

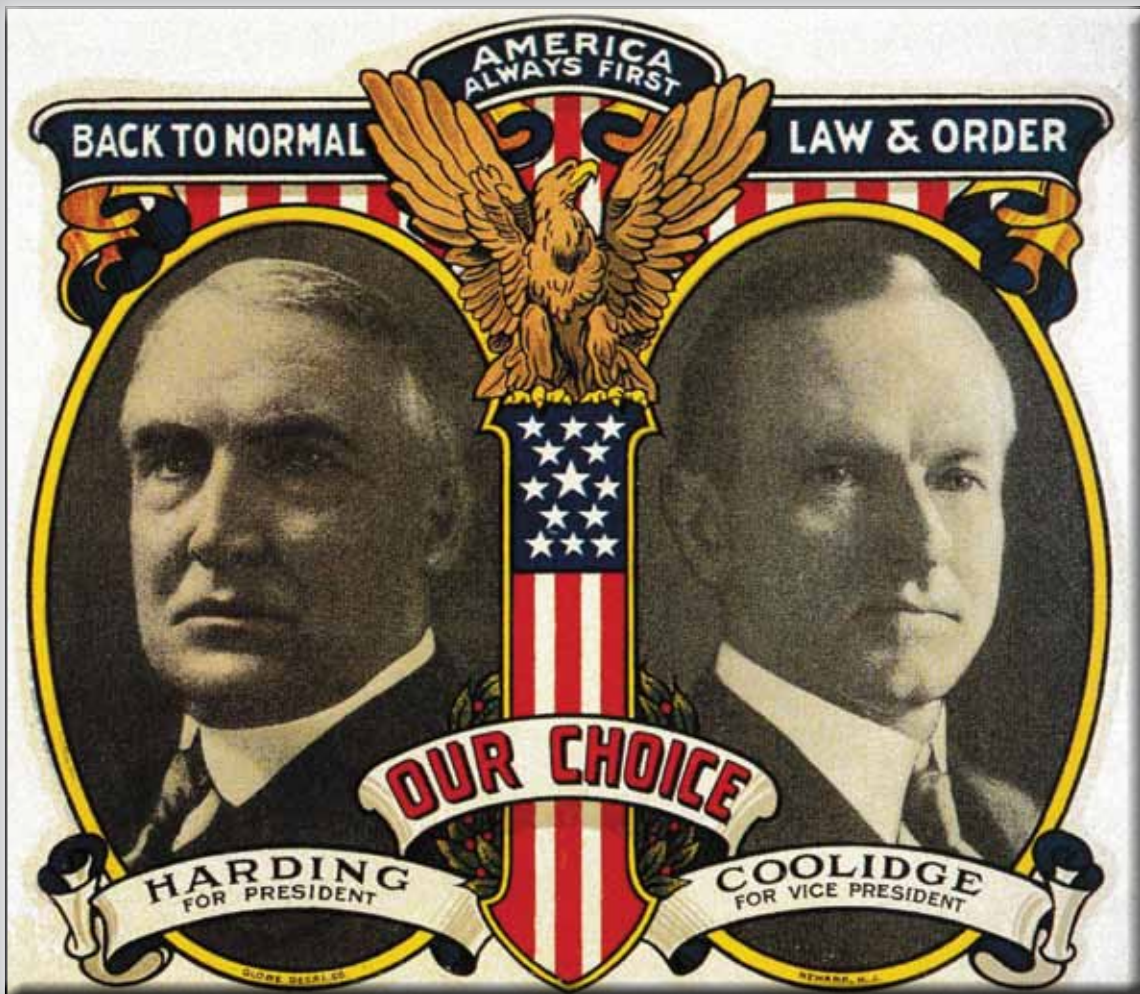
THE

WINTER 2015

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KEYNOTER

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS CONSERVATORS



WARREN G. HARDING AND THE "RETURN TO NORMALCY"

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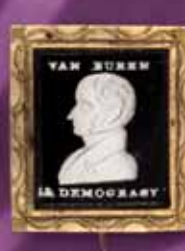
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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT

In this issue I want to take the time to thank and congratulate Ted Hake and Scott Mussell as the co-chairs of the 2016 APIC National Convention in Harrisburg, PA. They have negotiated an amazing deal with the Harrisburg Hilton in downtown Harrisburg, PA. The convention will officially open with the President's Reception on Wednesday, July 27th and end with the close of bourse on Sunday, July 31st. Thursday will have seminars, chapter meetings and lots of room hopping. There will be bourse on Friday, Saturday and Sunday to maximize the opportunity to attract the public to our event. There will be a Friday evening Members' Auction and a Saturday awards dinner followed by entertainment. Even with this wonderful downtown location, there will be free parking for all staying at the hotel and there are plans to be able to provide parking passes for the public.



The Harrisburg airport has non-stop service from 11 cities and there is an Amtrak station just a few blocks away. The hotel itself is attached to a shopping area, science museum, food court and planetarium. The hotel is surrounded by a great selection of restaurants. The State Capitol, which was dedicated by TR, is just a five minute walk and has free tours. The State Museum is a ten minute walk. There will be many side trips via bus that will be scheduled as determined by response. They could include locations like the Harrisburg Civil War Museum (a very impressive facility), the Gettysburg battle field (with a Park Ranger on the bus and time to browse the museum), Buchanan's Wheatland home, the Hershey Antique Auto Museum, the Hershey Park and Zoo, the Rose Gardens at Hershey Lodge, the Pride of Susquehanna sunset boat ride, the Hollywood Casino or others. It is sure to be an enjoyable week for collectors and families. Mark your calendars and keep your eyes open for all of the information that Ted, Scott and the rest of the committee will be providing.

Fund raising and sponsorship opportunities are necessary parts of our conventions so please support the organization and the event. As the co-chair of the last convention, I am well aware of the work that goes into an event like this, so when someone as well known as Ted Hake steps up, it can only help our organization. Scott was also a huge help in Denver in 2014. I know our convention is in good hands! Again please thank them when you see them and donate your time to help if you can. I can hardly wait for Harrisburg 2016 and the excitement of the political conventions in a presidential election year.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Ron Puechner". The script is fluid and cursive.

Ron Puechner, President

EDITOR'S MESSAGE

This issue on Warren Harding had special resonance for me. Harding was elected President on November 2, 1920. I noted that because November 2 is my birthday. In fact, I was born on an Election Day - November 2, 1948 - when Truman upset Dewey. In addition, as I was preparing the Harding issue, I was in the last weeks of more than 50 years in the formal workforce and nearly two decades at the college from which I am retiring. *The Keynoter* will remain part of my activity for some time to come but it was a time to look at my own history as well as that of President Harding. Thankfully, I'm not going out on a scandal like he did.



The last issue, which featured President Martin VanBuren, had some rare and wonderful items drawn from the collections of many APIC members. But among those who contributed material was Drew Hecht (APIC #2418) and, through an error, Drew's name was left off the list of contributors. Our apologies to him for that oversight.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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FRONT COVER-- A colorful window decal featuring Harding and Coolidge.

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.*

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 thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Al Anderson, David Dent, Gene Dillman, Robert Fratkin, Tom French, David and Janice Frent, Ted Hake, Drew Hecht, Heritage Auctions, and Rex Stark.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Enjoying my Keynoter as I always do, however I have a question regarding your story on Martin Van Buren. On page 16 you are talking about the election of 1840 and you state that Davey Crockett was calling Van Buren a "snob who looked down on the common people and travels about the country and through the cities in an English coach". How could Davey Crockett say that in 1840 when he died at the Alamo in 1836? Did I miss something or is the quote possibly from an earlier election? I must also compliment you on the origins of "OK"! My wife and I were just discussing the mystery of how two letters came to mean "fine, agreement, etc." and then you provided it!

James Meritt (APIC #13826)

[Editor's note: Meritt is right. The quote was made long before the 1840 election but still illustrates VanBuren's image problem.]

I received my copy of the Fall, 2014 issue of The Keynoter. I have read your review of my book, Regardless, They Were The Presidents of the United States. You did a wonderful job with the review and I say to you, thank you, thank you and for the millionth time thank you. I am humbled, thankful and appreciative for the coverage that you have given my book.

Dr. Richard F. Felicetti (APIC #685)

Continued on page 20.

All correspondence about content should be addressed to:

Editor

Michael Kelly
1901 Montclair Avenue
Flint, MI 48503
michael.kelly@mcc.edu

Executive Editor

Robert Fratkin
coxfr1492@gmail.com

Illustrations Editor

Germaine Broussard
watrtwitch@erols.com

Locals Editor

David Quintin
dqtxas@aol.com

Design & Production

Michael Tews
michael.tews@mcc.edu

All correspondence about mailing and obtaining copies should be addressed to:

Member Services

Mark D. Evans
P.O. Box 55
Avon, New York 14414
MemberServices@apic.us

Advisory Board

Robert Fratkin
Harvey Goldberg
Michael Kelly
Brian Krapf
Al Salter

Contributors

David Dent
Paul Rozycki

Advertising Director

Mark D. Evans
AdDirector@apic.us

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

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The election of 1920



Warren Harding & Calvin Coolidge
Republican Party
16,166,126 (60.35%) popular votes –
404 electoral votes



James Cox & Franklin Roosevelt
Democratic Party
9,140,256 (34.12%) popular votes –
127 electoral votes



Eugene V. Debs & Seymour Stedman
Socialist Party
914,191 (3.41%) popular votes –
0 electoral votes



Aaron Watkins & Davis Colvin
Prohibition Party
188,709 (0.70%) popular votes –
0 electoral votes



Parley Christiansen & Maxwell Hayes
Farmer-Labor Party
265,395 (0.99%) popular votes –
0 electoral votes



James Ferguson & William Hough
American Party
47,968 (0.18%) popular votes –
0 electoral votes



Robert Macauley & Richard Barnum
Single Tax Party
5,750 (0.02%)
popular votes – 0 electoral votes



No 1920 illustrations were available for
William Wesley Cox & August Gillhaus
Socialist Labor Party
31,084 (0.12%)



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Warren G. Harding and the “Return to Normalcy”

By Michael Kelly

Woodrow Wilson won his first term as President in 1912 with a minority of votes (41.8%) due to a split in the Republican Party and won his second term with a minority of votes (49.2%) and a tight Electoral College victory due to several razor-thin margins in needed states. Despite his less-than-landslide victories he would know atmospheric popularity as a war President and international adulation as the symbol of an idealistic new international order. Both peaks of popularity were followed by a collapse in public esteem.

With American troops in the trenches of Europe and the 1918 midterm elections approaching, President Wilson ignored the bipartisan support for the war effort and called on voters to support his war Presidency with a strong Democratic vote. Voter disliked his attempt to politicize the war and overturned Democratic majorities in both the House and Senate, giving control of Congress to the Republicans.

But President Wilson was not a man marked by humility. As the war drew to a close, he began to call for a peace based on his Fourteen Points, which claimed that the war was being fought for a moral cause and demanded a new postwar order in Europe. His call for a moral idealism struck a deep response in a war-wearied world and Wilson was hailed across the globe as the leader of a new and better world.

Sadly, Wilson's idealism wasn't shared by the rulers of Europe and his Fourteen Points vanished in the Treaty of Versailles which seemed to repeat the same ancient grabs for land and power that had marked all of human history. What was then known as the Great War (with the implication that no other war could ever be as destructive) had been sold of the populace as “the war to end all wars” with promises of a new and better world after peace.

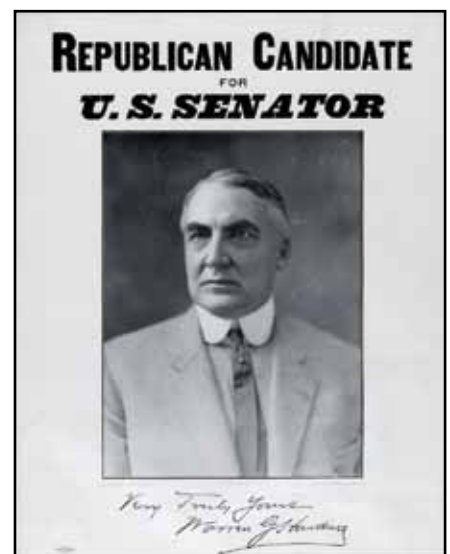
When President Wilson's lofty promises turned out to be little more than rhetoric, there was a bitter reaction. The Senate refused to confirm the treaty he brought back from the negotiating table and Wilson himself had a stroke while campaigning for his treaty. He ended his term bedridden and nearly paralyzed, his administration being run through messages delivered by his wife from his sickroom isolation.

The reaction in the aftermath of the Great War was a massive sense of betrayal and widespread cynicism. In this toxic political environment, the 1920 election promised an easy victory for whomever the GOP would nominate. The death of Theodore Roosevelt eliminated the most popular Republican contender and a large field of Republican hopefuls emerged to contest the nomination.

Leading candidates were General Leonard Wood, Governor Frank Lowden and Senator Hiram Johnson. Each of these notable leaders were able to stop each other but unable to win a majority of delegates for themselves. After the leaders burned themselves out, delegates to the Republican National Convention, already confident of victory, turned to a cheerful, handsome senator from Ohio named Warren Harding as their candidate.

Harding had hardly seemed an obvious choice. His strongest asset (other than a handsome face that caused his campaign manager Harry Daugherty to say that “he looked like a president”) was his being from the key state of Ohio. That same year, Democrats would nominate Ohio Governor James Cox for president, a sign of the political importance of that large Midwestern state.

In an era marked by such larger-than-life political figures as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, Harding himself had few illusions about his readiness for the





Presidency. He wrote to a Missouri Republican who was urging him to run, "I must assert the conviction that I do not possess the elements of leadership or the widespread acquaintances which are essential to the ideal leadership of our Party in 1920. I think I owe it to the Party to say these things, because I know better than some who over-estimate both my ability and availability...I do not wish to be considered in connection with the nomination for our Party."

But the ambition of Harry Daugherty and Harding's domineering wife, nicknamed the Duchess, had no such scruples. They would push Harding into a presidential candidacy that he resisted for months.

Daugherty started working the levers of the state GOP to have Harding to be



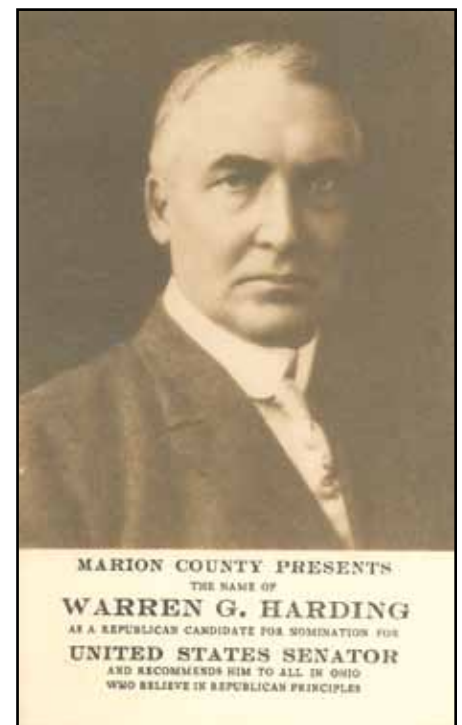
named as Ohio's favorite son. Then the boss of Pennsylvania's Republican machine, Sen. Bois Penrose, unhappy with the thought of too-independent people like Wood, Lowden or Johnson taking the White House, summoned Harding to a meeting at his Washington hotel. "Warren," he asked his colleague, "How would you like to be President?"

Harding demurred, saying that he couldn't raise the money for a presidential bid. "I'll look after that," Penrose responded, "You look the part...we'll do all the rest."

But it was Harry Daugherty that kept the Harding-for-President campaign alive, raising enough money to stay afloat and constantly talking with party activists from across the country with the goal of getting them to think of the Ohio senator as a second or third choice in case their preferred candidate failed. Daugherty managed to snag a handful of Harding delegates – five from Missouri (with eight more secretly willing to switch at the right time), two from Louisiana, two from Kentucky and one each from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and Mississippi. Texas friends promised five more with others in reserve.

As Harding and Wood allies battled for Ohio's delegates, Harding travelled to Texas to announce he would be a candidate for President, becoming the first Republican presidential candidate ever to speak in that formerly Confederate state. He toured New England, the West and the important Midwestern primary states of Indiana and Ohio.

The 1920 Republican primaries were a mixed bag. Wood defeated Lowden in South Dakota. Johnson beat them both in Michigan, then beat Wood in Nebraska. Lowden carried his home of Illinois easily despite a determined challenge from Wood. Wood then won an unexpectedly narrow victory over Johnson in New Jersey.



Harding's first primary contest was his home base of Ohio where he faced an active challenge from Wood. The not-so-favorite son took a narrow lead over Wood but his total was less than the combined Wood and Johnson votes and the Ohio delegation would include at least nine Wood delegates, including one Wood delegate who beat out Daugherty for an at-large spot by 959 votes statewide.

The weak Ohio showing was followed by a disaster in next door Indiana a week later. Despite Daugherty's public predictions of victory, the final vote was Wood 85,776, Johnson 79,829, Lowden 31,118 and Harding a paltry 20,819. The Ohio hopeful had failed to win a single delegate from Indiana.

The chastened Harding, concerned that his presidential ambitions would harm his chances of keeping his Senate seat (which would be up 1920), picked up the telephone to inform his Ohio headquarters that he was dropping out of the race. But he hadn't counted on his domineering wife.

"What are you doing?" the Duchess shrieked at him, "Give up? Not until the convention is over!"

Back in Washington, Senator Penrose looked at the primary results and wrote off Harding as an option.

But Daugherty and the Duchess kept Harding in the race. On a campaign swing in Boston, Harding gave a speech that would resonate. In the aftermath of the Great War and Wilson's failed idealism, he stated that "America's present need is not heroics but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration...not surgery but serenity." Many would later claim that he has invented the word "normalcy" but that word actually first appeared in an 1857 dictionary. The interesting aspect of his use of the word is that his written text had the phrase as the more common "normality" but when he delivered the speech, Harding stumbled over the word and said "normalty" which friendly reporters changed to "normalcy" in their newspaper articles.

The dynamics of the contest that Daugherty originally saw were not changed by the primaries. Wood, Lowden and Johnson each had fatal flaws that would prevent their nominations and it was clear that the Republicans would win the election no matter who was nominated. Daugherty still believed that his man could be the least-objectionable option.

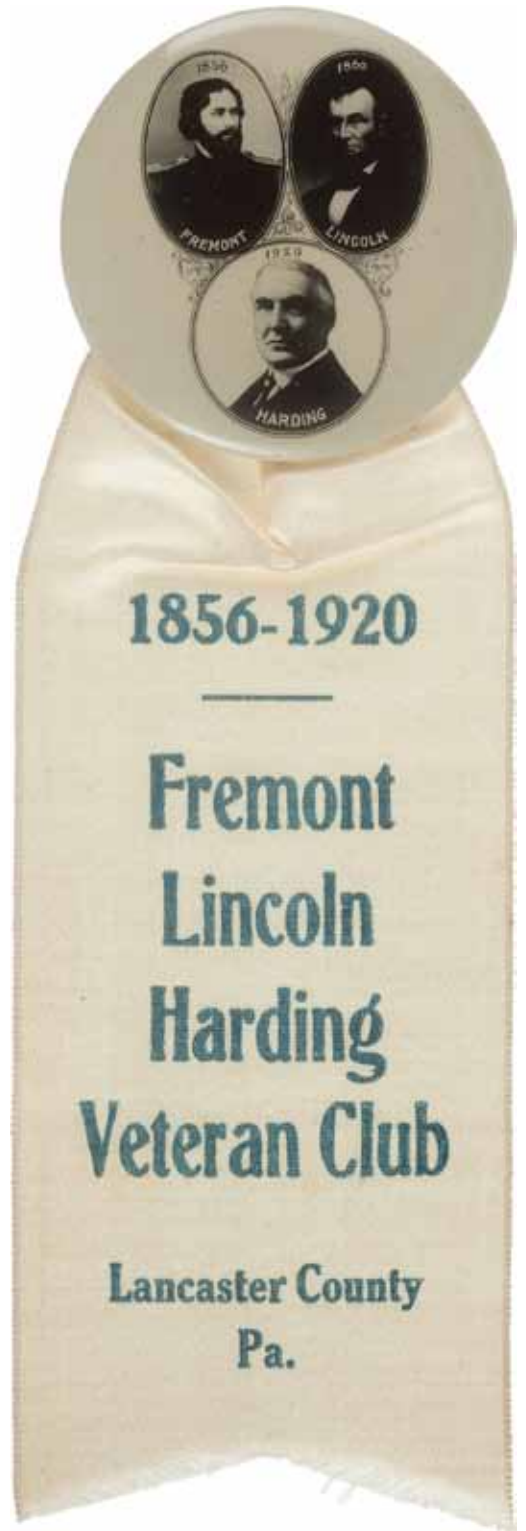
That's exactly how it played out. [For more details, see the article by Paul Rozycki about the convention elsewhere in this issue.]

The nation seemed to be at ease with Harding's nomination. One Ohio newspaper boasted, "Harding is worthy. He is just plain folks." The candidate took his cue from his fellow-Ohioan William McKinley and announced that he would wage a "front porch" campaign. As historian Francis Russell noted in his Harding biography, "The first of 15 million Harding buttons were now ready – there had been some difficulty with a celluloid shortage – as well as 5 million Harding/Coolidge posters."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge arrived at the Harding house to officially notify him of the nomination. The Republican Glee Club of Columbus sang,

We'll throw out Wilson and his crew,
They really don't know what to do."





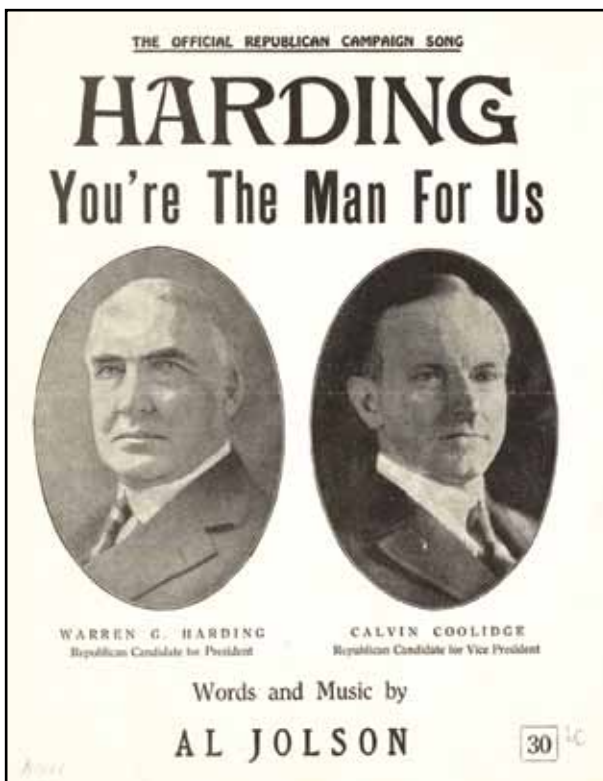
His acceptance speech was long on platitudes and short on calls to action. Once again, he advocated for normalcy and the crowd cheered.

Rumors that Harding had Negro ancestry were whispered during the campaign and may even have been true while more concrete tales of his various romantic affairs were well-known to reporters but, in 1920, such things were not enough to stem the tide of normalcy sweeping the nation.

Even such a Progressive writer as Brand Whitlock wrote, "I am more and more under the opinion that for President we need not so much a brilliant man as solid, mediocre men, providing they have good sense, sound and careful judgment and good manners. All these Harding has."

Celebrities like Pershing, Hughes, Taft and even singer Al Jolson (who anointed himself the president of the Harding and Coolidge Theatrical League) journeyed to Marion, Ohio as did delegations from the Ohio State Dental Association, the Knights of Pythias, Elks, Moose and Republican marching clubs from across the country. By Election Day over 600,000 people had made the pilgrimage to Marion.

By contrast, the Democratic nominee James Cox and running mate Franklin Delano Roosevelt barnstormed the country in a vigorous campaign to try to turn the tide but normalcy proved unstoppable.







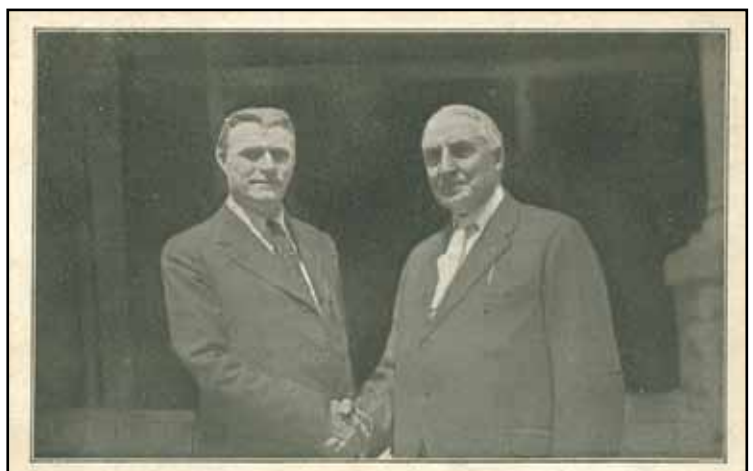
On November 2, Harding was given the largest landslide since James Monroe and the "Era of Good Feeling." He won 37 out of 48 states, breaking the Democrats' Solid South by taking Tennessee and almost taking Kentucky. The numbers were one-sided: Harding won 16,166,126 (60.35%) popular votes and 404 electoral votes to James Cox's 9,140,256 (34.12%) popular votes and 127 electoral votes.

The Harding administration began in a wave of popularity and optimism. He calmed the hysterical "Red Scare" and commuted the sentence of Socialist Eugene V. Debs, the famed "Convict No. 9653" who had run against Harding in 1920 from a prison cell at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary while serving a term for draft resistance.

His cabinet included some of the finest minds in the country, including Charles Evans Hughes as Secretary of State, Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce and financier Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury. Sadly, his administration also had its share of political hacks and scoundrels.



Main presidential candidates in 1920.



Harding's presidency was marked by great highs like the international arms reduction treaties crafted in Washington and his politically courageous speech in Birmingham, Alabama on October 26, 1921 in which he decried lynching and demanded justice for African-Americans.

There were also great lows, like the Teapot Dome scandals, described by historian Robert Cherny as the "greatest and most sensational scandal in the history of American politics" until Watergate.

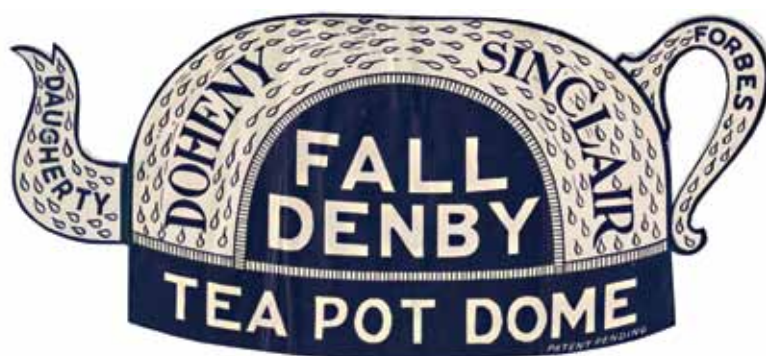
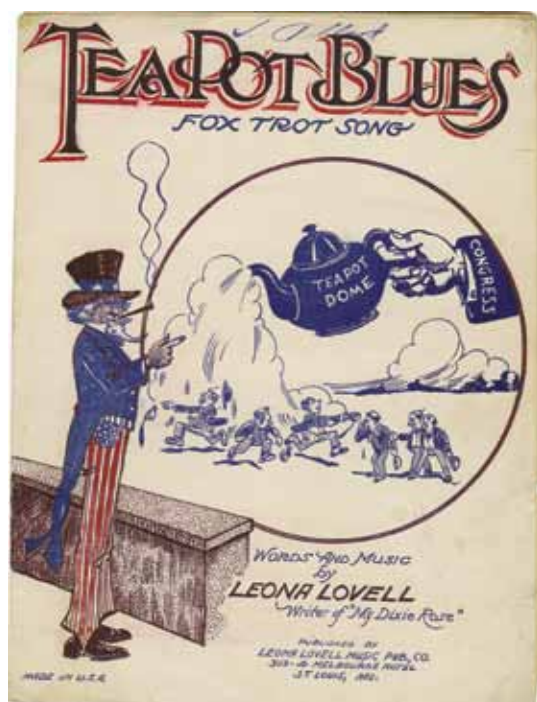
Harding himself was wildly popular with the people, although despised by intellectuals like H.L. Menck-en, who said of Harding, "He writes the worst English I have ever encountered. It reminds me of a string of wet sponges; it reminds me of tattered washing on the line; it reminds me of stale bean soup, of college yells, of dogs barking idiotically through endless nights."

But Harding got along better with the White House press than any other previous President, being a for-



mer newspaperman. Reporters admired his frankness, candor, and his confessed limitations. He took the press behind the scenes and showed them the inner circle of the presidency. In November 1921, he became the first President to take written questions from reporters during a press conference.

In 1922, while speaking at the dedication of a memorial to Francis Scott Key (writer of the "Star Spangled Banner"), he became the first President to speak on the radio, sparking a new era of direct communication between the Presidency and the people. He was also the first



When Harding successor, Calvin Coolidge, ran in 1924, many items featured the Teapot Dome scandal that had occurred under Harding.



President to own a radio and the first to have one installed in the White House. The next year he became the first President to record his voice on a wax disc to be distributed to the public.

In the summer of 1923, Harding went on a two-month, 1,500-mile speaking tour through the West, dubbed the Voyage of Understanding. The President pumped for American participation in the newly-established World Court

Despite his increasingly poor health, he made scores of major speeches and hundreds of whistle-stop appearances as he crossed the continent, eventually getting as far as Valdez, Alaska, the most northern winter port in that vast territory.

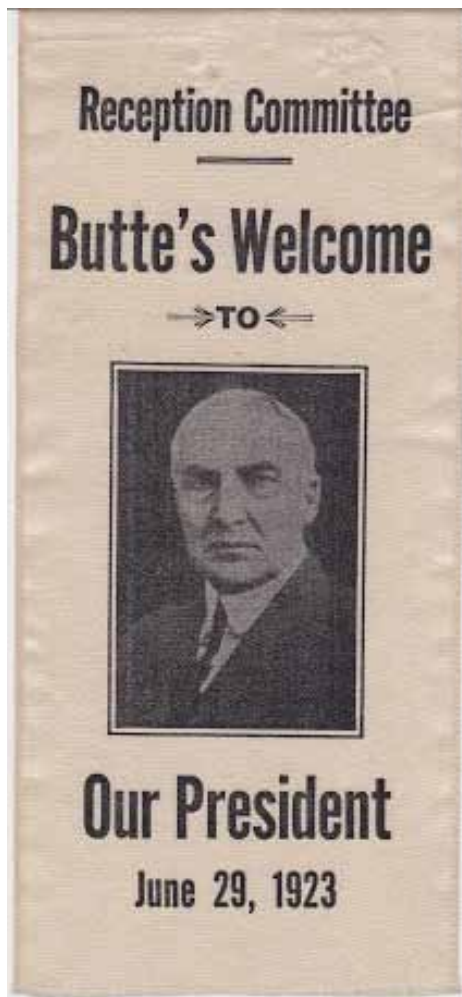
As he returned from Alaska, his health steadily declined. At a scheduled speech in Seattle before 60,000 people in a huge stadium, he faltered while talking and dropped his speech. Secretary Hoover picked up the dropped pages and the President plowed on but he was clearly not well. Speeches scheduled for Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles were cancelled.

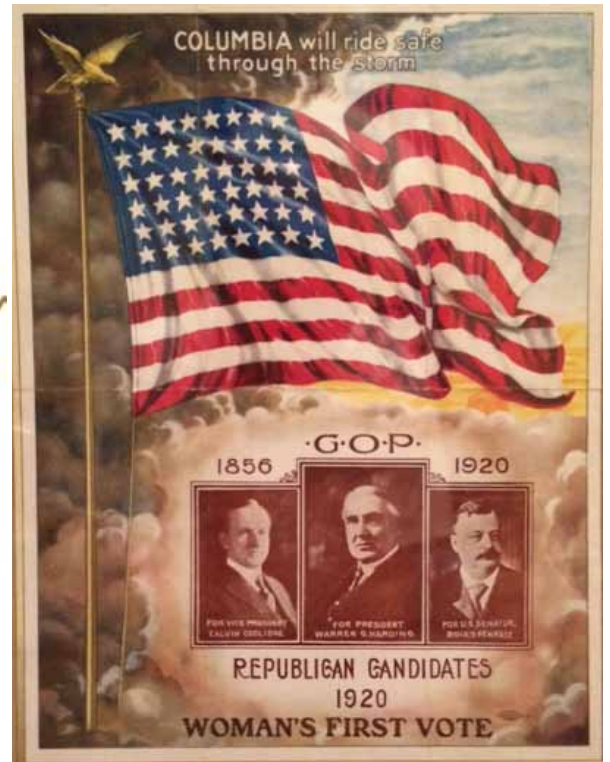
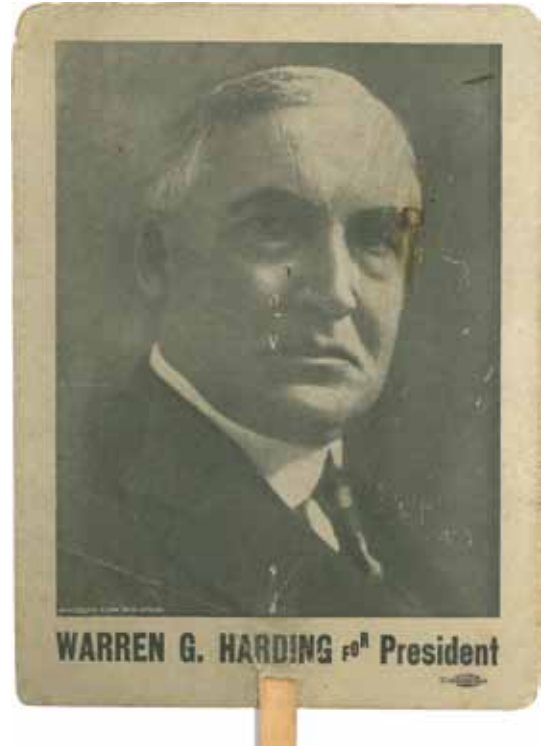
On August 2, 1923, while recuperating in San Francisco, President Harding unexpectedly died. The nation was struck with grief.

Harding's Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. spoke for the country when he said that the President "gave his life for the service of our country as truly as anyone in our history." His neighbor back in Marion, Ohio, George Christian told reporters, "I have lost the best friend I ever had and so has every American."

Later would come the full revelations of the Teapot Dome and other scandals, which have traditionally earned Harding low marks from historians.

In recent years, however, there has been some recognition by revisionist historians of his fiscal responsibility and endorsement of African-American civil rights. Harding has come to be viewed by many as a more modern politician who embraced technology and was sensitive to the plights of minorities, women, and labor.







Warren G. Harding

HARDING JOINS HIGH MASONRY

Third President to Become Member of Columbus, Ohio Scioto Valley Consistory

When the doors of the Masonic temple closed behind Warren G. Harding at noon on Wednesday, January 5, 1921 the president-elect of the United States was shut out from the outside world until he had been initiated into the mysteries of higher Masonry.

He was the third President to be a member of the Scioto Consistory; President Garfield and President McKinley also took their degrees in the local temple.

On his way into town, he had stopped for a few moments with a friend. While he gazed upward, a crowd gathered their necks scratched to discover what he was watching, but it was many minutes before anyone recognized him.

A group of Thirty- Second Degree Masons from Marion, Ohio accompanied the candidate, carrying with them a 32nd Consistory ring, which was presented to him as the fraternal bonds were added to those existing bonds of friendship.



Harding's Masonic Consistory
(double-headed eagle) ring



THE ENGAGEMENT RING THAT WAS INTENDED FOR CARRIE PHILLIPS

Emily (Whitehouse) Owen, the mother of "Jim", died in Youngstown, Ohio on July 31, 1905. This was around the time that Warren had drop out of public office, returning to run his newspaper business.

Harding's first public known love affair would start August 23, 1905. Just 23 days after Emily's death, this would lead to a relationship with Carrie Phillips.

By 1914, Carrie was pushing Harding away. He, however, still wanted to be with her. She was in Berlin from 1911- 1915 and when she returned to the United States, Harding tried to win her again with an engagement ring, as there was talk of them running out West together.

Harding is known to have used code words in the love letter to her. Would this lead him to wear the women's engagement ring intended for her? Would the photos to mean a very strong message to her? However, Harding would stop wearing this ring at the end of 1920 when his relationship with Carrie Phillips stopped.

HOW HARDING'S PERSONAL EFFECTS TRAVELED BACK TO OHIO



Just days before Harding's death, this photo shows the inside of the frame eye glass case, showing the case.

Warren G. Harding's 1920's
eye glass case



Voyage of Understanding Photo

After Harding's death in San Francisco, his personal effects were sent back to Ohio. These included his eye glasses out of his eye glass case and a 1921 European style (double-headed eagle) ring, and his 1923 half diamond ring.

Harding's prized pieces were kept in this eye glass case and ready for travel. In Youngstown, Ohio the eye glass case was kept by John James (Jim) Owen Sr. as keepsake.

Just days after Harding's death these items were given away without his knowledge.



2015

NAL PRESIDENTIAL JEWELRY OHIO AFTER HIS DEATH

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*Penny and Nails that
Harding Funeral Train went
over while going thru
Youngstown, Ohio
President Harding died August 2,
1923*

San Francisco, the First Lady took his tortoise framed
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Senator Warren G. Harding, Republican nominee for president, posing in the shade of his front porch at Marion, Ohio for Louis Keila, noted sculptor.

HARDING'S FUNERAL TRAIN WAS 8 HOURS LATE LEAVING YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

When Harding's body was late leaving Youngstown, Ohio, could this have been to give his 23-year-old son "Jim" time to adequately grieve over his loss? Is not known who handed Jim these items.

Dr. Sawyer was in San Francisco on August 2, 1923 when Harding passed. Could Mrs. Harding have handed Dr. Sawyer the eye glass case and asked him to get it to Jim and arrange for him to board the train? On

August 6, 1923 -- four days after Harding's death --

Dr. Sawyer and Harding's brother George boarded the funeral train west of Chicago. When the funeral train reached Willard, Ohio on August 7, 1923 Dr. Sawyer left the train and returned to Marion, Ohio. Harding's brother continued with the funeral train into Youngstown, Ohio.

I don't believe Bob the engineer would have handled such a request; however I do believe it would have taken someone like Harding's brother to get Jim (his nephew) aboard the funeral train and pass on the eye glass case to him.

IN 1923, THE FIRST WEEK OF JUNE WAS HARDING'S LAST PUBLIC APPEARANCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

President Harding allegedly won a pearl necktie pin at the White House poker game.

Harding's tie tack is dated May 15, 1923 on the back.

John McDonald
APIC #16706



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Great work on the McKinley armband article, I loved it!

John Pfeifer (APIC #)

I read Mr. Shimkin's brief article on the Cigar Makers label in the most recent Keynoter with great interest. I'm a 30+ year member of the APIC and a Theodore Roosevelt specialist. In my collection I have a trade card from the Cigar Makers Union which is one of the earliest TR political items. Quite rare, in over 30 years of collecting TR, I've only seen three or four of them. It dates from TR's efforts to clean up tenement housing in NYC while he was in the NY State Assembly, thus circa 1883. I thought Keynoter readers might enjoy seeing it.

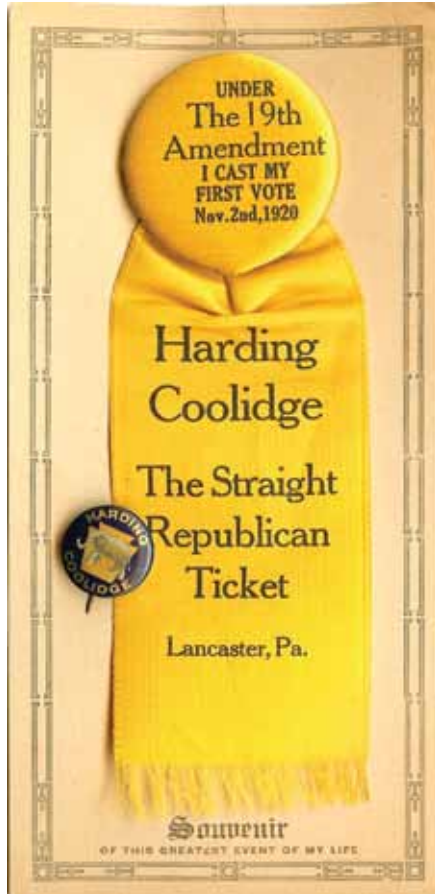
Greg Wynn (APIC #)





"I have no trouble with my enemies. I can take care of my enemies in a fight. But my damn friends, they're the ones who keep me walking the floor nights." - President Harding





The 1920 GOP Convention: Warren Harding as the 'Dark Horse' Candidate.

By Paul Rozycki

The passing of time has a way of taking complex people and situations and, as the years go by, turning them into simple black and white cartoons.

For example, we've all heard the following about Warren Harding and the 1920 Republican convention.

- Harding was an ignorant dolt who stumbled into the presidency.
- He didn't want to be president and never expected to be.
- He was chosen by Harry Daugherty and unseen powerbrokers in a 'smoke filled room'.
- His wife didn't want him to run.
- He was chosen only because 'he looked like a president'.
- He didn't manage his own campaign, but was a tool of others.
- He spent his whole term drinking, playing cards with his Ohio cronies and chasing women.



The problem is that most of those assumptions are false, or mostly false. (OK, that last item has some truth to it, but even then, there was exaggeration and there were some real accomplishments during his time.)

While Harding never wore his ambition on his sleeve, the presidency was in the back of his mind as early as 1914, when he first ran for the Senate. He publicly dismissed suggestions about his running for the White House, for several reasons. He didn't want to offend others who might be helpful (Teddy Roosevelt in particular) and didn't want to declare too early and be defeated.

Harding worked his way through the treacherous waters of Ohio politics, eluding rivals and making allies with both good luck and skill. A major asset in his rise to power was his political manager Harry Daugherty. But he was no pawn of Daugherty. In Ohio, he manipulated and outflanked Harry Daugherty at least as often as Daugherty tried to manage him. With Ohio's electoral and geographical significance, once he emerged as Ohio's most important Republican, he was a plausible contender for the White House.

While the Harding nomination of 1920 has long been considered the prime example of the legendary 'smoke filled room' where cigar smoking politicians engineered his victory, the reality is more complex than that.

Yes, there was a Chicago hotel room where final decisions were made about the nomination. But Harry Daugherty wasn't there. Senators Henry Cabot Lodge, Frank Brandegee and publisher George Harvey were the leaders in the selection of Harding, but they certainly made many decisions before they got to Chicago. And given the Chicago's summer heat, open windows, and the lack of air conditioning, there is some doubt about how smoke-filled the room might have been.

Harding was hardly a silent bystander to his own nomination. Led by Daugherty, Harding supporters worked the state delegations with persuasion and money. By successfully positioning himself as everyone's third choice Harding became the man who could deliver Ohio's critical votes and work with the powerbrokers in the U.S. Senate.

Harding's own plan for the nomination became the basis for Harry Daugherty's famous claim to have delivered the nomination.

The legend that Harry Daugherty gave Harding the nomination grew out of an off-the-cuff interview he gave to the New York Times months before the convention.

Daugherty told a reporter that, "I don't expect Senator Harding to be nominated on the first, second or third ballots, but I think that we can afford to take chances that about 11 minutes after two, Friday morning of the convention, when 15 or 12

weary men are sitting around a table, someone will say 'Who will we nominate?' At that decisive time, the friends of Harding will suggest him and we can well afford to abide by the result." As Daugherty later admitted, he was simply restating Harding's own plans and was very lucky in his 'prediction.'

Florence Harding did have some major doubts about his running. Some of those misgivings were genuine political fears that he might fail and lose his Senate seat. Some were fears about Harding's affairs becoming public. And one of her doubts was prompted by an astrologer who predicted sudden death and tragedy if Harding should win. Yet, that same astrologer labeled Warren Harding a "man of destiny" and despite her misgivings, Florence Harding was an energetic supporter of her husband and proved to be the most active candidate's wife at any party convention up to that time. During most of the convention she cultivated the press and individual delegates successfully. As almost the only woman in a hall full of male politicians she proved remarkably effective.

On the first day of balloting eleven names were placed in nomination. There was no single front runner, but three candidates initially seemed the likely choice.

Major General Leonard Wood of New Hampshire and Senator Hiram Johnson of California both had strong support in the progressive wing of the party. Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois was expected to draw the support of the Republican 'regulars'.

Long before being considered as a presidential candidate Leonard Wood had an impressive military career. Trained as a military surgeon he participated in the last campaign against Geronimo in 1886. He fought with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders in Cuba and led the suppression of rebellion in the Philippines. Before WWI he supported the Preparedness Movement, the predecessor to the draft and the Selective Service Act. Prior to 1920 Teddy Roosevelt urged him to run for the nomination (after giving brief consideration to running one more time himself) and many considered Wood to be the heir to the TR legacy. At the 1920 Republican convention, he was the leading candidate for the first four ballots. However, Wood's limited political experience and his lack of ties to the 'regulars' limited his appeal and his support faded.

Hiram Johnson was Teddy Roosevelt's running mate on the Progressive "Bull Moose" ticket in 1912. Before that time he had served as California's governor and was later elected to the U.S. Senate from the golden state in 1916. As a strong progressive, he was considered by many to be the true standard bearer of the progressive wing of the Republican Party, but he never had the support of the Roosevelt family. Many of the party regulars blamed him for splitting the Republican Party in 1912 and not doing enough to win California for the Republicans in 1916. He finished third in most of the early ballots at the convention before his support fell away.

With Teddy Roosevelt gone and a split within the progressive wing of the Republican Party, the 'regulars' felt it was their turn.

Frank Lowden carved out a reputation as a law and order governor of Illinois. He was credited with reforming the state's financial system and improving public education. During the convention he ran a close second to Leonard Wood, even surpassing his numbers on several votes. However, charges of misuse of campaign funds and resentment from the progressives gradually sunk his White House hopes.

With 493 votes required to win the nomination, on the first ballot the leading



candidates were: Major General Leonard Wood of New Hampshire (287.5 votes), Governor Frank Lowden of Illinois (211.5 votes), Senator Hiram Johnson of California (133.5 votes), Governor William Sproul of Pennsylvania (84 votes), Columbia University President and 1912 VP nominee Nicholas Murray Butler (69.5 votes) and Ohio Senator Warren Harding finished in sixth place with 65.5 votes.

Also receiving a smattering of votes were Robert LaFollette Sr. of Wisconsin, Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts and Herbert Hoover of Iowa.

Yet in ballot after ballot no candidate could muster the required majority of votes. Wood peaked on the fourth ballot with 314.5 votes and began a slow decline. Johnson saw his best totals (148) on the third ballot before he began to slip and Lowden had his best numbers (311.5) on the sixth and seventh ballots before his numbers began to drop. Harding didn't even win a hundred votes until the seventh ballot, still a distant third behind Wood and Lowden, who were essentially tied. After that deadlock, Harding's numbers gradually rose and by the 10th ballot he had garnered the nomination.

There were several reasons for Harding's success. Yes, as Harry Daugherty said, "he looked like a president." And yes, there were deals in 'smoke filled rooms'. But there was more to it than that. In a deadlocked convention he was the 'available man' from the right state, who had made the fewest enemies and who could be counted on to work with the Republican leadership in the Congress.

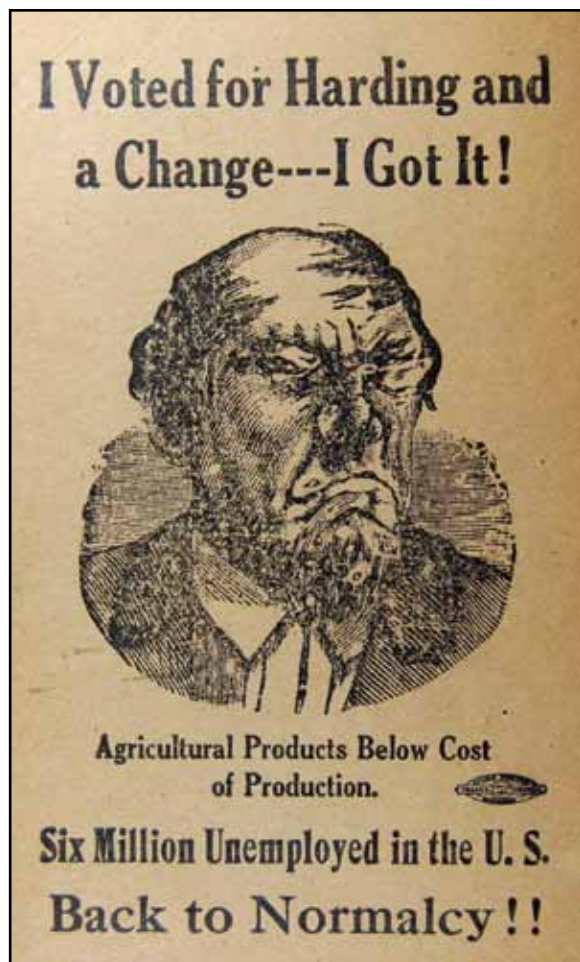
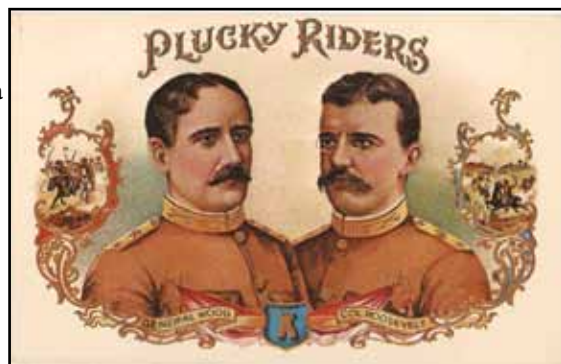
Harding's campaign was the last successful 'front porch' campaign for president. And while one Republican campaign advisor said "Keep Warren at home. If he goes out on tour, somebody's sure to ask him questions, and Warren's just the sort of damned fool that will try and answer them," it's also true that Harding himself felt the 'home town' front porch campaign was what the public wanted in 1920.

With his campaign of bland platitudes and a 'return to normalcy', Harding rejected both the idealism of Woodrow Wilson and the progressivism of Teddy Roosevelt. He won a landslide victory, taking better than 60 percent of the vote over the Democrats James Cox and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Harding will obviously never rank among the great American presidents, but he may have been more than the common image of him as a manipulated dunce.

"I don't know much about Americanism, but it's a damn good word with which to carry an election."

- Warren G. Harding



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Harding's "Laddie Boy"

By Michael Kelly

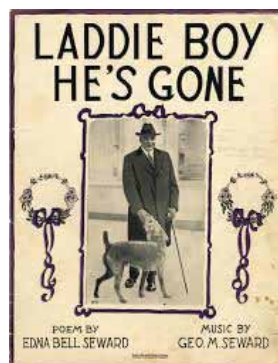
Presidential pets have long been popular figures in their own right. As far back as George Washington, the animals living in the White House drew interest among the public. Unusual examples included Dolly Madison's green parrot and the alligator kept by John Quincy Adams (a gift from Lafayette). But occasionally the pets achieve notoriety beyond normal. FDR's dog Fala is the best example of that.

During Harding's Presidency, his Airedale Terrier, Laddie Boy, became a national celebrity. Laddie Boy was a good dog. When the president played golf and hit a tree, Laddie Boy would run up to the tree and get the ball. Laddie Boy had his own hand carved chair to sit in during cabinet meetings. The White House held birthday parties for the Laddie Boy where neighborhood dogs were invited to join in eating the special dog biscuit cake.

He was the first "first dog" to be regularly covered in the national press and newspapers published mock interviews with Laddie Boy (similar to Barbara Bush's English Springer Spaniel who "wrote" *Millie's Book: As Dictated to Barbara Bush*, which reached #1 on the *New York Times* nonfiction best-seller list in 1992).



It was said that Laddie Boy howled constantly the three days prior to the President's death in San Francisco, knowing of his master's imminent demise. In memory of President Harding and honoring his former employment as a paperboy and editor, newsboys collected 19,134 pennies that were melted and fashioned into a statue of the dog. Today the statue rests in the Smithsonian.



Buttons from the Iran-Contra Scandal

By David W. Dent

During the Reagan-Bush Era (1981-1993) a great deal of media attention and partisan conflict was generated over Central America and the Caribbean, bringing forth an outpouring of cause buttons. Most of the buttons opposed what President Reagan was doing in Central America and then continued after Vice President George H.W. Bush was elected as Reagan's successor in 1988. When the Iran-Contra affair became public knowledge in 1986, the Reagan administration was accused of selling arms to Iran, which had been officially designated a terrorist state. Selling arms to a state so designated would have been a violation of U.S. law. The arms were said to have been sold to Iran in exchange for the release of American hostages held in Lebanon and the profits from those sales were said to have been diverted to provide arms and other materiel to rebels fighting the Marxist regime in Nicaragua (the Marxists were known as Sandinistas and the rebels as Contras). Both President Reagan and Vice President Bush were implicated in the arrangement.

The scandal that erupted damaged the Reagan presidency and undermined the one-term Bush Presidency, first in his 1988 race against Democrat Michael Dukakis and later in his failed 1992 re-election bid. There were calls for impeaching Ronald Reagan, but Congress took no action.

When accusations of his involvement with Iran/Contra began to appear, Vice-President Bush claimed that he was "out-of-the-loop" of decision-making authority when the plan was implemented.

While Reagan's approval ratings fell after the scandal, public attention was dominated by dramatic testimony by aide Oliver North before Congress. It emerged that North had shredded key documents and National Security Advisor John Poindexter had blocked decision-making evidence from reaching the president's desk, thus providing Reagan with "plausible deniability." North's dramatic persona did much to bolster supporters of the administration and shift public attention from the President.

Reagan's ability to sidestep much of the damage from Iran/Contra infuriated many of his opponents and brought a wide range of buttons to their lapels.

Some of the cause buttons that were created in the 1980s were designed to directly link unpopular policies in Central America with the Reagan-Bush administration. Such issues included covert efforts in support of anti-communist surrogates, alleged involvement in drug trafficking, involvement with dictators such as General Manuel Noriega of Panama, and violation of American law.

The Reagan Doctrine of supporting anti-communist forces against revolutionary upheavals in El Salvador and Nicaragua reflected President Reagan's belief that by avoiding direct intervention with U.S. combat forces as occurred in Vietnam, the United States could prevail without the "blowback" that still infected the body politic.

The conflicts in Central America touched virtually every country in the region and the cause buttons stressed opposition to the Reagan Doctrine in the broader area. Buttons that read "El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam," "Jobs Not War! U.S. Out of El Salvador," "Stop the U.S. War in Central America," "Stop U.S. War Against Nicaragua," and "Walk Against the War in El Salvador, October 24, 1987," were aimed at war-weary voters in the aftermath of Vietnam and the budgetary priorities that funded conflict abroad rather than focusing on the domestic needs of Americans.



*The buttons with this article are shown reduced in size to allow more illustrations to be shown.
The buttons are mainly 2 1/4" as was common at the time.*

The U.S. involvement in the civil wars in Central America relied on limited use of National Guard soldiers that often led to protests in states where governors agreed to send the Guard. This is captured in “The Guard Belongs Out of Honduras” where U.S. military bases were used to attack Nicaragua and for support of government forces in El Salvador. The blanket “No Intervention: End Draft Registration” was another anti-war statement popular on cause buttons at the time. The anti-intervention cause is also displayed in “Latin America, The Caribbean: Nobody’s Backyard.”

Once the U.S.-backed dictator in Nicaragua (Anastasio Somoza) was overthrown by the Sandinistas in 1979, the Nicaraguan Revolution quickly became a political issue in the United States as the new revolutionary government relied heavily on Cuba and the Soviet Union to defend itself against a counter-revolutionary army covertly supported by Washington. President Reagan gave more than twenty speeches on the Nicaraguan threat and the importance of continuing aid to the “freedom fighters” or Contras.

The Iran-Contra scandal was the perfect foil to undermine the media-savvy Reagan administration and efforts were made to turn what Reagan was doing into a new version of the Watergate scandal that tarnished the Nixon administration and led to his resignation in 1974. Since that time the suffix “-gate” has been used repeatedly to suggest skulduggery, corruption or constitutional violations.

Cause buttons tried eagerly to make the connection between Reagan’s involvement in Iran-Contra with what had led to Nixon’s downfall. Examples of that theme appeared on buttons reading “Irangate/Watergate/Irangate,” “Irangate, I Ya Tol Ya I Didn’t Lie,” and “Iran-Gate; Reagan Knows!” Others aimed their message at countering Reagan’s description of the Nicaraguan threat: “Nicaragua is Not our Enemy,” “Contras No; Nicaragua Si,” and others.

The Reagan-Bush era also continued what became known as the “War on Drugs” to counter the impact of the growing cross-border trade in illicit drugs from Latin America. Frequently, this issue played a role in the militarization of counter-narcotics efforts, human rights violations, and support for friendly dictators such as General Noriega. With his 1988 run for the White House approaching, Vice President Bush made every effort to distance himself from the Iran-Contra scandal and the troublesome Noriega. However, embarrassing evidence, including photos of Bush and Noriega in Washington and written documents, linking Bush’s office with CIA activities in Central America, inspired cause buttons to zero in on links between the two men. Buttons like

“Noriega/Bush ’88: A Crack Team,” “Bush/Noriega ’88: Say No! To These Dopes,” Vote REDRUGLICAN: Bush and Noriega (Cocaine Importer’s Association),” and “CIA (Cocaine Import Agency)” reflect Bush’s dilemma.

President Reagan’s non-military efforts to drive General Noriega out of Panama failed and dealing with the recalcitrant Panamanian was left to newly-elected George H.W. Bush. Within a year of taking office, Bush invaded Panama and eventually captured Noriega. The FBI brought Noriega to Miami to stand trial on charges of drug-trafficking, money-laundering, and other violations.

Lt. Col. Oliver North—a point-man for both Iran and Contra activities—was found guilty on three counts at a criminal trial but they were later overturned.



North went on to challenge Senator Chuck Robb in Virginia in 1994. With a campaign button that read “For Virginia . . . For America; North U.S. Senate” he raised a record \$20 million for the race that he lost by 3% to Robb. Although North received an outpouring of support from evangelicals, he was hurt on election eve when Nancy Reagan told a reporter that North had lied to her husband about Iran-Contra.

Cause buttons aimed at presidential scandals and critical editorial cartoons rarely make it into the libraries presidents build to highlight their time in office. The Reagan Library in Simi Valley, California is the most-visited of all 13 presidential libraries; however, there is scarcely a word about Iran-Contra in it. The current Watergate exhibit at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda is more true to the facts of the scandal and Nixon's key role in it thanks to the recent overhaul by the National Archives that erased the earlier sanitized version that was assembled with Nixon's involvement. The National Security Archive published recent documents about Iran-Contra in 2011 that show Bush was heavily involved in Iran-Contra and chaired a secret meeting that recommended mining harbors in Nicaragua. As of today, there is no Iran-Contra room in the Bush presidential library in College Station, Texas; however, future curators may yet create an exhibit covering one of the nation's more serious political and constitutional scandals.



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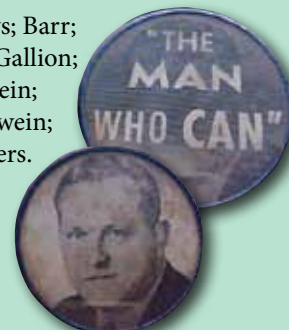
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The Hendricks Monument

By Michael Kelly

We've all seen items like it before: obviously old, maybe with a political connection, uncertain as to what it really means. The ribbon read "July 1, 1890 – Hendricks Unveiling – Indianapolis." There was a picture on it of a man who looked like Thomas A. Hendricks. Hendricks was from Indiana, so the Indianapolis connection seems clear.

Thomas A. Hendricks had been Vice President of the United States with the rare experience of running for Vice President with two different presidential candidates. Only John Calhoun of South Carolina (successful VP candidate with both John Quincy Adams in 1824 and Andrew Jackson in 1828) and Charles Fairbanks of Indiana (successful running mate to Theodore Roosevelt in 1904 and unsuccessful running mate with Charles Evans Hughes in 1916) had a similar experience.

In 1876, he served as Samuel Tilden's running mate in an election Democrats thought was stolen. In 1884, showing they thought he should have taken office eight years before, the Democrats nominated him for Vice President again, this time as Grover Cleveland's running mate. The Democrats were successful that year and Hendricks became Vice President.

Hendricks had been a presidential hopeful too and Hendricks-for-President material, although scarce, is found in the hobby. But the ribbon couldn't be a campaign item. Sure, 1890 was an election year but Hendricks couldn't have been a candidate then. He died in 1885.

Thomas Andrews Hendricks was born near Zanesville, Ohio, on Sept. 7, 1819. He moved to Indiana and opened a law practice in Shelbyville. In 1850, was elected to Congress and re-elected in 1852. He served as commissioner of the General Land Office from 1855 to 1859. With no federal office available for a conservative Democrat like him in the new Republican Lincoln administration, Hendricks

went back to Indiana and was elected U.S. Senator in 1862, serving until 1869. He gained prominence as a leading opponent of Lincoln during the Civil War. He ran for governor of Indiana in 1868, but was defeated by Republican Conrad Baker (who later formed a law firm with Hendricks).

In 1872, Hendricks succeeding in being elected governor and was a presidential hopeful at the 1876 Democratic convention that wound up picking him to run for vice president with Tilden. Although successful in winning the Vice Presidency on the ticket headed by Cleveland in 1884, he served less than nine months, dying death in Indianapolis on November 25, 1885.

The answer to the ribbon question came when I was looking over a copy of Harper's Weekly from 1890. At the top of the page was a statue of Hendricks. The article was entitled "The Hendricks Monument." The article dwelt at great about the merit of America art compared to that of the older European culture and hailed the spread of native born sculpture.

The writer went on to say, "A notable event in the progress in question is the erection of the Hendricks monument and statue in Indianapolis, which will be unveiled with suitable ceremonies on July 1st." The writer from New York didn't fail to add a few barbs: "The occasion of the unveiling will be one of marked interest in Indianapolis and will attract considerable attention throughout the State. The late Vice President was an unexceptionable

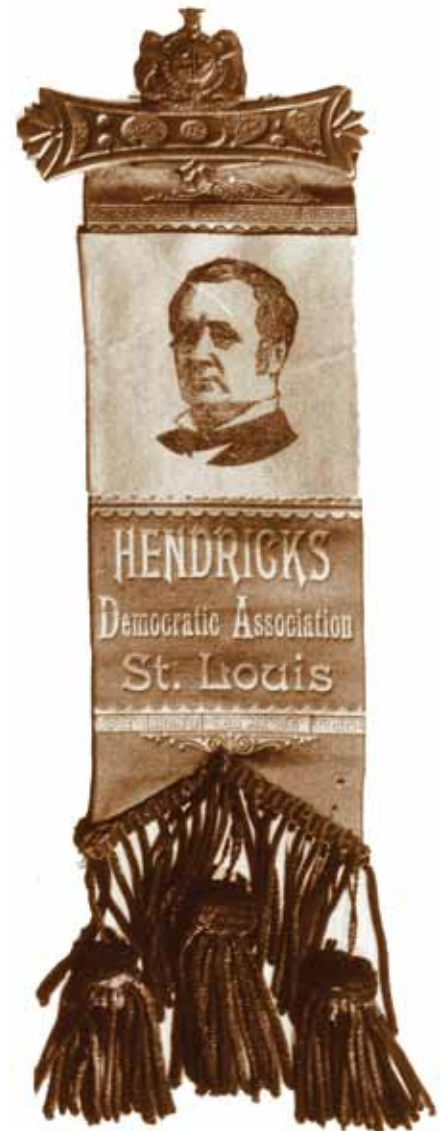




example of the trite political figure known as the ‘favorite son’ – a phrase which has a stronger meaning in the West than in the East...Mr. Hendricks possessed traits that rendered him personally popular aside from his official record.”

Hendricks’ presidential hopes were included in the article as well. “His acceptance of the second place on the Democratic national ticket in 1884 was attended by a deep disappointment that he did not secure the first place, and not without an unfounded feeling that he was entitled to it. At least three times he came almost within reaching distance of the nomination for the Presidency. In 1868 he stood second on the first ballot and only three votes behind the leader. In 1876 he again came near the goal; but Tilden won, and he took the Vice-Presidential candidacy.”

So there was the story behind the ribbon. It could be classified as a memorial item, used at the unveiling of the Hendricks Monument in Indianapolis on July 1, 1890.



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Clark, John	1109	STEAKMAN55
Darcy, Bill	13981	HISTORY GALLERY
Dole, Matt	16847	TMGGERAM
Fine, Adam	14142	BUTTONS-AND-BEYOND
Greinsky, Charles	13889	CJGREINSKY
Keefe, Tom	1867	16TWO1
Kellerman, Ed	16839	EDMUNDKELLERMAN
Kellerman, Phil	14635	KELLERHOPE
Klimson, Todd	17007	THRACIA13
Kvietkauskas, Teresa	798	TERESAK978
Lennington, Pat	5576	COACHPATL
Levine, Bob	579	BUTT-N-BOB
McClure, Ken	4383	GROOVYDUDE
Mongeau, Victor	14131	LEGACYAMERICANA
Ottaway, Hal	35	TAOS
Price, Bren T.	3965	BTP45
Quintin, David	2776	DQTEXAS
Roberts, Jeffery	6939	APIC6939
Sahol, Jim	4599	PFEIFFER1974
Salant, Jonathan	8417	jds215
Saypol, Bob	3233	BOB155
Silvertooth, John	16935	JSILVER2TH
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Soden, Glenn	3107	WILLCOLLECT
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