

HOW WARREN G. HARDING WAS NOMINATED BY THE REPUBLICANS

Story of the National Convention at Chicago, the Struggle to Build a Platform and the Selection of a Ticket.

GOVERNOR COOLIDGE GIVEN SECOND PLACE

Wood, Lowden and Johnson, Leaders in the Early Balloting, Eliminated at the Behest of a Senatorial Coterie and a Dark Horse Wins the Race.

By EDWARD W. PICKARD.

For President—WARREN G. HARDING of Ohio.

For Vice President—CALVIN COOLIDGE of Massachusetts.

There is the ticket with which the Republicans hope and intend to regain possession of the national government next fall.

For president, a man from the home state of many presidents, a statesman of long experience and solid reputation, who has been a member of the United States senate since 1914, a member of the "old guard" who stands well with the Republicans who are in control of the senate.

For vice president, the governor of the Bay state, who was virtually unknown to the nation at large until the strike of Boston policemen and his vigorous course in its suppression gave him a vast amount of publicity and made him the favorite son of Massachusetts in the balloting for first place on the ticket.

These gentlemen now stand before the electors of the country on a platform that is so broad that it embraces nearly every topic and issue of the day, though there are those who assert that in some places the planks are perilously thin. Its builders, however, maintain that there is no danger of the candidates falling through the weak spots, and it may be that, with some judicious straddling and side-stepping, this will prove true.

Struggle Over the Platform.

Seldom, if ever, has the choice of a presidential candidate been so closely connected with the building of the platform—or it might be more exact to say the rejection of a candidate. For if Hiram Johnson and his supporters could have compelled the adoption of just the plank they demanded on the League of Nations issue, the California senator, and he alone, could with consistency have consented to go before the people standing on the platform. As it was, his threat to bolt the party caused a long deadlock in the deliberations of the committee on resolutions and at last forced the adoption of a plank based on the cabined suggestion of Elihu Root. That wise man had gone to Europe, but kept in close touch with the doings in Chicago and at the crucial moment his plan was presented to Johnson, Borah, McCormick and the other "irreconcilables" and accepted by them.

The resolution as finally incorporated in the platform, and swallowed by the convention, almost without a quiver, completely avoids any pledge to ratify the treaty of peace and the league covenant with or without reservations, strongly indorses the action of the Republican senators in that regard and promises that the party will work for some kind of international arrangement for the peaceful adjustment of disputes between nations without the sacrifice of American sovereignty. Thus, as will be seen, the way is left open for an administration elected on this platform to do almost anything it sees fit in this regard, except to ratify a treaty and league covenant such as President Wilson brought home from Paris.

Wilson's Policies Scored.

For the rest, the platform, in brief, scores President Wilson and the Democratic administration for their unpreparedness for war and for the equally unprepared condition of the nation for the reception of peace. Denouncing the autocratic assumption of authority by the president, the platform pledges the restoration of constitutional government. The Republican congress is praised for its efforts to cope with the problems caused by the president's course.

The farmers gained their requested support for extension of farm loans and the right to engage in co-operative marketing and buying.

The industrial plank was the subject of much discussion. Some of the committee members, presumably speaking for big business, favored a plank for the prevention of strikes by law. Governor Allen and others wanted the Kansas industrial court plan indorsed. And President Gompers traveled all the way to Chicago to tell the committee what kind of plank the American Federation of Labor demanded. None of these requests were satisfied, but the plank adopted recognizes the justice of collective bargaining and continues:

"The strike, or the lockout, as a means of settling industrial disputes, inflicts such loss and suffering on the community as to justify government initiative to reduce its frequency and limit its consequences.

"We deny the right to strike against the government; but the rights and in-

terests of all government employees must be safeguarded by impartial laws and tribunals."

On Economy and H. C. of L.

The failure of the administration to retrench during the post-war period and the addition of thousands of swivel chair warmers are derided and the party pledges itself to a policy of economy and a carefully planned readjustment. The need of an executive budget and condemnation of the presidential veto that defeated this financial reform was coupled with caustic characterization of the manner in which the president, according to the Republicans, clings to his wartime powers. Revision of taxation also is demanded.

Coming to the great issue of the high cost of living, the committee drew up a declaration to the effect that the present conditions are the result of an inflation of the currency and of credit which the party pledges itself to correct by deflation, the prevention of unreasonable profits and the stimulation of private thrift by a change in the income tax law. The party reaffirmed its belief in the protective tariff, and pledged the encouragement of an American merchant marine by the application of the workman's compensation act and the exemption from canal tolls of the merchant marine.

Profitreing was condemned, government ownership of railways opposed, waterways encouraged and the regulation of industry and commerce prom-



Mrs. Warren G. Harding.

ised in order to prevent monopolies. Resumption of trade relations with every nation with which America is at peace was pledged. No changes were promised in the existing immigration laws, but the bettering of naturalization laws was pledged, and the party went on record as favoring a policy by which American women who marry foreigners shall not lose their citizenship. The government's authority to deport and exclude undesirable aliens was upheld, but assurance was given that the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly will not be abridged.

What They Said of Mexico.

A large number of minor topics were handled in the platform, and then came the plank on Mexico. It dealt very severely with President Wilson's policy and pledged that the party will not recognize any Mexican government unless the lives and property of Americans there are protected. Armenia came next in the list of planks. Deep sympathy was expressed for the Armenians, but the president was condemned for asking for authority to accept an Armenian mandate and it was added that the Republican party was unalterably against the acceptance of a mandate for any country in Europe or Asia.

The men who fought in the great war were assured of the party's deep gratitude and were promised liberal legislation for the care of the disabled, infirm and dependents.

Though William Jennings Bryan was present throughout the entire life of the convention with the avowed purpose of persuading the Republicans to insert a "dry" plank in their platform, he failed—possibly because the timely decision of the Supreme court seemed to render unnecessary any explicit declaration. The convention merely declared that all laws should be enforced, and let it go at that.

Women and Irish Displeased.

Two other elements also were disappointed. These were the suffragists



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and the friends of the Irish "republic." The former, under the leadership of the heads of the woman's party, were in Chicago in strength and during the entire week maintained around the Coliseum a line of pickets bearing banners that warned the Republicans that the women demanded the franchise and would be satisfied with no less. A plank was inserted in the platform urging Republican legislatures that have not acted to ratify the suffrage amendment, but this did not appease the ladies. In the last few moments of the last session they dropped from a balcony a great yellow banner on which was the statement that they wanted votes, not planks. As for the Irish, they, too, made a big demonstration in Chicago and De Valera, the president of their "republic" was there to deliver a speech before a great gathering. But something went wrong with the plans; and the plank which was tentatively shaped for the platform suited them so little that it was omitted entirely and nothing put in its place. There was a story that this resolution had been drawn up by Justice Cohan of New York in the hope that it would be unsuitable and that the Democrats in San Francisco would be enabled to take advantage of the circumstance. So, though considerable space has been given to the platform of the Republican party, it is not because it must be considered as a great or a particularly strong pronouncement. Lots of men and women in the party are far from pleased with many parts of it, and it must be confessed that the writer failed to find anyone who was crazed with enthusiasm over it.

The story of this convention would be intensely interesting if one could tell all the truth about the secret influences that governed its actions. On the surface it was not a very exciting affair, and the enthusiastic outbursts that characterized some of its sessions appeared too often to be factitious. For five days the 14,000 delegates, alternates, seat-holders and possessors of tickets that allowed them to stand about the few open places and hamper everyone else gathered faithfully in the Coliseum, prepared to howl with glee over expected contests and triumphs. But most of the time all they could do was to cheer for their favorite on occasion and try to keep up with the strong-lunged cheer and song leader who had been brought up from Camp Devens.

Bossed by Senators.

From the first it was heralded as that most unusual thing, an unbosomed convention. All the experts asserted that the delegates were going to do as they pleased and that the old-time leadership was impotent. For a day or two this seemed true, but then the senate coterie got into action, and from that time to the end what was done was generally what it wished done. To start with Senator Lodge was selected as temporary chairman, and was continued permanently in the place, the entire temporary organization being retained. On the all-important committee on resolutions there were numerous senators and ex-senators, and they pretty much dictated the makeup of the platform. In the selection of the ticket their influence was seen and felt in every move and every shift of votes, clear down to the moment when Senator Harding received the ballots that made him the convention's choice. All this time the greatest of the old-time party bosses still alive, Senator Boies Penrose, lay on a sick bed in his Philadelphia home. But a direct telephone wire was run into that room and there was scarcely an hour of the day or night when he was not in communication with his friend, John T. King. He knew all that was going on, and it is fair to assume that in most cases he knew beforehand that it was going to go on. What happened, happened because he willed that it should happen. This is not written exactly in criticism, for it may be that what Penrose decreed will suit the party and result in its

victory in November. But the fact cannot be blinked that some eminent Democrats who attended the convention went away with grins of satisfaction decorating their faces.

Lodge Was Too Scholarly.

To go back to the beginning again, something must be said of the keynote address by Chairman Lodge. It was one of the most scholarly efforts of its kind, and the great mass of the delegates, to say nothing of the audience, utterly failed to comprehend it. The senator did not once descend to the level of most of his hearers, and consequently he failed to arouse any great measure of enthusiasm.

It was noticeable that this address, as well as every other speech and the platform as well, devoted its denunciatory passages not to the Democratic party, as is usually the case, but to President Wilson. It was always his acts and his policies that were condemned—and the language used in dealing with him was scorching. Of course, the reason for this is that, from the viewpoint of the Republicans, Mr. Wilson has been the Democratic party for the last seven years.

The first day found three candidates in the forefront of the race for the nomination, and while the preliminaries were completed their workers were straining every nerve to have them make the best possible show on the first ballot. These men were Governor Lowden of Illinois, General Leonard Wood, and Senator Hiram Johnson of California. From their elaborate headquarters in the hotels swarms of men and women flocked to the Coliseum with banners and buttons and literature. Each of them was certain of victory—for public consumption—but each of them knew in his heart that he could not win if the senatorial bosses had their way. All the rest of the possible candidates really ranked as dark horses. They included Herbert Hoover, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia university, Gov. Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts, Senator Poindexter of Washington, Senator Howard Sutherland of West Virginia, Governor Sprout of Pennsylvania, Senator Philander Knox of Pennsylvania and Senator La Follette of Wisconsin. A long enough list in all conscience. From these dark horses, it was predicted, would emerge the winner, and the prophecy was fulfilled.

Routine Work, Then Oratory.

It required three days to get through with the preliminary work of the gathering and to have the platform built, read and adopted. The latter took place on Thursday. As has been said, the resolutions met with almost unanimous approval. A young man from Milwaukee was the only dissenting member of the committee and he presented a minority report that embodied many of the policies advocated by La Follette. The audience did not want to hear him and he took advantage of their impatience to try to place himself in the position of a martyr, but Chairman Lodge cleverly forestalled this, and the minority report was speedily dumped into the waste basket.

Friday was the day of oratory. Men who thought themselves eloquent and others who really were eloquent mounted the speaker's platform in procession throughout most of the day to place before the convention the names and qualifications of the candidates. In many cases women were among those who seconded the nominations, and usually they acquitted themselves much more to the satisfaction of their hearers than did the men, for they were brief, snappy and graceful of address.

On the roll call of states Arizona yielded to Kansas, and Governor Henry J. Allen stepped up to nominate General Wood. Though obviously nervous and not quite adequate of voice, he did his excellent subject full justice, setting forth specially the fine record the general had made in Cuba and the Philippines, and his preparedness for war when the great conflict broke out.

"We heard from him no platitudes about a million men springing to arms over night," cried Allen, and everyone strained for a look at Mr. Bryan, who sat in the press stand close to the speaker.

The governor went on to describe Wood's skillful training of an army and his unselfish and uncompromising devotion to duty when he was kept from going to Europe in command of the boys whom he had taught how to fight and conquer. He also recounted the general's success in quelling labor and race disturbances within the last year or so, and dwelt on his popularity with the very men whom he had been sent to quiet.

Wood's Feathery Ovation.

As the governor ceased speaking a storm of applause broke out, and another storm of red and green feathers fell from the rafters all over the house. The Wood delegates marched through the aisles, led by Beveridge of Indiana and Frank Hitchcock, and the tumult continued for half an hour. "If Wood drops feathers, I suppose Johnson will drop light wines and beers from the rafters," laughed Mr. Bryan, and someone said: "Get your cup ready then, William."

The demonstration was calmed at last—really it did not seem very spontaneous—and after Frank Knox of New Hampshire had made a second speech, the first of the convention's women orators appeared. She was Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson of New York, sister of the late Colonel Roosevelt. With much of the colonel's fire and vim, she told why Leonard Wood should be the next president, and she told it so well that prolonged applause rewarded her efforts.

Governor Lowden's turn came next, and the honor of presenting his name was entrusted to Congressman Rodenberg of Illinois, a big man with a big voice who made an old-fashioned speech that hit the audience in the right way. He, too, had an excellent subject, whose cause was handicapped only by the revelations of excessive expenditures brought out by the senate committee at the instigation of Johnson and his friends.

Johnson's Sponsor a Failure.

Charles S. Wheeler of San Francisco had been deputed to place Senator Johnson in nomination, and much was expected of him, because a reputation for fiery eloquence had preceded him. But, though his address was smooth and his voice pleasing, he scored the worst failure of the entire convention. He evoked some cheering from the galleries by a denunciation of the League of Nations, but soon after made the gross mistake of twitting the reservationists on having been worsted by Johnson in the committee on resolutions. The delegates did not relish that, nor did most of the others in the hall. Then he made an unfortunate allusion to the campaign expenditure revelations, and as those had hit most of the candidates, their friends resented it with boos and hisses. Mr. Wheeler smilingly waited for the row to cease, and proceeded to finish an address that was fully twice as long as it should have been. His poor performance cost a wet blanket on the planned demonstration, and the California delegates, accompanied by a few others, marched rather sadly through the aisles, listlessly waving flags.

Far better than Wheeler's was the speech for Johnson by Thomas D. Schall, the blind congressman from Minneapolis, and better, also, were the

brief talks by Richard Doherty of New Jersey, Charles P. O'Neil of Michigan and Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson of California.

Now began the parade of dark horses. They were led forth as follows: Calvin Coolidge, by Speaker Gillette of the house of representatives and Mrs. Alexander Peiffer; Butler, by Ogden Mills of New York; Pritchard, by Marion Butler of North Carolina; Hoover by Judge Nathan L. Miller of New York; Harding, by Frank Willis of Ohio; Sprout, by William I. Schaffer; Poindexter, by George H. Walker, and Sutherland, by Joseph M. Sanders. When Wisconsin was reached on the roll call the clerk paused expectantly, but no one appeared to nominate La Follette, and the crowd seemed grateful.

Balloting is Begun.

The powers that were decreed that several ballots should be taken that day before adjournment, and in an excited hush the call of the states was begun. The hush did not last, however, for every considerable vote for any one aspirant was greeted with the cheers of his friends.

As had been foretold, Wood led on the first ballot with 287½ votes, Lowden was second with 211½, and Johnson gathered in 133½. The others in general were accorded the votes of their home states and a few more. Of the Wisconsin delegation 24 voted for La Follette; and it may as well be recorded here that those 24 delegates kept voting for La Follette, to the bitter end. And every time the announcement was greeted with groans and hisses from the galleries.

In the following three ballots Wood climbed to 314½, which the wise ones said was about his maximum strength. Lowden also increased his vote, going up to 283, while Johnson reached 140½. The votes for the dark horses did not vary to any great extent though Butler lost steadily and Pritchard soon dropped out entirely. By this time everyone was ready for a rest and the convention adjourned to Saturday morning.

The Break to Harding.

The crowd filled the Coliseum to suffocation on what was destined to be the final day of the convention, for it was felt that the conferences of the preceding night would be fruitful. The senatorial coterie had been in session many hours and the word was passed around that they had picked on Harding as the nominee. In the early ballots of Saturday the Ohioan did not gain rapidly, and all were waiting for the moment when the big delegations from New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts would find the time ripe for a break. The men from the Keystone state had been voting almost solidly for Sprout, for the bosses were not decided between him and Harding. And the New Yorkers really did not know to whom to throw their strength.

Johnson's vote dwindled gradually, and then the Lowden column suddenly began to go to pieces. He was really the victim of the shift, for the Wood delegations stood by the general almost to the last moment. On the ninth ballot it was seen that Harding could be "put across," so the uncertain ones climbed into the band wagon on the tenth and gave the Ohio senator a grand total of 674½, which was 181½ more than necessary to nominate.

The hubbub was deafening and after Pennsylvania put 60 votes in the Harding column the clerks could scarcely complete the roll call. At its finish the usual motion to make the choice unanimous was made, but those 24 La Follette men from Wisconsin voted in the negative and marred the love feast.

Coolidge Gets Second Place.

There still remained the task of selecting a vice presidential candidate. Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin, Governor Allen of Kansas, Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts and Col. Harry Anderson of Virginia were placed in nomination and the roll of the states was called. Lenroot received a good vote, but Coolidge was the evident favorite and long before the roll was completed his nomination was assured. The 24 La Follette men voted for Senator Gromm.

With some difficulty Chairman Lodge, whose voice was gone, managed to hold the delegates together long enough to pass the usual resolutions of thanks to the officials of the convention and to the city of Chicago, and then the republican convention of 1920 came to an end.

Convention Well Handled.

The management of the convention hall really deserved thanks, for the seating, the polling and the other arrangements were the best ever seen in such gatherings. The Coliseum was handsomely decorated and well lighted and the comfort of the delegates and guests was as well looked after as could be expected. Of course the usual swarm of sergeants at arms was present, clogging up the aisles and getting in the way of the workers, but that is inevitable, for the distribution of those badges is a requisite of the local Republicans. It was no worse this time than usual. The doors were in charge of a force of ex-service men under the command of General Ryan, and their work was done with military efficiency.

Everyone had good things to say about the music supplied by Johnny Hand's band, which was stationed in a lofty little gallery. On occasion it was led by John Hand third, a sturdy chap in brilliant uniform who used the baton presented to his father, Armin Hand, by Theodore Roosevelt at the Progressive convention. It was made of wood from trees on the "River of Doubt," which the colonel discovered. (Copyright, 1920, Western Newspaper Union.)