JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS CONSERVATORS



**April 14, 2013** The Wisconsin APIC chapter Spring 2013 show Sunday April 14th, Cudahy Public Library, 3500 Library Drive, Milwaukee suburb. 12 Noon - 3 pm. For further details contact Pat Kehoe 414-690-4980 or e-mail wiapic@yahoo.com

April 20, 2013 All-CAL Nixon Library Show Saturday April 20th, Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, 18001 Yorba Linda Blvd., Yorba Linda, CA 92886. Public hours: 10am - 3pm. Library admission: seniors (62 +) \$8.50; adults \$11.95. Get coupon for \$6 off admission from our Bandwagon ad or postcard mailer. Free parking. Dealer 8 ft tables \$25 / 6 ft tables \$20. Our 2012 show kept auctioneer Tom French hopping with Seattle Rules walk-in material. See Nixon's birthplace, grave, and the helicopter from which he famously waved goodbye to the nation. For table reservations or info contact Bob Banwart (909) 239-1756 or rbanwart1@hotmail.com.

**April 27, 2013** The New England APIC Chapter Spring 2013 show, to be held Saturday, April 27, 9:00 am - 2:00 pm (set-up at 8:00 am); V.F.W. Post 1012, 114 Mystic Avenue, Medford, MA (exit 31 off I-93). Admission, \$2.00; tables, \$25 for first and \$20 for each additional. For information, email Bob Colt politicalguywin@comcast.net or Barry Mushlin barrybuttons@comcast.net; or call Bob Colt at 781-729-6066.

May 4, 2013 The New York Boys' 41st Annual Auburn May Show, Saturday May 4; 8:00am-2:00pm Auburn United Methodist Church, 99 South Street, Auburn, NY. Join us for dinner at "Balloons" Friday night and our Family style luncheon at the bourse Saturday. For further information, reservations, and tables, contact Bren Price at 27 Brookshire Court, East Amherst, NY 14051. Phone 716-630-7073 or email bpricesr@aol.com.

May 10-II, 2013 The Annual Michigan Show, Met Hotel in Troy. For more information contact Ken Hosner: 269-345-5983 or email mrbuttons@chartermi.net.

May 18, 2013 The Spring Country Pinback Show of the Big Apple & Mid-Atlantic Chapters, Saturday, May 18, 9am to 3pm, Titusville United Methodist Church, 7 Church Rd, Titusville NJ - corner of Route 29 & Church Rd, 2 miles north of Washington's Crossing State park. Table rentals \$40.00 each for APIC members; Admission is \$3.00. Contact Tony Lee at 609-730-9490 or email Tony@adicio.com.

**June 27-28-29, 2013** Harrisburg Political & Historical Extravaganza, Best Western Premiere Hotel & Convention Center in Harrisburg, PA. Room hopping Wednesday and Thursday, June 26 & 27 followed Annual Hospitality Room Thursday evening and two full days of bourse on Friday (9am-4pm) & Saturday (9am-2pm). Member's auction Friday evening. Ryan's Silent Auction on Friday and Saturday. Table reservations contact Bob & Jeannine Coup, PO Box 81, Smoketown PA, 17576, phone 717-656-7855, or email polbandwgn@aol.com. To consign items for the member's auction, contact Auction Mgr. Harvey Goldberg at 732-382-4652 or email heg1@verizon.net. Contact the hotel directly at 717-561-2800 and ask for the Political Bandwagon rate.

August 1-3, 2013 APIC Western Regional Convention-Reno, Nevada, Atlantis Resort Casino, Welcome Reception and room hopping Aug. 1. Dealers and collectors from across the country are expected to attend. \$69 rooms (Sun-Thurs) and \$109 rooms (Fri-Sat) are available: (800) 723-6500 and mention "APIC." Room deadline: June 29. Contact: Cary Jung for table reservations (916) 399-9128 or letsbackjack@comcast.net

October II-12, 2013 Monroe D. Ray Chapter annual FALL FOLIAGE SHOW new location: The Ramada Plaza Albany, 3 Watervliet Avenue, Albany, NY 12206. Room Hopping Friday, Saturday show 8:00am-3:00pm. Reserve your tables with Ray Farina, 5 Kings Mills Rd, Gansevoort NY 12831. (Checks payable to Ray Farina). Phone 518-581-1654. Email rfarina1@hycap.rr.com Contact the hotel directly at 518-438-8431 and mention APIC when making reservations.

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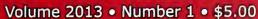
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### FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT

"Hancock the Superb" was what his military colleagues called Winfield Scott Hancock. Wounded in action four times during his military career, once during the Mexican War and three times during the Civil War, Hancock was an exceptional leader and tactician. Often rising in rank as the result of his superior officer being killed on the field of battle, Hancock took command as if he was born to it. For victory, he was willing to take risks other commanders were not willing to take. Yet, as commander of the II Corps of the Army of the Potomac, after one year, his troops had suffered 40,000 casualties. His prowess as an Army commander was especially visible during the Battle of Gettysburg, where his troops held steady against a phalanx of Confederate forces. To save the day, he was not afraid to sacrifice soldiers. He ordered the 1st Minnesota regiment to advance against a Confederate brigade four times its size, resulting in 87% casualties to the Minnesota regiment. The sacrifices of that unit bought time for the Union forces to regroup and win the battle.



At the end of the war Hancock had the gruesome task of supervising the execution of the conspirators in the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Hancock believed that those who were less culpable in the plot should be spared, especially Mary Serratt, but Hancock dutifully carried out his orders and the conspirators were hanged on July 7, 1865.

From a political standpoint, a career following his exploits during the Civil War would seem a natural progression. Hancock viewed himself as a military man first, but would listen for the call to serve in the political arena. From 1868 through 1900, every Republican Nominee' for President, except one – James Blaine – had fought on the battlefields of the Civil War. During this same period, Hancock, would be the sole Democratic Presidential Nominee to serve in battle.

Hancock had built a political base while as Commander of the Fifth Military district in the South, covering Texas and Louisiana. In 1867, President Andrew Johnson chose Hancock because Johnson believed Democratic generals would implement Johnson's Reconstruction policies more liberally than Republican generals. Hancock did not disappoint Johnson, lifting restrictions on the white male population under his governance through General Order Number 40. This order served as a base for Hancock to become a rising star in the Democratic Party. He even received several votes at the 1868 Democratic National Convention. However, with the election of General Ulysses Grant to the Presidency in 1868, Hancock was soon transferred to the Department of Dakota.

In 1872, with the death of General Meade, Hancock found himself to be the US Army's senior Major General. President Grant appointed him to command the Division of the Atlantic. With his headquarters in New York City, Hancock could easily monitor the political winds of Washington. After the contentious election of 1876, followed by the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the Democratic Party elite saw their best opportunity to take the White House. The election of 1880 was on and "Hancock the Superb" was their nominee.

This issue closely examines that campaign and the issues that dominated the political landscape.

Last year we lost APIC Hall of Fame member Peter Scanlan. I knew Peter for over twenty years. He was a special collector who made it a point to understand completely the person he collected – President Theodore Roosevelt. Peter became one with his collection and he was always interested in learning more about Roosevelt and sharing stories with anyone who would listen. Peter said that the books and correspondence of Roosevelt spoke to him personally and allowed him to enjoy Roosevelt's exploits as if he was by his side. Like Roosevelt, Peter was also one who travelled the world, some fifty-four countries, and we shared our experiences – his visits always seemed to be during peace – while mine seemed to be when those countries were in full conflict – I never really could figure out why but I always figured he was there to stir things up. Peter wanted to share his collection with the world and it will now be divided amongst his fellow travelers/collectors through auction.

Enjoy this issue and I hope to see many of you at the upcoming APIC gatherings across America.

Respectfully yours,

Chris Hearn, President

# **EKEYNOTER**

### **EDITOR'S MESSAGE**

America loves its soldiers. Not enough to actually pay extra taxes to take care of them, mind you, but we sure love to wave the flag and tie those yellow ribbons around town. Out of the forty-



three men who served in the White House only twelve (Barack Obama, Bill Clinton, Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, Calvin Coolidge, Warren Harding, Woodrow Wilson, William Taft, Grover Cleveland, Martin Van Buren, John Q. Adams and John Adams) never served in the military. Of those, FDR did serve as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and Woodrow Wilson was a wartime president.

Every war produces heroes and military heroes are often seen as potential presidents. Our first war created our first military hero and our first President, George Washington. The next great military hero to win the White House was General Andrew Jackson, soon followed by General William Henry Harrison and then General Zachary Taylor. General U.S. Grant is an obvious war hero President as was General Dwight Eisenhower, although lesser ranking officers from Theodore Roosevelt to John Kennedy leveraged military service into a political career.

Through Eisenhower, all military hero presidents were Army men but since World War II we saw a string of Navy men (Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, Carter and the senior Bush). As of yet, no Air Force or Marine officer has been elected as President of the United States.

In they

Michael Kelly Editor

### **Features**

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FRONT COVER-- A wovan color ribbon from the 1880 election.

**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 loosing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIG, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk. If sending by zip disk, please supply return address.

**ILLUSTRATIONS--** The editor wishes to thanks the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, Stephen Baxley, Germaine Broussard, Frank Cherry, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, Mark Gelke, Theodore Hake, Heritage Auctions, Richard Rector, John Vargo and Mike Wildey.

American Political Items Conservators is the educational division of the American Political Items Collectors Inc., a 501(c)3 tax exempt organization. APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Kudos on the Cox-Roosevelt issue. I sat down and read it from cover to cover as soon as I got the mail. I, like you, don't have a Cox/Roosevelt jugate. I did have Chick Harris' in my hand one night in 1972, but he wanted it back. I do have the Harding/Coolidge, Davis/Bryan and Roosevelt/Johnson but the last two are not perfect. You do a great job, Michael. Besides, I can live without a C/R because I have a mint 1968 Eric Sebastian, but don't tell anybody.

Jon Curtis (APIC # 1438)

Just finished reading the Keynoter cover-to-cover. You guys should feel really good about the product you send out quarterly! Right on!

Michael Wildey (APIC #3435)

I was about to put the Winter 2012 Keynoter on the 'keeper' shelf and I just want to congratulate you on the issue. It not only covered one of the classic buttons in the hobby but showed many other classic items from a great election. I've never seen images of many of the items you had in the issue---some truly remarkable ribbons, buttons and posters--a great selection and beautifully presented. Also great history on Wilson and Cox. A very good issue.

Paul Rozycki (APIC #11384)

I thought I'd send a quick note to say how much I enjoyed the article on the hole-inthe-sole campaign theme. With all the old news photos that have been coming on the market, I've been trying to pick up as many of the campaign-related ones as I can, so it's good to have the background on this photo-launched phenomenon.

John Vargo (APIC # 13954)

The item illustrated in the Butler article on p. 29 is not a sword: it's a saber. Swords (with straight blades) were used by foot soldiers, whereas sabers (with curved blades) were used by mounted soldiers. When you're riding horseback and take a whack at something, a curved weapon is less likely to be dislodged from your hand by the force of the impact than is a straight blade. There is an interesting variety of subjects in this issue; excellent quality of reproduction on the illustrations. On another issue, the Prohibition Party issued no collectibles for last year's campaign. Our candidate was a politically unsophisticated evangelist. When I asked him what he wanted in the way of campaign material, he said, "none." Mark Warda produced a vendor button. Other than that, our participation in the 2012 presidential election is invisible to the APIC.

James Hedges (APIC #14405), Partisan Prohibition Historical Society.

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# "The Superb Hancock!" The Democratic Campaign of 1880

### By George McAfee



He was so valuable to the Union cause that Lincoln said of him, "When I go down in the morning to open my mail, I declare that I do it in fear and trembling, lest I may hear that he has been killed or wounded." U. S. Grant wrote, "He stands the most conspicuous figure of all the general officers who did not exercise a separate command. He commanded a corps longer than anyone, and his name was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was responsible." After his first significant action in the Civil war, Gen. McClellan said he "was superb." This military paragon was Winfield Scott



Irving Stone writes that although Hancock "was almost too good to be true, he had one saving disgrace; he possessed one of the most extensive and graphic cuss vocabularies of his day." Another biographer said, "Only one habit marred Hancock's otherwise invariable dignity and impressiveness under all circumstances; this was an extravagant indulgence

in harsh and profane speech." That he could achieve notoriety for extraordinary cussing as a life-long member of an organization in which vulgarity, profanity, and obscenity are so nearly ubiquitous as to recede into the background noise makes him an idol to veterans who wish that some examples had been preserved. Hancock was born in 1824, son of a prosperous Pennsylvania law-





yer, and named for War of 1812 hero General Winfield Scott (himself the Whig Party nominee for president in 1852 against Franklin Pierce). Appointed to West Point at sixteen, he had initially planned to become a lawyer after his obligatory military service and read the seminal law book Blackstone through six times in his year at the academy. However, after a taste of combat in the Mexican War, in which he was brevetted a First Lieutenant "for gallant and meritorious conduct," he settled on a military career. He served at a number of posts between the wars mostly in the West, where he built a reputation for innovation and skill in logistics, supply and administration, although never advancing beyond the rank of captain.

One who had served with him, George McClellan, remembered Hancock's service as a regimental quartermaster, and knowing how greatly he would need supply experts to help organize the Army of the Potomac, asked Lincoln to appoint him a Brigadier General of Volunteers. In one of the early battles in the Peninsular Campaign in 1862, Hancock led his brigade around the Confederate left and took two rebel strong points before resistance stiffened. He called for reinforcements which never came.



Attacked by a large force under Jubal Early and with direct retreat to the Union lines blocked by a deep ravine, a situation that could have led to rout and disaster, Hancock displayed a courage and leadership that might be unexpected in a man who was still only a captain in the regular army. His brigade retreated slowly up a long hill, keeping the attackers under fire all the way. When the enemy was within thirty yards Hancock ordered a bayonet charge and led it from the front. Since the Confederate line broke only when the charge reached them, it was one of the few battles in the Civil War in which bayonet wounds were inflicted. The rebels left five hundred dead on the field to a loss of one hundred and twenty-nine killed in Hancock's brigade.





It was in his telegraphed report to Lincoln on the battle of Williamsburg, that McClellan said, "Hancock was superb."

At Antietam Hancock won the command of a division. He suffered a minor wound at Fredericksburg, and after Chancellorsville, he was given command of the soon-to-be famous Second Corps. It was at Gettysburg that he rendered his greatest service to the Union cause. If any general other than, perhaps, Jeb Stuart can be given credit for the Union victory, it is Hancock.

On the first day, after initial contact had sent Union forces reeling, the retreat had threatened to turn into a rout. General Meade sent Hancock forward ahead of his corps to take over at the front when General Reynolds was killed. One biographer writes, "Upon this field of wreck and disorder now appears Hancock. And as the sun shining through a rift in the clouds may change a scene of gloom into one of beauty, so the coming of this prince of soldiers brings life and courage to all. At his call the braver spirits flame to their height; the weaker souls yield gladly to the impulse of that powerful, aggressive, resolute nature." Hancock stemmed the retreat and reorganized and repositioned shattered regiments so effectively that Lee thought he was facing reinforcements and halted his advance.

On the second day Hancock was commanding the Union center when news came that Longstreet was sweeping everything before him, had broken General Sickles' line on the left at the Peach Orchard, and that Sickles had been seriously wounded, Meade placed Hancock in command of the entire left wing. Hancock raced along the front plugging gaps as he could, often at hideous cost. When the 1st Minnesota suffered eighty-two casualties running into a brigade of advancing Alabama troops, Hancock told its commander, "Colonel, do you see those colors? Then take them." Into another gap Hancock directed the 19th Massachusetts and the 42nd New York. They were driven back by overwhelming numbers with terrible losses, but they slowed the Confederate advance until reinforcements could be brought up. Then he moved back towards the center where some batteries had been overrun. He ordered forward the Western Brigade to recover the guns and restore the line, again with heavy losses. It went like that until dark.

On the third day Hancock again commanded the center where both Lee and Meade knew the next Confederate attack must come. At one o'clock Lee commenced artillery fire from one hundred and fifty guns, fire that was counted as among the heaviest cannonades of the war, all concentrated on the Union center, largely on its rear. Caissons exploded, horses were struck down by hundreds, the air was filled with flying missiles, shells tore up the ground or burst above the troops showering fragments down. When the cannonade began Hancock mounted his horse and rode slowly along his entire front "so that every man might see that his General was with him in the storm."

History says that the Confederate infantry charge that day was doomed from the start, but Union troops did not have the advantage of history and the sight of fifteen thousand of Lee's finest coming at them was awesome. As the high tide of the Confederacy washed against the stone wall of the Angle, Confederate General Armistead breached the Union line briefly, just time enough for

him to ask that Hancock see that his personal effects be sent to his family, before he died. At the height of the advance, Hancock rode forward to where the 2nd Vermont was positioned in some underbrush somewhat in front of the general line. He ordered a charge on the rebel flank. The Vermonters did, though it meant its troops were firing both to their front and to their rear. Having given the order, Hancock was shot from his saddle with a frightful groin wound, though he refused to be taken from the field until he was sure the rebels were retreating.



Ben Butler and Hancock







His wound was slow in healing and kept him from the field until the spring of 1864. Even then he rode in an ambulance and had to be lifted onto his horse. Still he led his corps in the battles of The Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and others. Only in action at Reames Station did he suffer a reverse, the only encounter he and the 2nd Corps lost during the war. During the summer of 1864 Grant recommended to Lincoln that a Middle Division be created comprising Washington, the Valley, and West Virginia, with Meade to be in command, and with Hancock replacing Meade as commander of the Army of the Potomac. Secretary of War Stanton demurred, and when Hancock requested home leave in November to recover further from his wound, Grant left Meade in place and determined that Hancock would have the Middle Division when he returned to duty.

His new assignment meant that he missed out on the quick victories that led to Appomattox, but since his command included Washington, it put him in charge of the apprehension, military trial, and execution of the Lincoln assassination plotters.

After the war Hancock was assigned as Military Governor of Texas and Louisiana, where he was quickly to earn the respect of the southerners and the enmity of the congressional radicals by issuing a general order granting most administrative and judicial decisions to the citizens and the civil laws. His strict constructionist view of the constitution and his passionate belief in civil liberties quickly put him at odds with those whose goal was to punish the South.

Carpetbaggers got short shrift from Hancock. Freedmen could vote but that was about the extent of the affirmative action of the immediate post-war era where he was in authority. Hancock stated his belief that "When insurrectionary force has been overthrown, the military power should cease to lead. . . The great principles of American liberty are still the inheritance of this people. The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of person and property must be preserved."



While his executive skill and understanding were winning him warm friends in the south, Congress was trying to find ways to get him out. Republican Congressman James Garfield, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, introduced a bill limiting the number of Major Generals in the army, an act aimed solely at Winfield Scott Hancock. Hancock was too popular to be defeated by so obvious a scheme. More effectively, Hancock's rulings were overruled in Washington, Federal agents in Louisiana fought him, military commanders of adjoining states sabotaged him, incited Negroes swarmed about his house, threatening the life of his

family. Realizing that his usefulness to the people was at an end, Hancock asked to be relieved of his command.

Even before he resigned as Military Governor his name had been mentioned as a candidate for the presidency; and when the Democratic convention met in New York City, July 5, 1868, Hancock had many enthusiastic supporters. The convention was held in Tammany Hall, with ex-Governor Horatio Seymour presiding. At the end of the first ballot George Pendleton of Ohio led with 105 votes; Hancock stood next with 33 1/2. On the fifteenth ballot Pennsylvania switched to Hancock which placed him in the lead. On the eighteenth ballot he had 144 1/2 votes, just short of a majority, though his place as front-runner was later taken by Thomas Hendricks of Indiana. Seymour flatly shunned the idea





Toy soldiers: Hancock and Garfield

of his own candidacy recognizing that his anti-war and anti-draft views identified him too closely with the copperheads. He supported Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase as one who could rally dissatisfied Republicans as well as Democrats. On the twenty-second ballot Ohio, in order to block Hendricks, switched from Pendleton and indicated it wanted to nominate Seymour. He took the platform to decline as firmly as possible, but when he left the hall the convention decided it had to have him and he was nominated unanimously.

During Grant's administration Hancock was in command of the Department of Dakota, and later of the Department of the Atlantic, taking no part in public life. In 1876 his name was again presented for the consideration of the National Democratic Convention as a candidate for the Presidency. The convention met in St. Louis, June 27, 1876. Hancock received 75 votes on the first ballot, good for third place, but New York Governor Samuel Tilden was easily nominated on the second ballot.

After the controversial Hayes/Tilden election Hancock became the center of wild and incendiary rumors: that he was pre-



paring to lead a Democratic army against the Republican usurpationists, that he was going to use force of arms to give Tilden his rightful place in the White House and begin the Civil War all over again. The Republican press alleged that President Grant had ordered Hancock to the Pacific Coast to prevent his seizing power for the Democrats. It was further alleged that Hancock was mutinous and refused to obey Grant's order. Hancock let the press know that, "I have not refused to obey such an order, for the simple reason that I have received no such order. Nor would it be conceivable for me to think of renewing warfare and bloodshed." In a long letter to Sherman he wrote, "The whole matter of the Presidency seems to me to be simple and to admit of a peaceful solution. . . . The army should have nothing to do with the election or inauguration of Presidents." He advised that adherence to the decision of the extra-Constitutional Electoral Commission was the only course, though, at the time, he was convinced that the panel, in fairness, would name Tilden the winner.

Samuel Tilden could have had the nomination again in the 1880 convention in Cincinnati if he had been willing to contest it or even unambiguously let it be known that he wanted it. Even as they voted, his supporters didn't know where he stood. Probably he wished to be offered the nomination which he could then decline for reasons of poor health. The most likely name after Tilden was Delaware Senator Thomas F. Bayard who had the support of the South and was widely respected by the eastern conservatives. He had one drawback; Tilden vowed to veto him for his 1876 support of the Electoral Commission. Indiana Governor Thomas A. Hendricks and Ohio Senator Allen G. Thurman were serious candidates who had also incurred Tilden's disfavor.

The delegates then were ripe for an emotional response when a Pennsylvanian who nominated Hancock in a dramatic three-minute speech said, "I present to the Convention one who on the battlefield was styled 'the superb,' yet whose first act when in command in Texas and Louisiana was to salute the Constitution by proclaiming the 'the military rule shall ever be subservient to the civil power.' I nominate one whose name will thrill the land from end to end, crush the last embers of sectional strife and be hailed as the dawning of the longed-for day of perpetual brotherhood. The destinies of the Republic – the imperiled liberties of the people hang breathless on your deliberations – pause! reflect! beware! make no misstep!" His last sentence, "If elected he will take his seat," was both a reference to the hesitant Tilden and a warning to the Republican schemers of 1876.

When the cheering stopped, the convention took one ballot before adjourning for the night. Hancock led with 171 votes, trailed by Bayard with 158 1/2, Payne received 81, Thurman 68 1/2, Field 63, Morrison 62, Hendricks 49 1/2, Tilden 38, Ewing 10, Seymour 8, Randall 6, and English one. Before the second ballot New York withdrew Tilden's name from consideration. After the balloting, Hancock was so far in the lead that his nomination was made unanimous. As their vice-presidential candidate the Democrats chose conservative Indiana banker William H. English, who had retired from politics before the Civil War. In addition to ticket-balancing their motive seems to have been the hope that he would contribute generously to the campaign.

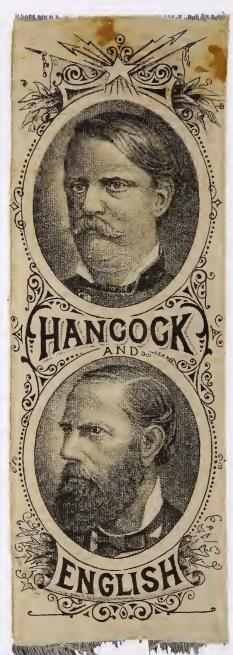


A matching pair of mechanical "nose thumbers" featuring Hancock and Garfield.



















After a long inconclusive struggle between the Stalwarts, led by Roscoe Conkling of New York, who were pushing Grant for a third term, and the Half-Breeds, whose candidate was James G. Blaine, the Republicans compromised on a main-chance politician (and Hancock's old Reconstruction opponent) James A. Garfield, who had ably advanced himself while ostensibly working for Senator John Sherman. Republican ticket-balancing required a New York Stalwart, but Conkling, sulking at his having been thwarted in the convention, forbade his friends to support the ticket. After Levi P. Morton and other prominent Stalwarts declined, it finally came down to party hack Chester Arthur whom President Hayes had removed as Collector of the Port of New York for corruption. Arthur told Conkling that he had never dreamed of so high an office and that he was going to take it.

Hancock wrote, "I never aspired to the presidency on account of myself. . . I never sought its doubtful honors and certain labors and responsibilities merely for the position. My only wish was to promote, if I could, the good of the country, and to rebuke the spirit of revolution which had invaded every precinct of liberty. Principles and not men is the motto for the rugged crisis in which we are struggling." He set out to win the campaign with principles, and with a vigorous attempt to lay before the American people the inefficiency and corruption at the base of the Republican power machine. He spent the months mapping strategy, writing, speaking, and giving interviews, trying through every available means to put before the country his conception of a government that would be as fair and decent and open and generous as his own nature and concept of State.

Hancock was the recipient of little personal abuse during the campaign; his record allowed for none. His conduct throughout the campaign was so much a piece with his past record that even those who did not vote for him admired and respected him. "Although I did not vote for General Hancock," wrote Republican General Walker in 1898, "I am strongly disposed to believe that one of the best things the nation has lost in recent years has been the example and influence of that chivalric and splendid gentleman. Perhaps much which both parties now recognize as having been unfortunate and mischievous during the past thirteen years would have been avoided had General Hancock been elected."







Except for an occasional spark, the campaign of 1880 was thoroughly dull. There were the usual brickbats thrown and mud slung, but the invective was for the most part uninspired. For one thing, there was little difference between the two parties, their platforms were barely distinguishable, and both ignored the serious social and economic issues facing the rapidly industrializing nation. It remained for the Greenback party, which ran General James B. Weaver of lowa, to make serious proposals for bettering America's industrial order; a graduated income tax, curtailment of child labor, an eight-hour day, the regulation of interstate commerce, and a sanitary code for industry, a program perhaps fifty years ahead of its time. Orator Robert Ingersoll could think of nothing better to say for his Republican Party than, "I believe in a party that believes in good crops; that is glad when a fellow finds a gold mine; that rejoices when there are forty bushels of wheat to the acre. . . The Democratic Party is a party of famine; it is a good friend of an early frost; it believes in the Colorado beetle and the weevil."

Two minor parties besides the Greenbackers also contested the election. The Prohibition Party nominated General Neal Dow of Maine. The American Anti-Masonic Party chose General John W. Phelps of Vermont. In addition to saving the churches of Christ from the depravity of Freemasonry, the party endorsed the platforms of both the Greenback and Prohibition parties. Regardless of who won the 1880 election, the country was to have its third successive Union general as president. The nominees of all five parties had been generals in the Civil War. Weaver and Dow, along with Hancock, had been wounded in action. Garfield was elected to Congress in 1862 and resigned his commission as a Major General to take his seat.

The Democrats exploited the corruption issue. Back in 1869 Garfield had received \$329 from Credit Mobilier, the Union Pacific Railroad's corrupt holding company, and although he insisted it was a loan, not a bribe, Democrats cited it as evidence of corruption and went about chalking "329" on buildings, sidewalks, doors, and fences. They also reminded voters that as chairman of the House Appropriations Committee Garfield had presented a brief for a pavement contract in Washington and received \$5,000 for his services. A fake letter circulated in October, associating Garfield with importing cheap labor from China, hurt him in California, but little elsewhere. Democratic strategy was based on the fact that for the first time the South would vote solidly Democratic. With that Southern bloc they would only need New York and Indiana, both of which Tilden had carried, to win the election. Hancock was supposed to be popular enough in New York to unify the Democrats while English was supposed to appeal to the Hoosiers.



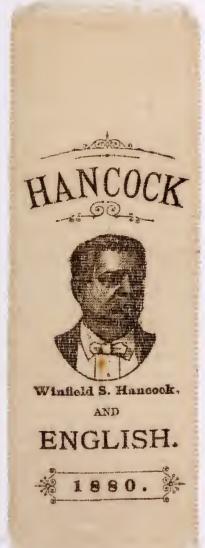




Mechanical Tobacco Tins











Paper Lanterns

The Republicans dragged out the bloody shirt but it waved in vain at an authentic Union hero. The most serious charge against Hancock was that he had little experience in national affairs. A pamphlet entitled A Record of the Statesmanship and Political Achievements of General Winfield Scott Hancock, Compiled from the Records presented the reader with seven blank pages. One of Hancock's remarks, made during a long serious tariff talk, "The tariff issue is a local issue," taken out of context, was made to seem laughable. Though tariff bills are in fact the product of pressures by local interests, the Republican press called Hancock's statement "loose, aimless, unintelligent, absurd. . . The General's talk about the tariff is that of a man who knows nothing about it."

Cartoonist Thomas Nast pictured a bewildered Hancock on a speaker's platform whispering in someone's ear: "Who is Tariff, and why is he for revenue only?" As one Republican newspaper sardonically observed, to many the Democratic candidate was little more than "a good man weighing two-hundred and fifty pounds."

Despite the lackluster campaign, the voter turnout was impressive; 78.4 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls, a record that still stands. The closeness of the popular vote was also impressive; Hancock lost by just over 9,000 votes out of more than nine million cast. The Electoral College result was 214 to 155, the Democrats having lost both New York and Indiana after all.

Many factors contributed to Hancock's defeat; the Republican extortion of campaign funds and profligate use of industry's money; Hancock's endorsement of the Democratic plank of a tariff for revenue only, enabling the Republicans to frighten businessmen with the dread cry of Free Trade; the fact that many Northerners were still afraid of a man sympathetic to the South; that labor was indifferent to him because he had been in charge of Federal troops used to police the first railroad strikes of 1877; because the Greenback party with its liberal program rolled up three hundred thousand votes, practically all of which would have gone to the Democratic party as its closest economic kin; and lastly because the wave of revolt against the Republican machine had not quite reached its peak.

Hancock took his defeat gracefully. Awakened on the morning after the election by his wife and told of the election results, he replied; "That is all right. I can stand it." With that, he turned over and went back to sleep.

Ironically, the spoilsman, Chester Arthur, performed quire creditably as President Chester Alan Arthur after succeeding to the office, certainly better by far than Garfield during his brief tenure. One has to believe that Hancock would also have been a good president. He may even have been Superb.









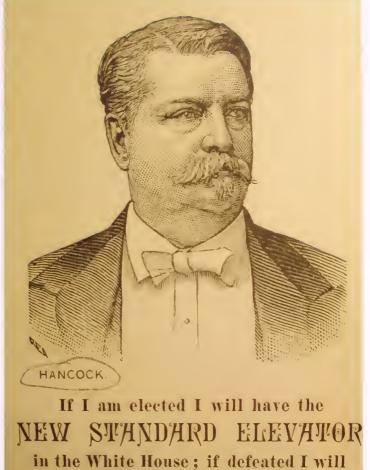
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The Thomas Nast cartoon (above) that may have cost Hancock the election: "Who is Tariff and why is he for revenue only?"



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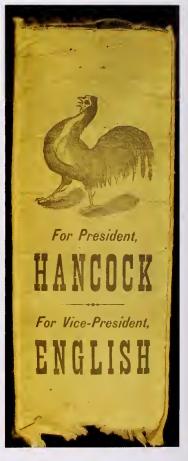


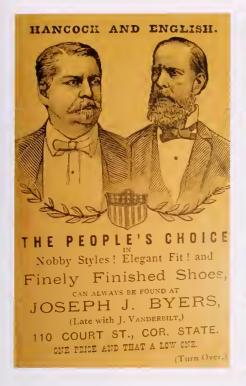


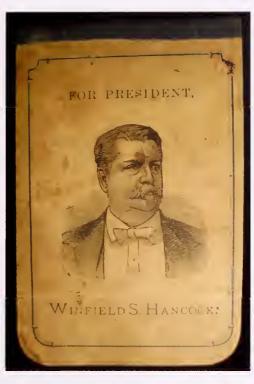
# HANCOCK PENCLISH

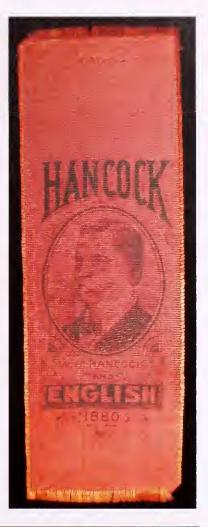






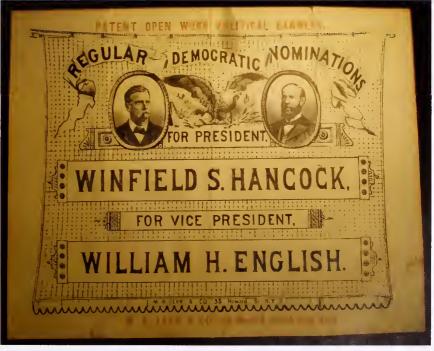






General Winfield Scott Hancock was named after the military hero of an earlier generation; General Winfield Scott, famed for his victories in the Mexican-American War. Scott also ran for president as the 1952 nominee of the Whig Party. Unlike his namesake, Gen. Scott did not even come close, winning only the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Massachusetts, and Vermont.





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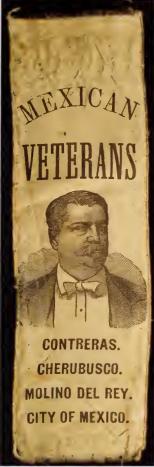
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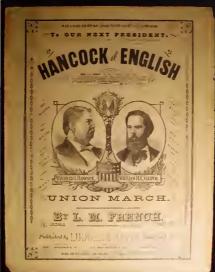
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### The Hancock Rebus

### By Michael Kelly

A rebus is a device that uses pictures to represent words or parts of words. It was a favorite form of heraldic expression used in the Middle Ages to denote surnames. For example the rebus of Bishop Walter Lyhart of Norwich consisting of a stag (or hart) lying down in water, presenting "lie-hart." The term comes from the Latin phrase "non verbis, sed rebus" that translates as

"not by words but by things."



In 1880 the campaign of Winfield Hancock produces several rebus objects, including cards and pins. One colorful card

shows a hand holding a rooster (i.e. cock) and a card reading "The Next President." Of course, back in the late 19th century (before Thomas Nast's image of the donkey came to represent the Democrats), the crowing rooster was a common symbol of the Democratic Party. That made pairing Hancock with the

rooster a happy combination.

But not every Hancock item with a rooster is a rebus. At least one lapel pin shows the rooster wearing the sword of an Army general. A true rebus would require that the rooster was shown with a hand. One handsome pin carries a photo of Hancock below an upraised hand on which a rooster has been superimposed. That is a rebus.

Perhaps the best rebus from 1880 is a card that must have been popular as versions are known to have been distributed by a Brooklyn, New York bookseller and a Lynn, Massachusetts grocer (there are likely others). The card goes beyond the candidate's name to assure readers that "you can bet your last dollar that you will see Garfield

defeated by Hancock." Good item. Bad prophecy.



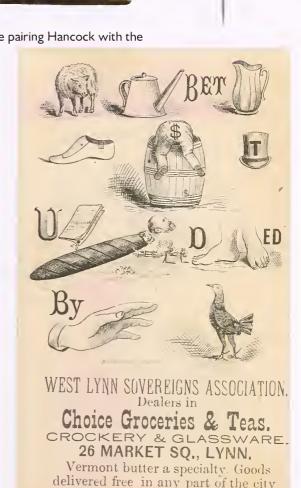
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# 1880: Grant, Blaine or the Dark Horse?

### By Stephen Baxley

When the Republicans met in Chicago on June 2, 1880 to nominate their presidential candidate, U.S. Grant appeared to be the front-runner. Rather like Theodore Roosevelt's return from his African safari in 1910, Grant had returned to the United States from a world tour in 1879 to a thunderous welcome in San Francisco. Grant had served two terms as President (1869-1877) and had his share of problems while in the White House, but his followers still wanted more. Their attempts to renominate him in 1876 had failed but they were ready to try again in 1880. Supporters of Grant argued that the tradition against a third term did not apply to Grant because he had been out of office for a full term.

At the start of the convention, it appeared that James G. Blaine of Maine would be the candidate to challenge Grant (or the nomination. Pictured below is a political cartoon from 1880 showing the presidential race. Grant is in front with Blaine right behind him. But behind the two leaders is yet another candidate with his face turned away. The artist was suggesting that both Grant and Blaine -- despite their popularity -- had problems that could prevent their election. The artist suggested that the Republican Party might wind up nominating an unknown candidate.

The interior of Chicago's Exposition Building, site of the GOP convention in 1880, was impressive. One observer described it as "one of the most splendid barns ever constructed." For the first time in the party's history, there was actually enough room for 756 delegates to represent every state in the Union.

The day of the first ballot a storm struck down telegraph wires in the North and East, cutting off communication between the candidates and their managers in Chicago. Leading the first ballot were Grant with 304, Blaine with 284 and Ohio Senator John Sherman with 93. After a long deadlock, the convention finally chose a nominee on the 36th ballot. Delegates would nominate a candidate from the Ohio delegation that supported the nomination of John Sherman, but they passed over Senator Sherman for Congressman James A. Garfield.

So, as predicted in the cartoon, it was the unknown man with his head turned away that won the race in 1880.



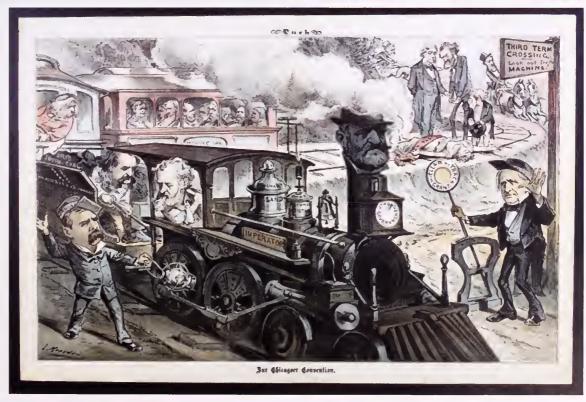




Upper left: Sherman and Blaine size up the opposition. Upper right: New York Sen. Roscoe Conkling tries to finish the presidential nomination puzzle. Bottom: The Grant railroad heads to the 1880 GOP convention in Chicago.













Although both Grant and Blaine were unsuccessful in 1880, Blaine made a comeback by winning the GOP nomination four year later, when he again beat Sen. John Sherman (among others). Blaine lost the election. In 1888, Sherman tried for the nomination again (see ribbon upper right) but lost again, this time to Benjamin Harrison.









# The last flight of the Wabash Cannonball

### By Mike Wildey and Michael Kelly

When I was a 7th grader growing up in Indiana in the late 1950s I bought and read a paperback autobiography titled *Samauri* written by Japanese flying ace Saburo Sakai. He was one of only three pilots from his air school class to survive World War II. He is the best known Mitsubishi Zero pilot from the era and a genuine ace, having shot down something like sixty airplanes in his career. World War II was a lively topic for young boys in the late 1950s: there were plenty of our fathers, school teachers and so on who were veterans to remind us of the war that ended just before we were born.

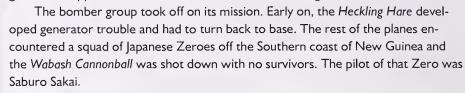
Years later I happened upon a magazine article in a 1998 American Heritage Magazine by a younger veteran named Francis R. Stevens, Jr., whose father of the same name was shot down off the coast of New Guinea in June of 1942 by Saburo Sakai. How could I not read it?

It seems that both Gen. George Marshall and Commander-in-Chief Franklin Roosevelt were a bit skeptical of how Gen Douglas MacArthur was carrying on the war effort in the Pacific theatre in early 1942. General Marshall sent Lt. Col. Samuel Anderson and Lt. Col. Francis Stevens (the father) to Australia to keep tabs on MacArthur's handling of the war in those early days. Likewise, FDR sent a young, up-and-coming Southern congressman to the same place to report directly back to the White House.



On June 9, 1942, the three were to ride the Wabash Cannonball, a B-26 bomber, on an air raid against a Japanese base located in Southern New Guinea. Anderson and the congressman had climbed into the bomber, but the latter ran back to the barracks to get his camera. When he returned to the plane, Stevens had taken his seat, so the Con-

gressman hopped onto another B-26, named the Heckling Hare.



Many years later, in a bittersweet encounter, Francis Stevens (the son) met with Saburo Sakai at an air show in Tacoma, Washington. Both of them, being military, respected the other as a noble warrior. Stevens graciously forgave the pilot for shooting down his father's airplane and the two became fast friends until Sakai's death in the year 2000.

But read on . . .

This gives me shivers every time I think about it: the young congressman who should have been on the Wabash Cannonball was Texan Lyndon Baines Johnson, later Senator Johnson, later Vice-President Johnson, later President Johnson. On such seemingly chance encounters, the history of our world turns.

As radio commentator Paul Harvey used to say at the end of his program, "And now, you know the rest of the story."



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# LBJ and FDR

In 1937, Lyndon Johnson was a little known political operative. When a congressional seat fell open, the future President jumped into a crowded primary on the basis of total support for President Roosevelt, including his plan to "pack" the Supreme Court. As he stated, "There is one candidate - Lyndon Johnson - who declared from the first that he supported the President wholeheartedly, including the controversial Supreme Court issue. I didn't have to hold back. I support Franklin Roosevelt the full way, all the way, every day. That's what I intend to do when elected as your representative in Congress." Johnson's conversion of the election into a referendum on FDR attracted nationwide media attention. Featured prominently in all Johnson advertising was a telegram from Elliot Roosevelt, the President's son, which stated, "May I wish you every success and a glorious victory in your race for Congress". Every piece of campaign literature and every campaign message emphasized the same theme. By election day, there was no question in voters' minds who FDR's man was and LBI won the seat in Congress.

### LBJ on FDR

"He was just like a daddy to me always; he always talked to me just that way. He was the one person I ever knew—anywhere—who was never afraid....I know some of them called it demagoguery; they can call it anything they want, but you can be damn sure that the only test he had was this: Was it good for the folks?"



# Your State, Your Candidate: General John J. Pershing

### By Stephen Baxley

A hero in World War I, General John J. Pershing was considered a possible contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1920. Pershing refused to actively campaign. In a newspaper article, he said that he "wouldn't decline to serve" if the people wanted him and this made front page headlines. Though Pershing was a Republican, many of his party's leaders considered him too closely tied to the policies of President Wilson. His name was entered in the Nebraska primary, which was held on April 20. This 2 1/8" by 3 ¾" card urges Nebraska voters to take this card to the polls on that day. It didn't work. Pershing was soundly defeated by Senator Hiram Johnson (46%) and General Leonard Wood (31%) to Pershing's 20%. None of the Nebraska primary contenders received the nomination. The Republican nominee would be Warren G. Harding of Ohio.





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"A competent leader can get efficient service from poor troops, while on the contrary an incapable leader can demoralize the best of troops." – General John J. Pershing



### **Adlai Shoe Update**

In the last issue of The Keynoter, we featured an article about the famous Adlai Stevenson hole-in-the shoe photograph from 1952, a photo that inspired an array of campaign items featuring a shoe with a hole in its sole. Seeing that story inspired John Vargo to send along the photo shown here. The photo is from Pontiac, Michigan in 1956. We see a young girl presenting Stevenson with a new pair of shoes. The man to Stevenson's left is the late US Senator Pat McNamara (D-MI). The girl appears to be wear a hat fashioned from bumper stickers backing Stevenson and Gov. Soapy Williams (D-MI). Gov. Williams appeared sitting next to Stevenson in the original photo. According to an article appearing in the New York Times dated September 3, 1956, Stevenson "came into Pontiac with a hole in his shoe in 1952. Today he left with three extra pairs of shoes. Susan Heffernan, 8 years old, gave him a pair of leather oxfords, and the Pontiac United Automobile Workers Union gave him two pairs of wooden shoes. One pair was for Senator Estes Kefauver, his running mate. On Mr. Stevenson's shoes was carved, 'We liked you in '52, even with a hole in your shoe."







Another related item was sent in by Richard Rector. This is a button from 1976 and features Jimmy Carter's peanut with the Stevenson shoe. The Stevenson on this item is Sen. Adlai Stevenson III (D-IL) who was one of the finalists for Vice-President at the 1976 Democratic Convention, losing the nomination to Walter Mondale.

All items are shown reduced.

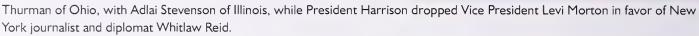


# 1892: The Judge Fantasy Buttons

### By Michael Kelly

The election of 1892 was a rematch between the candidates from 1888. In the earlier election, then-incumbent President Grover Cleveland had won the popular vote but lost the Electoral College to his Republican challenger, Benjamin Harrison. Four years later, the two men met again. The situation of the same major party nominees facing each other in subsequent presidential elections had never happened before and wouldn't happen again for more than 60 years until Eisenhower and Stevenson met for a second time.

But in 1892, each presidential candidate ran with a different running mate than in 1888. Cleveland replaced his 1888 running mate, Allen G.



Newspapers were the dominant media in 1892, joined by illustrated weekly magazines like Judge and Puck. The cartoons in these magazines were great favorites and often had a powerful impact on the election. Judge favored the Republicans while Puck favored the Democrats.

In the cartoon shown with this article, Judge gave a humorous summary of the campaign issues, most strongly Democratic support of Free Trade over Republican support of Protection for domestic labor and industry (the two parties have since reversed their positions on this issue). Part of the various topics in this full page cartoon included "a few designs for campaign buttons" that would brighten the campaign.

I have no idea whether any of these buttons ever were produced but, given the lack of names on them, a collector could easily pass by one of them without realizing what it signified. Even if none were ever made, it is still fun to see what inspired the ideas.

- 1. "A button for those silly Ruth clubs" features a baby bottle. This refers to President Cleveland's daughter. "Baby" Ruth Cleveland was the first child of President Cleveland and Frances Cleveland. Her birth between Cleveland's two terms of office caused a national sensation.
- 2. "Tammany's favorite" features a pirate's sword, symbolizing the rapacious marauding of New York City's Tammany Hall political machine, a favorite symbol of Republicans wanting to emphasize that corruption was not limited to the Grand Old Party.
- 3. "The Adlai buttons." Cleveland's running mate drew special attention and had two different suggested buttons. The first shows Stevenson's head on the body of a snake and bears a label reading "Copperhead Stevenson." This refers to accusations that he had supported the South during the Civil War. The snake image appears in other Judge cartoons.
- 4. "45,000 postmasters removed in 1885" As first assistant postmaster general during President Cleveland's first term, Stevenson earned the enmity of the Republican Party for his removal of thousands of Republican postmasters throughout the country.
- 5. "The Free Trade design" features the Union Jack of Great Britain as a sign that the Free Traders were more interested in helping the English than Americans.
- 6. Originally a Republican, New York Sun editor Charles Dana lost patience with Republican corruption and supported Cleveland. According to Judge, "If you see it in the Sun, it's crow."













6.

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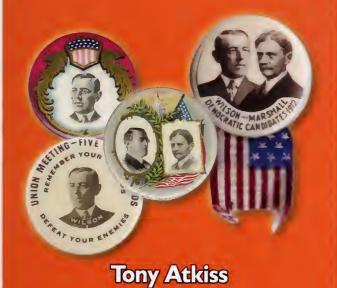
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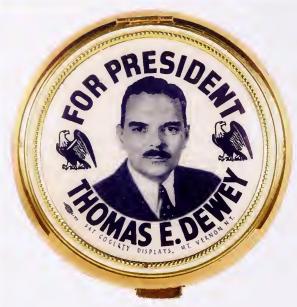
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Evans, Mark D.	995	COLLECTORSARCHIVE
Fine, Adam	14142	BUTTONS-AND-BEYOND
Keefe, Tom	1867	16TWO1
Kellerman, Ed	16839	EDMUNDKELLERMAN
Kellerman, Phil	14635	KELLERHOPE
Kvietkauskas, Teresa	798	TERESAK978
Levine, Bob	579	BUTT-N-BOB
McClure, Ken	4383	GROOVYDUDE
Mongeau, Victor	14131	LEGACYAMERICANA
Olsen, John	10933	DRVOTE2
Ottaway, Hal	35	TAOS
Porter, Jerry	7022	POLITICAL-ATTIC
Price, Bren T.	3965	BTP45
Roberts, Jeffery	6939	APIC6939
Sahol, Jim	4599	PFEIFFER1974
Saypol, Bob	3233	BOB155
Silvertooth, John	16935	JS1LVER2TH
Snowden, Michael	2210	SNOWDEN1027
Soden, Glenn	3107	WILLCOLLECT
Westerman, Bob	6359	KYGOV

This listing is the fourth in a series of ads listing APIC members who sell on eBay and support THE KEYNOTER with their advertising dollars. If you wish to be listed in the Summer ad, please contact KEYNOTER Advertising Director Mark D. Evans at: COLLECTORSARCHIVE@GMAIL.COM. There is a \$10 fee to be a part of this advertising & fund raising effort. Appearance in this ad does not constitute an APIC endorsement of those listed.

# **APIC Internship Report for 2013**

### By Emily Cranfill



I am honored to have been the 2012 APIC Mark Jacobs Intern at the Smithsonian Institution. I spent most of my time in the cool air of the storage facility on the fourth floor of the National Museum of American History, where some of the more quietly important pieces of the Political History collection are housed. My work dealt with campaign materials; I worked closely with everything from razors to buttons to soap, from the campaigns of George Washington up through Ulysses S. Grant. Every morning, I walked into my "office," put on my white gloves, and pulled out a drawer filled with the names and faces of presidents and would-bepresidents. Gold Water beverage, a huge cigar with Taft on it, a compact with Thomas E. Dewey's face and name, and a blue medal with Grant and Colfax in profile on opposite sides are just a few examples of the artifacts I got to handle.

My favorite president has always been Abraham Lincoln, as I think many Americans would say. I don't know what first sparked my interest, but when I found out that I am distantly related to the log-splitter, I began to study him more and more. This childhood obsession was fed during

my internship, as I not only got to see some of the more famous Lincoln artifacts up close, but also was able to handle some of the materials from his two campaigns. Two other presidents that I feel connected to and about whom I had the opportunity to learn more were William Henry Harrison and his grandson Benjamin Harrison. William Henry Harrison fought in the Battle of



# **APIC Announces the 2014 Mark Jacobs Smithsonian Internship Program**

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Apic Newsletter and Calendar of Events: Harvey Goldberg, Editor, PO Box 922, Clark NJ 07066. email: heg1@verizon.net

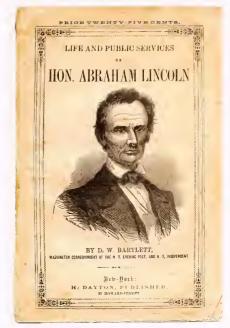
Tippecanoe, which took place near my birthplace in Indiana. Benjamin Harrison lived in Indiana as well. I was lucky to be able to work with materials from both of their campaigns while at the Smithsonian, including many artifacts with log cabin motifs.

Besides my regular work in storage, I was given the opportunity to be a part of the photography of several items of especial historical importance, including the desk on which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. The crowning moment of my experience in D.C. would have to be the day I got to assist one of the curators in moving a very important artifact to be videotaped – the hat that Lincoln wore to Ford's Theatre the night he was assassinated. Being able to see the hat without a glass case was something I had only ever dreamt about, ever since I was a little girl. It was inexplicably exciting.

In addition to all of my amazing experiences with campaign materials and significant historical artifacts, I learned a lot during my internship about myself, and my goals. I saw a lot of the options available to me as I continue in my career path, whether it be writing, working in a museum, or teaching. I got to see the process of curating an ex-

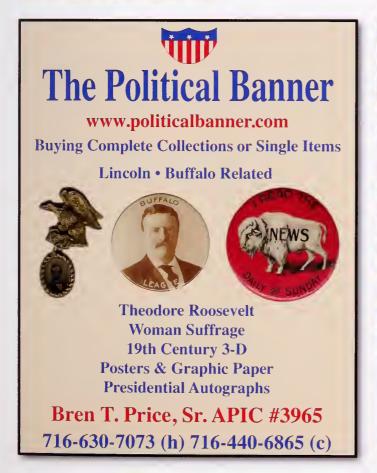
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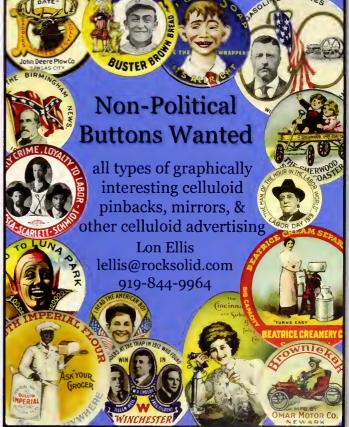
hibit from the research to the documentation to the finished product. I was able to make some really wonderful friends among the other interns who I'm sure will be the best and brightest in their future fields. I was challenged intellectually and encouraged academically. Overall, it was an absolutely incredible experience and I'm so grateful for the opportunity given to me by the American Political Items Collectors and the family of Mark Jacobs.





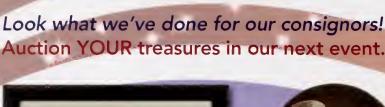






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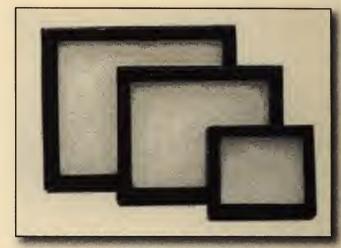
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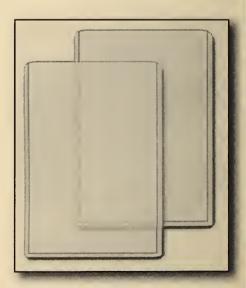
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