

# HOW DEMOCRATIC DEADLOCK WAS BROKEN AND J. M. COX NOMINATED

Story of National Convention at San Francisco and the Fight Over Credentials, Platform and Ticket.

## SECOND PLACE GIVEN TO F. D. ROOSEVELT

Battle Between Cox, McAdoo and Palmer, Surged Forward and Backward, Until Attorney General Released His Delegates and the Three Times Governor of Ohio Won on 44th Ballot.

By EDWARD W. PICKARD.  
For President—James M. Cox of Ohio  
For Vice President—Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York.

Emerging from a struggle that has had few if any equals in American political history, the Democratic party assembled in convention in the Golden Gate city, has placed the above ticket before the voters of the country. Governor Cox was nominated on the 44th ballot, at 1:45 o'clock in the morning of July 6. The vice presidential nominee was selected at the closing session of the convention which opened at noon that day.

For ballot after ballot a deadlock existed, the leaders being Cox, William G. McAdoo and Attorney General Palmer. Neither of them seemed able to accumulate enough votes to win and no one of them appeared willing to quit the field. At last, after the 38th ballot, Congressman Carlin, manager of the Palmer forces, mounted the rostrum and announced that Mr. Palmer was unwilling longer to tie up the convention and therefore he unconditionally released all his delegates. This left the fight to Cox and McAdoo, and though the supporters of the latter were still confident, the Ohioan gained steadily on each succeeding ballot. When the 44th was nearly completed it was apparent that he was the victor, and in the midst of wild excitement and tumult Kansas moved that he be declared the nominee of the convention by acclamation. The motion was carried with a mighty roar, and the long contest was ended.

**An Unbossed Convention.**  
Without bosses, without real leaders, without any to direct their actions, the representatives of the party, 1083 in number, struggled for eight days with the great problem of selecting candidates who might be expected to command the entire party vote and whose chances of defeating the rival Republican ticket named at Chicago would be best. Under the time-honored rule of the Democratic party, a two-thirds vote was required to nominate, and through session after session it seemed impossible to find the man upon whom so large a proportion of the delegates could unite. The final result was brought about by clever political management, combined with the weariness of the delegates and the fact that many of them were running short of money and were anxious to start back to their homes. Nearly all of them had come a long way and were under heavy expense and several days before adjournment some of them had tried to break away and go home.

Really, this was an unbossed convention so far as the nominating of the ticket was concerned. It is true that the administration forces, represented by several cabinet officers and many other federal office holders, controlled the proceedings of the earlier sessions and the construction of the platform—exercising this control, however, smoothly and in a way that usually was devoid of offense to those who were controlled. But when it came to selecting the candidates, the delegates had their favorites, and they stood by them through the long series of ballots with remarkable steadfastness.

**Strategy of Candidates.**  
The strategy of the various factions was interesting. The Palmer forces, headed by the attorney general himself, were active from the beginning, with entertainments and argument and with the assistance of many charming women, but it was evident all along that many of the instructed Palmer delegates would break away from him when their duty had been performed and when they saw a chance to make a winning combination. The Cox boosters came with music and banners and noise, pervaded the city, never weakened in their claims that the Ohio governor was the winner and never overlooked an opportunity to impress that idea on the minds of the convention and the city generally. Mr. McAdoo's methods were declared by veteran politicians to be the cleverest of all. In the first place, he telegraphed his friends that he did not wish his name presented to the convention and that he was not seeking the nomination. He had no regular organization or headquarters here, and the whole McAdoo movement was started and carried on apparently quite without his consent or desire. A few of his admirers began it as soon as they arrived, and they speedily gathered in thousands of others, all of whom worked untiringly, though not obtrusively for the success of the former secretary of the treasury. The McAdoo boom appealed to the galleries and the people in the street, and especially to the women, who campaigned day and night everywhere.

As for the favorite sons, the strategy in their behalf generally took the form of quiet determination to keep

on voting for them until the rest of the convention, finding none of the leaders could win, should come to one of them as a welcome compromise. Of course, in many cases the favorite son was dropped after he had received the proper number of complimentary ballots.

As has been said, the administration forces controlled the organization and early doings of the convention. It was called to order by J. Bruce Kremer, vice chairman of the national committee, at noon Monday, June 28, and in his address he was so voluminous that it seemed there would be little left for the temporary chairman to say. That official, who was Homer S. Cummings, chairman of the national committee, did find that Mr. Kremer had anticipated many of his points, but he delivered a speech, nevertheless that won the hearty praise of all who heard or read it. Of course, he devoted the usual amount of time to denouncing the Republican party and its doings, and he did it in fine style. Also he naturally extolled all that his own party has done. The vast audience listened to all this with interest, but it evidently was awaiting the speaker's pronouncement on the great issue of the League of Nations. This may be epitomized by the quotation of three sentences:

"We will not submit to the repudiation of the peace treaty or to any process by which it is whittled down to the vanishing point."

"It is not reservation that the president stands against, but nullification."

"The trouble with the treaty of peace is that it was negotiated by a Democratic president."

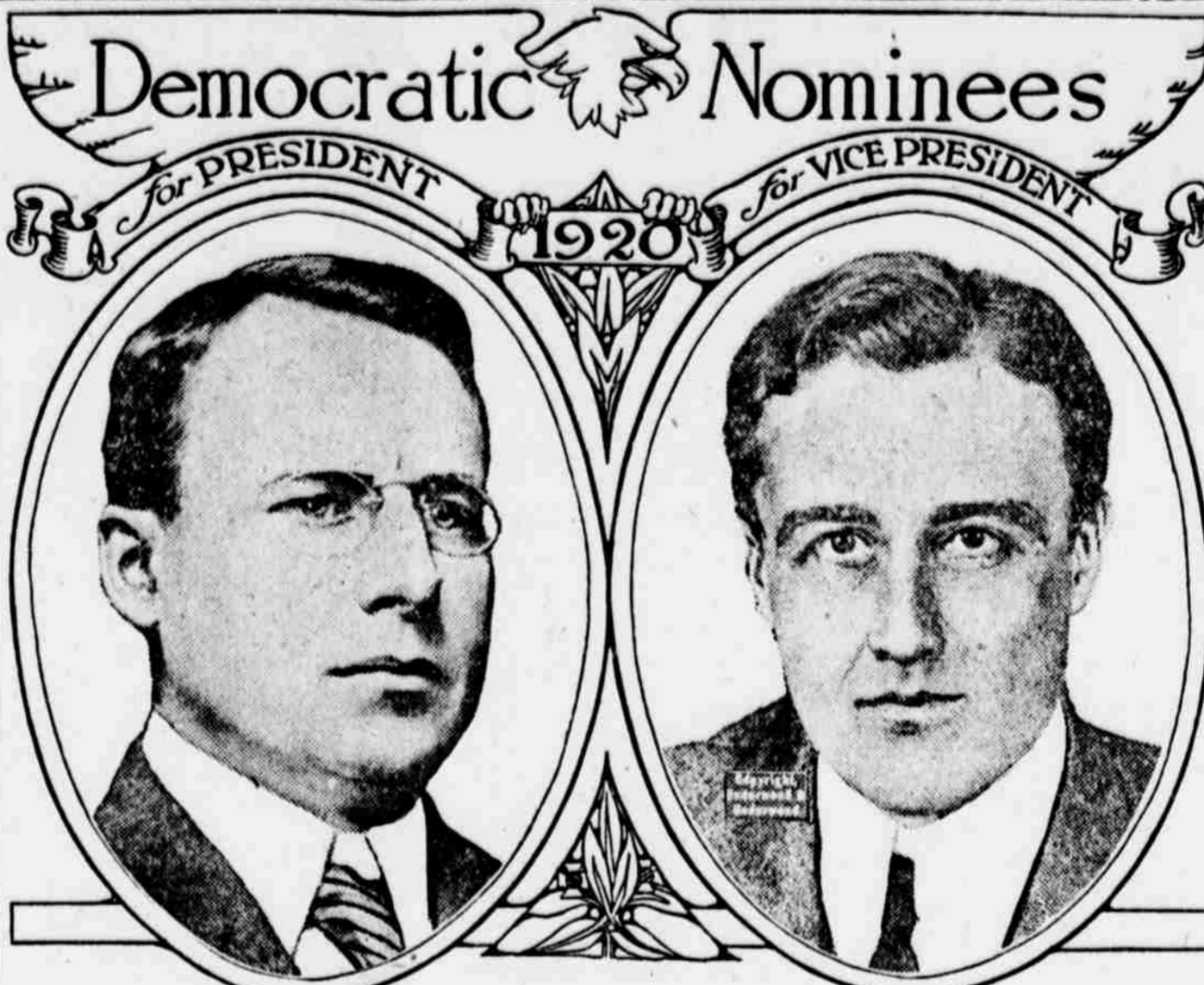
**Lively Action in Committees.**  
The committee on credentials got busy at once, with only two important contests to settle. One of these was the case of Georgia. The Palmer delegation from that state was seated as regular, despite the tremendous protests of the delegation representing the Hoke Smith-Tom Watson combination. This did not take long. Then came the fight over the seat claimed by Senator James Reed of Missouri. For three hours the debate raged, and a resolution was adopted that Reed "is not legally accredited and is not entitled to a seat in the convention." There was little effort then, or later, to conceal the fact that Mr. Reed was excluded because of his opposition to the president and his policies, but there were few mourning his fate. On Tuesday, when the credentials committee reported to the convention, Joseph Shannon, the other delegate from Reed's district, took the platform to protest formally against the "steamroller" of the senator. He was greeted with a storm of hisses and derisive howls to which he replied with some vigorous language, but the committee report was adopted with only a few opposing votes. Soon after Senator Reed went home, still protesting that he was a Democrat and was unalterably opposed to the League of Nations.

The second day of the convention was again devoted largely to oratory, for the program included the installation of Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas City as permanent chairman and the delivery of his address. Robinson was the administration's choice for the position and at no time was there reason to regret the selection. He presided throughout the many sessions with dignity, firmness and fairness. In his speech he went over most of the ground covered by Mr. Cummings, but he put more pep into his denunciations of the Republicans and aroused greater enthusiasm in the audience.

Because the committee on resolutions was having so complicated a struggle with the platform, it was decided that the nominating speeches for president should be heard before that committee reported. Therefore those oratorical efforts began Wednesday and ran through a part of the Thursday session.

On the roll of states Arizona yielded to Oklahoma wherefore the nomination of Senator Robert L. Owen was the first heard. His name was presented by D. H. Linebaugh. In well chosen phrases, but the small demonstration showed Owen's following was inconsiderable. Next appeared U. S. G. Cherry of South Dakota, full of strange language and bearded like the pard, to offer the name of James W. Gerard, who had the distinction of defying the German kaiser. Connecticut was the next state heard from, John S. Crosby, offering the name of that state's "greatest son," Homer S. Cummings. Mr. Cummings' popularity is unquestioned, and he was given a flattering ovation.

**Two Days of Speech Making.**  
As Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska had won the preferential primary in his state it was necessary that he be



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placed in nomination, and this was done by Governor Shallenberger, after which the heavier guns, came into action. Florida yielded to Pennsylvania and Palmer was presented by John H. Bigelow in a vehement speech which was frequently interrupted by the friends and the opponents of the attorney general. He emphasized especially Palmer's successful work as alien property custodian and defended him against the attacks of a section of the labor party because of his course during the coal and steel strikes. The demonstration that followed was long continued and fairly well sustained through the efforts of cheer leaders, but it lacked genuine spirit. Cox came next on the list and the supporters of the Ohio governor fully sustained their reputation as noise makers. Simeon M. Johnson was the nominator, and after he had told the fine points of his state and its chief executive the Coxites began their hullabaloo. The band they had brought from Ohio was stationed in one gallery and a group of singers in another, and whistles, bells and other noise producers helped make bedlam in the hall for more than half an hour while the state standards were carried through the aisles in endless procession.

One of the Cox seconding speeches was made by Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi and the crowd liked so well his lively sentences and his attack on local newspapers which he said were trying to dictate the nomination that an incipient boom for Harrison for vice president was started. Bourke Cockran, beloved orator of the Democracy, now ennobled Gov. Al Smith of New York and when he closed there was a demonstration which was rightly interpreted as an ovation to the speaker rather than to Smith, and the band played "The Side-walks of New York." "Missouri" called the reading clerk, and Rev. Burris Jenkins of Kansas City, stepped to the platform in the midst of wild yells. He explained that William G. McAdoo has insisted that he be not placed in nomination, but his admirers had decided that he should be drafted for the service of the country and he promised that if the convention saw fit to select Mr. McAdoo that gentleman would not decline the high honor, all reports or telegrams to the contrary being false. Then he retired, and Mr. McAdoo's boom was in the hands of his friends. They certainly did their part, for the demonstration was extraordinary, both on the floor and in the galleries.

It was difficult to get the crowd quiet after all this riot of enthusiasm, and Charles F. X. O'Brien of New Jersey found it hard to get a fair hearing for his candidate, Gov. Edward I. Edwards. The galleries were restive and the speaker was frequently interrupted, especially by those who resented the supposed "wet" policies of Edwards. This closed the nominating speeches for the day, but Thursday morning the grind was resumed, Senator Simmons of North Carolina, Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, Ambassador John W. Davis of West Virginia and Francis B. Harrison, governor general of the Philippines, being offered for the votes of the delegates.

**Bryan Versus Cockran.**  
The platform committee was not yet ready to report, so a recess until evening was taken. Again word came that Glass and his associates had not completed their task, and after music to appease the audience, the gathering adjourned until Friday morning. At that time the platform was submitted to the convention and the great battle between William Jennings Bryan on the one hand and those who opposed his ideas on the other was staged. Mr. Glass read the platform entirely through and moved its adoption, and at once Mr. Bryan took the platform to present a minority report. This included dry planks drafted by himself and Richmond Pearson Hobson, Bryan's planks on the peace treaty, national bulletins (a government-owned, nonpartisan newspaper), on military training and on profiteering.

He spoke on all these topics, devoting himself mainly to the treaty and dry planks, and from the start he showed he was in fine debating form and thoroughly in earnest. His prohibition plank called for a pledge to enforce the amendment and Volstead law in good faith, without any increase in the alcoholic content of beverages or any weakening of its other provisions. In another minority report Bourke Cockran offered a plank for elder, light wines and beer for home consumption. The committee report was silent on the subject of prohibition. So it was a three-sided battle, and the committee won. Bryan's plank got only 155½ votes and Cockran's got 356.

A plank pledging recognition of the Irish republic, offered by E. L. Doheny, was rejected by a vote of 675½ to 402½. Bryan's profiteering and national bulletin planks and one in favor of compensation for soldiers were lost by viva voce vote. Then Mr. Glass and Secretary of State Coby spoke at length for the committee report and it was accepted with only one opposing vote.

**Balloting Narrows to Three.**  
This brought the convention to the balloting, and two ballots were taken Friday evening. There were fifteen candidates and on the first ballots they stood as follows: McAdoo, 293, Palmer, 256, Cox, 134, Smith, 109, Edwards, 43, Owen, 38, Marshall, 37, Davis, 32, Meredith, 27, Glass, 26½, Cummings, 25, Simmons, 24, Gerard, 21, Hitchcock, 18, Harrison, 6.  
Before many ballots had been taken Saturday the contest had narrowed down to Cox, McAdoo and Palmer, with about a hundred scattering votes, but no one of the leaders was able to command anywhere near a two-thirds vote. At times efforts were made to start a switch to some dark horse, but these were futile. All day and until a few minutes of midnight the voting continued, and it was necessary to adjourn until Monday. After the Sunday rest the struggle was resumed, with the final results told above.

**Long Struggle Over Platform.**  
Because there were several great issues on which the party leaders and the party generally were sharply divided in opinion, the committee on resolution had an unusually difficult task in building a platform that would, in all its parts, command a majority vote of the convention. For several days and nights the committee, which included an unusual number of very eminent men, struggled and debated and at times quarreled. Every one who demanded it was given a hearing, whether he wanted to tell what to say about the League of Nations, the liquor question, the Irish republic, or one of the many minor matters under discussion. The administration forces made it clear from the start that what they desired was virtually a reproduction of the Virginia platform, so far as it went, and with Senator Carter Glass as chairman, the administration forces were in control of the committee. William Jennings Bryan, as chief protagonist of the bone-dry plank and the plan to advocate ratification of the treaty with reservations, fought manfully through many sessions of the platform builders, but got nowhere. When it was presented to the convention Friday afternoon the platform represented in almost all respects the ideas of Senator Glass and his administration associates.

**League Covenant Indorsed.**  
Starting with greetings to President Wilson, the platform promptly tackled the League of Nations, favoring it as the surest if not the only practicable means of maintaining the permanent peace of the world and terminating the burden of great military and naval establishments. It commends the president for steadfastly standing for the covenant agreed to by the allied and associated nations and condemns the Republican senate for "its refusal to ratify the treaty merely because it was the product of Democratic states-

manship." The words of Senator Lodge, in 1918, condemning the idea of making a separate peace, are quoted to confound him in his later attitude. The party advocates the "immediate ratification without reservations which would impair essential integrity, but does not oppose the acceptance of any reservations making clearer or more specific the obligations of the United States to the league associates." The insertion of the latter clause was the only point yielded to the opposition. It was drawn up by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts.

Concerning the conduct of the war, the platform gives praise to President Wilson for entire lack of partisan bias and scores the Republican party because, notwithstanding that, it "has recently required the consideration of the chief magistrate by savagely defaming the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and by assailing nearly every public officer of every branch of the service intimately concerned in winning the war abroad and preserving the security of the government at home."

Due admiration is expressed for our soldiers, sailors and marines and all men and women who aided in winning the war.

**G. O. P. and Living Cost.**  
The high cost of living and the depreciation of bond values are attributed primarily to the war itself and the Republican party is held for the post-armistice inflation through failure to restore peace and peace conditions in Europe. Attention is called to "vain and extravagant investigations" that have revealed nothing but the incapacity of Republican politicians to cope with the problems. "The Democratic party is pledged to a policy of strict economy and to the enactment and enforcement of legislation to bring profiteering before the bar of criminal justice."

The traditional policy of the Democratic party in favor of a tariff for revenue is reaffirmed, and the creation of an effective budget system favored. Considerable space is given to agricultural interests, the plank reciting the things the Democrats have done in the way of farm loan banks, the Smith-Lever agricultural extension act, and other legislation. It favors legislation to confirm to primary producers the right of collective bargaining and of co-operative handling and marketing of the products of the workshop and the farm.

The accomplishments of the party for the benefit of labor are held up to admiration, and it is asserted that the national security and safety depend on a just recognition of the rights of those who labor and on the conservation of the strength of the workers and their families. At the same time, it is declared, those whose labor creates the necessities upon which the life of the nation depends "must recognize the reciprocal obligation between the worker and the state." The party pledges itself to contrive, if possible, a fair method of composing the differences that lead to strikes and lockouts, but compulsory arbitration in private industrial disputes is opposed. With respect to government service the platform holds distinctly that "the rights of the people are paramount to the right to strike."

The woman suffrage amendment is heartily indorsed, and the states that have not ratified it are urged to do so in time to let all the women of the country vote in the fall elections. Federal co-operation with and assistance to the states for the protection of child life and the advancement of women in industry is urged.

It is asserted that the federal government should treat with the utmost consideration every disabled soldier sailor and marine of the world war. The work of the war risk insurance bureau is praised, and the enactment promised of soldier settlements and home aid legislation to afford the service men the opportunity to become land and home owners.

The vital importance of improved roadways to commerce and industry and to agriculture and rural life, is emphasized. The platform favors the continuance of the present federal aid plan; it promises the use of rural free delivery to the maximum of its capacity to help reduce the high cost of living and strongly favors the increased use of motor vehicles in the transportation of the mails.

Credit is taken for the Democratic party for the rebirth of the merchant marine and the policy of the party is pledged to its continued growth under proper legislation. The party is pledged also to stand for equality of rates for the ports of the country so there may be adequate and fair facilities and rates for the mobilization of the country's products offered for shipment.

Promise is made of the further development of inland waterway transportation facilities and the importance of connecting the great lakes with the sea by way of the Mississippi and its tributaries is especially recognized. The Democratic congress is commended for passing the flood control act, and the extension of this policy to other flood control problems is favored. A strong plank in favor of the extension of the reclamation of arid lands is included.

The creation and work of the federal trade commission are heartily indorsed, and the enactment of legislation for federal supervision of the live stock markets is urged.

As finally formulated and adopted, the Irish plank, upholding the principle of national self-determination, repeats, "within the limitation of international comity and usage, the party's former expressions of sympathy for the aspirations of Ireland for self-government." Sympathy, this time "active," is also expressed for the people of China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Poland and others who have recently established representative government and "deep and earnest sympathy" is expressed for the Armenians. The planks dealing with Alaska, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines are all the people of these regions asked.

**Women in Prominent Role.**  
An outstanding feature of the convention, and one altogether delightful, was the prominent part played by the women. The Republicans at Chicago gave the sex considerable recognition, but the Democrats went much further. For the first time a woman presided over a national party convention when for a little while Chairman Robinson surrendered the gavel to Mrs. George Boss of Chicago. For the first time a woman placed in nomination a presidential candidate when Miss Bessie Dwyer of Washington and Manila presented the name of Governor General Harrison of the Philippines. Many of the seconding speeches were made by women and almost without exception they were good speeches, well delivered. One of these, by Mrs. Julia Brown of West Virginia, was voted the most charming speech made during the convention and it was no great surprise to learn that the graceful, pretty woman was formerly on the stage. She was Izetta Jewel in those days. Another woman, Mrs. Martha Nelson McCann, made the shortest seconding speech, using only eighteen words and she was cheered for her consideration. In all the demonstrations the women were to the fore and the choir left and stage were always thronged with them. Altogether the women added immensely to the interest and picturesqueness of the convention.

**City Sets Mark in Hospitality.**  
No one who was in San Francisco during the convention will deny that the Golden Gate city set a mark in the entertaining of conventions that never has been equaled and that other convention cities will find it hard to live up to in the future. Never before had any party held its quadrennial gathering west of the Rocky mountains and the wisdom of the national committee in selecting San Francisco was questioned by many. But now probably few of the delegates and guests regret the necessary expenditure of time and money or would hesitate to travel again to California on the same errand.

Never were convention crowds more expeditiously handled or better housed, and never was a convention better handled and with so little confusion and fuss. The visitors were received hospitably and entertained lavishly by the people of San Francisco, and, what is more remarkable, they were not "robbed." Rates and prices were not advanced to take advantage of the demand. A citizens' committee arranged frequent excursions to the many points of interest in and about the city, and kept the room of each delegate and correspondent boundlessly supplied with beautiful flowers and luscious fruits. The main streets were handsomely decorated with bunting and flowers throughout the week.

As for the convention hall—the Civic Auditorium—it was almost ideal for the purpose. By the addition of a specially designed decorative canvas ceiling and the installation of the voice magnifying device used in Chicago, the acoustics were made practically faultless. The speaker's voice was carried to the farthest corner of the great edifice and did not have the phonographic quality that was noticed in the Chicago coliseum. Committee rooms, lunch rooms and emergency hospitals were beyond criticism. Most of the ushers were young women from the University of California, and they and the other attendants performed their duties with courtesy and efficiency.

All this may sound overenthusiastic, but it is the sober judgment of one who has seen many national conventions. (Copyright, 1920, Western Newspaper Union.)