Jackson. It is no surprise that the first African-American to make a serious run for the White House would be a minister. Part of the legacy of slavery is the role of the church in the black community. The church was the one institution rarely controlled by the white power structure. Whites might control your job and where



Religious themes over a century: A Theodore Roosevelt button advises us to "Fear God" while a trigate links Woodrow Wilson with a Catholic archbishop and a Belgian king. A 1924 button associates Calvin Coolidge with "the Rock of Ages" and a Harry Truman button describes his supporters as "crusaders." A 1964 Theocratic Party button calls for "Government under God" and a 1976 button draws a parallel between Jimmy Carter and Jesus Christ.





The 1988 campaign saw two preachers running for President: Republican Rev. Pat Robertson and Democrat Rev. Jesse Jackson. Jackson did better than Robertson but neither won.

Rev. Jackson's campaign rallies at church services, in which unrecorded cash donations were gathered in buckets, didn't seem to offend their sensibilities. It is an interesting anomaly that public cynicism with politics has risen as overt religious expression in politics has become more evident (though it could be argued that the latter was in response to the former).

Religion, however, was long part of the political decision-making process. Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan campaigns put out material in Hebrew, while Catholic cardinals were often seen at the side of presidents. Presidential campaigns in 1856, 1928 and 1960 were ripe with anti-Catholic agitation and most campaigns have religious touches (a great Willkie button proclaims "Each time America needs him God sends a Man"). The Rev. Billy Graham has long been accorded an informal role as the national presidential counselor. Almost every political speech now ends with the prayer "God bless America."

A page accompanying this article shows a selection of great Hebraic material targeted at Jewish voters over more than a century and various other religion-based items are shown as well.

Away from the center of power, religious rhetoric has long been seen on the political fringes. Despite its record of violence, the Ku Klux Klan claims to be defending Christian principles. Rev. Homer Tomlinson's Theocratic Party openly advocated "government under God" with Rev. Tomlinson serving as the interpreter of divine will while many a far-right minor party identifies itself as "Christian."

But religion is increasingly evident in mainstream politics. President George W. Bush's 2004 victory is widely credited to strong support from evangelicals and the libertarian wing of the GOP is starting to feel a bit out of place amongst its newly aggressive religious allies. It is hard to imagine the Republican Party of today issuing a button like that from the 80's showing the GOP elephant with the legend "Make Love Not Laws."



Later religious-based presidential candidates fared no better. Christian activist Gary Bauer's Republican campaign went nowhere in 2000 and the 2004 effort by Democrat Rev. Al Sharpton drew much attention but few votes.

Michael Kelly is editor of *The Keynoter*. He earned his BA from the University of Notre Dame and his MA from Wayne State University. Kelly serves on the staff of Mott Community College in Michigan.



Above and right: Anti-Catholic items include a Tom Watson postcard, an anti-JFK medal and an anti-Al Smith brochure. Below: Eisenhower is attacked as being too pro-Jewish.



Gore's choice of Lieberman was celebrated by many Jewish Americans but also produced the anti-Bush button contrasting "Gore" with "Gornisht (Yiddish for "nothing")". The idea came back in 2004 contrasting Kerry's "Real Deal" with "schlemiel" (Yiddish for "bungler").



Above: a jugate showing Wilson with a rabbi, a Hebrew language Bryan/Stevenson jugate, and a button highlighting Truman's friendship with Eddie Jacobson, who helped promote US recognition of Israel in 1948.



Right: This rare 1912 flier boosts the Progressive Party ticket of Theodore Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson. Note that TR's photo in on the right because Hebrew is read from right to left rather than left to right as in English.




היראם מ. הרשאנסאן תהודורא רוזוועלמ

די אימיגריישאן פראגע און די פארמישע פארמייען.

ווי אזוי די דריי פאליטישע פארמייען כעהאנדלען די פראגע פון אימיגריישאן — דער רעקארד פון די דריי פרעזידענטס קאנדידאטען אויף זייער האנדלונג בעצונ איינ-וואנדערונג.

צווישען די פיעלע פראגען און אישום, וואס ווערען ריסקוטירט אין דעם איצטיגען ספר פון פאר פרעזידענט, אין די פראגע וועגען אימיגריישאן און צווייפאל די וויכטיגסטע, די סארט מע וויכטיגסטע, פאר דעם אייגענעוואנדערטען אידען.

וועט די נייע אדמיניסטראציע, דער נייער פרעזידענט, וואס וועט אריינגעהען די ליי-צעס פון אונזער רעגירונג און זיינע פאר די סומערע פיער יאהר, זיין פרויקט צו איינ-וואנדערונג ככלל אין צו איינשער איינוואנדערונג ספרט? וועט מען כעהאנדלען די אימיגראנט מיט אזוי ווי מען האט זיי כעהאנדעלט פאר די לעצטע קאנצע פיער יאהר, פאר דער צייט וינט סאפט אין לענדלען פרויערענט אדער בעסער, מענשליכער, ליבעלעך, אדער, פיליכט, נאך ערנע, מיט מער נהומאקייט, מיט מער ביוזוויינקייט?

די אימיגריישאן פראגע די וויכטיגסטע.

די פראגע וועגען איינוואנדערונג אין די סאמע וויכטיגסטע פון דעם אידישען שטאנד פונקט און עס אין דער הוב פון יעדען אדישען בירגער זיך צו אינערעסירען מיט דיעזער פראגע מער ווי מיט די אנדערע אישום.

דער שיקואל פון אונזערע בירגער און שוועסטער היינגט אפ אן דעם.

דאס איז א וויכטיגע פראגע, א לעבענס פראגע פאר דעם אירישען וואומער. קיין אייך צינע פראגע, קיין איינציגע אישום אין דינען נרויסען און הוסטאדישען קאמפיון קען זיך ניט פערניליכען פאר אירס און ווערטה ביים דיער פראגע. דער שיקואל פון אונזערע מיליאנען כדר דער אין דוהאגער ריבעניגע, נאריצען און אנדערע לענדער, דער נורל פון אונזערע מיליאנען בירגער און שוועסטער אירע ענינע זייט ים, וועלכע שיקאטען אין די גרעסטע יסורים, וועלכע זיינען איבערווערשען סאט מענייה צו די שווערעווען נפאחלען פון פאגראפען, פון פרשען איסאנארהם מעניצען, פון בעשערנייגען און שטערנינגען, פון דרייפא און שחיות? דער נורל פון עינע ברודער און שוועסטער אונזערע, זיעלע האבען פארזויגט איין איינציגע האסונג און דאס איז אריבערקלייבען זיך אדער, אין דעם לאנד פון פרייהייט און גלייכהייט, אין דעם לאנד וואו זיי מענען איינפליכען ווערען צוואוייטאכטע בינער, וואו זיי מענען פאטאמעלען פריי?

— 1 —



The Rise and Fall of Father Coughlin the Radio Priest

By Albert Salter



June 27, 1932 was a special day in Chicago. The Republican National Convention had left town June 16th after re-nominating Herbert Hoover, and now over three thousand Democratic Party delegates, alternates, and entouragees were in the hot windy city to nominate a president.

The air was electric as a thunderstorm. For the first time since 1912 the Democrats felt they were the party of destiny.

Franklin Roosevelt, vying for the nomination with 1928 standard bearer, Al Smith, and House Speaker John Nance Garner, had arranged to have a Catholic priest, Father Charles Edward Coughlin, pastor of a church in a Detroit suburb, to address the convention. The appearance would exploit the priest's spectacular national following gained through radio sermons heard weekly over his own network.

Coughlin was a phenomenon. During the 1930s his radio audience rose to 40 million each Sunday, and tens of thousands of letters and cards received each week forced the government to open a post office branch in Royal Oak, the town where the priest's wooden church was situated at the corner of Twelve Mile Road and Woodward Avenue.

When he took the podium in the Chicago Stadium, Coughlin told his audience, "Of course, I am not a Republican and most people know that. And perhaps I am not going to say I am a Democrat, because this thing of religion should not be identified with any political party." The delegates and galleries, aware of the priest's friendliness toward Roosevelt, laughed, and then erupted in applause.

One item of political memorabilia after FDR secured the presidency illustrates the close connection between Roosevelt and Coughlin during the first years of the New Deal. It is a jugate poster under the heading, "For God and Country."



An American eagle soars above the two portraits against a background of sun rays, signaling a brighter day.

It is a rare presidential campaign piece joining the president with a man of the cloth, uniting Church and State.

Coughlin had married himself to politics. The advent of radio made him one of the most powerful voices in America and for the next nine years, ending only with our

<p>FATHER COUGHLIN MINNESOTA MASS MEETING NATIONAL UNION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE State Fair Grounds, St. Paul Snelling and Como Sunday, September 20, 1936 Band Concert and Entertainment at Noon Father Coughlin will be present to address the meeting at 3 P. M. Proceeds are for Father Coughlin's Broadcast and Work of N. U. S. J. in Minnesota GRAND STAND 40c (There will be no broadcast)</p>	
---	--

I'M FOR
FATHER
COUGHLIN'S
SIXTEEN
POINTS

entry into World War II, his mellifluous tones and populist sentiments rendered hope to the hopeless and left many politicians frozen in fear. Biographer Donald Warren noted that the priest "personalized politics and abstract ideas." He talked to each individual listener in simple, direct terms that needed little analysis or explanation. He inspired public action.

In the end he became his own worst enemy. He was investigated for sedition, spoke out as an ardent anti-Semite, became involved in what appeared shady financial transactions, and was finally silenced by the church.

How did it happen?

Born, educated and ordained in Canada, Coughlin crossed the Detroit River into the Motor City in the early 1920's where he came under the influence of Bishop Michael James Gallagher. Gallagher, after attending the canonization rites in Rome for St. Therese of Lisieux, a twenty-four year old French

nun who died in 1897, commanded Coughlin to go to rural Royal Oak and build a church, The Shrine of the Little Flower, in honor of the young saint. During those years, the Ku Klux Klan had a powerful base in the area and the bishop wanted Coughlin to create "a missionary oasis in the desert of religious bigotry." Bishop Gallagher realized that Coughlin's reputation as a mesmerizer of congregations wherever he spoke could draw new parishioners and contributions.

Construction of the wooden church began within the year, but before completion, according to legend, the Klan burned a cross on the site and demanded that Coughlin leave Royal Oak. Years later, in August, 1935, March of Time re-enacted the incident, depicting Coughlin putting out the fire himself. It was a set piece with the priest cooperating with the producers. Later biographers have been unable to find any direct evidence that the event ever occurred.

One of Coughlin's parish members was manager of Detroit's powerful radio station, WJR. He was impressed with his pastor's resonant tones and dynamic delivery, and discussed with Coughlin airing the priest's sermons. When Coughlin approached Gallagher, the bishop saw it as an excellent means of soliciting funds for the mortgaged church, and approved the idea.

On October 17, 1926, Coughlin, wearing his vestments for saying Mass, delivered his first sermon on WJR standing at the altar of the new church, speaking on the importance of religion. The station made the program a weekly feature, and Charles Edward Coughlin became The Radio Priest who in a handful of years would electrify and then terrify a nation.

WMAQ in Chicago and WLW in Cincinnati were added to WJR and in 1930 CBS network signed an agreement to broadcast Coughlin's "The Golden Hour" each Sunday, reaching ten million listeners.

The Great Depression gripped the country and Coughlin, beginning to stir politics into his religious brew, became a defender of the exploited worker against greedy international bankers. He was not only a superb orator, he was a messianic messenger, ready to change the world order for those who felt cast aside without hope of recovery.

The Hoover administration had let "the money changers back into the temples of government," and there was more talk of "the Communist," "the Socialist," and "the international radical," than of sin and virtue. At the same time Coughlin echoed a papal encyclical, Rerum Novarum, issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1898, in admonishing "those who are blessed with the largest fortunes in America.



17 Charles Coughlin

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Sunday, October 4, 1936
3 P. M.

Admission 25c

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COUGHLIN'S BROADCASTING

No 36110



The "CF" on the buttons above stands for "Christian Front," a Coughlinite social action group.

Man should not consider his outward possessions as his own, but as common to all, so as to share them without difficulty when others are in need."

In 1931, concerned with growing controversy over the priest, CBS severed its relationship with Coughlin who suspected that the Hoover White House had pressured the network to censor his broadcasts.

The Radio Priest had no difficulty in establishing his own network and his strident language against the sitting president became even more direct.

While broadcasting for CBS in the fall of 1930 after Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected governor of New York, Coughlin praised Theodore Roosevelt as "one of the most outstanding men which our country has produced," then said, "Another Roosevelt shall have the courage to uncloak the hypocritical human factors that have debased our [economic] system. Another Roosevelt shall labor for the development of our country." The prescient priest looked ahead to the election of FDR as a savior from misery suffered by workers and farmers in an economy manipulated by the Soviets and the bankers "to benefit the apostles of privilege."

Despite Roosevelt's popularity as a candidate for president, his nomination in 1932 was no certainty and staffers felt it was important to have this nationally known priest identified as a supporter quickly. One reason was the suspicion that Coughlin was filled with such ambition it was impossible to anticipate where his hubris might lead him. FDR wanted the priest at his side during the nominating process and, assuming the delegates selected him, allied throughout the campaign but had no need for him after that.

Late in 1933 Coughlin told his audience, "Our laborers are being restored to remunerative operation; our factories are open; the prices of our commodities are being raised, and why may I ask you? [T]his is the day, despite all opposition to the contrary, that you remain steadfast behind the one man who can save this civilization of ours. It is either Roosevelt or ruin."

Yet in the next year Coughlin was the opposition. He had grown disillusioned with the president resulting from the cold

(continued on page 20)



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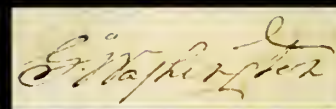
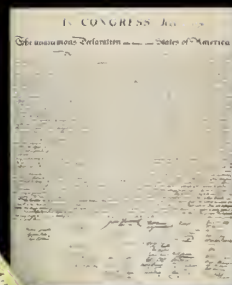
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Note the LEMKE/O'BRINE/STACK coattail button. "Lemke" is Union Party presidential candidate Congressman William Lemke of North Dakota; the misspelled "O'Brine" refers to Union Party VP candidate Congressman Thomas O'Brien of Massachusetts, while "Stack" refers to Congressman Michael J. Stack of Pennsylvania. Stack is the father of Nora Stack, who married APIC member Tom Williams. Tom and Nora were killed in an auto accident in 1972 coming back from the APIC national convention. "Royal Oak" refers to the party label under which the Lemke/O'Brien ticket ran in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

shoulder Roosevelt gave him after the election, spurring Coughlin to impress FDR with his own power. One survey found him the best known person in the United States next to Roosevelt. Repeatedly, he had sent messages containing recommendations on policy or appointments to the White House that went unanswered. Roosevelt began to feel Coughlin thought he should be sitting behind the president's desk rather than standing in a pulpit. In the spring Secretary of Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., released a list of silver speculators while the House published its list of silver hoarders. Both included A. Collins of Royal Oak, who was Amy Collins, treasurer of the Radio League of the Little Flower. 500,000 ounces were involved, but Collins denied that Coughlin had any influence over the purchases, although the priest had promoted free coinage of silver on his broadcasts.

As alienation with the administration grew, Coughlin announced in November 1934 the founding of the National Union of Social Justice (NUSJ), publishing a credo of sixteen points with a preamble stating that wealth is a natural resource and man's labor "is all ours except for the grasping ways of wicked men who first concentrated wealth into the hands of a few." It was reminiscent of William Jennings Bryan populism.

Early proof of the power NUSJ wielded came when Coughlin opposed Roosevelt's key recommendation that the Senate support the United States joining the World Court, which had been created by the League of Nations.

Two days before the resolution reached the floor, January 27, 1935, Coughlin lobbied against its passage to his NUSJ members on his Sunday program, claiming FDR was selling out America "to the international bankers." The next day 40,000 telegrams flooded senate offices and the resolution, which had been sure to pass, was defeated. It shocked Roosevelt supporters, but thrilled isolationists.

Coughlin, giddy with success but still swaying back and forth in his support of Roosevelt, was in touch with Huey Long, Gerald L. K. Smith (Long's "Share the Wealth" henchman) and national pension plan advocate Francis Townsend, exploring possibilities of merging forces. Hugh Johnson, who had served as administrator of the National Recovery Act was the first Roosevelt surrogate to openly challenge Coughlin's flirting with these "lunatic fringe" dissidents in a speech aired by NBC March 4, 1935.

The network was obligated to provide the priest equal time, and Coughlin responded with a biting address that linked Johnson to presidential advisor Bernard Baruch, a Jew, with "the Rothschilds in Europe, the Lazzeres in France, the Warburgs, the Kuhn-Loebs, the Morgans, and the rest of the

wrecking crew of internationalists whose god is gold." These gossamer veiled anti-Semitic remarks would become naked accusations in the years ahead.

Huey Long was assassinated September 10, 1935 and Coughlin turned then to Smith, who oversaw the Share the Wealth Club membership. In December the priest went on the air and apologized for previously supporting FDR, and March the following year, he launched his weekly newspaper, *Social Justice*, claiming it reached millions of new NUSJ members and supporters. Rumors grew that Coughlin would form his own political party. Born in Canada, he could not be elected president, so the question of a candidate was unresolved.



After months of haggling, Coughlin, with Smith and Townsend, and their financial backers, gave birth to the Union Party, or as biographer Warren put it, the "Stop Roosevelt Party." Townsend claimed two million followers, Smith a list of five million, and pied piper Coughlin boasted of nine million.

On June 20, U.S. Representative William Lemke (R-ND), solicited by Coughlin after others had refused the offer, agreed to accept the Union Party nomination for president. His vice presidential running mate, Congressman Thomas O'Brien of Massachusetts, former District Attorney of Boston, was also selected by Coughlin.

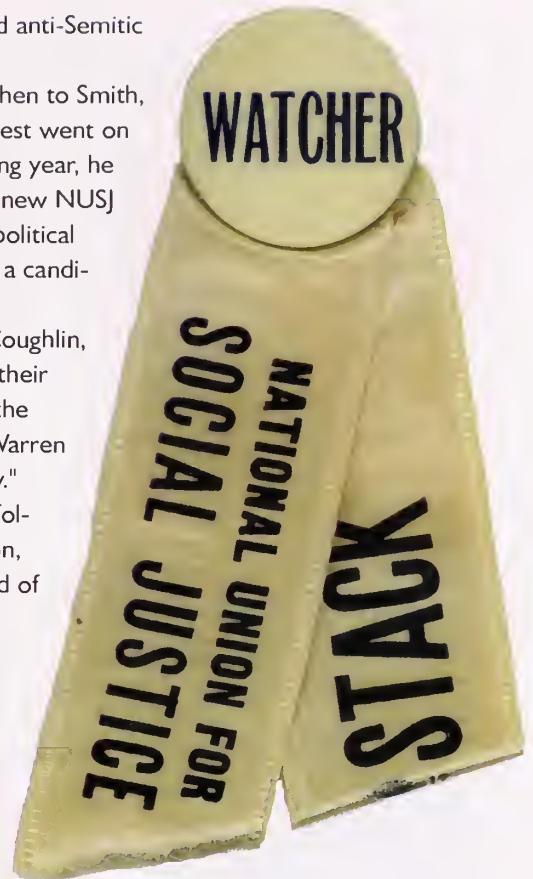
It became a difficult time for the Royal Oak

priest. He campaigned vigorously for Lemke whose speeches were easily anticipated, and who always looked as if he'd slept in his suit. Coughlin drew as many as 80,000 people in Chicago, ranting against the president, but a number of lay Catholics and clergy began to speak openly against the priest. Editor Wilfrid Parsons of the national Catholic weekly, *America*, reported that "the danger is that many Roman Catholics think it is sinful to disagree with Father Coughlin. They think he must be right because he is for the poor and speaks from the pulpit in the robes of the Church."

The priest would not be stopped. He boasted that if Lemke did not get nine million votes, he would retire from radio. William Lake's total was 892,793.

Coughlin did leave radio for some weeks, but *Social Justice* did not cease publication and its editorial policy became consistently more radical.

When Bishop Gallagher died in 1937, Coughlin returned to the air, rationalizing that it was the final wish of the bishop that he do so. Early in 1938 he



Congressman Michael J. Stack of Pennsylvania supported Coughlin on the "Royal Oak Party" ticket after losing the Democratic nomination for re-election in the primary. The name "Royal Oak Party" came from the Michigan city of Royal Oak where Coughlin had his church.

announced the "Million League," designed to organize a right wing army that could correct the country's course set by Roosevelt, the Jews, and Communists. According to Sheldon Marcus in his biography of Coughlin, all three became synonymous in the angry priest's mind. His Christian Front, a social action group, disdained all politicians. It was the outgrowth of Coughlin's conclusion that the 1936 election was proof that Democracy did not work.

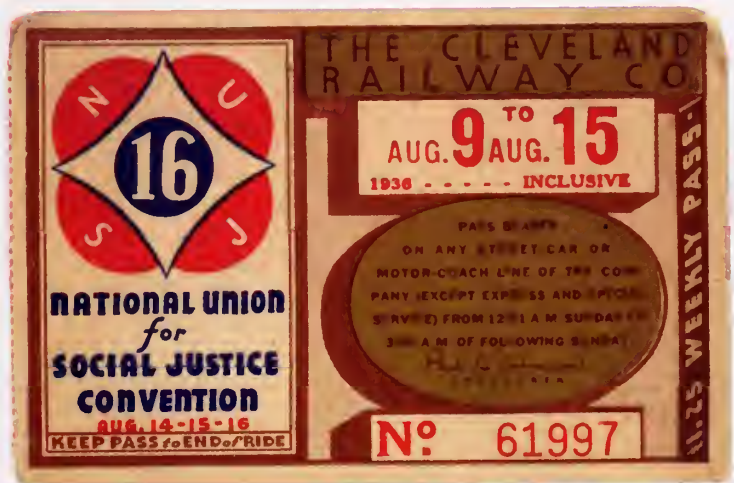
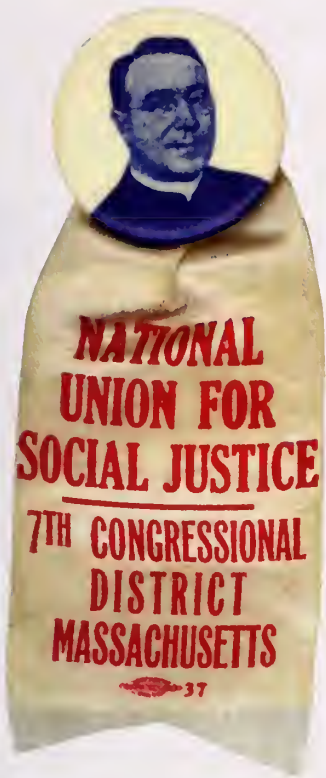
Although the Vatican remained silent to the rising tide of condemnation from members of the Catholic hierarchy, across the country public officials, newspapers and broadcast stations responded in disgust and anger. The *Detroit Free Press* wrote of Coughlin's "congenital inability to tell the truth." The *New York Post* placed excerpts from articles by Coughlin and Joseph Goebels on the same subjects side-by-side to show that Coughlin out-Goebeled Goebels in claims against Jews and Communists.

After Pearl Harbor, his tirades against the allies and Roosevelt continued. He attacked the war effort and predicted defeat for America, claiming that American Jews had promoted the war, and he warned that an alliance with the "sleazy British" took food from the mouths of Americans. Coughlin was walking on eggs with heavy combat boots.

Finally, in March 1942 the government had had enough and the Justice Department seized Coughlin's business records and personal papers. Attorney General Francis Biddle sought to indict Coughlin on a violation of the Espionage Act that included a cease and desist order for any published material. Postmaster General Frank Walker then suspended publication of *Social Justice* and promised a hearing to question Coughlin on why second class mailing privileges for *Social Justice* should not be revoked permanently.



In 1934, Fr. Coughlin founded the National Union for Social Justice (NUSJ), forming the basis for the Union Party in 1936, which fielded Congressman William Lemke for President. The yellow armband in the center is shown reduced.



Social Justice was a Coughlinite newspaper read around the country. This issue presents the union of Coughlin with the Townsend Movement and Gerald Smith's virulent southern racists. Huey Long was supposed to be their presidential candidate but Long was assassinated before he could run.

Biddle was ready to present evidence against Coughlin to a grand jury, but feared making a martyr of the priest could spur action against the government. The Attorney General met with Leo Crowley, FDIC chairman, a Catholic, and friend of the president, to explore what action to take that wouldn't create a war time cause celebre. Crowley went to Archbishop Edward Mooney who had succeeded Gallagher in Detroit, and who was frustrated by the Vatican's lack of response to his inquiries about the Radio Priest.

The potential harm the Church faced convinced Mooney to seek support from Pope Pius XII to silence the priest, and on May 1, 1942 the bishop summoned Coughlin to his office and told him he had a choice either cease all involvement with *Social Justice*, radio broadcasts, and other non-religious writings and activities, or be defrocked.

Coughlin had been ordained in 1916. He railed at "Jews and Communists and New Dealers" for bringing the government down on his head, but his national audience had been dwindling and his future was uncertain. In the end he hung on to the one identity that had made his rise to power unique; the fact he was a Catholic priest. He accepted his bishop's edict.

The magnificent marble tower he had built in 1931 that housed broadcast facilities, and the new granite and marble church in the round, The Shrine of the Little Flower, dedicated in 1936, were his monuments. He still climbed steps to the pulpit and gave sermons, usually before and after the service as well as during Mass. When he spoke the 3000 seat church was filled and the parking lot clogged.

On June 9, 1966 the parish celebrated Coughlin's Golden Jubilee. Cardinal Cushing of Boston, who was to address the celebrants, wrote that he could not attend as "My physician has directed me to enter St. Elizabeth's Hospital for a check-up that is long overdue."

However, others were there. The priest's long time barber, Ted Widgren, now remembers that Coughlin often wanted to talk with him, admitting he was a lonely man. He frequently gave money to ushers with instructions to buy food for poor families, never identifying the donor. "Father Coughlin was the greatest individual I've ever met," he said.

A former altar boy, Dick Christie, who sold *Social Justice* on the church corner, was another parishioner who loved Coughlin. Christie had lived across the street from the rectory and remembers "The Father" taking off his coat, rolling up his white sleeves and playing baseball with neighborhood kids in 1937 and 1938. "He played shortstop without a glove."

Coughlin clung to his congregation in his last years as they clung to him. In a farewell letter at his golden jubilee, addressed to "My Gracious Friends," he talked of how historians might erroneously consider his years on radio and publishing *Social Justice* as the peak of his career, and the erection of The Shrine, the schools and convents, as a monumental achievement. "I consider these very minimal undertakings. They pale into insignificance," he claimed. It was his priestly duties that had sustained him.

Whether he was in the end a broken man or a man at last at peace with himself, is left for others to argue. But one conclusion is indisputable; like Icarus, he had flown too close to the sun.

Before retiring, Albert Salter (APIC #4736) owned an advertising agency, was a political activist and managed media and advised statewide candidates in Michigan, Maryland, and Texas. His newspaper column in the Morgan Messenger was awarded Best Weekly Newspaper column in the state by the West Virginia Press Association (1994, 1995 & 1997). Salter received the APIC President's Award in 2001 and presently serves as APIC Historian.

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See also, *The March of Time*, "The Great Depression," Part 2, 1935-1936, and Part 5, 1936, Executive Producer, Louis de Rochemont.

Quotes of Ted Widgren and Dick Christie are from current interviews with John L. Salter. Quotes from Richard Cardinal Cushing's letter to Father Coughlin and from Father Coughlin's letter to "My Gracious Friends," are from copies in the possession of Ted Widgren.

William Jennings Bryan and the Tree of Life

By Steve Baxley



William Jennings Bryan was a very religious man who would not hesitate to quote the Bible for political purposes. The button pictured above is often called the "Tree of Life" button, but the Bible verse on the button makes no reference to the "tree of life" but rather to unfruitful trees. The verse quoted on the button is a paraphrase of Luke, chapter 3, verse 9: "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees, every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire."

The verse is a quote is from John the Baptist, who preached in the wilderness, urged his hearers to repent and bring forth fruit worthy of repentance.

Taken within the political context of 1908, the reference appears obvious. A corrupt tree bears evil fruit and cannot bear good fruit. The button accuses Bryan's opponent, William Taft, of having been corrupted by the trusts and therefore incapable of producing good works for the people. The button promotes Bryan as a man of true Christian character, having displayed good fruit in his unselfish life and work.

The "tree of life" label may very well come from a book published by the religious publisher Fleming H. Revell; *The Fruits of the Tree* by William Jennings Bryan. That book was the publication of an address delivered by Bryan at the World's Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland on June 17, 1910, not 1908. In his speech in 1910, Bryan said: "The idea that the character of a tree is to be determined by its fruit—one of the most fundamental principles in our study of nature—runs through the Bible."

The reference to the "Tree of Life" in Bryan's 1910 speech is the vision written by John describing a vision of the Kingdom of God on earth and is found in the book of Revelations, chapter 22, verses 1&2: "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life..."

But the tree theme was used in 1908 as evidenced by the button and, as far as the 1908 election goes, there may be some subtle elements of religious prejudice. William Taft was a Unitarian and his divergence from orthodox Christianity was an issue in the 1908 campaign. Unitarians do not necessarily believe in the divinity of Jesus, which was the very opposite of Bryan's view. One cannot understand Bryan's politics without understanding his religion. He was raised in an environment of Midwestern Christian ethics, and these beliefs affected his politics well into the 1920's when he did battle with evolution in the Scopes Monkey Trial, seeking to maintain the supremacy of faith over knowledge, a battle that has reappeared in contemporary America as fundamentalist Christians continue to attack the teaching of evolution in public education.



Dry Oasis: The Prohibition Party

By James Hedges

The Prohibition Party, a single-issue pressure group, right? Wrong. The Prohibition Party, a posse of Christian moralizers, right? Not always. The Prohibition Party, a thing of the past, right? Not so.

The Prohibition Party was founded in 1869 by progressive reformers disillusioned by the fledgling Republican Party after the GOP had been captured by the "Eastern Establishment." Early Prohibitionists advocated many ideas that were radical at the time but which subsequently were adopted by the major parties: proposals such as legal racial equality, equal rights for women, direct election of senators, arbitration of industrial disputes, the income tax, initiative and referendum, and public ownership of utilities. The prohibition of alcohol, itself, was seen not so much as a moral issue as it was a practical reform. By reducing the consumption of alcoholic beverages, society could also reduce the incidence of spouse and child abuse, accidents, absenteeism from work, degenerative illnesses, pauperism, and other social evils.

However, there has always been internal division within the Prohibition Party over how much emphasis to give to the alcohol question. This disagreement boiled over most notably in 1896, when the "narrow gauge" anti-alcohol faction produced a postcard-sized platform urging everyone to ignore other issues and to focus exclusively on the alcohol question. The "broad gauge" faction (then called the "free silver Prohibitionists") walked out of the national convention, produced its own platform, and nominated its own national candidate, Charles E. Bentley.

The Party also split in 1928, when fear of the "Catholic Menace" represented by Democratic nominee Al Smith led a small faction to co-nominate Republican (and Protestant) Herbert Hoover.

The Prohibition Party changed fundamentally after adoption of the 18th Amendment (prohibiting the sale of alcohol). Many reformers concluded that their job had been done and went on to other things, not realizing that laws are not self-enforcing. Without active public support, enforcement lapses and laws are nullified.

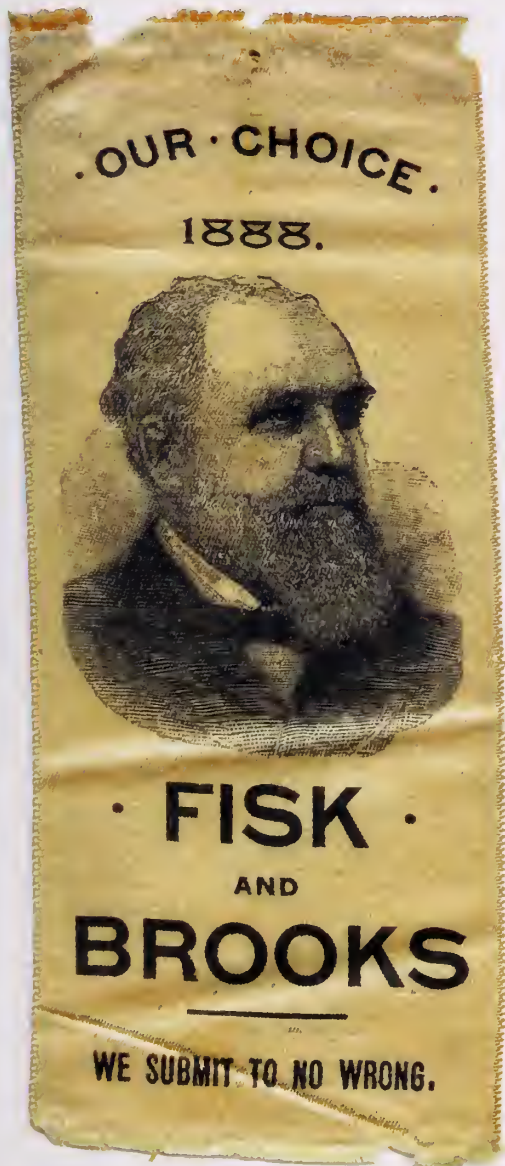
Party historian Roger Storms noted that increasingly rigorous ballot access laws after 1920 made it more difficult for all third-parties to challenge the "Republicrat" duopoly, but the decline of the Prohibition Party cannot be so easily explained. After the deaths of the 19th century social reformers who organized the Party and after the winning of its two most important issues - alcohol prohibition and the vote for women - the Prohibition Party fell under the control of leaders who emphasized "morality" issues rather than practical issues. The Party platform continued to include progressive planks, and it still does, but the leadership chose more and more to emphasize the conservative planks and to give theological (rather than practical) reasons for supporting the progressive planks.



It is instructive, in this regard, to look at the kinds of men chosen to head the ticket: Before 1920, there were newspapermen (John Russell, Gideon Stewart, James Cranfill, Frank Hanley), military officers (John St. John, Neal Dow, Green Clay Smith, John Bidwell), and financial entrepreneurs (Clinton Fisk, George Carroll, Henry Metcalf). Many of these individuals enjoyed national reputations.

The ticket which launched the Prohibition Party, in 1872, was headed by a lawyer (James Black) and a newspaperman (John Russell). It gained the ballot in six states and recorded 5600 votes.

In 1876, Prohibitionists fielded military officer and former Democratic congressman Green Clay Smith and newspaperman Gideon Stewart. Smith and Stewart ran in 10 states and bagged 9700 votes. They were followed in 1880 by military officer Neal Dow and college president Henry Thompson, who received 10,300 votes.



The 1884 vote leaped to 147,500, through the efforts of former Republican Kansas governor John St. John and civic activist William Daniel. The 1888 vote leaped again, to 250,000; the ticket was led by two college presidents, Clinton Fisk and John Brooks. Minnesota congressman Kittel Halvorsen was elected on the Prohibition ticket in 1890.

The peak vote for Prohibitionists arrived in 1892, when military officer John Bidwell and newspaperman James Cranfill won 2.8% of the national total, 271,000. This was followed by the Free Silver debacle, when businessman Joshua Levering and lawyer Hale Johnson (the old-guard candidates) got only 130,000 votes and the Free Silver Bentley faction got an additional 19,600.



Above: John Bidwell ran in 1892

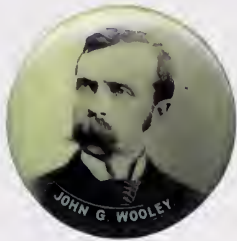
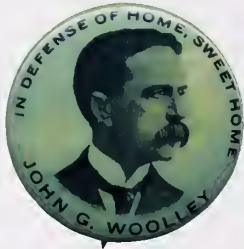


Left: Charles E. Bentley was the Free Silver Prohibitionist in 1896

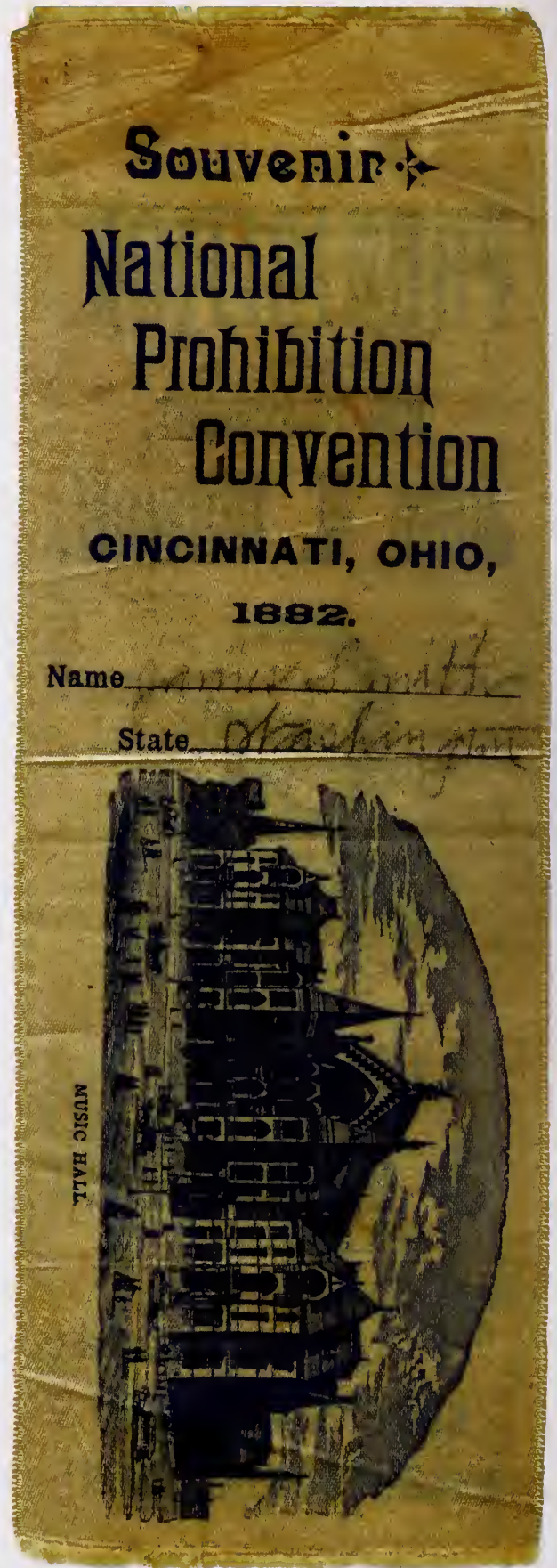


In 1900, however, a re-unified Prohibition Party rebounded, getting 209,500 votes for lawyer John Wooley and banker Henry Metcalf. The election of 1904 was even better. Minister Silas Swallow and philanthropist George Carroll received 258,000 votes.

(continued on page 30)



Clearly, not everyone supported Prohibition. This postcard shows a bartender happy about the Democratic victory in 1932 and supporting FDR's re-election in 1936.





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Then, as the dries became increasingly successful both in the United States and in Canada, the Prohibition Party vote began a slow decline. Eugene Chafin and Aaron Watkins, both lawyers, could muster only 253,000 votes in 1908. The same team, running again in 1912, brought in only 208,000.



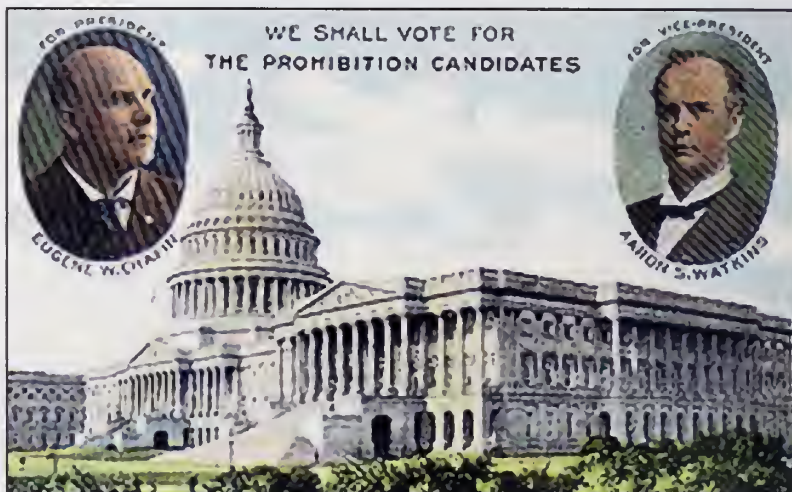
New faces in 1916, newspaperman J. Frank Hanley and college president Ira Landrith, won 221,000 votes. But, in 1920, Aaron Watkins, now running for president, and historian Leigh Colvin could find only 196,000.

It was also in 1916 that Prohis elected their only governor - Democratic primary sore-loser Sidney Catts of Florida. Prohibitionists also elected California congressman Charles Randall to three terms in 1914, 1916 and 1918.

Seeing how Catts was able to convert a primary election loss into a general election win, a Republican primary sore-loser of 1920 from Erie, Pennsylvania, Milton Shreve, ran on the Prohibition ticket at the general election, beat the old-guard Republican candidate, and then reverted to the Republican Party as soon as he was seated in Congress.

The Prohibition Party was never again strong enough to be attractive to opportunists.

After 1920, military officers disappeared from the record. There were still many lawyers and educators, but now also there were ministers and temperance workers. Other than Roger Babson (economist) and Stuart Hamblen (gospel musician), none of the post-1920 presidential candidates possessed national name-recognition.



The Party also began putting more emphasis on its "Christian" nature after 1920. The Prohibition Party has always emphasized that it is a "Party of Principle," in which doing the right thing has taken precedence over pandering to the voters (one of our campaign songs is entitled "I'd Rather be Right than President"), but now the line between public policy and Christian evangelism began to blur. This was off-putting to liberal Christians and to non-Christians alike, and it shrank the pool of potential Prohibition voters - the body of voters that had supported Prohibition Party policies for non-doctrinal reasons was lost.



Also, newly-enfranchised women voters repudiated the Prohibition Party in 1924, despite the assistance Prohis had given in getting women the right to vote. The Prohibition vote in 1924 plummeted by nearly 75%, to 55,000 under the guidance of banker Herman Faris and suffragette Marie Brehm (the first legally qualified female candidate for vice-president). By 1928, the Party had lost another half, its vote dropping to 20,000 for the old-guard ticket of businessman William Varney and newspaperman James Edgerton, although an alternative slate in California got 14,000 more.

Repeal of Prohibition, however, gave the Party renewed life. Former Democrat congressman William Upshaw and former state legislator Frank Regan headed the ticket in 1932 and got the vote back up to 82,000. In 1936 election, however, Colvin (running this time for president) and lawyer Claude Watson could find only 38,000 votes.

Two businessmen, Roger Babson and Edgar Moorman, headed the ticket in 1940. They were able to get the Prohibition vote back up to 58,700. Claude Watson returned to the ballot in 1944, running this time for president, with evangelist Andrew Johnson as his mate. The 1944 vote rose again to 75,000. In 1948, it rose still higher, to 103,000, under the tutelage of Watson and realtor Dale Learn.

Watson was a flamboyant campaigner who flew his own airplane on the trail. Among other stunts, he sent his wife to the White House to measure the windows for new curtains. Over the next 20 years (1952-1972), the Prohibition Party lost about 80% of its support.



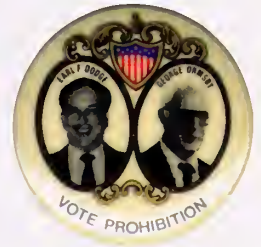
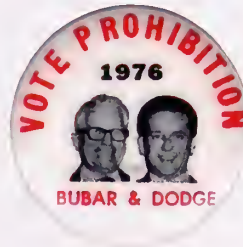
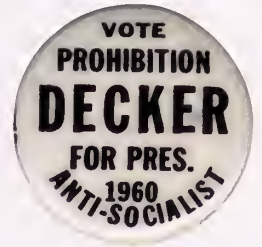
After 30 years, it had lost 90%. This general trajectory is typical of third-parties: a decade or two of growth reaching a peak followed by a decline to oblivion. The Prohibition Party took six election cycles (1872 to 1892) to reach its acme (2.3% of the national vote, for Bidwell and Cranfill). That was followed by the narrow-gauge schism of 1896, when the national vote fell by half. A re-unified Party then rebounded nearly to its previous level and maintained that level until national adoption of its signature issue, the 18th Amendment.

As always, though, the decline proved irreversible. The 1952 ticket of musician Stuart Hamblen and college president Enoch Holtwick ran in 20 states (the last time Prohis would get on the ballot in at least 20) but received only 78,000 votes. Holtwick and lawyer Edwin Cooper headed the ticket in 1956, but were on the ballot in only 10 states and the total vote fell to 42,000.

The 1960 ticket was headed by National Association of Evangelicals founder Rutherford Decker and educator E. Harold Munn, Sr. They were able to get on the ballot in 11 states, and the vote rose marginally to 46,000. The 1964 ticket, headed by Munn and minister Mark Shaw, got on the ballot in 9 states but earned only 23,300 votes. In 1968, Munn and evangelist Rolland Fisher got only 15,000 votes, and in 1972 Munn and educator Marshall Uncapher got only 13,400. By 1972, the Party gained the ballot in only 4 states.

Another small up-tic occurred in 1976, when an experienced state legislator and lobbyist, Ben Bubar, was persuaded to head the ticket. Bubar and Prohibition Party national chairman Earl F. Dodge were able to get on the ballot in 9 states, but the total vote rose only slightly, to 16,000. The 1980 Bubar and Dodge ticket fell back to 4 states and 7200 votes.

Yet, a small nucleus has survived. The cause of this perseverance has two, possibly three, aspects. First, the increasingly ideological nature of the Party, though driving away pragmatists, attracted people who had doctrinal motivations for condemning the use of alcoholic beverages. For them, supporting the Prohibition Party was a religious obligation. Second, three small bequests were made to the Party, the income from which has enabled it to continue a skeleton program despite the loss of nearly all public support. Third, for most of the past 45 years (1958-2003), it had a singularly dedicated individual as national chairman, at once a blessing and a curse.

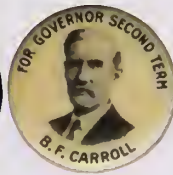


Through the 1960's and 1970's, the Prohibition Party issued a series of handsome official jugates. By the time Earl Dodge became the presidential candidate in 1984, his sideline of selling buttons for each campaign produced a variety of buttons aimed at collectors rather than voters.

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Dodge began his unprecedented run of five Prohibition nominations in 1984, first with law enforcement officer Warren Martin, then twice with International Organization of Good Templars leader George Ormsby, then with WCTU president Rachel Kelly, and finally with engineer W. Dean Watkins. Dodge never received over 8000 votes; in his final two attempts, he won only 900 and 200, respectively.

It is often claimed that, were it not for Earl Dodge, the Prohibition Party would have vanished long ago. Dodge was prominent in the Party leadership from 1952 through 2003, being national chairman for most of that time.

However, Dodge's close-to-the-vest management style alienated most former Prohibition Party activists, discouraged potential new members from trying to help, and resulted in the breaking up of most of the state and local organizations which formerly existed. Meanwhile, the availability of the trust income enabled Dodge to pursue his own personal vision of what the Prohibition Party should be, regardless of the appeal of that vision to the society at large.

But, the historical record shows that every other American "third-party" movement has blossomed and withered. Can Dodge fairly be blamed for permitting the decline of the Prohibition Party over the past 50 years? Can Dodge honestly be praised for rowing against the tide of history, defiantly saving the Good Ship Lemonade from being wrecked on the shoals of time? Would the support of the believers in prohibition-as-a-moral-obligation have kept the Prohibition Party alive without Dodge? Could anyone have kept the Party alive absent the posthumous generosity of Mabel Pennock, Sarah Ulmer, and Mary Lee?

Dodge was fired by a majority of his own, hand-picked Prohibition National Committee members at a public meeting in September, 2003, after he had arranged a private meeting of trusted relatives and friends at his home in June and had claimed that the private meeting was the official 2003 nominating convention of the Prohibition Party. The new officers chose Gene Amondson, a widely travelled temperance lecturer and landscape artist, to be the standard-bearer in 2004. His running mate was public health activist Leroy Pletten. Amondson and Pletten got on the ballot in two states (Colorado and Louisiana), winning nearly 2000 votes. It was our best showing since 1988.

Dodge put himself on the Colorado ballot, anyway, but received only 140 votes (to Amondson's 378). The management controversy generated a large amount of nationwide publicity prior to the election -- Dodge stated publicly that it was the most attention the Prohibition Party had received in 50 years. Coincidentally, fewer people voted for Dodge in 2004 than at any time in the previous 50 years. It was an ignominious and humiliating end to a long and influential career.

The new management team intends to rebuild the voter image of the Prohibition Party as that of an organization devoted to social betterment; not a bludgeon for imposing Biblical morality on a world of sinners, but a beacon for a more ethical and humane world based on shared religious principles, a world in which, by design, people will have available and will choose constructive alternatives to the use of alcohol and other recreational drugs. We invite everyone to follow that beacon and find an oasis: The Prohibition Party.



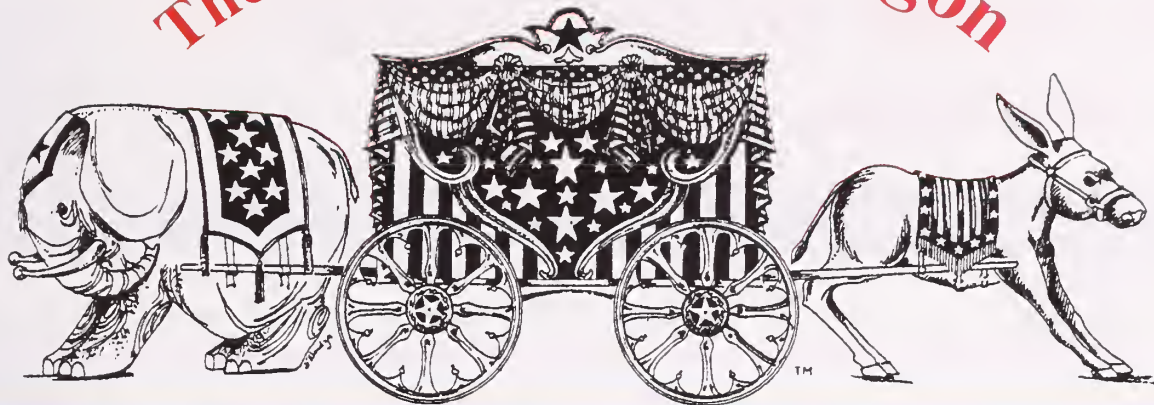
James Hedges became the most recent elected Prohibition Party candidate when he was elected township assessor in 2002. He is editor of the historical website www.prohibitionists.org



*A handsome pair of
matched 1-1/4"
jugates from the 1900
election.*



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The Honor of the Church is the Issue of 1900

By Steve Baxley

Before one can answer the question of why the Prohibition Party thought that the honor of the church was the issue of 1900, one has to ask what events had caused the church to be dishonored before 1900.

During his early career, William McKinley spoke in favor of total abstinence from alcohol. As a prosecuting attorney in Stark County, Ohio, he vigorously fought the illicit sale of liquor. In one such case, many students at Mount Union College frequented saloons in Alliance, Ohio. McKinley used the testimony of several students to prosecute the saloonkeepers. One of the witnesses was Philander C. Knox, who later became a prominent politician in Pennsylvania. In 1896, the Republican Party platform contained the following sentence condemning intemperance:

"We sympathize fully with all legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality."

By 1900, many Christian voters who had voted for McKinley in 1896 were upset about several issues. The plank 'President McKinley Arraigned' in the Prohibition Platform of 1900 read as follows:

"We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and as a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute, than any other President this republic has ever had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin, and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country in such a manner and to such a degree as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant effective rebuke.

"We challenge denial of the fact that our Chief Executive, commander in chief of the military forces of the United States at any time prior to or since March 2, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them, for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress passed March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor 'in any post-exchange or canteen,' by any 'officer or private soldier' or by 'any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States,' was and is as explicit an act of prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the Attorney-General of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the Secretary of War in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and endorsement of such interpretation and refusal, on the part of officials appointed by and responsible to him, shares responsibly in their guilt; and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dare and does abrogate a law of Congress through subordinates removable at will by him and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be





administered or to be nullified in the interest of a law-defying business, by an administration under mortgage to such business for support."

No longer abstaining from alcohol, McKinley served wine at public banquets and state functions. This outraged Prohibition Party members who felt the Christian vote had helped elect McKinley. The fact that he had been a temperance man early in his career was probably another reason McKinley's actions created such a stir.

During the Spanish American War, the canteen sold liquor to American soldiers. Liquor had been for sale in the canteen since February 1889. However, the canteen continued to sell liquor in no-license territories like Georgia and for this reason the canteen became a campaign issue.

In March 1899, Congress passed an anti-canteen law. Prohibitionists accused the liquor lobby of trying to subvert the law through semantics. The anti-canteen law forbids any soldier from selling liquor; it did not forbid hiring men to sell liquor in the canteen. Attorney-General Griggs took the side of the liquor lobby when the War Department asked for a ruling. Because McKinley had power over the Attorney General and the War Department, many blamed McKinley for allowing the liquor lobby to circumvent the law.

Another issue created by the Spanish American War was the tremendous growth of saloons in the Philippines after Dewey's victory at Manila Bay. Prohibitionists saw this as an expansion of the liquor traffic under the approval and protection of the Government of the United States. Once again, the Prohibition Party saw this as a situation that could have been easily resolved by a moral stand from the commander-in-chief, William McKinley.

So, the John G. Woolley button that declares that the honor of the church is the issue of 1900 is an appeal to those Christian voters who helped put McKinley in office in 1896. The appeal is, "don't be fooled by the Republicans a second time; McKinley has sold out to the liquor lobby. Defend the honor of the church, vote the Prohibition Party."



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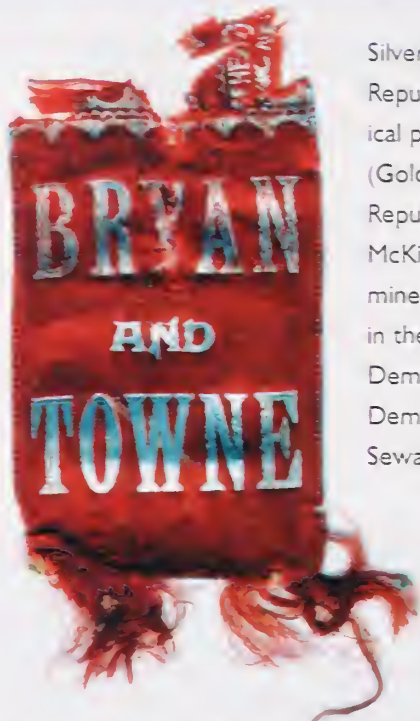
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Bryan and Towne in 1900

By Steve Baxley



Silver was such a divisive issue in 1896, Democrats and Republicans bolted their parties and created their own political parties. Democrats favoring the gold standard created the National Democratic Party (Gold Democrats) and the Republicans favoring the silver stand created the Silver Republican party. The question in 1900 was whether four prosperous years under McKinley's gold standard would end discussion of the silver issue. Silverites were determined to prevent the demise of the silver question. The silver forces included supporters in the Silver Republican Party, the People's Party, and the Democratic Party. The Gold Democrats did not field candidates in 1900. In 1896, the People's Party had fused with the Democrats and supported Bryan, but had refused to endorse shipping magnate Arthur Sewall for vice president. Instead, they nominated Tom Watson of Georgia. In 1900, all three parties suggested rallying around one candidate for Vice President, Silver Republican Charles A. Towne of Minnesota.

Charles Arnette Towne was born near Pontiac, Oakland County, Michigan, on November 21, 1858. He was judge advocate general of Minnesota from 1893-1895, elected as a Republican to Congress in 1894, and was an unsuccessful independent candidate for re-election in 1896 and for election in 1898. A great orator

and a strong advocate of free silver, he was Chairman of the National Silver Republican Committee.

The Populist factions met on May 9-10, 1900, in different locations. The People's Party (Fusionists) met in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The convention endorsed Bryan for President, the convention was contentious over whether the Party should nominate a vice president before conferring with the Democrats. The issue was debated for several hours. Senator Washburn suggested that a committee send a list of five acceptable vice presidential nominees to the Democrats, who would meet in Kansas City, MO, July 4-6. James B. Weaver, Populist candidate for President in 1892, spoke in favor of this idea. The idea was voted down. Seven names were placed in nomination, but all declined except Charles A. Towne (MN) and J. J. Lentz (OH). Towne was approved by acclamation. The People's Party (anti-fusionists) met in Cincinnati, Ohio. They ignored the Democratic Party and nominated their own independent candidates, Wharton Barker and Ignatius Donnelly. Bryan and Towne had stated that they felt the Fusionists should have waited until the Democrats had decided on a vice presidential candidate. Towne said that he was sure that his name would be placed in nomination, although he was still a Republican.



One major issue at the Democratic Convention was whether the platform would have a strong statement about free silver. Bryan's endorsement of the issue was as great as ever, but anti-imperialism was becoming a major focus. Some feared that the nomination of Towne would lose critical states like New York and Ohio. Many southern and western delegates were now supporting a more conservative free silver plank, fearing a loss of these important states.

David B. Hill, former governor of New York, was a popular candidate for the Democratic vice presidential nomination. But Hill said he would refuse the nomination if the platform included a free silver plank. Under pressure from Bryan, the

silver plank passed by 1 vote. Towne provided no sectional advantage to the Democrats. The Tammany forces headed by Richard Croaker and Charles F. Murphy favored Judge Van Wyck, who had lost to the now vice presidential candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, in the 1898 race for Governor of New York. Croaker had replaced Hill with Van Wyck, a Silverite, on the Platform Committee. When he threatened to take a minority report to the floor, Croaker warned Hill that he would ban the delegation from talking to him. Some were convinced that if Hill were nominated, Tammany would ensure the defeat of the Democratic ticket just to defeat Hill. Croaker did not support Bryan in 1896, but supported him strongly in 1900. Hill eventually dropped the silver issue and seconded Bryan's nomination. The answer to the vice presidential problem came

from the Illinois delegation, which nominated Adlai E. Stevenson, who had served as vice president under Grover Cleveland in the 1890s. In the roll call, Towne finished third, Hill finished second, and Stevenson received the nomination.

The Silver Republicans met July 4-6 in Kansas City and were unable to decide on whether to endorse Stevenson for Vice President. The Convention decided to empower their National Committee to determine the nominee. They met on July 7 and endorsed Stevenson for Vice President.

Towne withdrew his nomination from the Populist (Fusionist) Party when he learned that Stevenson had received his letter of notification from the Democratic Party. The national committee of the Fusionists met on August 27 and endorsed Stevenson for Vice President.

Charles Towne's star had fallen fast. Towne followed TR around on his speaking engagements, supporting the Democratic ticket enthusiastically, but to no avail. The Democratic Party was divided in 1900, and the margin of victory for McKinley was greater than in 1896. Silver was dead. Had the Bryan-Towne ticket prevailed, the results would probably have been even worse.



This Towne ribbon is probably from his congressional run as a Republican in 1894 or as an Independent in 1896. The "Against All Funding Bills" refers to a plan to bail out railroads by paying their debt. Towne preferred to foreclose on the railroads.



As a Silver Republican, Charles Towne offered the prospect of a ticket that crossed old party lines.



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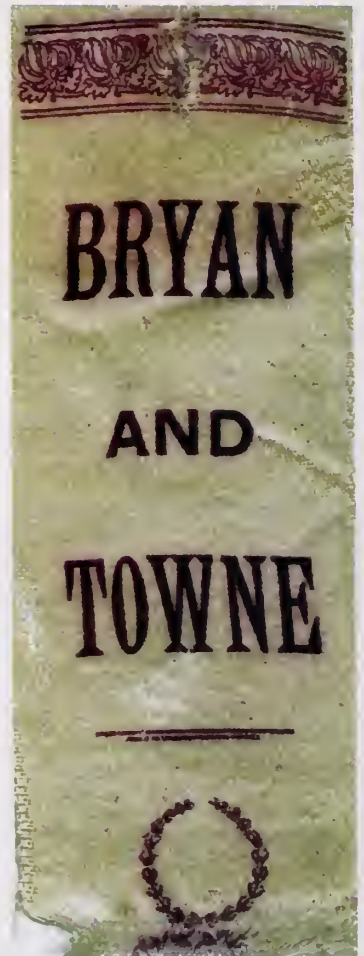
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