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Gen. CHESTER A. ARTHUR,
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THE PLATFORM
OF THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY,
ADOPTED AT THE
Convention in Chicago,
JUNE 16-18, 1880.

DEVOTION
TO THE
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OUR COUNTRY

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FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT

This issue *The Keynote* turns to the unexpected campaign and brief administration of James Garfield. I believe for many people the stark difference between the Garfield nomination (won despite his not even running) and the low key front porch style of his election campaign is quite a contrast when compared to modern contests. Today such campaigns start almost two years before the election and are driven by hundreds of millions of dollars in donations. It was a simpler time and perhaps one with some lessons for today.

Martha and I also want to share our best wishes for the whole APIC family as we near the holiday season and a New Year. May the coming year be filled with happiness and the fun of collecting and discovery. What we do is an important part of preserving the heritage of our American Republic, as well as a source of pleasure and friendship for us all.

Thanks much for the many hands that keep the APIC vital and we hope all is well for you and families!



Ron Puechner, President



Each issue contains images drawn from the collections of APIC members and we encourage members to submit such images for the pages of *The Keynote*. Images must be submitted in a digital .jpg format against a white background at a minimum of 300 dpi. If you don't own a scanner, you can go to a local print shop such as Kinko's which will usually offer a scanning service for a small fee.



EDITOR'S MESSAGE

James Garfield - scholar, general, legislator - might have made a substantial difference to our nation at a critical turning point but his potential would never be realized. Unlike Lincoln, who had been killed by



someone who opposed him on policy, Garfield had the somewhat shabby fate of being killed by a man usually described as "a frustrated office-seeker." Nonetheless, his campaign produced many wonderful items.

On page 35 you will see two ribbons for a group called the Republican Invincibles, based in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Until the election of 1880, Montgomery County had been solidly Democratic and was also the birthplace of the 1880 Democratic nominee, Winfield Scott Hancock. Despite what would look like plenty of factors working in Hancock's favor, he wound up losing his home county by one vote. Perhaps the Republican Invincibles played a role.

Another interesting story is found both on a ribbon (page 17) and a *Boston Globe* broadside (page 19). Both items carry a quote from Garfield at the time of the Lincoln assassination: "God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives." When first said, Lincoln was the only American President to have been shot and killed. Sixteen years later, the author of that quote became the second.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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FRONT COVER-- A color broadside published after 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 michaekellyflint@gmail.com. Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks losing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300 dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Great article on Curley! Will need another for son in Boston who teaches Law & Politics. Real history. - Charles Lavine (APIC# 16255)

Glad for the brummagem article. - Mark Hurvitz (APIC# 16252)

I am extremely upset and disappointed with the current Keynoter. While there is ample coverage of Curley, there is absolutely NO MENTION of Moe or Larry. I can understand omitting Shep since he is so elusive.

However, the omission of the others is blatant and intolerable. Seriously this issue is FANTASTIC- likely the best this year. The focus on Curley is long overdue. What a fascinating person. LaGuardia should be next.

Brian Krapf (APIC#9395)

Very good read. - Roger Richert (APIC#2764)

Wonderful edition. - Pat Kehoe (APIC#8333)

Received my first copy as a new member yesterday here in Tucson along with my APIC membership number. WOO-HOO!

Chuck Lewandowsky (APIC# 17483)

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The Election of 1880



Republican Party

James A. Garfield and Chester Alan Arthur
Popular vote: 4,454,443 (48.32%)
Electoral votes: 214



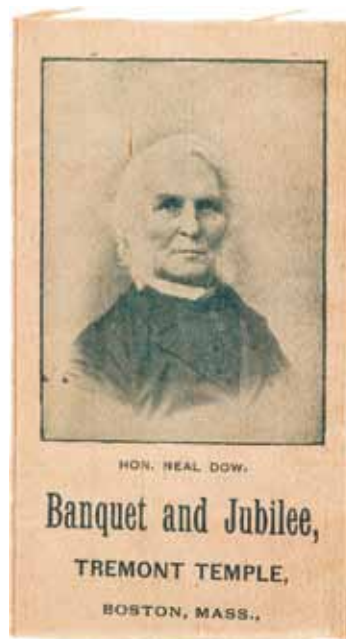
Democratic Party

Winfield Scott Hancock and William English
Popular votes: 4,444,976 (48.21%)
Electoral votes: 155



Greenback Party

James B. Weaver and Barzillai J. Chambers
Popular votes: 308,649 (3.35%)
Electoral votes: 0



Prohibition Party

Neal Dow and Henry Adams Thompson
Popular votes: 10,364 (0.11%)
Electoral votes: 0

Anti-Masonic Party

John W. Phelps and Samuel C. Pomeroy
Popular votes: 1,045 (0.01%)
Electoral votes: 0

The Unrealized Promise of James A. Garfield

By Michael Kelly

President James A. Garfield won the closest election in American presidential history. The Republican nominee's margin of victory over Democrat Winfield Hancock in the popular vote was less than 2,000 votes nationwide, although the numbers in the Electoral College (214 to 155) were kinder.

Garfield isn't a well-known president. He is sometime lost in that series of bearded presidents from Grant to Harrison. A recent poll of historians ranked him as the 29th among the 43 former presidents.

But Garfield deserves better. No one reaches the White House without significant achievements. Even the unexpected or "accidental" presidents had to rise to the attention of their era and demonstrate unusual ability, cunning or luck. Garfield had his share of all three.

His background as a scholar, college president, army general and longtime congressional leader combined with a reputation for intellectual honesty and independence promised strong leadership in a critical period of American history. Wounds from the Civil War were still raw and millions of freed slaves were being confronted with limits on their citizenship. The West was expanding into a continent and the massive American industrial base built for the war was advancing into the world marketplace.

Our 20th president had been born James Abram Garfield on November 19, 1831 in the wilderness of what was then known as the Western Reserve (later Ohio). He would be the last president to be born in a log cabin.

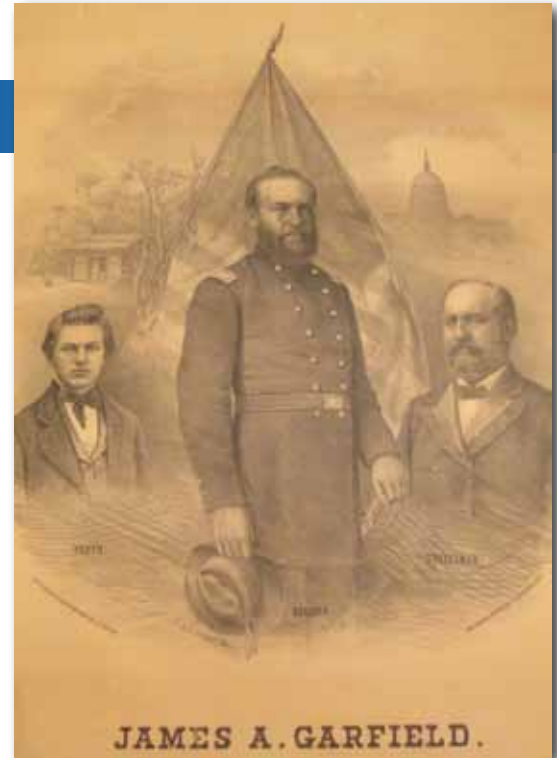
The Garfield family was hardly prosperous, especially after his father and three older siblings all died in 1833, but Garfield's mother had the personal strength to maintain her farm and family. Eliza Garfield was devoted to her son, James. The tall, strapping lad proved to be a poor fit for the rough life of the frontier so his mother encouraged him to get an education. A voracious reader, young James was so thrilled with tales of nautical adventures that he ran off to the nearest thing to the sea he knew; a nearby canal used for shipping. His brief time on the canal was hampered by his inability to swim but that time was notable for giving him one of those handy nicknames beloved of 19th century politicians ("The Canal Boy").

His mother scraped together enough money to send her son to school and Garfield found an occupation at which he excelled. He was industrious, intelligent and eager to learn. He swiftly mastered his academic work, excelling in elocution and languages. He joined the debating society and was taken with the power of oratory. "It creates some excitement," he wrote about a good debate, "I love agitation and investigation and glory in defending unpopular truth against popular error."

After studying in Ohio, he traveled east to Williams College in Massachusetts and quickly rose to the top rank of scholars, becoming editor of the literary magazine, president of the literary club, class salutatorian and leader of the campus anti-secret society and anti-fraternity movements. While at Williams College, Garfield became deeply involved with the political turmoil stirring the nation. In the spring of his senior year, he attended a meeting in support of John Charles Fremont and the new Republican Party. At that meeting, Garfield delivered his first public political speech.

One interesting coincidence from that era relates to a short-term teaching job Garfield took in nearby Pownal, Vermont. The year before that same job had been held by a college student named Chester Alan Arthur, destined to become Garfield's vice president.

With a then-rare college degree in hand, Garfield returned to Ohio and accepted a teaching post at the Western Reserve



Youth -- Soldier -- Statesman

Eclectic Institute, where he had studied. His success was immediate and within a year he had been named president of the Institute. His scholarship was so excellent that the ambidextrous Garfield was said to be able to write Latin with one hand while writing Greek with the other.

His political involvement grew. Garfield was anti-slavery and became a popular voice for the Republicans. By 1859, he was elected the youngest member of the Ohio state senate and was in demand as a platform speaker. His intellect, ability to master the technical detail of legislation and his winning personality made him a political force beyond his years.

As the nation careened toward secession and civil war, the Ohio legislature chose the young Garfield as the keynote speaker at a special banquet in Louisville, Kentucky in honor of the Tennessee and Kentucky legislatures, where he invited members of those bodies to visit Ohio in an attempt to cool regional divisions. The two legislatures accepted the invitation and the whole affair gave Garfield statewide and even national attention.

In the critical 1860 election, Garfield's skill as an orator brought him under the wing of Ohio Governor and presidential hopeful Salmon P. Chase. Chase recruited Garfield to speak across Ohio on behalf of the Republican ticket. "Voted for Lincoln and Hamlin," Garfield wrote in his diary election night, "God be praised!"

When war broke out, the legislator and college president was determined to be in the action. Commissioned lieutenant colonel and then colonel of the 42nd Ohio Volunteers, he recruited most of the members of the unit from his former students.

Garfield's military career was more than respectable. He quickly earned attention from his superiors and saw action in such battles as Shiloh, Chickamauga and Corinth. His commanding officer praised him for "the highest qualities of a soldier - fortitude, perseverance and courage." He was promoted to major general and, when returning home to recuperate from dysentery and jaundice, found his name being discussed as a candidate for Congress.

General Garfield did nothing to encourage his nomination and did not attend the convention that nominated him, but that didn't matter much. In September 1862, he found himself with a congressional nomination. He was summoned to Washington by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to discuss his battlefield observations. While there, he stayed at the home of Salmon P. Chase, now the powerful Secretary of the Treasury. At Chase's home, he mingled with most of the important figures in the wartime capital. Election Day brought news from Ohio that Garfield had been elected to Congress by a two-to-one margin, running well ahead of the party ticket.

He was torn. He wanted to return to his comrades in the field and joined the staff of General William Rosecrans, where he again drew favorable attention. As the start of his congressional term drew closer, he met with President Lincoln to seek his advice. Lincoln said that he needed military experience in Congress. "The President told me that he dared not risk a single vote in the House," he later wrote. Garfield resigned his commission and took his seat in Congress.

He wound up serving nine terms in the House (1863-1880) under Lincoln, Johnson, Grant and Hayes and would become an influential force in national politics, serving as chairman of several committees, including Appropriations, Financial Services and Military Affairs. Aligned with the Radical Republicans, Garfield would occasionally battle the Lincoln administration and other presidents of his own party but when Lincoln was assassinated, Garfield wrote, "My heart is so broken with our great national loss that I can hardly think or write or speak."

As a Radical Republican, Garfield was committed to full citizenship for the freedmen and soon broke with President Andrew Johnson, supporting his impeachment and describing his Senate acquittal as "the great betrayal."



Reconstruction advanced as did the economic power of the United States. Congressman Garfield's reputation also continued to grow, especially in responding to the new economic demands of the rapidly growing country.

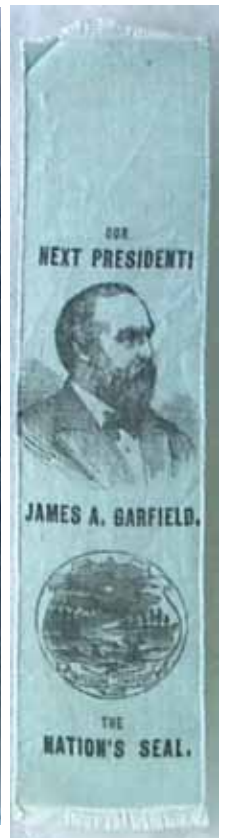
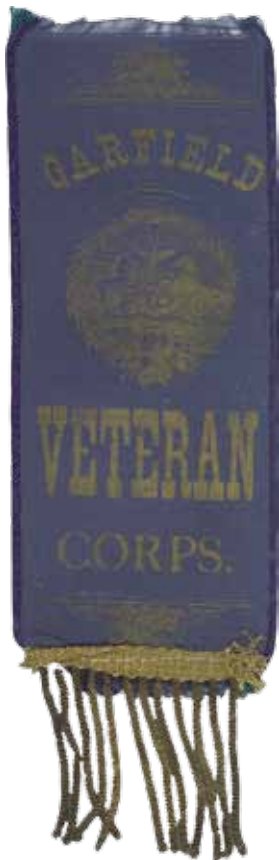
The 1870's brought the first whiff of scandal to the Ohio congressman. With economic and industrial expansion creating previously unknown amounts of wealth, extreme inequality and social disruption, America was entering the Gilded Age. Railroads and other new industries sought support from the government and ever-increasing amounts of money began to pour into politics. Legal structures that had served a small, agrarian nation were not working as well in a dynamic, expanding, urban nation.

In this tumultuous environment, Garfield's integrity seemed to have kept him grounded. His work as chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee investigating the 1869 Gold Panic won widespread admiration. But the 1872 Credit Mobilier scandal did taint Garfield. Passing over the details of Credit Mobilier, many political figures were damaged by accepting gifts of stock in attempts to influence their votes. While the congressional report found Garfield had accepted ten shares of stock and a dividend of \$329, there was no evidence that he had ever been influenced by the fact. Quickly on its heels came the "Salary Grab of 1873."

The Salary Grab was a not-uncommon congressional pay increase, which Congress voted to make retroactive to the beginning of the term. Much to Garfield's surprise, when he returned home to campaign, he found Ohio voters far angrier about congressional pay than stock shares. Garfield had opposed the pay increase and never accepted the extra money, but his position as Chairman of the Appropriations Committee left him the task of steering the legislations through the House.

He survived the scandals and was easily re-elected. Then in 1874 came the third blow; the DeGolyer-McClelland Company scandal. Like many lawyers of modest means in Congress (Garfield had long before added a law license to his accomplishments), he accepted legal clients outside of his congressional work. The DeGolyer-McClelland Company hired Garfield to present its plan for a patented wooden sidewalk system to the District of Columbia Board of Public Works. In those simpler times, Garfield assumed he was being hired for his legal skill. Others saw it as a conflict of interest, given that the DC city budget went through a committee he chaired.





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In the end, the question was decided by the voters of Ohio's 19th congressional district. Congressman Garfield went home and threw himself into the campaign. He gave speech after speech explaining his view of the matter. He refused to debate his opponents: "I do not propose to allow these fellows to get up at meetings and take up half the time throwing mud at me."

"I have had a hard and exhausting campaign," he wrote, "but I shall beat the rascals who have been opposing me." In the face of a nationwide Democratic wave that defeated Republicans across the nation, he won re-election with 57% of the vote.

The 1874 election produced a Democratic majority in the House, so Garfield lost his chairmanships. Across the country, voters were weary of scandals, suffering from economic decline and doubtful about the sincerity of the Republican Party.

Garfield took his role in rebuilding the party for 1876. The GOP selected Ohio Governor Rutherford Hayes as its nominee and Garfield went on a speaking tour through Maine, New Jersey, New York and Ohio to bolster the ticket. Through the disputed vote count, Garfield remained a loyal party man and complained that he was "tired of the namby-pamby way in which many of our Republicans treat public questions."

In the end, Hayes was elected President and urged his fellow Ohio Republican to decline an offer of promotion to the Senate. Hayes needed Garfield in the Democratic House where his experience and skill would be essential. President Hayes proved a difficult man and his closeness with Garfield soon faded. The two split over party issues and, when the Democrats swept the 1878 midterm elections, Hayes announced he wouldn't run for re-election in 1880 and Garfield decided that it was time to move up to the Senate seat being vacated by John Sherman, named Secretary of the Treasury by Hayes.

At that time, U.S. senators were chosen by state legislatures, often long before the beginning of the senate term. In January 1880, the Ohio legislature elected James A. Garfield as U.S. Senator with a term to begin in 1881. Thus Garfield was both congressman and senator-elect simultaneously.

So where did James Garfield stand on the verge of 1880? Ira Rutkow's excellent biography sums it up thus: "By the spring of 1880, despite talk concerning his character flaws, Garfield was recognized as one of the ablest and most effective legislators of his generation. He was viewed as a leader of national stature, who provided a breadth of view not common to the average Gilded Age politician."

The three most prominent GOP presidential hopefuls in 1880 were former President U.S. Grant, former Speaker of the House and current Senator James G. Blaine and Ohio's John Sherman (brother of Civil War hero, General William Tecumseh Sherman). While Garfield's name was talked about, he chose to endorse his fellow Ohioan. In fact, Sherman had likely supported Garfield for the Senate to keep him out of the presidential race.



28" x 43" linen banner.



Garfield was one of those much-discussed but rarely seen political creatures; a dark horse.

The real issue at the 1880 convention was patronage. The Stalwart faction led by New York Senator Roscoe Conkling wanted plenty of patronage flowing through the veins of the party and disliked the prim honesty of President Hayes, who seemed to think public officials should actually be qualified for their jobs. The Stalwarts, filled with fond memories of good times during his administration, rallied behind former President Grant for another term. The Half-Breed faction leaned toward a touch of civil service reform and united around Blaine. Sherman was there in case the two cancelled each other out with the electoral votes of Ohio always an important consideration.

Stalwart leader Conkling inadvertently gave Garfield tremendous exposure at the convention's beginning. The New Yorker supported the unit rule, which meant that a majority of delegates from a state could choose to vote all that state's votes; if Conkling could control 36 of his state's 70 delegates, he could vote all 70 as a block. Congressman Garfield was Chairman of the convention Rules Committee. He thought the unit rule unfair and passed rules against it in committee. When the Rules report reached the convention floor, Conkling moved a watered-down proposal requiring all delegates to support the convention's nominee. This seemingly-innocuous resolution was aimed at the Half-Breeds, many of whom had qualms about supporting Grant. Conkling's resolution passed on a voice vote. When a handful of nays were heard in the voice vote, Conkling immediately demanded that those delegates voting no be kicked out of the convention.

It was a petty and vindictive move by the arrogant Conkling bringing boos and hisses from the floor. An indignant Garfield slowly walked to the podium, drawing the eyes of a hushed crowd. "I fear this Convention is about to commit a great error," he said in a voice that had brought him national fame as an orator. "We come here as Republicans and as one of our rights we can vote on every resolution 'Aye' or 'No'... [those delegates voting no] acted in their rights and not by my vote shall they be deprived of their seats or of their freedom."

There were no radio broadcasts or recordings, no film or television to carry a speaker into every home those days. The chance for a speaker to address a national convention on an emotional issue at a critical juncture cannot be overestimated. Conkling's proposal was dismissed. As Garfield left the podium, Conkling handed him a note reading, "New York requests that Ohio's real candidate and dark horse come forward."

But Garfield was still supporting Sherman. It was his job to place Sherman's name in nomination, providing him with yet another prime spot before the delegates. During his speech, praising Sherman as a great Republican and the candidate to unify the party, he paused for a moment and asked, "And now, gentlemen of the Convention, what do we want?" In the oratorical pause that followed his question, a voice from the hall called back, "We want Garfield!" Great applause followed, forcing a flustered Garfield to ask for silence. He went on to finish nominating Sherman but the moment made a powerful impression.

The first ballot showed the party split: Grant 304, Blaine 284, Sherman 93 with 75 split among others. By the 34th ballot little had changed: Grant 312, Blaine 275 and Sherman 106 with 62 others. But on the second ballot, Garfield had started receiving a few votes. On the 34th ballot, as the state roll call neared its end, Wisconsin electrified the convention by announcing 16 of its 20 votes for Garfield.

While the convention buzzed with excitement, Garfield rose to speak: "I challenge the correctness of the announcement... No man has a right without the consent of the person voted for, to announce that person's name and vote for him in this convention. Such consent I have not given."

The chairman ruled him out of order, told him to sit down and immediately called for another ballot. Then Indiana announced 27 of its 30 votes for Garfield. Suddenly the rush was on. Sherman withdrew and threw his support to Garfield. Blaine supporters,



disappointed but happy to defeat Grant, joined in and on the 36th ballot James A. Garfield was the nominee with 399 votes. The final ballot showed 306 delegates standing firm for Grant, two more votes than on the first ballot. Conkling moved a unanimous nomination but neglected to say anything about the nominee.

Hoping to placate the Stalwarts and their prickly leader, the second spot on the ticket was offered to one of Conkling's main lieutenants, Chester Alan Arthur. Arthur, who had been removed as Collector of the Port of New York (the most lucrative federal office) by President Hayes, was astonished at the offer. Rumors claimed that Conkling ordered his underling to refuse the nomination but Arthur was too amazed at his good luck to follow orders. John Sherman wrote in surprise, "He never held an office except the one he was removed from."

Meanwhile, the Democrats had put forward the renowned Union General Winfield Hancock as their nominee in an attempt to escape the air of rebellion and disloyalty clinging to the party since the Civil War. Early indications favored Hancock as he led a unified party that had won the popular vote in the previous election, if not the Presidency. The Republicans, on the other hand, were bitterly divided and carried a record from twelve volatile years in the White House.

Hancock, however, proved a poor candidate while Garfield was able to woo Conkling and the Stalwarts back into his camp, winning New York's electoral votes for the Garfield/Arthur ticket. Hancock's lack of political experience left him awkward and uncertain how to respond to issues. [For more on the 1880 election, see the Spring 2013 Hancock issue of The Keynoter.] The campaign had few real issues but made up for that in vituperation, slander and forgery. Both candidates were attacked in personal terms with facts rarely getting in the way of accusations.

Nonetheless, the contest captured the nation's attention. Voter turnout was 78%, one of the highest in history. The margin could hardly have been closer. Garfield won 4,454,443 votes (48.32%) to Hancock's 4,444,976 (48.21%) with 3% going to Greenbacker James Weaver. Fewer than 2,000 votes separated Garfield and Hancock, the closest popular vote of any American presidential election. Garfield carried New York by 20,000 votes out of 1.1 million while Hancock carried California by only 144 votes. Republicans recaptured the House with a twelve-seat margin while the Senate wound up evenly divided.



Garfield found himself the only person in history to have been Congressman, Senator-elect and President-elect at the same time.

Despite the closeness of the contest, Garfield began his Presidency with much promise. His early difficulties centered on patronage as his better instincts battled with the demands of party workers wanting federal jobs. The Stalwarts wanted patronage and protested every post given to any other faction. Among the thousands of job-seekers who tormented President Garfield at a White House still open to the public was a mentally unstable failed writer and lawyer from Illinois named Charles Guiteau, who assumed that an all-but-unnoticed speech he had published in support of Garfield entitled him to being named American Consul in Paris. Guiteau haunted the White House and State Department demanding the post until Secretary of State James Blaine finally told him flatly that he wasn't going to receive any diplomatic post.

From Guiteau's distorted viewpoint, the Garfield administration was betraying the Stalwart system of patronage. His simple plan was to kill the President and allow Vice President Arthur, a Stalwart, to become President. Then Arthur would give Guiteau the job in Paris he deserved.

On Saturday, July 2, 1881, President Garfield was looking forward to getting away for a short vacation. Barely four months into his term and wearied from aggressive job seekers, he would be attending his college reunion and traveling with his wife through New England. When he and Secretary Blaine walked into the train station, Charles Guiteau stepped out of a corner and fired two shots into the President.

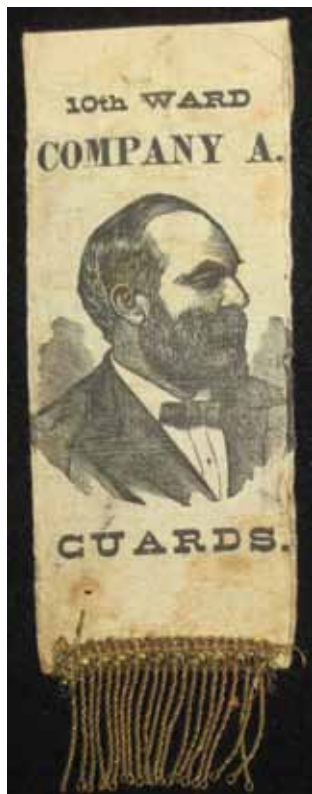
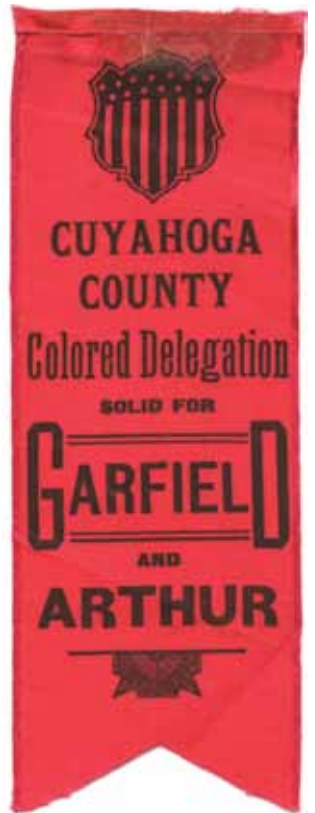
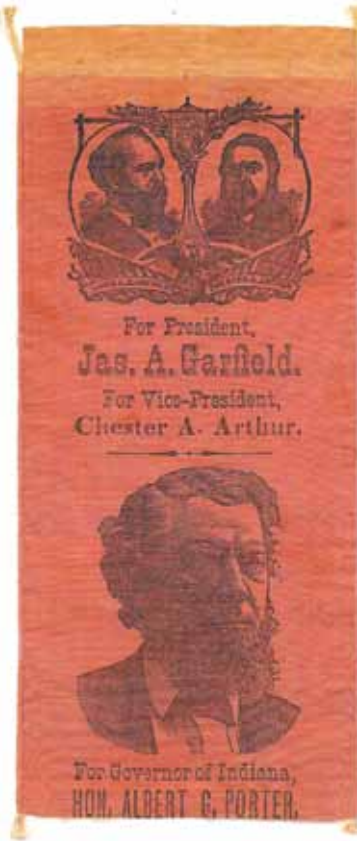
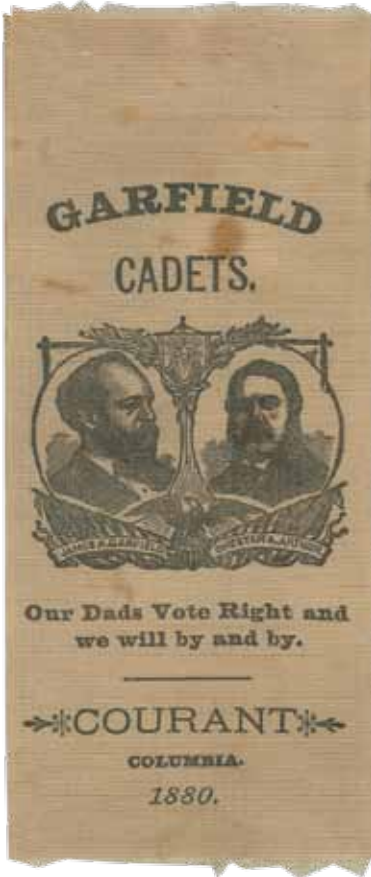
As police wrestled him down, Guiteau shouted, "I did it and will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart and Arthur will be president."

What followed was both a tragedy and a milestone in American medicine. While seriously injured, Garfield could have recovered but for the limited medical knowledge of the era. While new ideas about infection, germs and cleaning wounds were starting to spread, medical orthodoxy was still in the realm of purges and bleeding. Doctor after doctor poked and prodded the President's wounds with filthy hands and dirty instruments. Medicine in that time was unorganized and almost any form of healer called himself a doctor. While alternate treatments were debated in the nation's newspapers, the orthodox physician in charge of the case unwittingly continued to contaminate the wound and provided treatment that did far more harm than good.

The President lay in bed through July and August, growing weaker despite optimistic bulletins put out by his physician. On September 18, 1881, Garfield asked an aide, "Do you think my name will have a place in history?" The aide responded that he had "a great work yet to perform."

"No," replied Garfield, "my work is done." The next day, James A. Garfield, age 49, died.





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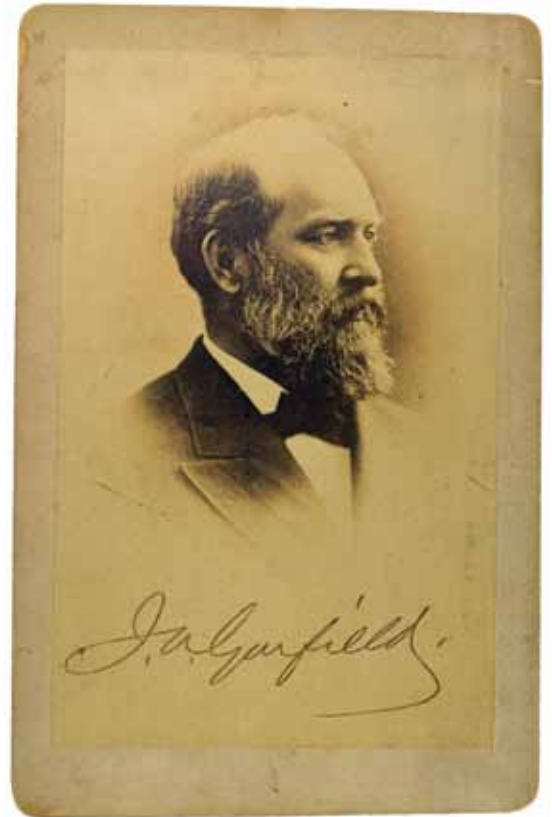


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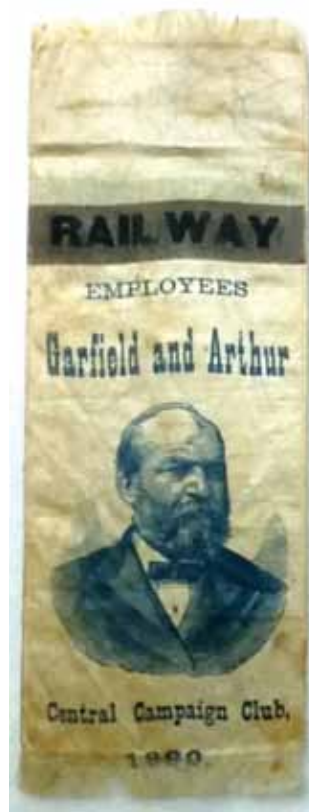
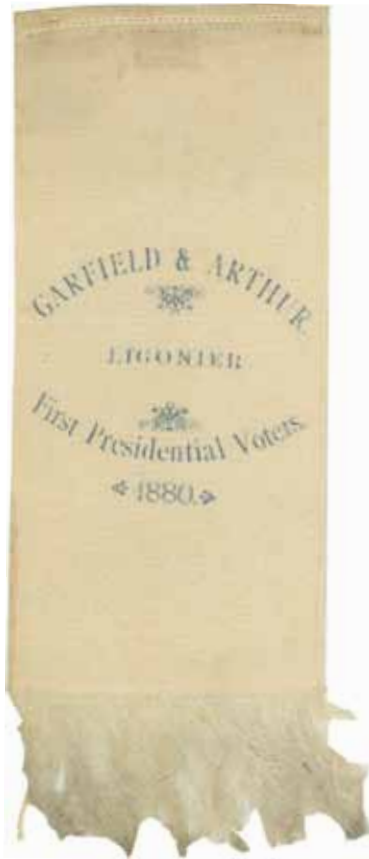
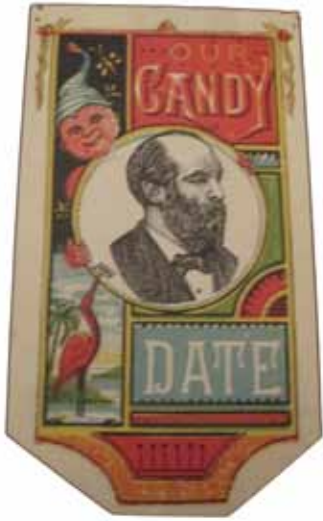
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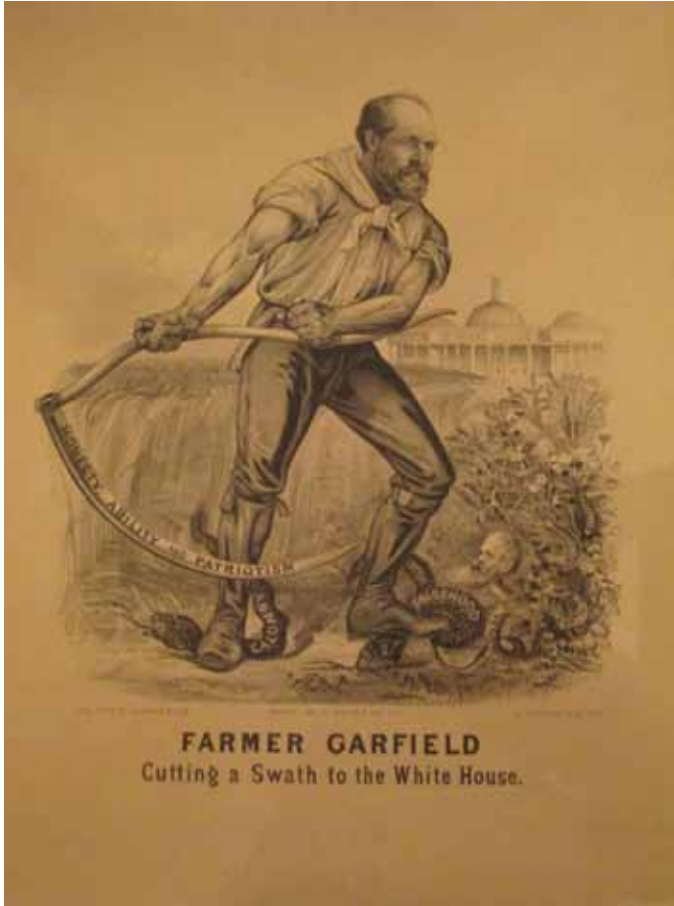












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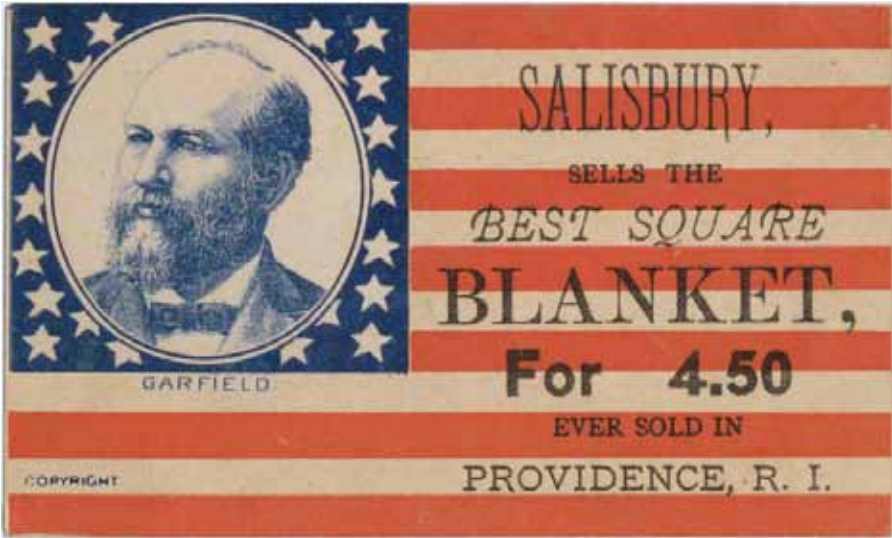
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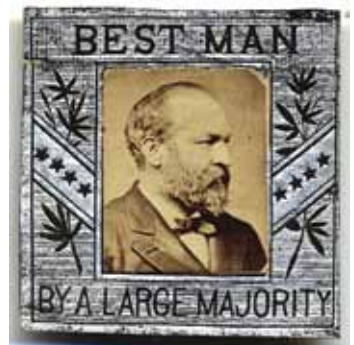
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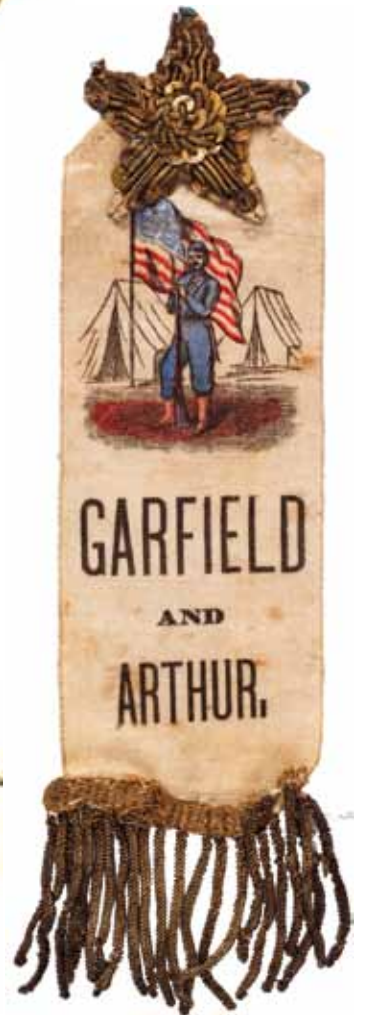
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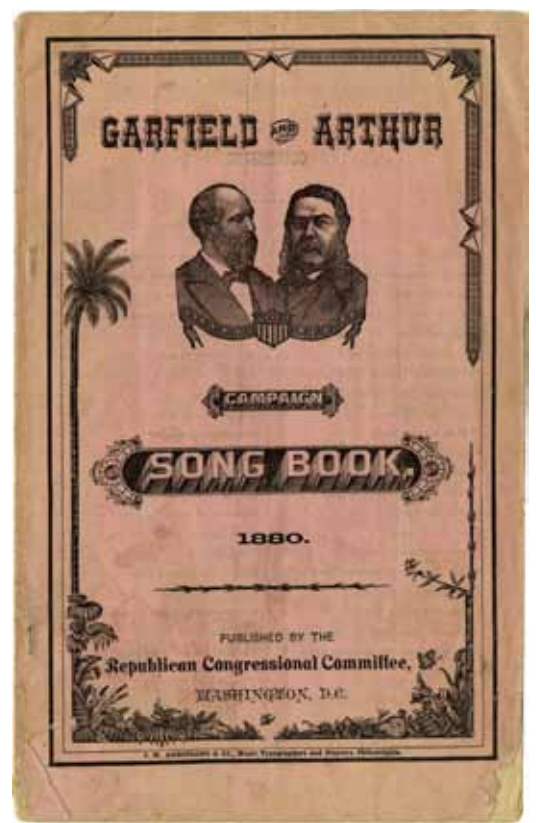
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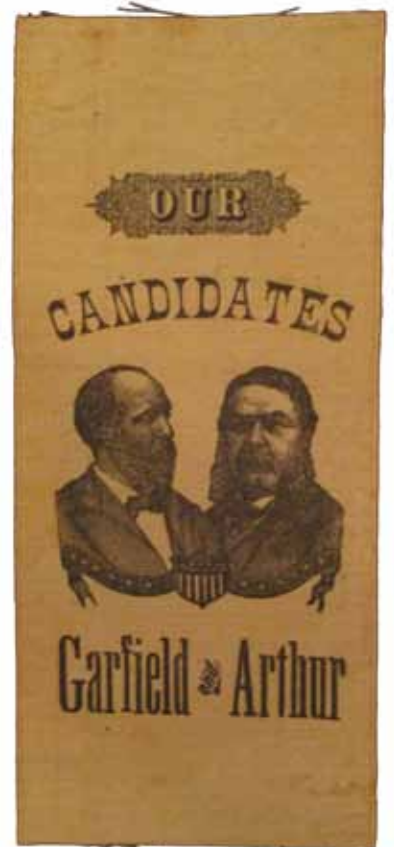
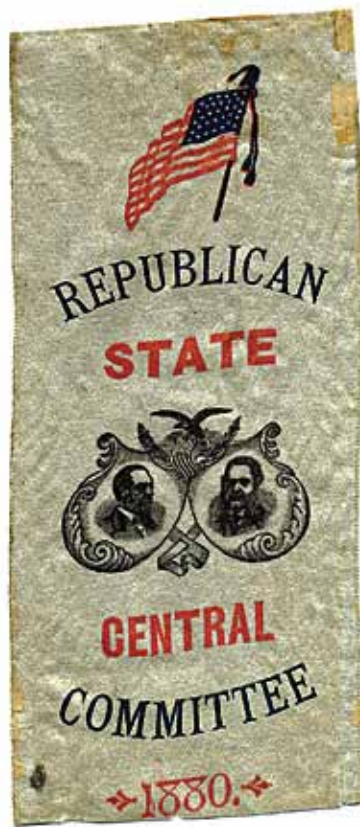
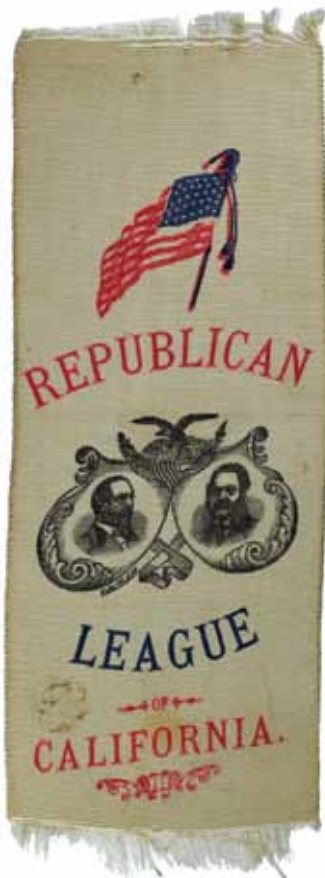


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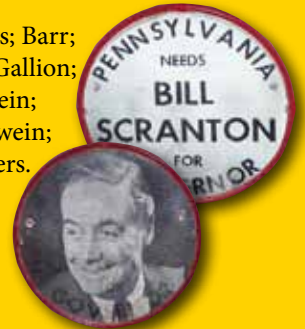
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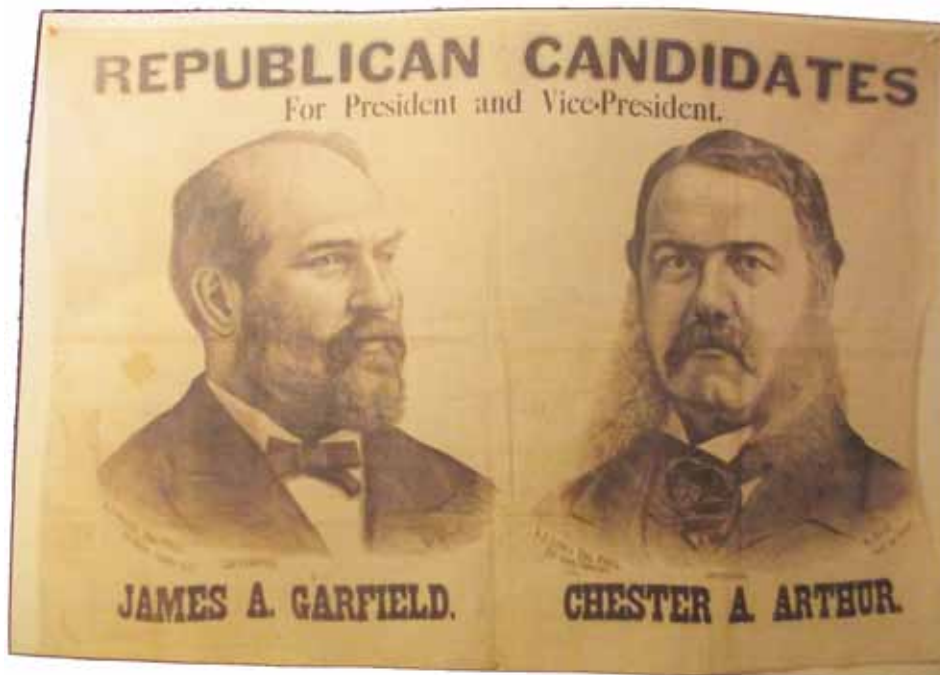


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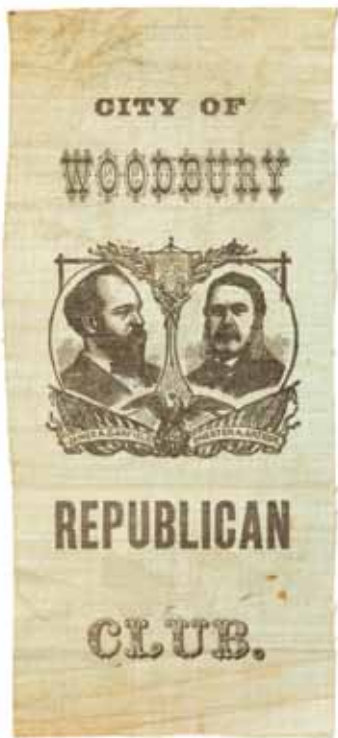
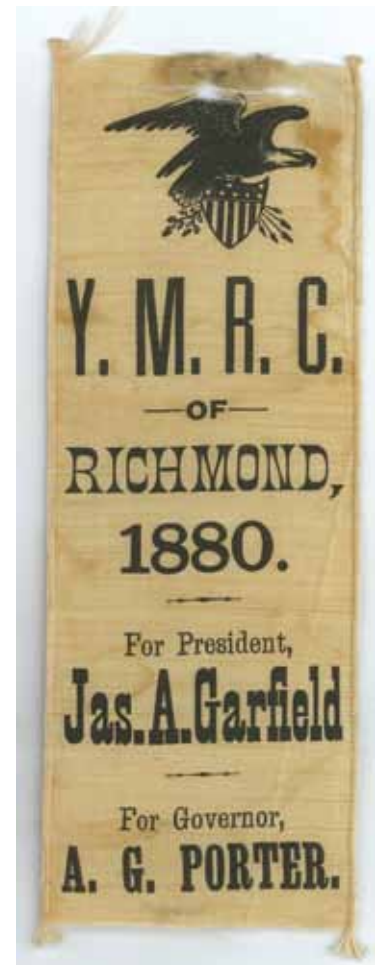
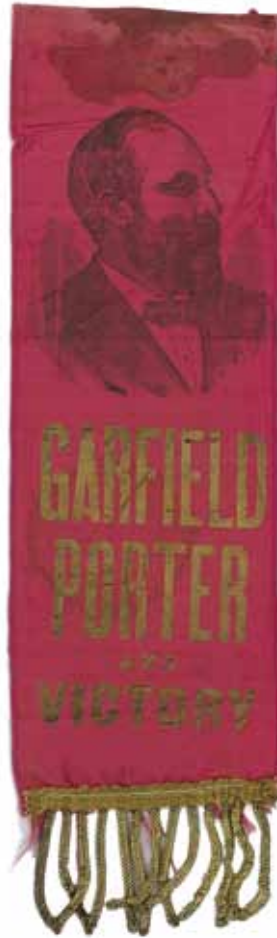
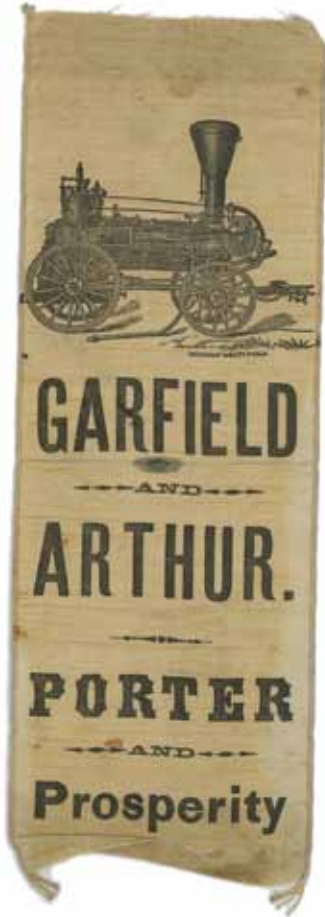
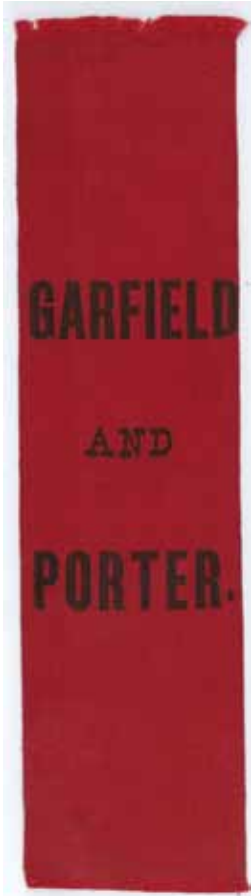
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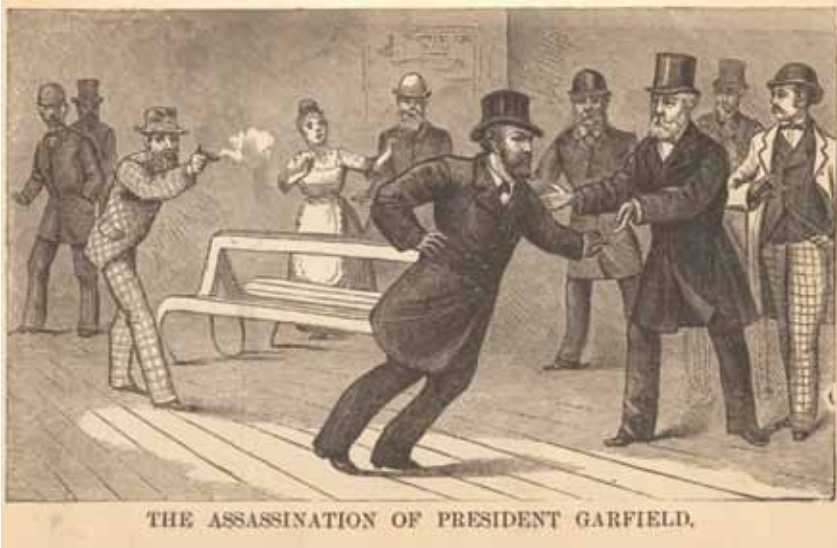
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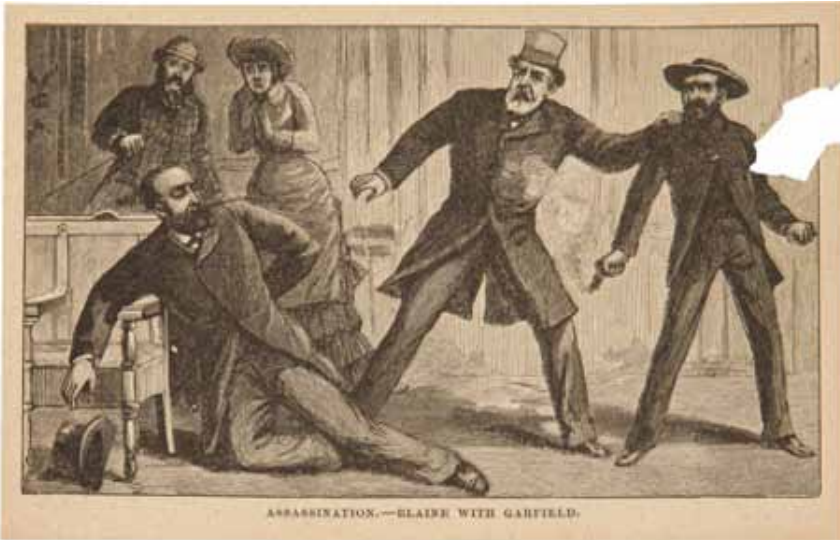




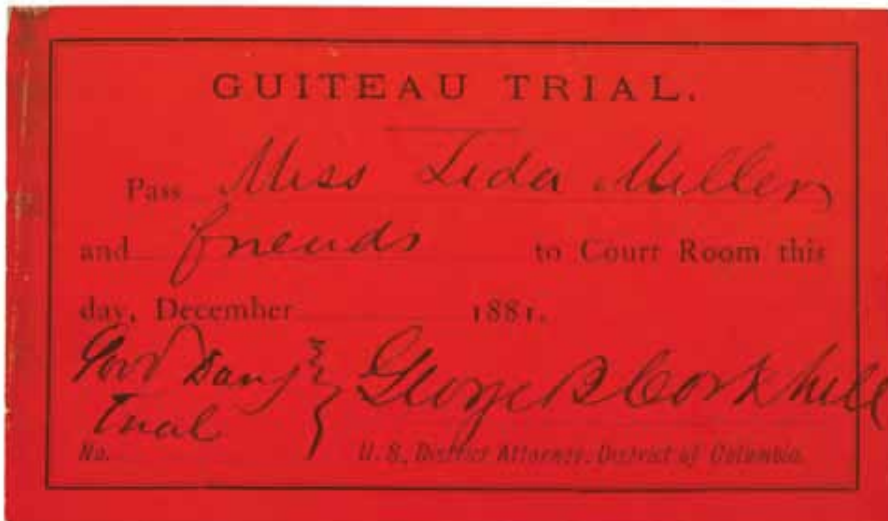
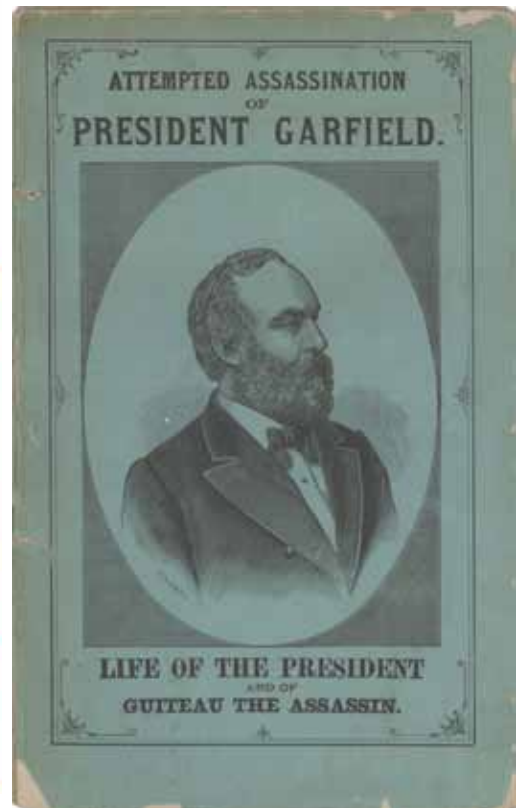


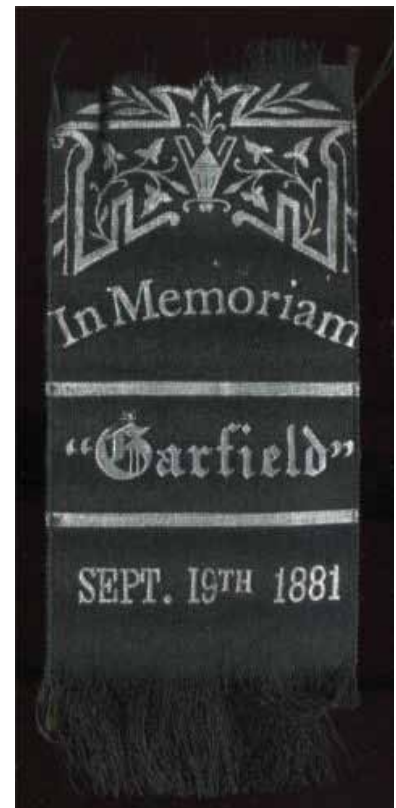
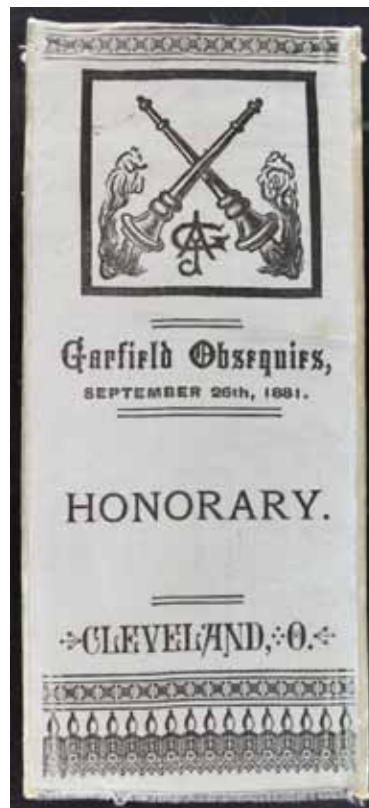


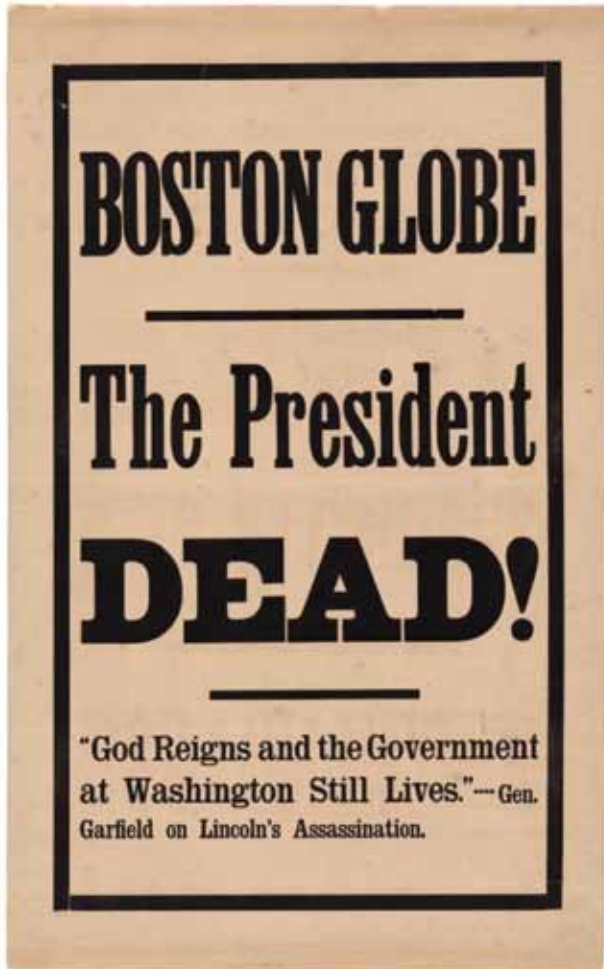
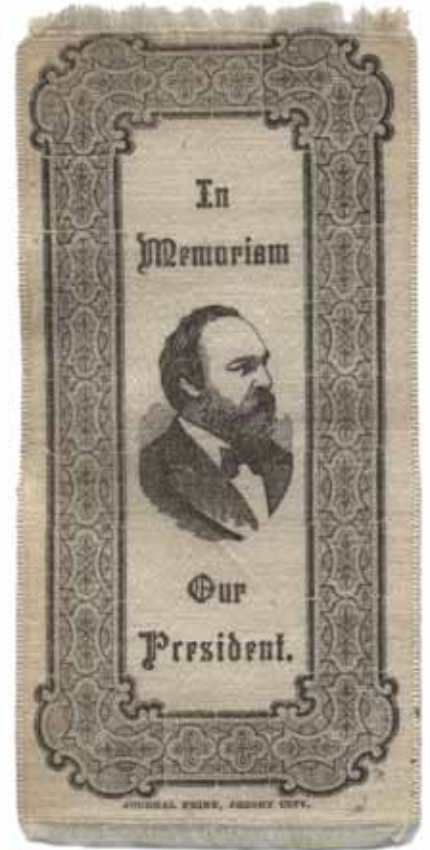
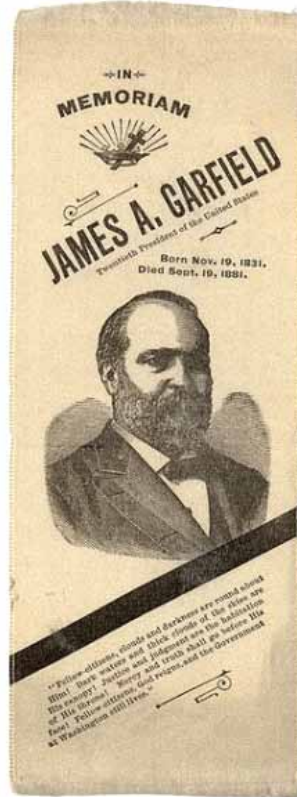
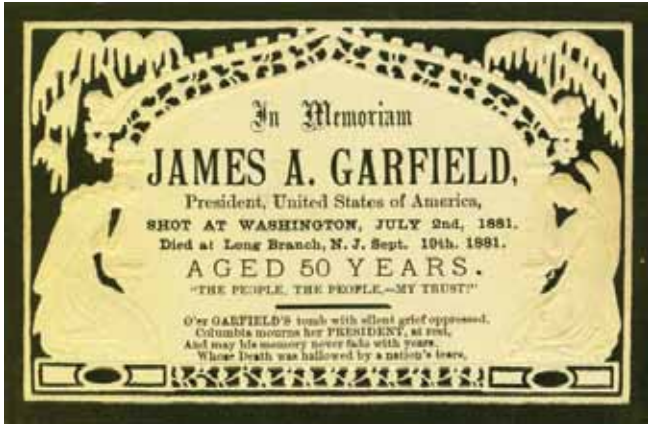
THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.



ASSASSINATION.—GUAITEAU WITH GARFIELD.







329 and the Morey Letter

By Michael Kelly

At first sight it is hard to discern the meaning of the ribbon pictured here. It has a derogatory cartoon of a Chinese laborer dancing with joy above the message “Busted! By Gar-Field.” At the top of the ribbon is the number 329.

The play on words using Garfield’s name is the clue that it might be related to the 1880 campaign (“by gar” being one of many terms used instead of “by God”), but how?

The ribbon links two issues used against Garfield during his campaign for the White House; the Credit Mobilier scandal and the Morey Letter.

The Credit Mobilier Company was formed in 1864 by the largest shareholders of the Union Pacific Railroad, which in turn contracted with it to build the railroad. Credit Mobilier sold some of its shares at a steep discount to 15 influential politicians. Congress then passed laws that provided excessive federal subsidies to the Railroad to help pay for the construction. This arrangement resulted in huge profits for the Credit Mobilier shareholders. In 1872-73, the details came out and created a major scandal involving a number of Washington politicians, including the Speaker of the House James Blaine, outgoing Vice President Schuyler Colfax and incoming Vice President Henry Wilson.

The number 329 is a reference to the dividend of \$329 given to Congressman James Garfield by Credit Mobilier in 1872. While investigators could find nothing Garfield had done that could be construed as benefitting Credit Mobilier, it nonetheless left a whiff of misbehavior on a political figure otherwise admired for his integrity.

Democrats gleefully chalked 329 on sidewalks and daubed 329 on fences to keep the issue front and center in voters’ minds. As the campaign progressed, Republicans adopted the 329 symbol in defiance, claiming that it stood for Garfield’s career: 3 years in the Ohio legislature, 2 years as an Army general and 9 terms in Congress.

But what about the Chinese laborer? Two weeks before the election, an obscure newspaper in New York City printed what it claimed was a copy of a letter written by Garfield to one H.L. Morey of Lynn, Massachusetts in which the writer advocated

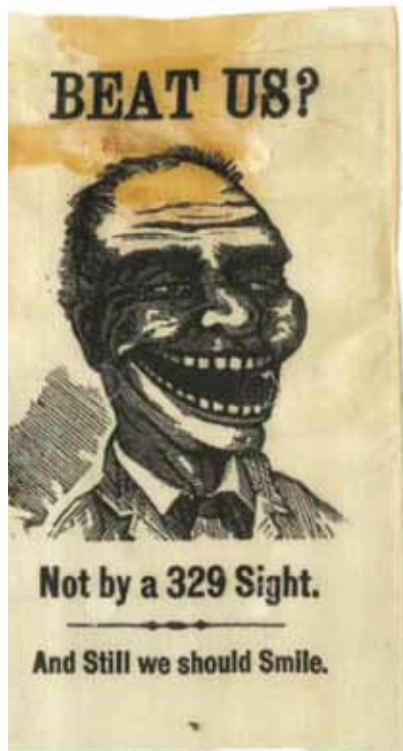


unlimited immigration of Chinese and the right of a corporation to hire the cheapest labor possible. Chinese immigration was a hot issue, especially in California where whites resented competition from Chinese immigrants (an issue which, changing a few names, will resonate today).

There is an array of 1880 ribbons referring to the Chinese immigration issue, often with the number 329 tossed in for good measure.

While the Morey letter did not reflect Garfield's actual position, Democrats hailed it as a demonstration of Republican hypocrisy. That is the meaning of the message on the ribbon: "Busted! By Gar-Field."

It turned out that the letter was a fake and not a very good one. The handwriting didn't look much like Garfield's, no H.L. Morey was found to live anywhere near Lynn, Massachusetts and the text was filled with misspellings and grammatical errors, quite unlike the style of the erudite scholar purported to be its author. It still had its effect; Garfield lost the normally Republican state of California by a mere 144 votes even as he won a narrow victory nationwide.



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Fremont and Dayton "The
 Champions of Freedom" jugate. Sold
 for \$11,000



A. Lincoln and A. Johnson 1864
 Gault Frame Ferrotype. Sold for
 \$3,250



R.B. Hayes and Wm. A.
 Wheeler 1876 Grand
 National Banner. Sold for
 \$20,000



Martin Van Buren Principles
 and Prudence of our
 Forefathers. Sold for \$950



Breckenridge
 and Lane 1860
 National
 Democratic
 Banner. Sold
 for \$11,000



Douglas and Johnson
 1860 Pictorial Campaign
 Flag. Sold for \$15,000



John Tyler Inaugural Medal
 1841. Sold for \$1,300



Theo. Roosevelt and J.B.
 Corliss 1904 Exposition
 Jugate Button. Sold for
 \$4,000



Franklin D. Roosevelt 1912
 NY State Senate Hopeful
 Button. Sold for \$3,750



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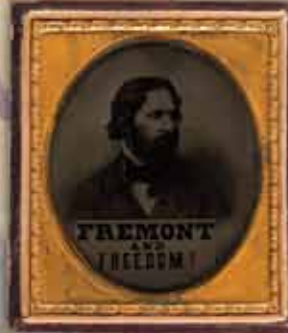
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