

SPRING/SUMMER 2006

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# THE KEYNOTER

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS CONSERVATORS



## The Founding Father: George Washington

Essays by Neal Peirce, Sidney Hart and Peter Gibbon

The GW Buttons • Washington & Bryan • The Electoral College

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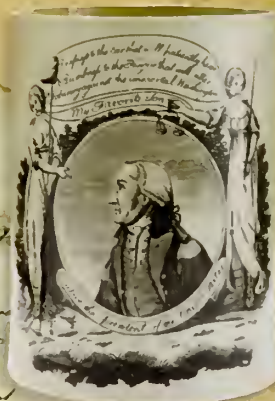
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United States September 30<sup>th</sup> 1791

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The high importance of the Judicial  
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to fill the several Offices as it is possible to  
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Edw. Livingston Esquire -



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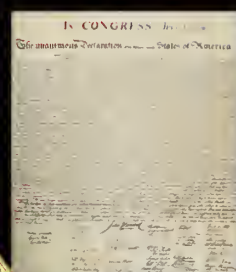
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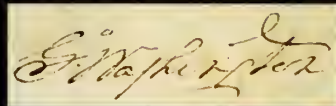
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## FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT



### GEORGE WASHINGTON ISSUE

Dear fellow APIC members,

"I walk on untrodden ground. There is scarcely any part of my conduct which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent."

George Washington, as our first President, expressed these words with full knowledge that every move, action, decision and judgment he made would affect not only the new republic, but also set the standards for our nation's future leaders. What an ominous task to bear; over two hundred years before today's intense media, the free flow of email and internet blogs, Washington personally and voluntarily assumed the burdens of scrutiny and criticism. To consider the impact of one's actions on future generations proves the character of a statesman; to voluntarily accept such responsibility marks a man of tremendous virtue.

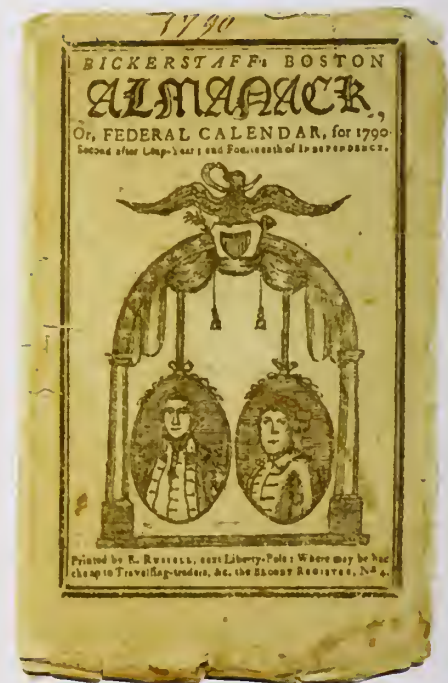
This edition of *The Keynoter* is a special issue, devoted to George Washington. It also marks the beginning of a special series; one *Keynoter* each year for the next few years will focus on our nation's Founding Fathers (Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe). Leading a new nation, establishing laws, and engaging in diplomacy with nations much older and experienced were awesome tasks. History proves that as they endeavored to form and advance our union, some decisions made by our Founding Fathers were good and some were bad. Regardless of those decisions and their outcomes, these were men of commitment, strong will and determination who deserve our study and recognition.

We appreciate the valuable contributions of several who made this *Keynoter* possible. APIC stalwart Rex Stark, a recognized authority on early American ceramics, graciously allowed the photographic reproduction of many items from his magnificent collection. Likewise, longtime APIC members, authors and historians David and Janice Frent, kindly provided illustrations of Washington inaugural buttons and other items from their vast historical collection. Our contributing writers in this issue are particularly distinguished. Stefan Lorant's *Glorious Burden* was often the first place many of us were exposed to the full range of political Americana, while national columnist Neal Peirce, historian Sidney Hart of the Smithsonian Institution and Professor Peter Gibbon of Boston University provide valuable essays on George Washington and the formation of the Electoral College. Their involvement is a sign of the growing strength of *The Keynoter*.

Yours in Progress,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "BKrapf". The signature is fluid and stylized, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Brian Krapf  
President



This 1790 almanac published in Boston is one of the few known Washington/ Adams jugates from the first administration.



For two years I've been out in the woods, searching America for the rare and the unusual in political memorabilia.

I'm back and ready to join my fellow collectors to fulfill their dreams and desires! What you see are examples of some of the treasures I've handled in the past.

I buy entire collections or single items, especially graphic, displayable pieces.

Contact me if you have something wonderful to sell, or to see my current inventory.

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## EDITOR'S MESSAGE

The fountainhead of American politics is our first president, George Washington. This special double issue features the early days of our political tradition and includes what must be the finest array of writers and conservators we've ever featured; with excellent articles by recognized historians like Stefan Lorant, Sidney Hart, Neal Peirce and Peter Gibbon plus fine research pieces like Glenn Soden on the Washington Benevolent Societies, combined with items from two magnificent collections of Washington material, this will surely be a memorable issue. A majority of the ceramic pieces are from Rex Stark's collection, the Washington inaugural buttons and additional ceramics are from David and Janice Frent's collection.



I would like to add a personal note of thanks to Bob Fratkin and Germaine Broussard, whose passion and labor are reflected in these pages. Bob's constant efforts behind the scenes brought this issue together and Germaine's hundreds of hours spent gathering and sharpening the illustrations that fill these pages make an essential contribution to our success.

Michael Kelly  
Editor

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**ILLUSTRATIONS**--The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Stephen Baxley, Germaine Broussard, Robert Fratkin, David Frent, Janice Frent, John Gingerich, H. Joseph Levine, Brian Krapf, Nathan Sims, Glenn Soden, and Rex Stark.

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**FRONT COVER**--Gen. George Washington, portrait in oils, 1785, by Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788). Canvas size is 30" x 25". This portrait is in the private collection of an APIC member.

**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

*Many thanks for sending me the copy of The Keynoter with Harvey Goldberg's delightful article on my brother's coattails in 1960 and so many other historical memorabilia from American politics. It was so nice of you to mention the material related to Honey Fitz's campaigns – I'd love to know more about them. I'm grateful for your thoughtfulness, and I send my warmest wishes to the APIC.*

**Senator Edward M. Kennedy**

*I got my Keynoter and it's wonderful: great color illustrations, along with shorter articles. I always love the stories about one-day events and there was even one of those in the issue. And the short on Dewey's house for sale -- just great!*

**Tom Peeling (APIC #9765)**

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# The Founding Father: George Washington

*By Stefan Lorant*

## The First Election: 1789



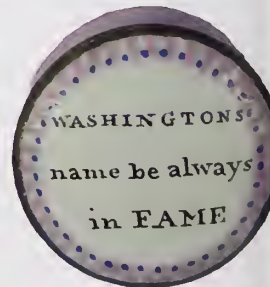
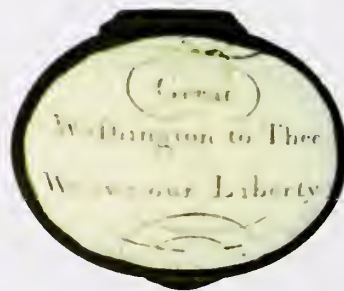
Washington had no rival for the presidency. That he would be elected no one doubted. His position was unique; he was respected and trusted by all.

Without him there would have been no army in the Revolutionary War; without his support there would have been no Constitution. He was first in war and first in peace; his influence on his countrymen was unequaled.

But Washington had no desire to become President. He had had his fill of public life; he had "no wish beyond that of living and dying an honest man on my own farm." He wrote to his friend Benjamin Lincoln: "Nothing in this world can ever draw me from [retirement] unless it be a conviction that the partiality of men had made my services absolutely necessary." He hoped this would not be the case but, even if it was, he would hold office only as long as he was needed and retire "as soon as my services could possibly with propriety be dispensed with." He viewed his future with apprehension. "May Heaven assist me in forming a judgment," he wrote to Jonathan Trumbull, "for at present I see nothing but clouds and darkness before me."

By the summer of 1788 eleven states had ratified the Constitution (North Carolina did not ratify it until November 21, 1789, and Rhode Island not until May 29, 1790). In the second week of September, the Congress of the old Confederation issued a schedule for the first presidential election. This schedule proscribed: On the first Wednesday in February, these electors were to meet in their respective states and vote for two men; the one with the highest vote became President, the other with next highest vote, Vice-President. And another month later, on the first Wednesday in March, "be the time, and the present seat of Congress the place, for commencing Proceedings under the said Constitution."

The tight schedule left no time for respite. In less than four months - from September 13, 1788, when Congress published its timetable, to January 7, 1789, when the electors were to be chosen - state legislatures had to be summoned, rules about electoral methods enacted, electors nominated and voted for. The question was: How should the electors be chosen? Should they be named by the legislatures or should they be elected by popular vote?



c. 1790-1800 Enamel Battersea Pill Boxes, approximately 2"

The shortness of time seemed an indication that the framers of the Constitution expected the state legislatures to make the appointments. "If the people, as hath been asserted, are to choose the electors, is it possible that in the large State of Massachusetts, Virginia, etc., the returns can be made for the choice, notice given to the persons chosen, and the persons thus chosen have time to meet together in the short space of one month?" asked a writer in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the daily paper of Philadelphia. And he answered: "No, it is impossible and can only be remedied by the legislatures, who, in fact, are 'the states' making the choice."

Thus five states - Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, New Jersey and South Carolina - chose electors that way, but three others - Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland - selected them by popular vote.

In the remaining three states the legislatures debated and argued about the election methods. After protracted argument Massachusetts accepted a complicated procedure: The people of the districts were to vote in popular elections for two men, both residents in the same district. Their names then were submitted to the General Court which was also to name two electors-at-large.

New Hampshire was for popular selection but demanded a majority vote for its five electors. Since many candidates entered the contest, the vote became fragmented; as none of the candidates received the majority, the election came before the assembly where the two houses could not agree whether to vote by a joint or by a separate ballot. It was nearly midnight on the last day when the lower house gave in.

In New York, where a similar argument was raging, the Federalist Senate and the anti-Federalist House were deadlocked; thus the state could not cast its vote in the first presidential election.

In the states where popular elections were held, the event caused hardly a ripple. There were no important issues at stake, so only a handful of voters went to the polls. In New York the anti-Federalists, not yet a party, attempted to make Governor George Clinton Vice President; but when Washington let it be known that he regarded John Adams "a safe man" whom he could treat "with perfect sincerity and the greatest candor," Clinton no longer had a chance.

Alexander Hamilton, who nursed a dislike for Adams, tried to ease him out of the vice presidency. He asked General Henry Knox to visit Adams and reason with him. Knox went to Braintree and tried to convince Adams that the vice-presidential post was much too insignificant for him, but Adams thought otherwise.

The "defect of the Constitution" worried Hamilton. If some of the anti-Federalist electors were to hold back "a few votes insidiously" from Washington and give them all to Adams, "the Duke of Braintree" would become President and Washington only Vice President. (One must remember that in this election - as in the next three - the electors had to vote for two men; the one with the highest vote was to become President, the other with the second highest, Vice President.) So Hamilton sent letter after letter to the Federalist electors asking them to "waste" their votes for the second choice, and they responded to Hamilton's suggestion. While Washington received the unanimous vote of all sixty-nine electors, Adams got only thirty-four votes.



Size 3-1/2"



Size 5"



Size 3-1/2"

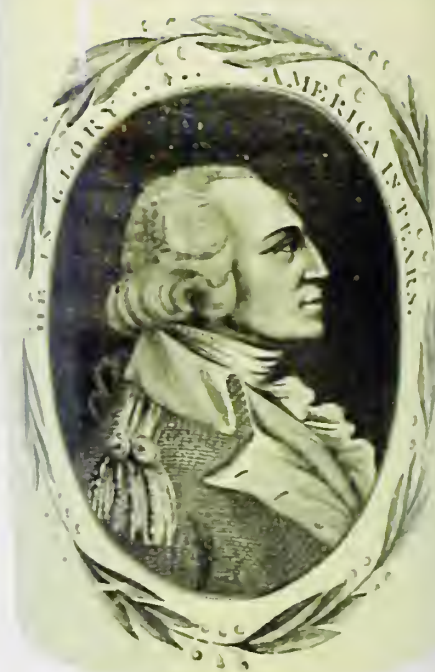
C. 1820 French Sulfide Paperweights

The humiliated Adams wrote to his friend, Dr Rush: "Is not my election to this office, in the scurvy manner in which it was done, a curse rather than a blessing?" In his anger he thought to refuse "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived," but when he calmed down, he changed his mind. He would not create "a great mischief" and thus place an obstacle before the formation of the country's new government.

When Washington received the news of his election, he wrote to Lafayette, his French comrade in arms: "My difficulties increase and magnify as I draw towards a period when, according to the common belief, it will be necessary for me to give a definite answer in one way or another," But about the same time he also sent a letter to General Knox, his American comrade in arms, asking him to buy some "superfine American broadcloth" - enough for a suit - as Washington wanted to take the oath of office in a suit of American spun cloth.

The new government was to begin operation on March 4, but at that date only eight senators and thirteen representatives were present in New York, the temporary capital. Not until the first day of April had the House of Representatives a quorum to organize itself. By then the hesitancy of Washington had all but vanished. The General prepared himself for the journey. He borrowed £500 to pay some of his most urgent debts and to have some cash on hand. He pondered about the future. "In confidence I assure you," he wrote to General Knox, "with the world it would obtain little credit, that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution; so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking by the voice of the people, and a good name of my own, on this voyage; but what returns will be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise."

On the sixth day of April the Senate had its first quorum and was ready for the official opening and counting of the electoral votes in the presence of members of both houses of Congress. John Langdon, the senator from New Hampshire was elected "president for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for President of the United States." After "it appeared that George Washington Esq. was elected President," Charles Thomson, the "perpetual secretary" of the old Continental Congress, was appointed to take the official notification to him. Thomson mounted his horse the next morning - on a Tuesday; two days later he was in Philadelphia; by Sunday he reached Baltimore, and half an hour noon on Tuesday, the Fourteenth of April, exactly a week after he set out from New York, he arrived at Mount Vernon. In a formal little speech he informed Washington what the General already knew - that he was elected to the presidency. Washington made a formal little address in return, promising to be "in readiness to set out the day after tomorrow." He wrote in his journal; "I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York."



C. 1799, 6"



C. 1799, 6"

The journey from Mount Vernon to New York turned into an ovation from beginning to end. Everywhere along the route Washington was greeted with joyous enthusiasm. A cheering multitude lined the path of his carriage. He had to take part in banquets, listen to speeches, and ride between mounted escorts with shining sabers in city after city. Though he started his day early and traveled late, by the twentieth of the month he was only in Philadelphia, still two and a half days away from New York.

At Elizabeth Town, a large barge was waiting for him. Thirteen pilots manned the oars, one for each state, ready to row the craft across the harbor to New York.

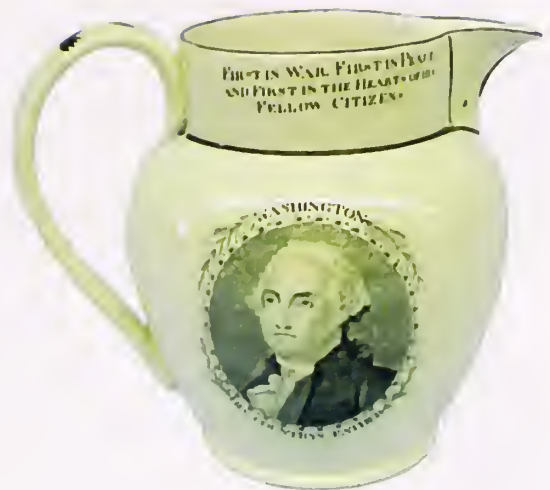
At Murray's Wharf at the foot of Wall Street, Governor Clinton and other dignitaries waited for the President-elect. Church bells pealed, cannons boomed, the masses cheered. *The Gazette of the United States*, freshly published in New York, wrote: "May the Rulers of America feel the spirit of their station - feel their hearts beat strong for virtuous fame - feel that they are exalted to be Gods among men, study to imitate the God of Gods."

Deeply moved by his reception, Washington wrote to Edward Rutledge: "I greatly apprehend that my countrymen will expect too much from me. I fear, if the issue of public measures should not correspond with their sanguine expectations, they will turn the extravagant (and I may say undue) praises which they are heaping upon me at this moment, into equally extravagant (though I fondly hope, unmerited) censures."

Inauguration was set for the thirtieth of April. In the morning Washington put on his new suit with buttons of spread-winged eagles; his stocking were of white silk, his shoe buckles of silver; his dress sword was in a steel scabbard. A joint committee of Congress came to escort him to the Federal Building in Wall Street. He took his seat in a coach drawn by four horses, and other coaches with members of Congress and representatives of foreign nations followed him in a grand procession. Arriving at the Federal Building, Washington walked into the Senate Chamber where he was greeted by Vice President Adams who was so moved by the occasion that he could hardly speak. When he got through his welcome, he led Washington to the portico of the building. Members of Congress followed them.

Chancellor Robert Livingston, the Chief Justice of the New York judiciary, stepped forward to administer the oath. He spoke in measured tones: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Washington repeated the words, adding at the end, "So help me God." Then Livingston called out: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

A thunderous shout rose from the street, from the windows and from the rooftops. Washington bowed and bowed again, then retraced his steps.



C. 1824, 9"



C. 1820 Mug, 2-1/2"



C. 1824, 2-1/2"  
Lafayette on reverse



C. 1819, 2-1/2"

"As the company returned into the Senate Chamber," noted Senator William Maclay of Pennsylvania, "the President took the chair and the Senators and Representatives their seats. He rose and all rose also and [he] addressed them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before. He put the fingers of the left hand into the side of what I think the tailors call the fall of the breeches, changing the papers into his left hand. After some time he then did the same thing with some fingers of his right hand. When he came to the words 'all the world,' he made a flourish with his right hand, which left rather an ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing-masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper, for I felt hurt that he was not first in everything." But Maclay was a foe of Federalism, one of the most cantankerous men in Congress, and he disliked ceremonies.

A different description of the event was given by another eyewitness, Fisher Ames, a member of the House from Massachusetts who was a good Federalist and an admirer of Washington. For Ames the scene was touching and solemn. Of Washington, he wrote: "His aspect grave, almost to sadness; his modesty, actually shaking; his voice deep, a little tremulous, and so low as to call for close attention; added to the series of objects presented to the mind, and overwhelming it, produced emotion of the most affecting kind upon the members."

The inaugural address was short; its reading lasted less than ten minutes. When it was over, Washington, accompanied by the members of Congress, walked across the street to St. Paul's Chapel to hear divine service.

That night the whole city celebrated: cascades, serpents, fountains of fire and other fireworks lit up the skies. The people sang and danced and cheered. The new country had its president, the first to take office under the Constitution - an event worth of all the celebration.

## The Second Election: 1792

The Constitution sketched only the bare outline of the presidential office. The President was to be commander in chief of the army and navy, and was to commission all officers; he was to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States (except in cases of impeachment); he was to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate; he was to appoint ambassadors, ministers and judges of the Supreme Court; he was to inform Congress on the state of the Union and make recommendations to that body; he was on extraordinary occasions to convene both houses, or either of them, and he might also adjourn them; he was to receive ambassadors and other representatives of foreign governments; and he was to take care that the laws of the country were faithfully executed - that was all.

His powers were left vague; they were not spelled out in detail. The reason for this may have been that the founders knew the first President would be George Washington and they had no desire to lay down strict rules for him, and also because they felt that no strict rules could be laid down for leadership.

Congress went into a lengthy and somewhat ridiculous debate on how to address him. Should he be called "His Highness," "His Excellency," "His Elective Highness" or "His Mightiness?" Vice President Adams, ever ready for Old World customs and traditions,



C. 1790 Curtain Tie-backs, 2"



suggested "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of the Rights of the Same." When Benjamin Franklin heard of this, he remarked that he thought Adams was "always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses." James Madison reminded the House that as the Constitution had referred to the Chief Magistrate as President and that should be his title.

Adams fumed. "What will the common people of foreign countries - what will the sailors and soldiers say when they hear that George Washington is called only 'President of the United States'?" And he answered, "They will despise him." He found "President" undignified since there were "presidents of fire companies and clubs."

Senator William Maclay, the rough-hewn country lawyer from Pennsylvania whose Journal left us with vivid insight into the period, had no use for highfalutin titles. He agreed with Madison that since the Constitution called the Chief Executive "The President of the United States," no one had the authority to change that.

Washington told his friends that he would resign if any title were attached to his office. "President" was good enough for him. So "President" it was, and "President" it remained.

But the next few weeks Maclay and his Congressional friends mockingly addressed each other "Your Highness of the House" and "Your Highness of the Senate," and they referred to the title-loving Adams as "His Rotundity."

Washington was troubled about his responsibilities. "I walk on untrod-den ground," he said. "There is scarcely any part of my conduct that may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." He asked Adams, Hamilton, Jay and Madison about questions of etiquette. Should he reduce the number of his public receptions? Was it proper to receive as early as eight in the morning? Should he attend large entertainments? Should he accept invitations to the homes of his personal friends? Should he travel through the country to observe conditions or should he stay at home?

Hamilton advised one public reception a week, with the President in attendance for no longer than half an hour; he could invite a small number of friends for dinner but not accept return invitations. He also suggested two to four large entertainments a year, but no more. Washington, after considering the recommendations, decided to follow "that line of conduct which, in my judgment, was unexceptionable in itself."

Congress worked on the foundations of the executive structure. It created three departments - State, Treasury, and War - and made provisions for an Attorney General. Washington appointed his Cabinet: Thomas Jefferson, who had just returned from France, was to be the Secretary of State; 34-year-old Alexander Hamilton, his aide-de-camp in the war, was to be Secretary of the Treasury; General Henry Knox, his former chief of artillery and the head of the war department under the Confederation, was to be Secretary of War; Edmund Randolph, the former Governor of Virginia, to be Attorney General. These men were responsible to the President and to him only (not until Theodore Roosevelt's time did the Cabinet receive official status). They were chosen from different geographical areas, and they represented differing political philosophies. Knox and Hamilton were Northerners and centralizers, Randolph and Jefferson, Southerners and states' righters.

The machinery of the government began to turn. Courts and post offices were established, the first ten amendments to the Constitution - The Bill of Rights - were sent to the states for ratification, a census was ordered, salaries fixed. (The President was to receive \$25,000 a year, the Vice President, \$5,000.)



C. 1780's Curtain Tie-backs, 2"



C. 1790 Cup, 4-1/2"

The administration's most urgent business was to bring order to the country's finances. Hamilton made his report to Congress "for the adequate support of public credit" on January 14, 1790, suggested that as the debt of the country "was the price of liberty" for which "the faith of America has been repeatedly pledged," therefore all obligations should be paid in full. Thus he proposed to fund all debts at par with full interest and assume the debts of the individual states. He estimated that the foreign debts with arrears of interest amounted to \$11.7 million, the domestic debt to \$42 million, and the state debt to \$21.5 million - large sums for a population of less than four million people.

The two proposals - funding and the assumption - were vigorously debated in and out of Congress. Everybody seemed to have personal interest in them; everybody in one way or another was involved in them.

During the war government certificates had been given to farmers, soldiers and shopkeepers for services rendered, for goods supplied or for moneys advanced. However, when they needed cash, they could sell them for only a fraction of their value. Now these same certificates were to be honored in full, giving large profits to those who bought them up. It was understandable that the original holders were enraged, yet the measure passed in Congress with relative ease.

Assumption created even more animosities. The larger states with large debts, like Massachusetts and New York, supported the measure; the smaller states with small debts, like Virginia and Georgia, opposed it. Sectional differences came to the fore. Southern Representatives threatened to take their states out of the Union if the bill passed.

Hamilton was in despair. He had not enough support for assumption. One day he came upon Jefferson in front of Washington's house, and this is how Jefferson described their encounter:

"He walked me backward and forward before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the legislature had been wrought; the disgust of those who were called the creditor states; the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the states.

"I proposed to him," recalled Jefferson, "to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two, bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some unusual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union."

At the dinner, with Madison present, the famous bargain was struck: In return for Federalist votes to establish the capital city in the South, Virginia was to help with the passing of the assumption bill. The logrolling pleased the North and the South, it satisfied Hamilton and Jefferson.

With funding and assumption out of the way, Hamilton sent two reports to Congress for the establishment of public credit. In the first - on December 13 - he asked for new and higher excise taxes (to cover governmental expenses which he estimated at \$2,240,000 a year); in the second - on December 14 - he pleaded for the creation of a central bank.

The latter proposal brought him into sharp conflict with Jefferson, who maintained that the "incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not in my opinion, been delegated to the United States by the Constitution, and might lead to unchecked power of the central government." Jefferson demanded a strict observance of the Constitution.

Hamilton replied to Jefferson's objections "that every power vested in a government is in its nature sovereign and includes, by force of the term, a right to employ all the means requisite and fairly applicable to the attainment of the ends of such power, and which are not precluded by restrictions and exceptions specified in the Constitution, or not immoral, or not contrary to the essential ends of political society." Therefore, "there are implied as well as express powers and ... the former are as effectually delegated as the latter."

The positions of the two Cabinet members were worlds apart. Jefferson pleaded for a strict construction of the Constitution, Hamilton for a loose one.

Madison advised the President to return the bill to Congress with the message: "I object to the bill because it is an essential principle of the government that powers not delegated by the Constitution cannot be rightfully exercised; because the power proposed by the bill to be exercised is not delegated; and because I cannot satisfy myself that it results from any expressed power by fair and safe rules of implication." But Washington sided with Hamilton and signed the bill.

The last of Hamilton's financial innovations was embodied in his "Report of Manufactures" in which he asked for protection of the infant industries by import duties and bounties.

All of Hamilton's proposals helped to put a firm financial foundation under the new nation, and they brought those men with property closer to the central government. Because the measures benefited the mercantile and financial North but weakened the agrarian South, Jefferson was forced into opposition.

Jefferson dreamed of a rural America with an agrarian society, Hamilton of a country of cities with a commercial and industrial society. Jefferson hoped to diffuse power, Hamilton to concentrate it; Jefferson was for a weak government, Hamilton for a strong one. Jefferson feared that a strong government with power vested in the hands of a few might lead to corruption and the destruction of liberty, while Hamilton proposed that rather than have a weak government, a strong one should be restrained with controls.

Jefferson trusted the people; he wanted a government for and by them. Hamilton thought the people, whom in an uncontrolled moment he called "a great beast," incapable of wise government; therefore he suggested the rule of the well-educated supported by men of property.

In their hearts Americans were to be for the Jeffersonian ideals, but in their deeds they followed Hamilton.

Gradually the opposing views of Hamilton and Jefferson widened the political division and led to the emergence of political parties, something the founders had not envisaged.

The earliest step in the creation of an opposition party was the fishing and "botanizing excursion" of Jefferson and Madison to New York in the summer of 1791. How many fish the two Virginians caught and how many plants they found is not recorded, but we do know they met with Aaron Burr, the leading New York politician who was in control of the Benevolent Society of the Sons of St. Tammany, and they conferred in Albany with Governor George Clinton. These talks eventually led to a political alliance between the agricultural, rural South and the mercantile, urban North - a coalition which weathered the test of time.

With his term drawing to a close, Washington wanted to return to private life. He passed his sixtieth birthday; he complained of wandering memory, poor hearing and painful dentures - he moaned about the signs of approaching old age. So he asked Madison to compose for him a "valedictory address." Madison argued that without him the Union would break apart.

Jefferson, too, implored Washington to add "one or two more to the many years [he had] already sacrificed to the good of mankind: because within that time "an honest majority" might be established in Congress on the new basis of representation and the President then could return to private life with less danger to the country. "Your being at the helm will be more than an answer to every argument which can be used to alarm and lead the people in any quarter into violence and secession. North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on."

Thus Washington reconsidered. He still had the confidence of the country. Those who were dissatisfied with the Federalists and who opposed Hamilton's fiscal policies aimed their guns at the Vice



C. 1790 Cup, 4-1/2"

President. John Adams was an easy target. A man of irascible temper and brusque manners, he made enemies easily. His picturesque phrases - that the country would be better off if it were ruled by "the rich, the well-born and the able," or that the Constitution was "a promising essay toward a well-regulated government" - were well remembered. The opposition assailed him as a supporter of monarchy and as an enemy of democratic institutions. But the attacks had little impact; nobody seemed to care about the election. In the states with popular elections very few voters went to the polls. In the entire state of Pennsylvania less than 4,000 people voted.

Fifteen states participated in the election, five more than in the first one. North Carolina and Rhode Island had ratified the Constitution in the meanwhile, and New York, which had forfeited its vote in the first election, did vote in this one. The two new states which had joined the Union were Vermont and Kentucky.

In most states electors were appointed by the legislatures, but in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina and, in a modified way, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the election was by popular vote.

All 132 electors gave their first vote for Washington while they split their second vote. The anti-Federalist alliance of New York and Virginia, bolstered by North Carolina and Georgia, garnered 50 votes for Governor Clinton of New York, not enough to take the second place from Adams, who received 77 votes, but enough to cast a cloud over the political future of the Federalists. If the opposition could show such strength in its first attempt, how much stronger would such an attempt be when Washington was no longer the candidate?

An expert in US presidential and pictorial history, Stefan Lorant was born in Budapest, Hungary in 1901. He worked as a filmmaker in Germany before becoming a photo journalist. An opponent of Adolf Hitler, Lorant was arrested and imprisoned in 1933. After being released, he moved to England and later the USA, where he authored numerous books, including *The Glorious Burden*, a work widely popular with APIC members, from which this article is taken.



C. 1790, 6"



C. 1790, 6"



C. 1820 Platter, 13"



C. 1824, 7"



C. 1790 Brown  
Glaze Stoneware, 10"



C. 1790 Brown  
Glaze Stoneware, 4"



C. 1830, Copper lusterware, 8"



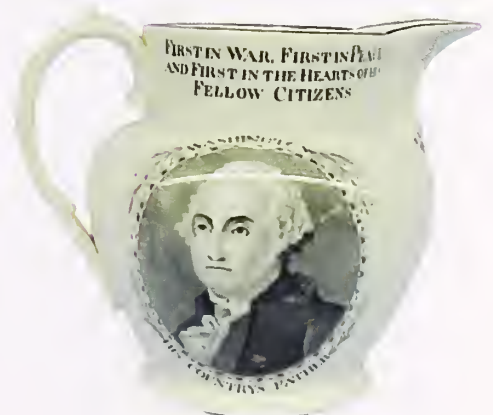
C. 1790 Creamware, 5-1/2"



C. 1790, 7-1/2"



C. 1800, 9"



C. 1824, 6"

# Reflections on a Man of Undeniable Character

By Peter Gibbon



**George Washington and Benjamin Franklin**

In 1800, the Rev. Mason Locke Weems wrote *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington*. Determined to write a biography to inspire people and a young county, Weems made up stories, deleted unpleasant facts and freely drew moral lessons.

His goal, he said, was "to exalt human nature." It was Weems who had young Washington try his new hatchet on a cherry tree, and Weems who invented the father's reply to George's honesty: "Such an act of heroism is worth more than a thousand trees." Abraham Lincoln was inspired by one of the 70 editions of Weems book; so probably were thousands of other young Americans.



**C. 1850 Meisser, 5"**

I travel around the country talking to students about the importance of heroes. George Washington was not an easy sell in 1998, even on his birthday. He was a soldier and an aristocrat. He owned slaves. Students today want to know about his fierce temper and wooden teeth and whether he grew marijuana at Mount Vernon. They ask about his relationship with Sally Fairfax and why he and Martha had no children.

It helps to remind my audience that Washington was human. His father died when he was 11, his mother was dour and offered little guidance. He did not attend college or travel to Europe. He couldn't marry the woman he loved, nor get from Britain the military position he believed he deserved. In an age when disease killed capriciously, he watched his half-brother, Lawrence, die from tuberculosis and his stepdaughter, Patsy, succumb to epilepsy. His own face was scarred by smallpox, his body weakened by malaria and dysentery.

Washington liked to play cards, drink wine, dance and watch cockfights. He was happiest on horseback, chasing foxes, hacking trails and improving his estate. Until 1774, he seemed one of us.

Then the war came. He never wanted to be commander. He should have lost. Britain was confident and formidable - the 18th century superpower. Washington had few soldiers, and they were untrained. Short of boots and bullets, they became bitter. Many Americans bet on Britain.

At first, Washington failed at Brooklyn Heights and Brandywine. And he suffered as his men went without pay, Congress squabbled, his army melted away and defeat seemed certain. He wrote in a letter: "I never was in such an unhappy divided state." In 1776, he told his brother he would gladly quit.

But he didn't. He dodged and retreated and somehow kept an army in the field. He took risks. He attacked at Trenton and Princeton. He forced himself to appear confident and indomitable. And he grew as a general and politician and human being.

He learned to use the wilderness and to exploit Britain's arrogance. Patiently, he extracted authority and supplies from a divided Congress. Stoically, he shook off critics. Above all, he endured until the French sent money and Britain grew weary.

I tell my audiences that Washington is great because he showed extraordinary courage, not just the courage to face bullets, but the courage to stick to a cause no matter how great the odds, the courage to shake off failure and transcend pain, the courage to take risks, to change, to grow.

When the war was over, Washington gave up his sword and returned to Mount Vernon to tend his garden. His magnanimity astonished the world. He was happy at Mount Vernon and would have preferred to stay there. But the Confederation was weak. The same sense of duty that made him give up his sword forced him to return to Philadelphia, and then to serve eight years as president. I tell students that a hero puts his country's welfare before his personal happiness.

It is not hard to understand why 200 years ago, Americans revered Washington. He was a soldier and a superb horseman. He was tall, imposing, and mysterious. Tested by crisis and war, he endured and prevailed.

Washington also inspired respect from those who knew him best. He wasn't brilliant like Hamilton nor eloquent like Jefferson. He lacked Franklin's originality and Madison's insight. But our first president had character.

Like the Stoics whose works he read, Washington exercised self-control. Imitating the famous Roman general Cato, he valued honor and reputation more than wealth and power. Attending church, he believed in a God that watched. He believed in conscience, a few key, enduring convictions. He was a man with a center who could not be budged by catastrophe or success.

In skeptical times, more interested in reality than in mythology, it is important to recognize George Washington's humanity. In a crowd, he seemed shy, on the podium, he was inarticulate. Contemporaries found him courteous but cold.

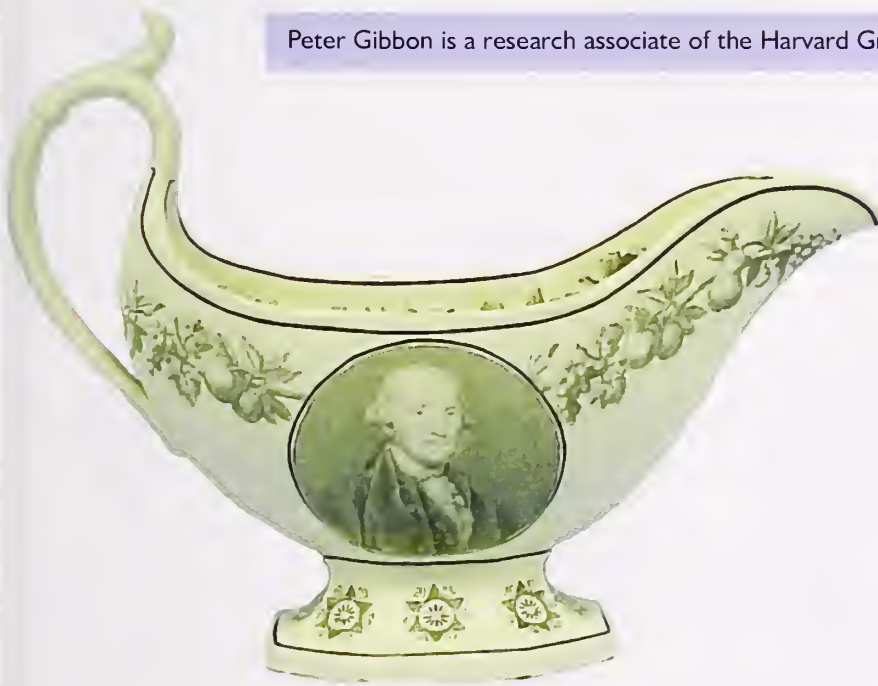
Recognizing Washington's humanity however, should not blind us to his heroism. In crisis he stood firm. Through willpower, he turned himself into an able general a masterful administrator and a prudent statesman. He learned from his mistakes, coped with his despair, demanded no reward.

Always he placed the country's welfare above his personal happiness. He assumed the president should be an example to the nation. In 1789, before his inauguration, he wrote: "Integrity and firmness are all I can promise." Thomas Jefferson thought him great and good: So should we.



C. 1790, 7-1/2"

Peter Gibbon is a research associate of the Harvard Graduate School of Education.



C. 1800 Gravy Boat, 4"



C. 1800, 5"

# Monument Man

By Sidney Hart

In the beginning, when America was more of a loose confederation of states than a nation, there was George Washington. He was indispensable - the man of the American Revolution, the inventor of the American presidency, and the provider of stability for the young republic. In a rare congruence, three of this nation's most respected and readable historians have recently published books that measure Washington's monumental place in American history.

In the preface to *His Excellency: George Washington* (New York: Knopf, 2004), Joseph Ellis reveals the "Oedipal" struggle within himself to confront the "primus inter pares, the Foundingest Father." He correctly points to our "oscillating" hero/villain view of Washington: the saint who could not tell a lie versus the racist, imperialist, elitist patriarch depicted by many academics. Ellis settles for a bipolar biography, first harshly evaluating Washington's military skills and then praising him in his roles at the Constitutional Convention and as president.

For some time, historians have criticized Washington's military abilities, but Ellis is too eager to accept the worst interpretations and to ascribe Washington's failures to character flaws rather than to inexperience. Washington's decision in 1776 to defend New York City

in the face of overwhelming British superiority was motivated, according to Ellis, by a desire to defend his "reputation" and was "militarily inexplicable and tactically suicidal." But for Washington, his "reputation" was intrinsically related to his ability to lead the army, and a retreat might destroy the army's morale. The inexperienced Washington switched positions several times and was clearly out-generated by the experienced British commander, William Howe. The battle for New York was an American debacle and a demonstration by the British of a superbly executed and coordinated naval and land action.

Ellis also has his facts wrong here: he conflates two councils of war into one meeting, asserting that Washington rejected a ten-to-three vote of his generals to evacuate Manhattan. In reality, the majority of Washington's generals voted on September 7 to defend the city, and then on September 12 to abandon it.

Ellis's conflict with father figures is most transparent when he struggles to transform Washington from a superb athlete into an "indulged Virginia gentleman." Critical of Washington's fondness for fox hunting, Ellis adds up the time in 1768 - "between two and five hours a day for forty-nine days" - that Washington spent "pursuing the elusive fox." But scholars have demonstrated the social and political dimensions of fox hunting in the eighteenth century as



C. 1850's, Prattware Lid 5"



C. 1840 Cup, 3"

analogous to a twenty-first-century CEO on the golf course. Also, as any rider will tell you, two to five hours on a horse in the rugged eighteenth century Virginia countryside is not for the "indulged."

Ellis makes an abrupt shift in the book's second half with one of the best brief recent accounts of Washington's presidency, and concludes that he left us with a stronger nation and healthy republican legacy. Ellis's final evaluation places Washington back on the pedestal: he was "that rarest of men - a supremely realistic visionary" who got "the big things right." But earlier Ellis inadvertently pays his national patriae an even finer tribute. In describing Washington returning from his daily twelve-mile ride around Mount Vernon, Ellis notes, "no one needed to take the reins of his horse; Washington simply slapped him on the backside and he trotted over to the barn on his own," to which he adds a parenthetical but telling comment: "(horses like men, seemed disposed to acknowledge his authority.)" It was Washington's unique ability to make others want him to lead that made him our greatest national hero.



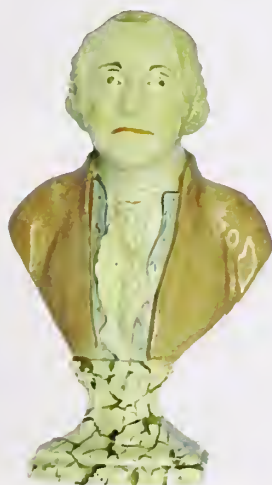
C. 1820-40, Paris 17"



C. 1790, Wall Plaque 5"



C. 1850, Parian 13"



C. 1780-90, By Ralph Wood, 10"



C. 1850, Washington and Kossuth, 10"



C. Mid-19th Century, French or German 5"

David Hackett Fischer's *Washington's Crossing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) focuses on Washington's surprise attack on Trenton in late 1776. After the devastating defeat in New York, many thought the Revolution lost, and historians have credited Washington's courage and audacity with saving it. Fischer does not so much diminish Washington's role as add a supporting cast of thousands who tipped the balance in the dark days of December. A "great revival" of revolutionary ardor, Fischer insists, occurred before the Battle of Trenton "and made those events possible (though not inevitable.)" Thomas Paine's "The American Crisis" had recently appeared on the streets of Philadelphia and immediately strengthened resolve and became the battle cry of troops as Washington's army retreated into Pennsylvania. Aware of successful militia attacks on Hessian encampments, Washington felt confident in planning a "counterstroke." On that terrible march to Trenton on Christmas night, in the dark and into the sleet and wind, Washington's leadership became indispensable. At one point, on a steep, icy slope, soldiers saw Washington's horse slip and begin to go down, and watched in fascination as this fine horseman grabbed the horse's mane, lifted up its head, and shifted his balance just enough so that the horse could regain its footing. It was, as Fischer exclaims, "an extraordinary feat of strength, skill, and timing; and another reason why his soldiers stood in awe of this man."

Fischer tells the story well, and gives us new insight into this pivotal battle. He puts to rest the debunking of Emmanuel Leutze's "Washington Crossing the Delaware" (Washington and the soldiers did stand up in the boats); the hoary myths about mercenaries (the Hessians were not drunk on Christmas Day); and challenges historical orthodoxies (the militia did fight well).

By telling us the stories of other Americans whose bravery and dedication set the stage for Washington's victory at Trenton, Fischer moves us past the debate over Washington's indispensability. In his view, Washington's saving of the "new American republic . . . in the winter of 1776" is "a true story, but it is not the whole truth." The revival was set in motion by many other forces, and "Washington was not the director of these events." It is an interesting view, but it needs to be more fully worked out.

In 1776 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005), David McCullough uses that most difficult-but pivotal-year of the Revolution to tell us about those who fought for American independence and, in particular, about George Washington. McCullough actually begins in October 1775, with the young General Nathanael Greene's joyful



C. 1850, Washington and Nathan Hale, Parian, 16"

reaction to Washington's arrival in Boston to take command of the army. But Washington and the army would experience little joy in 1776 as the British smashed American forces in New York and, as McCullough states more than once, made Washington and his men look like fools. Washington had to learn to command an army in a short period of time and in the worst of conditions - under unrelenting pressure from a superb British army, from Congress, from some of his own disgruntled officers, and from himself. McCullough ends his narrative at the end of the year, with Washington's unexpected triumph at Trenton, which becomes an inspiration to his army and the emerging nation. Of Washington's many strengths, four seem to stand out to McCullough: his ability "to see things as they were and not as he would wish them to be"; his ability to command the loyalty of an exceptional group of young officers; his devotion to the cause of the Revolution; and his courage under fire. Or, as Washington best expressed it, "No danger is to be considered when put in competition with the magnitude of the cause."

But McCullough paints a much darker picture than Fischer of Washington's obstacles to victory. Although Paine's writings inspired soldiers, they were more than countered, McCullough insists, by Howe's proclamation of amnesty, which attracted thousands in New Jersey. He is even more unstinting than Fischer in his praise of Washington in the Battle of Trenton: "Washington and the army . . . won the war for American independence. . . . And it was Washington who held the army together and gave it 'spirit' through the most desperate of times." (Both he and Fischer give Washington far more credit for winning America's independence than Ellis.)

Unlike many historians, McCullough writes history going forward, instead of from the present. This strength makes him able to see events as contemporaries viewed them and allows us to witness the American Revolution as it happened. In this narrative scheme, the actions of individuals and contingency loom large. One hopes, also, that McCullough will take us back to the Revolution and beyond 1776, and that both Fischer and McCullough will continue the story of the most important individuals in American history.

Sidney Hart is Senior Historian and Editor of the Peale Family Papers with the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery. This article comes to us courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



C. 1790, Basalt Statue, By Enoch Wood, 7"



13" Japanese Kutani Porcelain, Late 1800's

# George Washington Buttons

By David J. Frent

Collectors of historical objects have an affinity for acquiring "firsts". This is because the average collector wants to tell a story with his collection and, by definition that story always starts at the beginning. Want to tell the story of the American political process and the Presidency? Then you have to start at the beginning with the first President, George Washington. One slight problem - there are no campaign artifacts for George Washington because there was no political campaign for his first election in 1788. There was, however, an inauguration, and it was the first inauguration in an unbroken string that has continued for over two hundred years. For the collector, Washington's first inauguration was distinguished by the appearance of a wide variety of commemorative clothing buttons which contemporaneously celebrated the installation of the new President. These have captured the fancy of generations of collectors and today are among the most sought-after of all American political artifacts.

A description of the Washington clothing buttons was published more than forty years ago in *The Keynoter* (Summer 1963) in an article by J. Harold Cobb titled, "George Washington Inaugural Buttons and Medalets, 1789-1793." Since that time, more information surfaced, thanks to our modern forms of communication. In addition, examples have actually been dug out of the ground by people searching historical sites. Thanks to the metal detector, more of these dug examples have been found.

There are more varieties of the Washington clothing buttons than one may realize. According to Alphaeus "Dewey" Albert there are 27 varieties grouped into 7 types. However, many more variations have surfaced since his study which ended prior to the 1976 bicentennial. Dr. Edmund Sullivan's book, *American Political Badges and Medalets 1789-1892* lists over forty varieties. It may be impossible to ever know for sure the total number of varieties made by the many different button makers.

The types include the eagle and the star with the "Memorable Era" wording and the type without any wording, the "Linked States" buttons, the "GW" in an oval center buttons, the "Script GW" buttons, the "Plain Roman GW" buttons and the "Pater Patriae" buttons. It is thought that all but one of these versions derive from the first inaugural in 1789. Washington inaugural buttons were made by New York and Connecticut colonial button makers and sold to commemorate the first inauguration. They were worn on clothing as functional buttons on jackets and other garments.



Specifically designed coat buttons for the first inauguration were even important to George Washington himself. A letter in the Library of Congress collection (see illustration) written by Washington to General Henry Knox on April 10, 1789 states, "The cloth and buttons which accompanied your favor of the 30th Ult, came safe by Col. Hanson: and really do credit to the manufacturers of the Country. - As it requires Six more of the large (engraved) buttons to trim the Coat in the manner I wish it to be, I would thank you, my good Sir, for procuring that number and retaining them in your hands until my arrival at New York".

In the book, *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons*, by "Dewey" Albert he states, "It is recorded that General Knox, the first Secretary of War under the Federal government employed William Rollison to chase the Arms of the United States upon a set of gilt buttons for the coat which was to be worn by General Washington, on that memorable day of his inauguration as President.

Albert also references William Maclay's eyewitness account of Washington's inauguration, "After the oath was administered on the gallery, and the cheers of the populace rent the air, the company returned to the Senate Chamber, the Senators and Representatives to their seats and the President took the chair and addressed those assembled. . . Washington was dressed in deep brown, with metal buttons, with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag and sword."

During the colonial era, buttons were an integral part of fashion. Cobb's 1963 article observed: "These buttons were then considered in the same category as we today consider a fine pair of cufflinks or a tie pin, - accessories for the well groomed gentleman of that period and not considered as unusual possessions requiring historical reference. They were not sewn on the great coats, but were worn by inserting the shank through a button hole, and a single tape knotted at both top and bottom held them in place. Like our cufflinks, they were removed at the end of the day, and carefully preserved for the next wearing. They were expensive and not easily replaced if lost."

The typical Washington button is 32 to 35 mm in diameter and of thin solid one-piece of silvered copper, copper or brass construction. The buttons had metal shanks on the back that in some cases were removed by 19th century collectors who wanted inaugural buttons to fit neatly into their medals collection. There are also several varieties of smaller buttons, (14 to 20 mm versions), a number of which were found sewn on a pair of colonial era trousers.

The rarest type of the Washington inaugural buttons is the "Pater Patriae" button with Washington's bust, the only contemporary George Washington picture button. The "Pater Patriae" button includes the inscription "General Washington" below his military portrait, differs from the others in terms of construction. It is approximately 25 mm in diameter and constructed as a brass shell on bone, pewter or lead with a cat gut or wire shank.

Two popular designs are "The Memorable Era" with a displayed eagle and sun design and the "Linked States" button. One of the interesting aspects of the "Memorable Era" buttons is that they list the date of the first Presidential inauguration as "March the Fourth 1789". That was, indeed, the scheduled date of the first inauguration but Washington's trip to New York City (our first capitol) was delayed and he did not actually take the oath of office until April 30, 1789. The "Eagle and Star" type button exhibits the same design as "The Memorable Era" but without the inscription. It is these "Eagle and Star" buttons that Washington wore at his inaugural and many Americans must have bought similar buttons to commemorate the event.

The "Linked States" design contains all the right elements to make it the favorite of all GW's. In the center is a script "GW" surrounded by the legend "Long Live the President" in raised letters. The outer portion of the design has the abbreviations of all the thirteen original states in the center of thirteen linked ovals. A variation of this button is seen without the linked ovals. Instead, both ornate and simplistic designs formed the outer circle, which seldom appear on the market



The most frequently found designs are the "GW in oval center" buttons, with the inscription, "Long Live the President" in a semicircular channel around the top. The "Long Live the President" theme actually mirrors similar buttons that appeared at the time in England. The English versions read, "God Save the King" but Americans adapted that motto to reflect more democratic principles.

The first time the phrase, "President of United States" was spoken was by Chancellor Robert L. Livingston who administered the oath of office to Washington on April 30, 1789. At the conclusion of the oath, Livingston turned to the crowd and proclaimed so all could hear, "Long Live George Washington, President of the United States."

Another type is the "Dotted Script GW" button, with GW in large dotted script letters in the center and "Long Live the President" in large raised letters around the border. An additional type is the "Plain Roman GW" button with "GW" in Roman incuse letters in the center and "Long Live the President" around the border. Because of their construction, the strike determines the legibility more than the other varieties. There are also several smaller buttons, which have "Long Live the President" around the border, two with laurel wreaths and one, from 1793, with fifteen stars from the 1793 inaugural. Each is quite rare.



The popularity and desirability of GW's led to latter made reproductions which are not to be put with the centennial items. As part of the 1889 celebration of the one hundredth anniversary (centennial) of Washington's inauguration, J. B. Gaunt Ltd. In Birmingham, England and other companies produced commemoratives of the Linked States GW inaugural button. There are a number of differences between these examples and the original that are outlined in Albert's book, *Washington Historical Buttons*. Reproductions are obvious in some cases, other situations require some knowledge and experience. Once a collector is familiar with the thickness of the originals, it's easy to spot a reproduction.

These George Washington shank or clothing buttons could be referred to as the "Father of the Political Button" and are treasured by collectors and museums alike.

David Frent (APIC # 1365) has been collecting and researching political items with his wife, Janice, for nearly four decades. They have helped promote our hobby by including political memorabilia in numerous media projects and publications; the most noted being the two volume set, *Running for President*. He served on the APIC board for a quarter of a century as director and Regional Vice president, and is in the APIC Hall of Fame.



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39

To Major General Knox  
New York.

My dear Sir,

The cloth and buttons which accompanied your favor of the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo came safe by Col. Hanson, and really do credit to the manufactures of this Country. — As it requires six more of the large (engraved) buttons to trim the coat in the manner I wish it to be, I would thank you, my good Sir, for procuring that number, and keeping them in your hands until my arrival.

Not to contemplate though it is a serious object the loss which you say the General government will sustain in the Article of Amports, the stupidity or listlessness with which our public measures seem to be pervaded, is, to me, matter of deep regret. — Indeed it has so strange an appearance that I cannot but wonder how men who are anxious to get into office, or who are over prevailed upon to accept of them can reconcile such conduct with their own feelings of propriety.

— The delay is inauspicious to say the best of it — and the world must condemn it. —

With sentiments of sincere friendship.

I am, Yours affectionately

Mount Vernon

April 10<sup>th</sup> 1799

(signed) George Washington

## Collecting History

# George Washington Ribbons

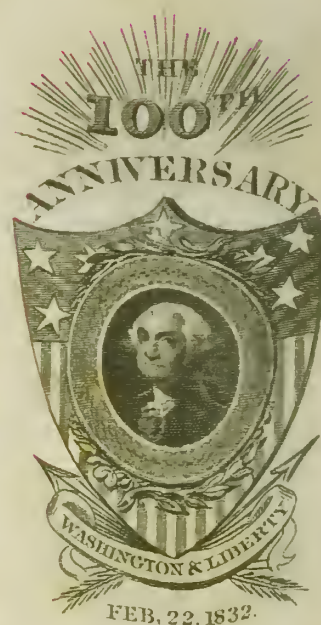
By Robert Fratkan

What makes someone a collector? If you buy one item - or even two of similar nature - on separate occasions, it doesn't make you a collector. But if you subsequently buy a third similar item, you are a collector. Sometimes, this process can happen in the course of a few moments. That is how, even though I see myself as a collector of twentieth century history, I became a collector of George Washington ribbons.

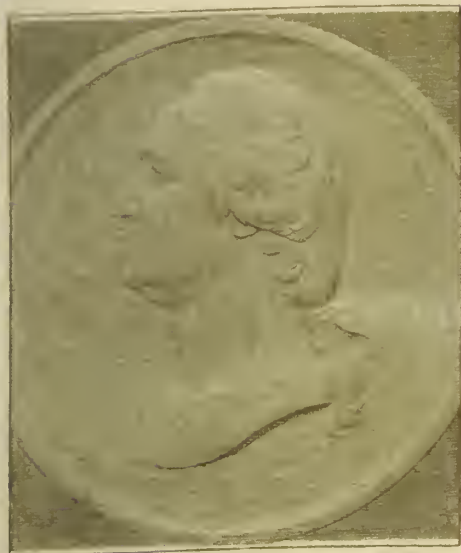
Joe Levine, long-time APIC member and well-known tokens, medals and inaugural items dealer in Virginia, has two auctions in Baltimore each year. While these auctions usually contain only medals and tokens, an auction several years ago had a consignment of GW ribbons. The more I looked at them, the more attractive they became, though I had no intention of bidding on them before the auction started.

But, when it was all over, I had bought all but two of the ribbons. Knowing nothing really about the market value of GW ribbons on the open market, I backed off bidding on the other 2 ribbons because I thought they were overpriced - not that I knew what overpriced should have been. I mention this because this whole experience violated what I think it is the most important single principle in collecting - knowing values before buying. Auction pricing usually is a gauge of the combination of rarity and desirability, although price in itself should not be the determining factor in making a purchase. Collecting has always been a very personal pursuit, which is why we all collect differently-and sometimes we kick ourselves later for not making a purchase when we had the opportunity. I have found that, like fishing, when collectors get together, the discussion turns to the items they should have bought but didn't. Nobody mentions the opposite mistakes - items they bought but shouldn't have.

Since the Levine auction, I have slowly increased my GW ribbon collection. I limit myself to pre-Civil

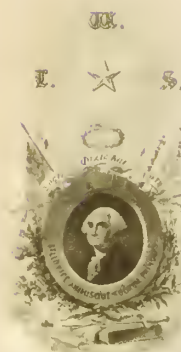
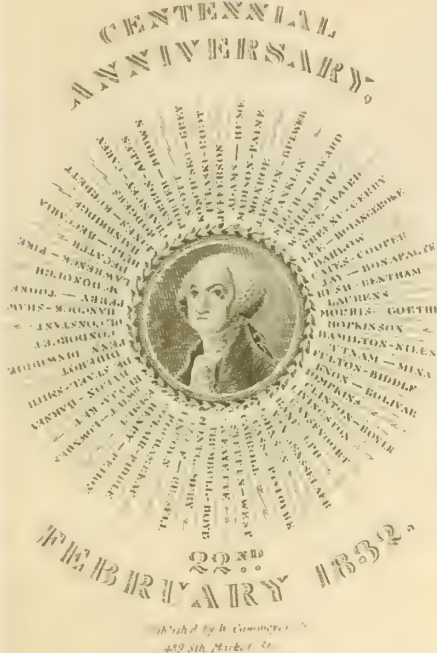


WHIG CELEBRATION,  
July 4<sup>th</sup> 1834



WASHINGTON,  
PATER PATRIÆ

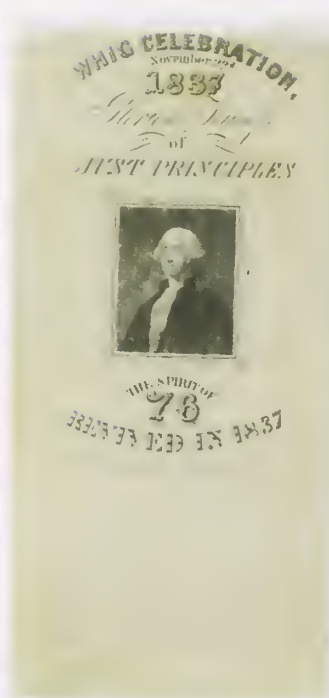
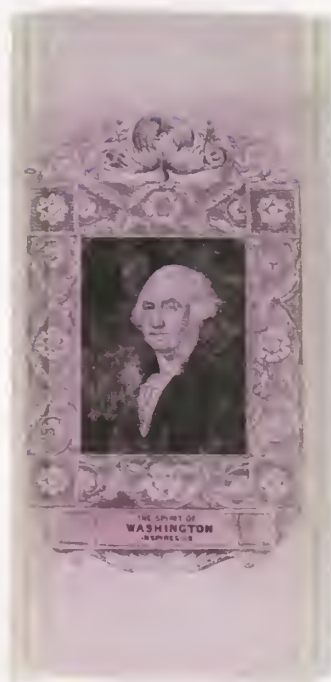
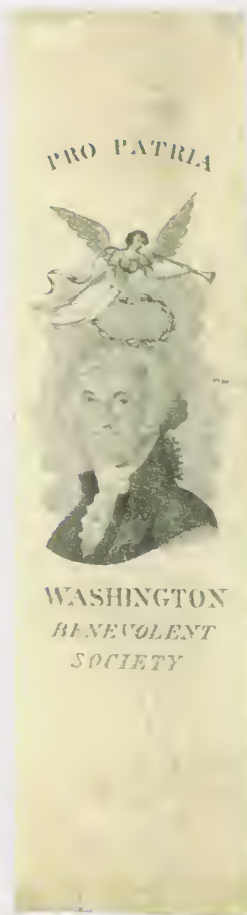
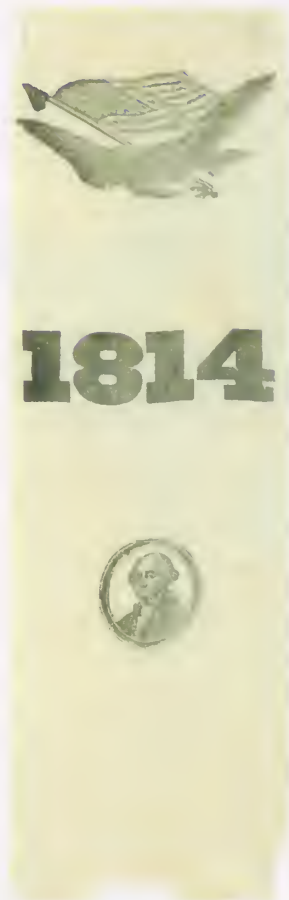
GLORIA PATRIA.



War ribbons, the earlier the better. Most Washington ribbons were printed for the 1832 Centennial of the general's birth. Other events that generated numerous ribbons were the return of General Lafayette, the last living Revolutionary War General, in 1824, the rise of the Native American Party in the 1840s and the laying of the cornerstone of the Washington Monument in 1848. I have one ribbon dated 1814; which commemorates the 25th anniversary of the first presidential inauguration in 1789. Pictured here are some of my favorite GW ribbons.

Robert Fratkin (APIC #793), a past president of the APIC (1978-1983), is a frequent contributor to and former editor of *The Keynoter*. His collecting interests include presidential campaigns 1896-1964 and individuals and moments in American history; Lindbergh, Hearst, LaGuardia, Coughlin, CCC, WWI, WWII, Desert Storm, etc. His long interest in British history also has led him to collect Boer War, Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra items.

*All ribbons have been reduced to fit on page.*



All ribbons have been reduced to fit on page.



C. 1870, 13"



C. 1790, 7-1/2"

All ribbons have been reduced to fit on page.

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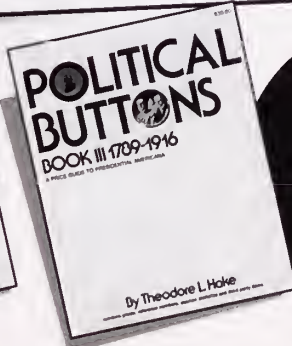
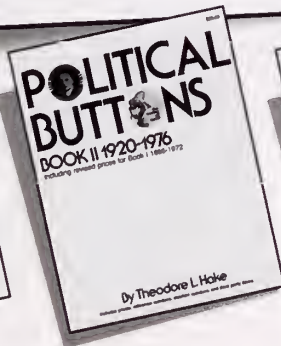
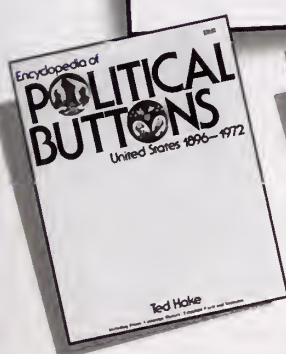
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Hake's Americana & Collectibles  
1966 Greenspring Drive  
Suite 400  
Timonium, MD 21093



C. 1800, 8"



C. 1815, 6"



C. 1800, 8"



C. 1800, 8"



C. 1800, 9"



C. 1810, 9"



C. 1800, 8"



C. 1800, 10"



C. 1800, 10"



C. 1790, 7"



C. 1790, French, 8"



8" Chinese Export, 1790's



C. 1790, 7"



C. 1815. Paris, 9"

# Lafayette's Visit To America

By Brian Krapf

The visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to the United States in 1824-1825 was a watershed event in early American nationalism. Lafayette's triumphal tour of the United States proved that memories of the Revolutionary War would continue to play a significant role in American culture.

The Marquis de Lafayette was a nineteen-year old wealthy nobleman when he came to the United States in 1777 to support the cause of American independence. Quickly commissioned a major-general in the Continental Army, he became an important member of George Washington's staff. Lafayette became close friends with Washington, whom he referred to as his "adopted father." Likewise, he garnered great affection from the troops he commanded, whose pay he sometimes supplemented with his own fortune. Notably, Lafayette's many services to the United States were all performed entirely free of charge.

As a soldier, Lafayette was wounded at Brandywine and served later at Monmouth and in New Jersey. He also served on the board of judges that condemned the spy John André. In 1781, Lafayette led American forces in Virginia against both Benedict Arnold and Lord Cornwallis. As a diplomat, Lafayette helped persuade the French government to recognize the United States and send military aid. After the War, he returned to France and served as a diplomatic aide to Benjamin Franklin during the peace negotiations. Lafayette spent the following decade mostly in retirement at his estate, La Grange, where he experienced increasing financial problems, since most of his wealth had been confiscated during the French Revolution.

Early in 1824, President James Monroe invited the General to return to the United States to accept a monetary award (\$200,000 appropriated by Congress), a land-grant (a gift of land in Florida) and praise from the American people. Lafayette saw the trip as not only financially in his best interests, but also as a way to promote French ties with the American republic. Lafayette's entourage included his son, George Washington Lafayette, a secretary, Auguste Levasseur, who wrote a French account of their journey and other European friends including the Scottish writer and reformer Frances Wright. Congress instructed the American people that Lafayette, as the "nation's guest," should not be allowed to expend one cent of his own money during his trip, and people all over the United States prepared to greet one of their favorite Revolutionary heroes.

Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824 came at an important time. The Revolutionary generation was elderly and dying, and the country was moving in a more modern direction in the nineteenth century. Amidst all the changes, however, most Americans felt it was necessary and positive to remind themselves of the country's glorious military past and to express a continued belief in republican and democratic ideals. When Lafayette arrived in New York City August 15, 1824, he provided the greatest possible living reminder of America's Revolutionary past. Lafayette seemed to be the perfect inspiration for Americans to celebrate their past, the "pure" politics of liberty, and their ideals of progress.



During his visit to the United States, Lafayette visited all twenty-four states, and at every stop along the way, faced an outpouring of thankfulness from the American people that took the form of ceremonies, balls, parades, and fireworks. The general attended a huge two-day commemoration of the Battle of Yorktown, during which he received visitors directly on the battlefield. He was present in Washington D.C. as the contested presidential election of 1824 was decided by Congress, and some observers credited his presence for helping to divert public attention from the crisis and for calming the situation. Lafayette visited former presidents James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, and he made a gut-wrenching pilgrimage to George Washington's grave. In June 1825, Lafayette laid the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown, Massachusetts, the most important of the countless libraries, memorials, and other public buildings he dedicated on his journey. At every turn, Lafayette stopped to speak with visitors (including slaves, which embarrassed his Southern hosts), and the public took particular notice of his affection for elderly Revolutionary War veterans.

Lafayette's visit imbued the American people with a heightened sense of nationalism, not only by reminding them of their Revolutionary past, but also because the American press followed his every move. Newspapers reported every day on Lafayette's movements, his speeches, his clothing, and how many grateful viewers turned out to laud him. The publicity helped to link disparate parts of the nation together in the mutual admiration for Lafayette. In addition, a huge number of souvenirs (sheet music, cleaning brushes, china, and glass bottles), many bearing images of Lafayette, allowed Americans to express their patriotism through commercial activity. When Lafayette departed for France in September 1825, the American people would long remember not only him, but also the excitement of his visit. Interestingly, Lafayette took with him several tons of American soil, in which he ultimately was buried.

Americans have not lost their affection for Lafayette over the years, witnessed by the number of "Lafayette" place names, and the several societies dedicated to his memory. When U.S. General John Pershing landed the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I, his first words were "Lafayette, we are here!" In late July 2002, the US Congress voted to make Lafayette an honorary Citizen of the United States. This particular honor places him among only five others who were similarly honored: Winston Churchill, Mother Teresa, Raoul Wallenberg, and Pennsylvania founder William Penn and his wife Hannah.

Brian Krapf (APIC #9395) obtained his degree in political science from the University of Georgia. Brian obtained his JD degree from the Walter F. George School of Law and is a civil trial lawyer, specializing in traumatic brain injury and nursing home abuse cases. He currently serves as President of the APIC.



*C. 1820, Four Medallion Plate, 10"*



*C. 1824, 7-1/2"*



*C. 1820, Stratsfordshire, 10"*



C. 1824, 2-1/2"



C. 1824, Four medallion Jug, 10"



6", Hispano-Moorish Tile, early 1800's



C. 1815, Plaster (under glass), 2-1/2"



C. 1800, Stoneware Bank,  
Washington, Franklin and Penn, 2-1/2"

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Phil Kellerman is APIC # 14635

# Working with History

*By Albert W. Vanderlaan 2005 Smithsonian/Mark Jacobs Intern*

The Founding Fathers believed that they were forming a government that would be representative of all the people who resided within its boundaries. They succeeded. Seventy years after the Declaration of Independence was drafted, the Smithsonian Institution would succeed in beginning a collection that would be representative of this nation. The Smithsonian began assembling a collection that would rival the Louvre and the Cairo Museum, if not someday to exceed these collections in their beauty, certainly to ascend to a more important position in terms of study, research, and the representation of a country's growth. The National Museum of American History (NMAH) is the symbol of the American dream; it demonstrates the journey of all Americans. The collections contained within its walls represent America's drive and innovation.

For me, a politician at heart, the meaning of the political items collection at NMAH far exceeded my wildest dreams. The opportunity to see items of political and historical importance was one that will not be lost on me. Being in contact with some of the rarest campaign buttons, ribbons, banners, and a never-ending assortment of other political paraphernalia, was an experience that I will treasure throughout my life. During my stay in Washington, I was able to take part in an interesting transition that was to enable me to come into contact with much of the collection. The storage unit for my division, Politics and Reform, was being moved back after some renovations. While here, I was able to help replace many of the items to their proper place and, while this would seem tedious to some, I was able to come into contact with a variety of items. One of my most vivid encounters was opening a drawer and finding the death mask of President Woodrow Wilson staring back at me, a shocking, but, in retrospect, very enlightening experience.

My advisor for the summer, Larry Bird, was a wonderful guide, host, and mentor. The projects he assigned were never boring and were always educational. Larry is currently working on a book involving parades and store displays. I was able to assist him during this project and saw first hand the amount of work, expertise, and detail that goes into publishing work involving political items collections. Larry's dedication and range of knowledge involving the collection was an inspiration. Another project that I was able to work on during a large part of my time at the Smithsonian was assembling a collection of photographs within the collection that demonstrated the evolution of democracy in America. This project put me in contact with such photographs as a daguerreotype of President John Quincy Adams, one of the oldest known photographs of a President. Other early photographs included the inauguration of President James Buchanan, a fantastic early campaign photo of William Jennings Bryan speaking from a stump in a coal mining camp, and rare early photographs of the Capitol and construction within Washington, D.C.



*C. 1800, Heavy Buff Ground Pottery, 6"*



*Parian Pitcher, 12"*



*C. 1850-60, 12"*

The experience of working in the Smithsonian is enhanced by the simple fact that it is located in our nation's capitol. While in D.C., I was able to visit every Smithsonian museum at least once and a few of them more than once. I toured the White House, the Capitol, the Supreme Court, the National Archives, the National Cathedral, and was able to visit my Congressman and my Senator. The experience of simply living in Washington was fantastic and solidified my desire to attend law school at either Georgetown University or George Washington University, two of my top five choices. Another great experience was being able to work along side the other interns at the Smithsonian and also getting to know the other interns that I lived with during the summer. The diversity of study within one Smithsonian building is almost overwhelming and the diversity of opportunity within D.C. is immense, not just in the federal system, but also in the private sector.

While doing projects for Larry or other staffers, I was also able to work on some of my own research on my own time. I'm an enormous campaign buff and chose to do my research on the evolution of the Presidential campaign in terms of not just the technique of campaigning, but also the devices and objects associated with the election process. The project advanced quickly and I will receive an independent study credit at Union College when the project is completed. At Union, I will be working in conjunction with my advisor, John Zumbrunnen, during the winter term of 2006 to finish the project. The project has already reached the potential to become a mini-thesis and includes photographs of objects with captions in addition to the regular scholarly research. If any collectors are interested in receiving a copy of the project, simply e-mail me at [vanderla@union.edu](mailto:vanderla@union.edu) and I will send you a copy upon final completion.

All in all, my experience working in the political items collection of the Smithsonian Institution has definitely forwarded my education and has instilled the importance of preserving American political history more deeply in my mind than ever before. I truly, for once, enjoyed interning for the summer and feel that my summer was certainly not a waste. The people I worked with each day were fun and they were excited about the work that they were doing. In closing, I would just like to thank the selection committee, the Mark Jacobs internship fund, and all members of the APIC for this opportunity.



*C. 1810-30, Paris Porcelain, 12"*



*C. 1790, Society of the Cincinnati, 6"*



*C. 1840, Queen Victoria on reverse, 5"*

# The Washington-Bryan Connection

By Steve Baxley



In 1908, Wickizer-McClure Company of Chicago published The Washington-Bryan Combination Picture postcard. Selling for 10 cents, this novelty postcard allowed one to flip a cutout from the Stuart

painting of George Washington onto a portrait of William Jennings Bryan. But Bryan's association with Washington's image precedes 1908, beginning with his rise to the Democratic presidential nomination in 1896.

Bryan's rise to power was about one issue; Free Coinage of Silver at a Ratio of 16 to 1. A campaign envelope from 1896 pictures Bryan and Washington on its cover with the slogan: "A True Son of the Father of His Country." Bryan's supporters felt they could logically make that comparison because, like Washington, Bryan was fighting a war against England to keep America free and independent.



On the back of the envelope, under the heading, "Bryan's Declaration of Independence," the following statement from Bryan's Cross of Gold speech appears:

"It is the issue of 1776 all over again. Our ancestors were the three million who had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation on earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy million declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of this people. Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought, If they say bimetalism is good but we cannot have it till some nation helps us, we reply, that instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetalism, then let England have bimetalism because the United States has. If they dare to come out in the open and defend the gold standard as a good thing we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

Bryan and his supporters framed their arguments within the context of 1776. They considered Free Silver the Money of the Constitution. A McKinley-Hobart ribbon shows that Republicans considered themselves bimetalists, but their definition was quite different than Bryan's definition. The Republican platform talked about support for sound money and bimetalism by international agreement (an attempt to keep Western Republicans from bolting the Party for Free Silver proponents). Silver Republicans,





however, bolted the Republican Party anyway. Bryan saw the Republican viewpoint as an assault on America's independence from England. Bryan's supporters wanted "No English Dictation." (See 1896 Bryan campaign stud.)

Why did Bryan use the crucifixion analogy to end his speech? Did he believe the Rothschild conspiracy theory that this Jewish banking family of London was trying to rule the world? Some historians (e.g., Hofstadter) have classified Bryan supporters (the Populists in particular) as nativists and conspiracy theorists; others (e.g., Nugent) have labeled them as tolerant. Many Bryan supporters may have believed that the Republicans had conspired with the Rothschild banking interests to oppress American labor in particular and mankind in general. The crucifixion analogy would follow if one believed that the Jews and Pilate (the Roman Government) had conspired together to crucify Jesus. Bryan had addressed a Jewish audience during the campaign and said that his fight was against avarice and greed, not any particular people. We really cannot make a definitive statement about his intentions, but using the crucifixion analogy raises interesting historical questions. However, most public arguments to those outside the Free Silver movement were based not on the Rothschild conspiracy, but on the fight against monarchs who Bryan supporters saw as opponents who would never agree to an international bimetallism agreement. The monarch argument made it easier for Bryan to claim that his fight against the Republicans was a fight for independence from English dictation of American monetary policy and that this was the same fight that Washington had made for political independence in 1776.

A second way in which Bryan's supporters tried to associate Bryan with Washington was honesty. "I cannot tell a lie," was the quote attributed to Washington in Mason Locke Weems' *A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington*, and every schoolboy who knew the story of chopping down the cherry tree knew that Washington was an honest man. Some accused Bryan of being just the opposite. Elihu Root wrote the following about Bryan: "What a disgusting, dishonest fakir [sic] Bryan is! When I see so many Americans running after him, I feel very much as I do when a really lovely woman falls in love with a cad."

The National Silver Committee published a very interesting pamphlet in 1896 entitled "The Money of the Constitution: The Action of the Fathers of the Republic and the Statesmen of the Nation in Favor of the Free and Unlimited Coinage of Gold and Silver." The pamphlet does not address Root's quote specifically, but the way the pamphlet is organized confronts the honesty issue. The pamphlet has a paragraph on each President from Washington to Grant and their stand on Free Silver. At the end of each paragraph is the question, "Was He an Honest Man?" Though Grant had signed the Coinage Act of 1873 (Crime of '73), the National Silver Committee included Grant as an honest man because after passage of the Bill, he said that he did not know the Bill would strike down silver.

Bryan was accused of being a demagogue, a man who used the Free Silver issue to gain political power for himself. Toward the end of the pamphlet, the question is asked, "Why then is not Bryan an honest man?" Bryan was honest on the issue of Free Silver because his view on Free Silver was the same as honest men like Washington through Grant. If they were honest, then so is Bryan. The pamphlet provides two quotes from McKinley in the House of Representatives showing that he previously supported the free coinage of silver. Each paragraph ends with the question, "Was He an Honest Man?" Bryan's supporters saw McKinley as a liar and a traitor in allowing England to dictate American monetary policy.

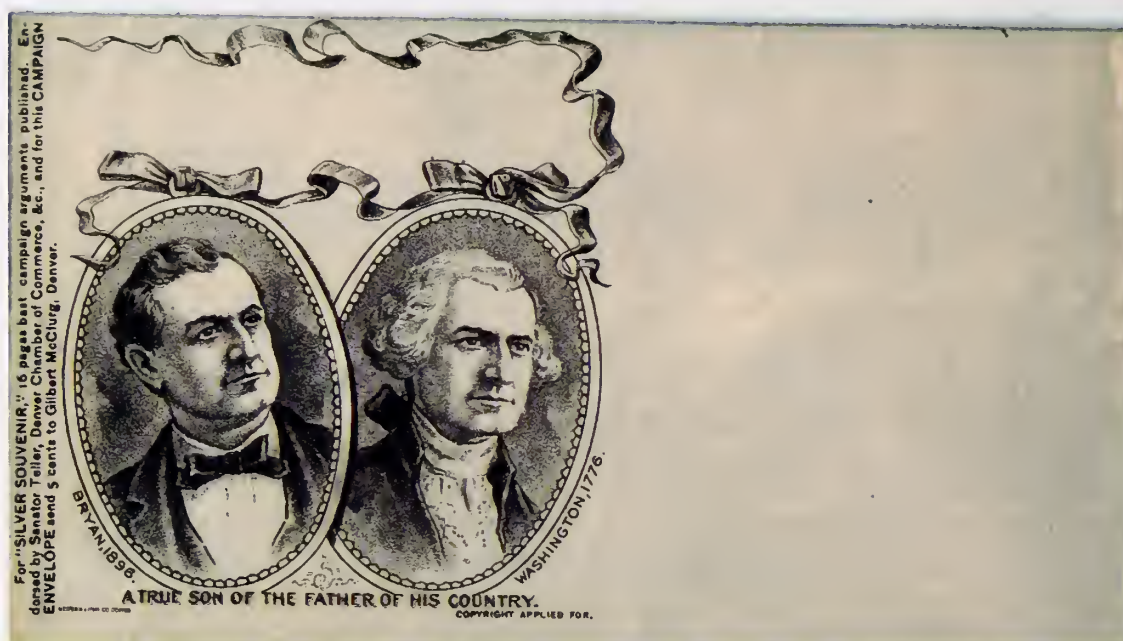
In 1900, one political item that associates Bryan with Washington is a pinback button showing an image of Washington with the slogan: "Imperialism! Has The Country I Made Free Come To This? Bryan Will Save It." This item confronts the issue of imperialism and the Spanish American War. Washington in his final inaugural address had warned the country not to become involved in foreign wars. To his supporters, the association of Bryan's anti-imperialism with Washington seemed appropriate. (For more information on Bryan's views on imperialism, see the Spring 2004 Keynoter.)



*Why, then, is not Bryan an honest man?*

The Washington-Bryan connection was an appropriate source for Bryan political campaign items because that connection was based on issues that were very important to Bryan's constituency. Americans have treated the Founders of their Republic with reverence and respect. Politicians of both parties have often returned to the original sources to justify their ideas and programs, but for William Jennings Bryan, the Washington-Bryan connection did not achieve its goal in the First, the Second, or the Final Battle.

Steve Baxley (APIC #4044) received his BA degree in journalism and history from San Diego State University in 1977. He is a writer/editor at a scientific/engineering research lab in San Diego, California. Believing that an interesting story lays behind each political item, Steve feels that finding that story can sometimes be just as exciting as finding the item itself.



**WHAT ENGLAND THINKS ABOUT IT.**

The following is an extract from the *Financial News*, a leading financial paper of the world. There is a plain moral in the remark that if the United States would venture her command of the markets of the world, she would have all America and Asia at her back and the world at her feet. The barrier of gold would be more fatal than any barrier of a custom house. The bond of silver would be stronger than any bond of free trade. There can be no doubt about it that if the United States were to adopt a silver currency, she would be the closing of the Indian mints, "we have learned from that object lesson that the yellow man using white money holds at his mercy the industry of the white man using yellow money."

**ARISTOTLE** said, "Money exists by law, not by nature."

**BISMARCK** said in 1894, "I have always been in favor of an international agreement for the restoration of silver as a money metal, and if it cannot be had without England's help, then we ought to restore silver without her."

**IN A NUTSHELL.**

Average daily, gross, per capita income of those who depend on the farm (in the United States) for a living,—in cents, a day .....	25.8
Average daily, net, per capita income of same .....	10.0
Daily cost of keeping a pauper at public expense .....	26.5
Price paid to the State of Illinois for the labor of a convict .....	39.4

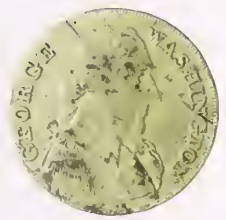
Silver cheapened cheap-ens men.

**BRYAN'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.**

"They will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. They can find where the holders of fixed investments have. . . . It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors were the three million who had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy million, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, it will never be the judgment of this people. Therefore we are not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallicism is good but we cannot have it till some nation helps us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallicism and then let England have bimetallicism because the United States has. If they dare to come out in the open and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests and all the tolling masses, we shall answer to them, you shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns."

**A. REED.** Maine, said, referring to the closing of the Indian mints, "we have learned from that object lesson that the yellow man using white money holds at his mercy the industry of the white man using yellow money."

"If any man dare say that 371½ grains of pure silver are not a dollar's worth, let him be challenged with the question whether that amount of uncoined silver will not purchase as much of the average of twenty-five of the great staples of the American market, including real estate and labor, as the same silver would have purchased twenty-five years ago? Let him answer that truly, or forever afterward hold his peace. As a matter of fact the uncoined silver in the American dollar will buy more of the average of our great staples than the same would have bought in 1875. The claim that gold coin is the 'sound money,' the 'honest money,' of the world, and that silver money—real, primary silver money, of our old statutory ratio—is dishonest and unsound money, is the most false, as it is the most adroit, proposition ever put forth by interested parties to defraud the people of a great nation."—John Clark Ridpath.



C. 1810-1830, Snuff boxes, 3-1/2"

Collection of David J. and Janice L. Frent

# The Electoral College is not the Answer

By Neal Peirce

The Electoral College seemed a smashing success on its first appearance in 1789. Electors for president were chosen in and voted in their respective states, and a unanimous tally was produced for George Washington of Virginia. John Adams of Massachusetts was elected vice president.

In April, Washington departed his Mount Vernon estate for New York, designated first capital of the fledgling nation. His stagecoach was warmly welcomed everywhere. In Philadelphia, for example, the governor and state militia turned out as the city's church bells rang and a *feu de joie* was ignited. At Trenton, women of the city erected a triumphal arch at the Assumpink Bridge over which Washington had led his little army 12 years earlier, on the night before the Battle of Princeton. Thirteen pilots rowed the general's barge across the harbor to Manhattan, where the governor and members of the newly elected Congress welcomed and accompanied him through throngs of cheering New Yorkers.

Beneath the jubilation, however, the strange mechanism that would come to be called "the Electoral College" was already marked for trouble to come. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia had been deeply divided and uncertain about the way to select a president; they went back and forth repeatedly between allowing Congress to make the choice and some form of indirect election, even debating

(but considering impractical) a direct vote of the citizens of the fledgling nation.

The plan adopted -- choice of the president by "electors" in the separate

states -- was intensely political. Big states got an element of population-based apportionment in choosing electors; the small states got a minimum of three votes no matter how small their population; states' rights advocates were thrown a bone by giving state legislatures power to decide how electors should be chosen; and advocates of direct vote could at least discern a potential for development of a popular peoples' choice over time. In a further nod to small states, if the electors failed to produce a majority choice for president, the election would go to the House, where each state, regardless of population, would have a single vote.

In the minutes of the Constitutional Convention, no debate is found on the most critical questions: Should the state legislatures simply designate electors directly, or should they submit the choice to popular vote, and if so, should the electors be chosen by district or statewide? And who should electors be, anyway -- wise men with knowledge of the country, or simply persons willing to vote for president the way the legislatures or voters instructed? But the untidiness was already apparent in his

## Maryland State Ticket.

Election, Tuesday, November 6th, 1860.



"The Union, the Constitution, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

For President of the United States,

**JOHN BELL,**

Of Tennessee.

For Vice President of the United States,

**EDWARD EVERETT,**

Of Massachusetts.

For Electors of President and Vice President of the United States.

CHARLES F. GOLDSBOROUGH.

J. DIXON ROMAN.

1st District—JAMES U. DENNIS.

2d " JOHN F. SMITH.

3d " SAMUEL M. RANKIN.

4th " WILLIAM PRICE.

5th " JAMES S. CARPER.

6th " ALEXANDER B. HAGNER.

**DEMOCRATIC TICKET**

Our Principles  
The Constitution  
The Union  
The Rights of the People  
The Rights of the States  
The Rights of the Nation  
The Rights of the World

FOR PRESIDENT  
**JAMES BUCHANAN**  
of Pennsylvania

FOR VICE PRESIDENT  
**JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE**  
of Kentucky

**ELECTORS**

1st District	E. W. MASSENBURG	of Portsmouth
2d do	THOMAS H. CAMPBELL	of Sotaway
3d do	A. HUGHES OILLARD	of Henry
4th do	JAMES CARLARO	of Campbell-II
5th do	JOHN GOODE, J.	of Bedford
6th do	ALEX. JONES	of Chesterfield.
7th do	WM. B. TALIAFERRO	of Gloucester
8th do	R. L. MONTAGUE	of Middlesex
9th do	JAMES BARBOUR	of Culpeper
10th do	J. RANDOLPH TUCKER	of Frederick
11th do	JOHN T. HARRIS	of Rockingham
12th do	A. C. PENDLETON	of Giles
13th do	JOHN B. FLOYD	of Washington
14th do	SAMUEL L. HAYS	of Gilmer
15th do	SHERRARD CLEMENS	of Ohio

Write your Name on the back of the Ticket  
Election on Tuesday November 6th 1860

(article continued on page 48.)

# The Electoral College Serves the Country Well

*By Michael Kelly*

On November 8, 1988, 1,969,435 Michigan citizens elected me to the highest office on the ballot. It is unlikely that more than a few dozen of them even realized they were doing so.

That year, I was elected to the Electoral College as one of Michigan's presidential electors. As you may recall from your high school civics class, voters going to the polls in a presidential election do not actually vote for the candidates listed on the ballots.

While the ballot might say "John Kerry and John Edwards", that's shorthand for "the slate of presidential electors promising to cast their votes for John Kerry and John Edwards." Likewise, George Bush or Ralph Nader voters were not voting for Bush or Nader but for their respective slates of electors.

This system was established in the Constitution by our Founding Fathers and gives each state one presidential elector for every member of Congress from that state. The presidential ticket winning the most popular votes in any given state wins all that state's electoral votes. On the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December, the winning electors gather in their respective state capitols to hold the real presidential election. Later the votes are gathered in Washington and counted by the current vice president before the U.S. Senate.

Critics of the system have two main concerns: the Electoral College is not "democratic" in the way popular votes are, and the structure of the Electoral College could alter the popular election results.

Critics point out that under the right circumstances a minority of popular votes could become a majority of electoral votes. That situation actually occurred in 1888, when Grover Cleveland was defeated for re-election even though he had more popular votes than Benjamin Harrison. Harrison carried more states with a higher electoral vote total and took the White House. Cleveland came back four years later and kicked President Harrison out but it still demonstrates that the Electoral College can misfire.



FOR PRESIDENT,  
**SAMUEL J. TILDEN.**

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
**THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.**

For Electors of President and Vice President,  
EDMUND L. CUSHING,  
JOHN F. CLOUTMAN,  
SAMUEL K. MASON,  
EDSON HILL,  
JOHN W. SANBORN.

*(article continued on page 53.)*

election. The legislatures simply appointed electors in six states; citizens were allowed to vote for them in four; Massachusetts used a mixed legislative-popular vote system; New York cast no vote because its legislature deadlocked on the best method. Rhode Island and South Carolina didn't participate at all, because they had yet to ratify the new Constitution.

Similar splits appeared in the 1792 election, in which Washington was again a unanimous choice, and 1796, when John Adams won the presidency (albeit by a divided vote -- political parties were starting to appear).

In 1800, the system hit its first big crisis -- lack of a majority vote among the electors. So the election was thrown to the House, with each state holding one vote. Thirty-six ballots had to be cast before Thomas Jefferson's election as president was final.

Why did the Founding Fathers saddle the young nation with such a deeply flawed system? James Madison, "father of the Constitution," later acknowledged that the Electoral College arrangement, born at the latter stages of the Philadelphia convention, "was not exempt from a degree of the hurrying influence produced by fatigue and impatience of all such bodies."

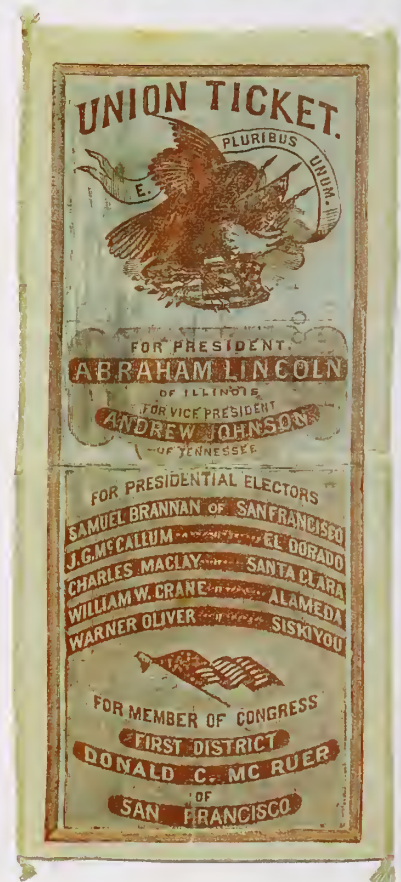
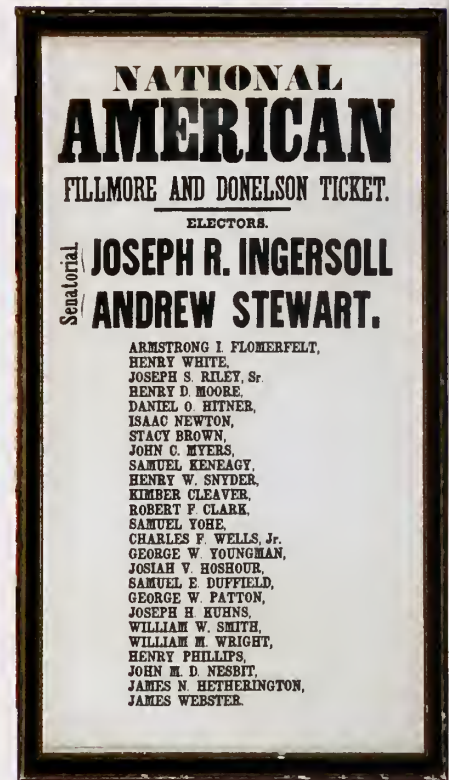
Or as political scientist John Roche once noted, the Electoral College "was merely a jerry-rigged improvisation which has subsequently been endowed with a high theoretical content...The future was left to cope with the problem of what to do with this Rube Goldberg mechanism."

The tragedy is that Madison and some of his allies failed to get a direct vote of the people approved in the original Constitution. Why? Most delegates from small states and slave-holding states wouldn't hear of it. Pure "democracy" was feared. And the delegates couldn't imagine voters in a far-flung, fledgling nation knowing candidates from outside their own region. Massachusetts delegate Elbridge Gerry -- later to become notorious as father of the legislative "gerrymander" -- argued a direct vote would be "radically vicious," that "the people are uninformed and would be misled by a few designing men."

Madison, by contrast, argued that direct election would be best, because "the president is to act for people, not the states."

His counsel was ignored. The United States has had some great presidents, the method of their election notwithstanding. But it has also had to endure two centuries of wrangling over the needs and demand for reform of the system. Three times in the 19th century -- 1824, 1876, and 1888 -- the will of the American people was thwarted when the loser in the national popular vote was elevated to the presidency. Five times in the 20th century -- 1916, 1948, 1960, 1968 and 1976 -- the country came perilously close to another miscarriage of the popular will.

Then, in 2000, came the George W. Bush versus Albert Gore election in which Gore won far more votes than Bush -- 537,179 according to state tallies nationwide. But by the chance fallout of tiny vote margins controlling blocks of electoral votes in a handful of close states, Bush edged out Gore in the Electoral College vote, 271 to 266. In Florida, where a chad-shadowed margin of 537 votes determined the outcome, serious racial antagonisms were fired up. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision opponents viewed as partisan-tinged, decided the election. One can argue the bitterness of the 2000 election decision presaged much of the ill will that pervades American political life to this day.



In 2004, Bush was able to pull ahead of his next Democratic opponent, John Kerry, by a margin of 3.5 million votes. But it was hard to call the Electoral College a great victor. A switch of a mere 59,388 votes in a single state -- Ohio -- would have reversed the outcome of the election, making Kerry America's next minority president.

If ever proof were needed that the Electoral College can inflict harm on either party, any candidate, the first two elections of the 21st century should have made the case.

The gnawing question remains, 219 years after hot and weary Philadelphia delegates invented the Electoral College: Is there no better way? A raft of reform proposals have surfaced over the centuries. In 1808, Sen. James Hillhouse, a Federalist alarmed by the growth of political parties, suggested all U.S. Senators would be elected for a three-year term, with a third retiring annually. Each year the retiring senators would assemble and draw balls from a box. One of the balls would be colored, and the man who drew it would be president for a year.

The Hillhouse plan sank rapidly, but other reform ideas have shown immense longevity, albeit frustration in passage. For decades, the main reform proposal was a plan to choose electors by individual districts -- a way to break up the "unit vote," the system of casting all of a state's electoral votes as a bloc for the popular vote winner in the state. Another major proposal: dividing each state's electoral votes in direct mathematical proportion to the popular vote in the state. Others suggested a so-called "automatic plan," abolishing the formal role of presidential electors and formalizing the state-by-state unit vote system. All these reform proposals eventually failed, partly because of the politics of their times, but also because none could guarantee that the winner of the popular vote would actually become president.

With the growth of popular democracy, especially from the mid-20th century on, the chorus of popular support for a simple, direct vote of the people grew strongly. Gallup Polls showed overwhelming support of the citizenry. In the 1960s and '70s, an array of organizations from the American Bar Association to League of Women Voters, the AFL-CIO to the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., came out for the direct vote. A direct vote constitutional amendment actually passed the U.S. House, 338-70 in 1969. But it was thwarted by threat of cloture and conservative opposition in the Senate. Another Senate vote, in 1979, produced only 51 votes in favor-- 15 votes short of the constitutionally required two-thirds for approval in either house of Congress.

## NATIONAL REPUBLICAN TICKET.



LINCOLN & HAMLEN.

### FOR ELECTORS,

GEORGE MOREY, of Boston,  
REUBEN A. CHAPMAN, of Springfield, } At Large.  
District No. 1--ALFRED MACY, of Nantucket.  
" 2--JAMES H. MITCHELL, of East Bridgewater.  
" 3--JOHN M. FORBES, of Milton.  
" 4--CHARLES B. HALL, of Boston.  
" 5--PELEG W. CHANDLER, of Boston.  
" 6--JOHN G. WHITTIER, of Amesbury.  
" 7--GERRY W. COCHRANE, of Methuen.  
" 8--JOHN NESMITH, of Lowell.  
" 9--AMASA WALKER, of North Brookfield.  
" 10--CHARLES FIELD, of Athol.  
" 11--CHARLES MATTOON, of Greenfield.

**For Governor,**  
**JOHN A. ANDREW,**  
OF BOSTON.

**For Lieut. Governor,**  
**JOHN Z. GOODRICH,**  
OF GREENFIELD.

For Secretary of State,  
OLIVER WARNER, of Northampton.

For Treasurer and Receiver General,  
HENRY K. OLIVER, of Lawrence.

For Auditor,  
LEVI REED, of Abington.

For Attorney General,  
DWIGHT FOSTER, of Worcester.

For Representative to Congress, District No. 2,  
**JAMES BUFFINTON, of Fall River.**

For Councillor, 8th District,  
ELEAZER C. SHERMAN, of Plymouth.

For Senator, North Plymouth District,  
**EDWARD SOUTHWORTH, Jr.,**  
OF NORTH BRIDGEWATER.

For County Commissioner,  
JAMES RUGGLES, of Rochester.

For Representative to General Court,  
DAVID CAIN, of Hingham.

### *How The President and Vice President are Elected by Electors of the United States.*

The Electoral College is made up as follows

*Each State has as many Electors as it has U.S. Representatives and Senators. Their method of appointment is left to the State Legislature*

*Each State appoints the place of their meeting. Congress has fixed the time - the second Monday in January. They meet and elect a chairman, they then cast separate ballots for a President and Vice President.*

*After voting, they make three lists of the persons, offices, and number of votes and the names of the State electors, certified by the executive authority of the State, seal them, and certify each, transmit two to the President of the U.S. Senate, one by mail and one by messenger, and deposit the third with the Federal Judge of the district. Their duty is then ended.*

*On the second Wednesday in February in the Hall of Representatives and in presence of both Houses of Congress assembled, the President of the Senate opens and counts the State returns and announces the result. In case of a tie the House decides by a majority of States, each having one vote. On a tie for Vice President the Senate decides the same way. If no one candidate has a majority the Houses decide in the same manner, choosing from the three highest candidates on the list.*

*The Electoral system settles the returns immediately while a return from Popular Vote might mean months of waiting for results and would be an incentive to fraud etc. There are 483 Electors, - necessary for a choice 242. The following table shows both Electoral and Popular vote for the last three Presidential Elections.*

	ELECTORAL VOTES.	POPULAR VOTE	
1896	McKINLEY	271	7,111,607
	BRYAN	176	6,509,052
			45 STATES VOTING
1900	McKINLEY	292	7,220,087
	BRYAN	155	6,360,016
1904	ROOSEVELT	336	7,620,337
	PARKER	140	3,079,041

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Ironically, in 1979, opposition came not only from the traditional states' rights contingent of Southern Democrats, forever stalwarts of purported small state interests, but a number of liberal northern senators were persuaded that minorities in large swing states might lose influence under a direct vote. The historic fact is that American politics never lines up neatly small-versus-large states, but the political myth of that conflict -- present ever since the Constitutional Convention -- somehow lingers on.

Electoral College reform languished after 1979, indeed wasn't even revived by the 2000 election debacle. But early in 2006, a group of direct vote advocates came up with a surprising new idea: forget a constitutional amendment, instead change the system through interstate compacts. The idea: invite the states to pass identical measures, compact legislation under which they agree to cast 100 percent of their electoral votes for the presidential candidate who receives the largest total number of popular votes in all states. The compact would go into effect when -- but only when -- states with votes constituting a majority of the Electoral College (270 of the total of 538) signed up. But if it worked, and survived potential legal challenges, it would assure the popular vote winner always won the presidency. There'd still be an Electoral College, but it would inevitably cast a majority of its votes for the president the people really chose.

One has to imagine James Madison smiling from his grave at the prospect.

Neal Peirce authored *The People's President: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct Vote Alternative* (Simon and Schuster, 1968) and a revised edition with Lawrence Longley as co-author (Yale University Press, 1981).



c. 1789

Inaugural clothing button from  
Heritage Auction Galleries





C. 1790-1810, 9"



\*C. 1804, 9"



C. 1790-1810, 12"



C. 1800, 8"



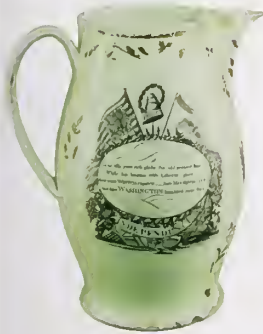
C. 1800, 11"



C. 1800, 10"



C. 1790-1810, 10"



C. 1790-1810, 11"



C. 1800, 9"



C. 1800, 8"



C. 1800, 9"



C. 1790-1800, 9"



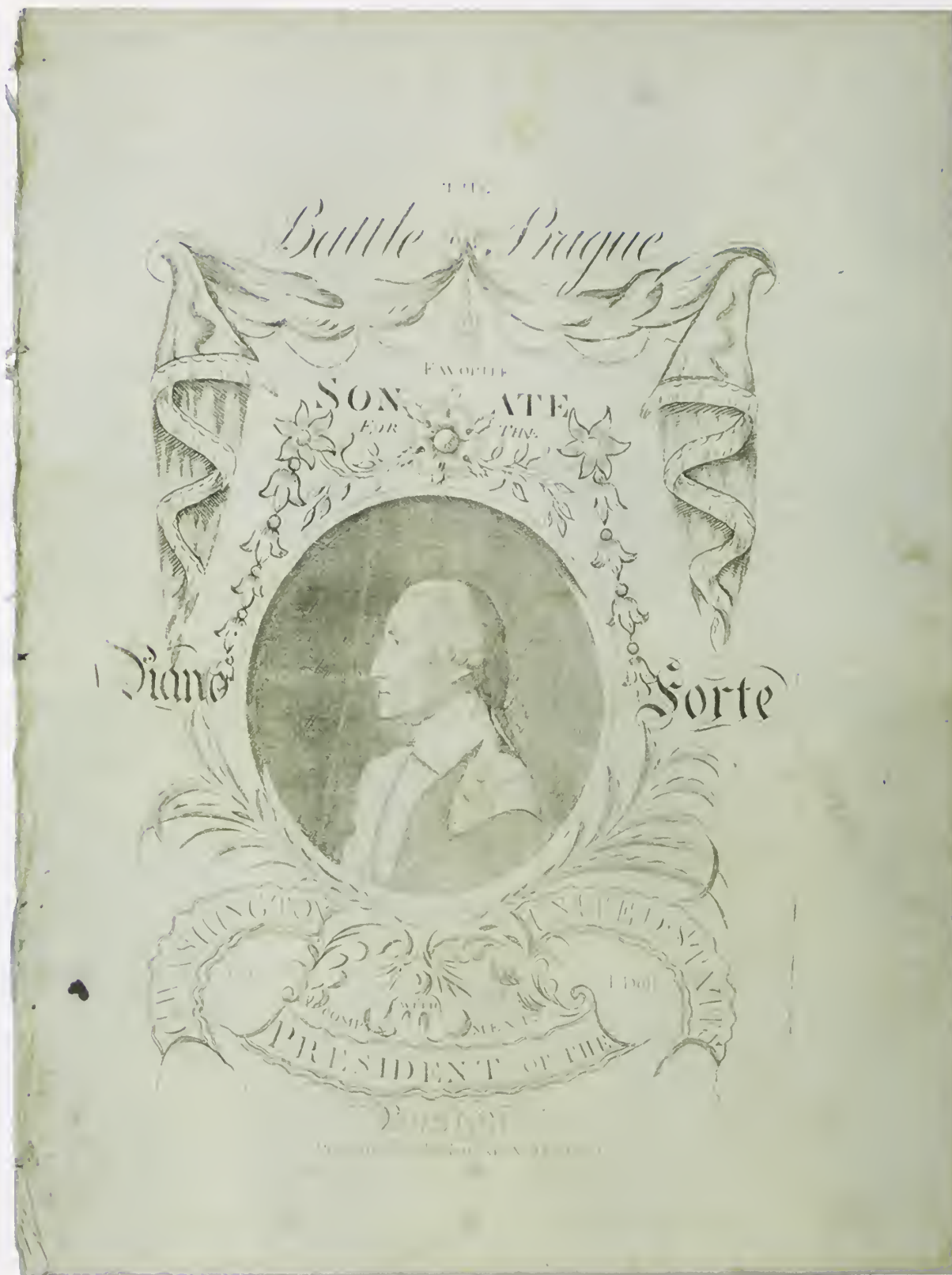
C. 1799, 11"



C. 1800, 10"

\*This pitcher features Samuel Adams and John Hancock

Collection of David J. and Janice L. Frent



(article continued from page 47.)

The same thing happened in 2000 when, whether or not the hanging chads gave Florida to Bush, Gore undisputedly had more popular votes. (The commonly cited 1876 election dispute between Rutherford Hayes and Samuel Tilden is so clouded in vote fraud and the violence of the closing days of Reconstruction that a case can be made for either candidate being the popular choice).

Another aspect that troubles observers is that the plan created independent electors. Originally intended to place the choice of a president into the hands of a smaller decision-making body chosen by the states, the fact that presidential electors promise to vote for Bush or Kerry doesn't mean that they have to. Each elector is legally free to vote for whomever he or she wants.

I recall from my brief time in the Electoral College gathering in the chambers of Michigan's State Senate and being handed a blank index card on which I was to handwrite the name of the candidate for whom my vote would be cast. At the time I was struck that that year's campaign - the score of candidates, dozens of primaries, thousands of volunteers, millions of miles traveled and hundreds of millions of dollars spent - had come down to a 1-cent blank index card.


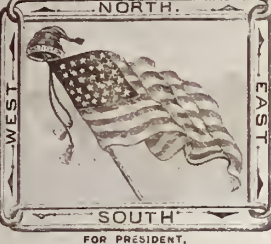
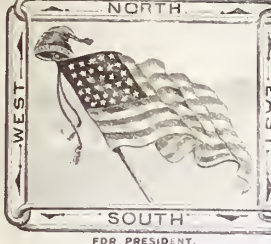
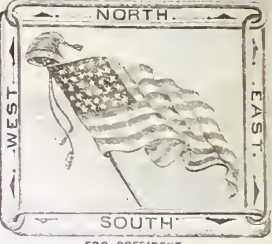
What's more, it isn't all that unusual for a "faithless elector" to appear.

It didn't take long for our first "faithless elector" to show up. In 1796, a Federalist elector voted for Jefferson instead of Adams and three electors thought to be for Jefferson voted for Adams, although one has to admit that party loyalties were fairly vague in those early days.

In 1820, James Monroe was essentially unopposed but an elector from New Hampshire voted for John Quincy Adams. It was said that this was a gesture of respect for George Washington, so that he would be the only President to be chosen unanimously, although there may have been some personal grievances as well.

Over 125 years passed before another elector proved faithless. In 1948, a Truman elector from Tennessee voted for Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond. Southern opposition to Civil Rights struck again in 1956 when a Stevenson elector from Alabama voted instead for a local segregationist judge.

Richard Nixon seemed to be snakebitten when it came to the Electoral College. First, as vice president, he had the unpleasant task of counting his own defeat in 1960. Then, each time he ran for president, one of his Republican electors jumped ship. In 1960, an Oklahoma Nixon elector voted for Harry Byrd; in 1968, a North Carolina Nixon elector voted for George Wallace and in 1972, a Virginia Nixon elector voted for the Libertarian Party candidate. The trend continued in 1976 when a

Democratic Republican Ticket.	Democratic Republican Ticket.	Democratic Republican Ticket.	Democratic Republican Ticket.
			
<b>WINFIELD S. HANCOCK</b> FOR PRESIDENT.	<b>WINFIELD S. HANCOCK</b> FOR PRESIDENT.	<b>WINFIELD S. HANCOCK</b> FOR PRESIDENT.	<b>WINFIELD S. HANCOCK</b> FOR PRESIDENT.
<b>WILLIAM H. ENGLISH</b> For Vice President.	<b>WILLIAM H. ENGLISH</b> For Vice President.	<b>WILLIAM H. ENGLISH</b> For Vice President.	<b>WILLIAM H. ENGLISH</b> For Vice President.
For Electors of President and Vice President, GEORGE B. CHANDLER, JOHN C. MOULTON, DANIEL MARCY, FRANK A. McKEAN, DON H. WOODWARD.	For Electors of President and Vice President, GEORGE B. CHANDLER, JOHN C. MOULTON, DANIEL MARCY, FRANK A. McKEAN, DON H. WOODWARD.	For Electors of President and Vice President, GEORGE B. CHANDLER, JOHN C. MOULTON, DANIEL MARCY, FRANK A. McKEAN, DON H. WOODWARD.	For Electors of President and Vice President, GEORGE B. CHANDLER, JOHN C. MOULTON, DANIEL MARCY, FRANK A. McKEAN, DON H. WOODWARD.
<b>FRANK JONES.</b> FOR GOVERNOR.	<b>FRANK JONES.</b> FOR GOVERNOR.	<b>FRANK JONES.</b> FOR GOVERNOR.	<b>FRANK JONES.</b> FOR GOVERNOR.
* For Railroad Commissioners, JOSEPH W. GOODWIN, JOHN W. DODGE, WILLIAM H. D. COCHRANE.	* For Railroad Commissioners, JOSEPH W. GOODWIN, JOHN W. DODGE, WILLIAM H. D. COCHRANE.	* For Railroad Commissioners, JOSEPH W. GOODWIN, JOHN W. DODGE, WILLIAM H. D. COCHRANE.	* For Railroad Commissioners, JOSEPH W. GOODWIN, JOHN W. DODGE, WILLIAM H. D. COCHRANE.
For Representative in Congress, GEORGE A. BINGHAM.	For Representative in Congress, GEORGE A. BINGHAM.	For Representative in Congress, GEORGE A. BINGHAM.	For Representative in Congress, GEORGE A. BINGHAM.
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Gerald Ford elector from Washington voted for Ronald Reagan (four years too soon as far as the GOP was concerned.)

In 1988, a West Virginia Democratic elector refused to cast her vote for Michael Dukakis and voted for Lloyd Bentsen as president. She later noted that a majority of that year's electors were women and regretted that she "hadn't voted for Kitty Dukakis instead."

For all these reasons, few voices are raised in defense of the Electoral College. I, however, would like to do just that.

The Electoral College system has many virtues. Most importantly, it almost always works. In 55 president elections, only twice has the system produced a clear case of a president who received fewer popular votes than his opponent in a head-to-head race. Although statisticians can demonstrate many theoretical cases where the shift of a handful of votes could change the outcome, year after year the Electoral College works.

The Electoral College also brings both stability and flexibility to picking a president.

First the stability. A narrow popular margin can be turned into a secure margin in the Electoral College. For example, both times Bill Clinton ran, he received only a minority of the popular vote. That means both times, a majority of the popular votes were cast against him, but the Electoral College system turned that low popular vote into a solid victory. The same effect happens whenever we have a close popular vote, as in 1976, 1968 or 1960.

Think of the turmoil we experienced in Florida in 2000 multiplied across all 50 states. Imagine every precinct in America being recounted and re-counted to try to squeeze out a handful of extra votes when the national popular vote was extremely close. How many of our big cities are ready to have their votes carefully examined? How many little political machines may be working away in small rural townships that might have problems as well? Imagine the destructive turmoil that a popular vote process could produce in a country as vast as ours.

The Electoral College limits the scope for corruption. Votes are most easily stolen in areas where one party has overwhelming dominance. But an organization like (just to pick a random example) the Chicago Machine can only steal Illinois; it can't steal the whole country.

Now for the flexibility. Having human beings filling the role of electors allows the system to adjust. What happens if a candidate dies after the election but before the inauguration? In 1912, Vice President James Sherman died shortly after the election and the electors were able to cast their votes for Nicholas Murray Butler. Likewise, in a three-way race, if no candidate receives a majority in the Electoral College, the electors have a chance to look over the results and possibly cast their votes to pick a winner. Is it any less democratic to have electors choosing the eventual winner than throwing it to the House of Representatives (especially when each state delegation has only one vote)?

Proposals for reform, such as that outlined in Neal Peirce's essay, are often far more complex than the system they hope to improve. The drafters of the constitution created a system that is at once stable and flexible. It is a system that has worked for more than two centuries. If it ain't broke, don't fix it.

Michael Kelly (APIC #395) is editor of *The Keynoter* and serves on the staff of Mott Community College in Michigan. He earned his BA from the University of Notre Dame and his MA from Wayne State University. In 1988, he was one of 538 members of the Electoral College.



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Later politicians tried to drape the mantle of Washington over their shoulders. On this page we see textile items from President William Henry Harrison and his grandson, President Benjamin Harrison as well as a matching set of plaques for Washington and President U.S. Grant. The statue in the lower center is labeled "Washington" but looks more like Ben Franklin. Maybe the British thought all Americans looked like Franklin, a great favorite in Europe.

# Federalist Washington Benevolent Societies and the First Manufactured Political Items

By Glenn W. Soden and Michael Kelly



What was the first American political campaign item? The brass clothing buttons made for George Washington's inaugural are likely the first presidential items but they aren't really campaign items. The first items relating to a contested presidential election may well be the items used by the Washington Benevolent Societies.

The creation of the first mass political party began with the founding of the first Washington Benevolent Societies in New York City and Vermont during 1808. These groups spread during 1808 to 1810, leading in 1812 to the closest election contest the young country had then experienced. That campaign pitted Federalist Dewitt Clinton against Democratic-Republican James Madison.

The Federalist Party was in decline but Clinton's presidential campaign sparked a brief revitalization. Dewitt Clinton was then Governor of New York and, coincidentally, the nephew of George Clinton, a Democratic-Republican, who lost to Madison in the 1808 Presidential election and served as Vice President to both Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. The Federalist Party's campaign apparatus was reenergized through its appeal in an organized fashion, primarily to young men. Clinton won the northeastern states with the exception of Vermont, while Madison won the votes of the southern and western states, winning the 1812 campaign with 128 electoral votes to Clinton's 89.

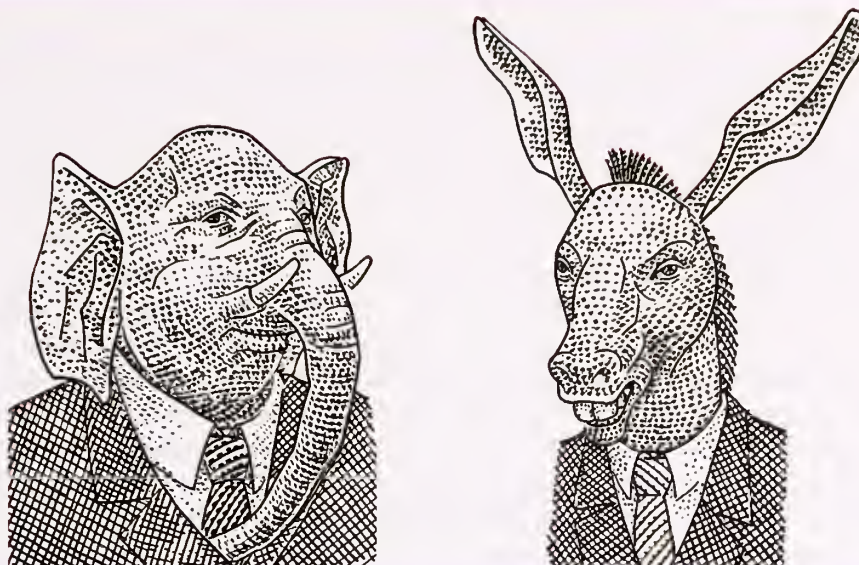
Yet, despite Clinton's loss, a greater legacy emerged; the development of mass grassroots appeal through political parties. Ironically, the emergence of political parties was the very concern that George Washington warned against in his "Farewell Address", the same address the Federalists employed to rally and revitalize their efforts.

This revitalization of the Federalist Party also led to some of our earliest examples of items distributed to the masses for political appeal, including books, ribbons, badges and tokens.

State Senator Bill Doyle of Vermont has written that: "Political parties were not a part of the first years of the United States. Indeed, Washington and other founding fathers warned against them. But dissent is the hallmark of democracy, and soon after the adoption of the Constitution, America's early leaders were dividing into two groups. The first was the Federalists who believed in a strong national government as advocated by Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson and Madison first came to be identified with this group but, after adoption of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, they found themselves increasingly in the role of the loyal opposition. Their group was called the Jeffersonian-Republicans or Democratic-Republicans."

(article continued on page 58.)





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The Federalist cartoons of the day portrayed the Jeffersonians as "cannibals, drunkards and pirates." The Jeffersonians, in turn, accused the Federalists of "working toward a monarchy and an hereditary privileged class." The Federalists' policies generally enhanced commercial and business interests, while the Jeffersonians identified more with agrarian concerns.

The conflict between France and England and the French Revolution also played an important role in the early development of political parties. The Jeffersonians sided with the French, while the Federalists were concerned about the excesses of the French Revolution, which had broken out in 1789, the same year the American republic began. Those who admired the ideas and ideals of the revolution formed Jeffersonian societies.

"Jefferson drew up the constitution for the Societies throughout the nation which included strong words about the support for a strong national government by the Federalists. As a result of Jefferson's organizing ability the Societies throughout the country came together to form the Democratic-Republican Party.

The Federalists, who supported a strong central government, were convinced that they were free from partisan feeling and that partisan political party organization existed only on the other side. Federalists regarded the formation of Jacobin societies by the Democratic-Republicans as an outrage but claimed that their own Washington Benevolent Societies were utterly nonpolitical. Nonetheless, these groups marched with banners, held quarterly meetings and encouraged their members to vote in a like manner. There is even sheet music known as the Washington Benevolent Society's March.

It is reported that as early as 1798 there was a Federalist gathering that featured a company of 250 Federalists uniformed in blue and white and wearing "Washington's Farewell Address" in red morocco around their necks. It was noted to be without parallel in the excitement of the election at the time, "Yet the Federalists stoutly maintained that there was nothing partisan about it."

In *The New Jersey Federalists*, Rudolph J. Pasler and Margaret C. Pasler report that the initial public appearance of the Washington Benevolent Society in New Jersey coincided with the first state peace convention in Trenton on July 4, 1812.

"That day the Washington Society presented a parade consisting of over 200 participants and viewed by spectators from neighboring towns and other parts of the state as well as from Trenton itself. Considerable pomp, designed to mobilize the electorate, marked the occasion. The Society possessed its own banner and marched under the superintendence of three marshals of the day, who rode on horseback. The officials carried wands bearing the motto, 'For Our Country,' and every member of the association wore the ribbon badge of the Society, 'a striking likeness of the beloved Washington printed upon satin, surmounted with the motto 'Pro Patria' (for our country).' The promise of participating in the parade and receipt of the badge of the Society had been used as part of the Trenton Society's membership drive, for the Federalists were interested in gaining as many members as possible. Both the night before the parade and from 9:00 a.m. until marching time on the day itself, the officers of the Society, mainly young Federalists, were busy admitting new members. As indicated by the speed with which membership was conferred, this was no exclusive society. Anyone who would cast a Federalist vote was welcome."

Every member of the Washington Benevolent Society received a silk, paper or velum Pro Patria ribbon. These were effectively the first issuance of campaign materials produced for the mass public. Since various printers, typically booksellers, were engaged in printing the ribbons, the designs varied by state and locality. Some books, for example, printed and sold by Lewis Deare of New Brunswick, New Jersey indicate, "by whom also Badges for the Washington Benevolent Societies are manufactured and sold."

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In his landmark book *A Century of Campaign Buttons 1789-1889*, Doyle Dewitt, wrote in his introduction, "Following the inauguration of George Washington, a few metal clothing buttons were manufactured to commemorate the event, but it was not until the presidential campaign of 1824 that the first 'campaign buttons' were born." Dewitt also wrote in his section on the "Fifth Election - 1804 Through Ninth Election - 1820", that "Attempts to influence the choice of candidates during this period were limited largely to the use of newspapers, pamphlets and oratory. Occasionally, men wore articles on their hats such as cockades, bucktails or twigs as a symbol of the issue or candidate they favored, but the idea of manufacturing devices for this specific purpose had not yet been developed." Dewitt fails to acknowledge the manufacturing of devices for the Washington Benevolent Society as the first such devices to support both the issues and candidates of the Federalist Party. Yet, the badges of the society were manufactured and sold on a large scale.

In *Hail to the Candidate: Presidential Campaigns from Banners to Broadcasts* by Keith Melder, the author observes: "Silk ribbons bearing Washington's portrait issued by the society are among the earliest mass-produced partisan objects in American political history."

It can also be argued that a Washington Benevolent medal struck and provided during the height of recruitment activities by the Washington Benevolent Societies may clearly qualify as a first campaign item. The medal, however, is rarely found and likely issued in very limited quantities, perhaps to commemorate or honor specific leaders or members. An 1808 example features Liberty placing a laurel wreath on a bust of Washington on the obverse. The reverse depicts an act of a Good Samaritan assisting a downed fellow.

While the tokens are very rarely offered, the books published for the various state, county and city societies are frequently found through booksellers and on eBay.

After its respectable showings in 1808 and 1812, the party carried only Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Delaware in 1816. The party lingered in 1820 only to be absorbed into other successor parties. Its notable legacy may be the political items we enjoy preserving today.

Glenn Soden (APIC #3107) serves as Associate Vice President-Corporate Governance for the Nationwide insurance and financial companies. He earned his law degree from the University of Akron and his BA cum laude from Westminster College. He began collecting in 1960 and his interest in the Federalist Washington Benevolent Societies began when he found an 1812 certificate of membership belonging to his great-great-grandfather Jonathan Soden of New Jersey. If interested in this area of Washingtonia or Federalist materials, e-mail him at wilcollec@aol.com. Michael Kelly (APIC #395) is editor of *The Keynoter*.

The "Pro Patria" ribbon mentioned in this article is pictured on page 30.

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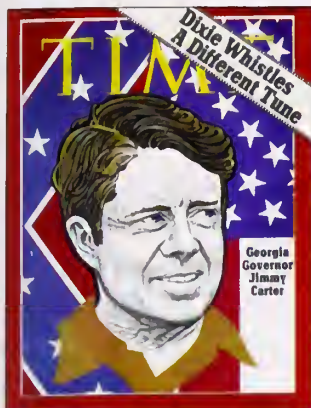
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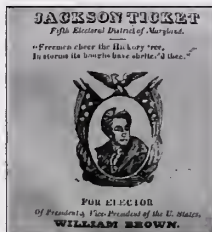
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