

Mark Sullivan Discusses Henry Ford's Chances for Presidency

Popularity No Road to White House

Political Machinery Needed to Elect Candidate, and Manufacturer Has No Organized Backing

Real Power as Citizen

When you observe the seriousness with which Henry Ford has become president are discussed or are tempted to affirm the idea that practical politics actually is an art and really has laws which the outsiders understand and as to which the outsiders are quite uninformed. It is not an impossibility for Ford to be the next president of the United States. But for reasons having to do with the art of practical politics, it is so far from possible that it can only be looked upon as having the chances of a flood, or a cyclone, or some other similar, irregularity of nature. This is said with complete belief that it is quite possible, even quite probable, that there are more individual voters in the United States who would like to see Ford become president than there are adherents to any other one man—that Ford has more of the kind of support that politicians call "grass roots" sentiment than any other one man. But men do not get to the presidency by virtue alone of having a greater popularity following than any other one man. If they did Roosevelt would have been elected in 1912, Bryan would have been president once, and so possibly would Daniel Webster and Henry Clay.

Men get to the presidency by a process which is a combination of popularity and so to speak, the mechanism of practical politics. And it is chiefly Ford's relation to the mechanism of practical politics that the present article aims to deal with. Nearer a Republican. Just for the sake of a beginning, consider first Ford's relation to the republican nomination. There is some ground for believing that Ford is more republican than a democrat, and that, other things being equal, he and the personnel of his intimate surroundings would rather see him have a public identification with the republican party than with the democratic party. Also, it is a fact that the death of Harding makes quite a little difference in Ford's relation to the republican party. If Harding had lived Ford would never have contested the republican nomination with him. I don't think he will contest for the republican nomination anyhow, but the present article is taking account of the whole scope of possibilities.

Ford, like nearly everybody else who understood Harding, had a kind of feeling for him. Moreover, Ford thought it was likely that Harding actually had a closer kinship to the present time and was therefore really better adapted to the presidency than himself. Harding's death removes this reason for Ford staying out of the republican situation. As I have already said, I think it is probable he will stay out of it anyhow. But this also may be said: Assuming that Ford's intimate advisers should not rally round Coolidge in the way they had determined to with Harding, assuming that the next national republican convention is an open field, with everybody in it who chooses to go in, and assuming that Ford is one of the entries—in this unlikely combination of assumptions Ford might readily have more delegates than any other one candidate.

No Chance in Convention. Coolidge would be sure to have a large number of the delegates, but Ford might readily equal, or even exceed Coolidge's strength. Coolidge will have all the New England delegates. But just as certainly so would Ford have the delegates of a district with equal population. Ford, if he were an aggressive candidate for the republican nomination in an open field, could probably have the delegates from a group of states consisting of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, North and South Dakota. He might also get the delegation from Iowa if that delegation were chosen wholly by direct primary in the way that the delegates from the other states named are. Also, Ford might have the delegates from a few southern or border states, like Tennessee and Oklahoma—from those of the southern and border states whose delegations are determined in any degree by the popularity of the candidate rather than by the will of the leaders.

able to pick the delegates, even though they go through the form of a popular primary. So the net of it is that in the next republican convention probably three-fourths of the delegates will be republican. Ford's chances for getting the wills of one republican leader or another. And in a republican convention in which three-fourths of the delegates reflect the wills of the politicians Henry Ford will have no chance. In all the length and breadth of the United States there is probably not one republican leader, big or little, who would like to see Henry Ford get the nomination. Under these circumstances, the mechanism for preventing his getting it is quite simple and certain to work effectively. All of which means that Ford as a candidate for the republican nomination may be dismissed. Formidable With Democrats. Consider now Ford's chances for getting the democratic nomination. It is commonly taken for granted that if Ford elects to go into the primaries of one party as against the other he will choose—or his friends and supporters will choose—the democratic party. That is, he will certainly go up to the time of Harding's death, because it was taken for granted that Harding would get the republican nomination and that it would be futile to oppose him. It probably continues to be the case now. If Ford's friends elect to make their try-out in one party rather than the other, it will be the democratic party. And yet the fact is that as things stand today Ford is even less likely to get the democratic nomination than the republican nomination. If Ford should enter the democratic primaries, he might readily come into the convention with the most formidable body of delegates. He might have more than any other one candidate. He might have fully a third or even a half of the delegates. But in the democratic national conventions half the delegates go to one party or the other. If Ford is not enough to nominate, the democratic rule calls for two-thirds to nominate—contrasting with the republican rule, which only calls for a majority. Where the rule calls for two-thirds to nominate it is very easy for the experienced party leaders to control as much as one-third of the delegates, and in fact it is quite certain that all the more experienced and substantial democratic leaders would make it the effort of their lives to veto Ford's nomination. They would want to do it and they would be able to do it. I have said that among the republican politicians who would like Ford to get the nomination, it may be possible that there are a few scattered local leaders who would either be passively willing to let Ford have the nomination or are willing to vote for him if he were the best vote-getter to nominate. But the number of such leaders relative to the whole number is very small. The net of the democratic situation is that it is unlikely, almost to the point of impossibility, for Ford to get that nomination.

Might Try Third Party. We come now to Ford's chances of becoming president through the mechanism of a third party. Having said a while ago that Ford probably has a larger personal following than any other one politician in either party, it would seem to follow that as the candidate of a third party he could beat both the republican and the democrat. But that is mere "paper politics." It is the sort of calculation which is easy to write down with pencil, but which does not work out in practice. Roosevelt, in the early spring of 1912, unquestionably had a larger personal following than William H. Taft or Woodrow Wilson, or any other one man. Nevertheless, when Roosevelt organized a third party and tried for the election, he was defeated. Broadly speaking, the history of that effort of Roosevelt and the progressive party in 1912 is a complete and final answer to all third party movements. (This is subject to a qualification to be explained here.) The common way of expressing it is that if Roosevelt could not win on a third party ticket under the circumstances of 1912, nobody can. The progressive party in 1912 had the best platform, and they had access to more money than either of the other parties or candidates. Under these circumstances Roosevelt's failure is commonly taken as a conclusive reason why no man running on a third ticket can win the presidency.

Too Complicated. But now for the qualification to the assertion made in the preceding paragraph. Roosevelt did not organize his party until August, 1912. The election was less than three months later, early in November, 1912. The time was too short. Most attempts at third parties are made in this way. The leaders of the movement wait until both the regular parties have held their conventions. They keep indulging in some sort of hope that one or the other party will take their candidate or adopt their principles. Only after that hope is dispelled do they get down to the business of organizing a third party. By that time the time is so short that, when I say the time is too short, that really does not express it fully. That is not the true or complete reason. The best way to state the real reason is to start from another angle and explain just how Ford could have the maximum chance to win on a third party—and how he might actually win with a third party. To do so he would have to take these steps: He would have to begin now. That last word "now" is essential. He would have to start immediately on the building up of his third party on a nation-wide scale. He would have to announce himself as a candidate. But, in addition—and this is most important—he would need to have a complete ticket all the way down the line in every community. In every state, county, town and precinct. He would have to have a complete set of third party candidates—for governor, for senators, for congressmen, for the state legislature, for sheriff, for county treasurer, for constable.

No Running Mate. At this point we can go back and show the true reason why third parties fail. They wait until the two major parties have held their conventions. That means that in every state, county, town and precinct two sets of candidates are already up for

all the minor offices. It is under these conditions that the third ticket comes into the field—a third ticket which, as a rule, has only a candidate for president and thinks only in terms of the presidency. It is too late and too late too short to go through the process of setting up a full set of nominees for all the local offices and the complete personnel of a party. Moreover, by that time in all the small communities the men with ambitions to hold the local offices have secured their nominations and the people in those smaller districts have crystallized in their local allegiances. A real third party must be a complete party. It must include everything from president down to constable. A candidate for president alone cannot get out the maximum vote—even the maximum of that vote which actually prefers it—without the added volume and momentum of a complete set of thousands of candidates for minor offices and their millions of friends.

A third party, started only after the two major parties have held their conventions next year, cannot possibly win. A third party started now, and started in the right way, might have an equal chance to win. It would require enormous energy and enormous resources. It would probably take as much as \$20,000,000 or \$30,000,000 for the essential and legitimate work of organization. Moreover, it would be essential that this organization should be built along political lines and should have as its base in the precincts either men experienced in politics or men with a natural gift for politics.

Not a Matter of Business. Occasionally it is said that Ford's business organization would be sufficient—that he could build his third party on the foundation of the Ford organization which already exists for the purpose of selling automobiles. It is true that this Ford business organization is extremely efficient, well disciplined, composed of the ablest men in their line. It is also true that the Ford business organization is country-wide and minute—that there is a Ford agent in practically every village. It is also true that this Ford agent, by virtue of his dealings with the farmers and other who buy automobiles, has a superb, minute knowledge of his neighborhood. And whether on paper looks formidable, but in fact is much less so. Selling Ford automobiles is one thing. Getting out the vote for a political candidate is another thing. Speaking by and large, you could take the Ford agent in any town and pit against him the best local democratic or republican political leader in that community and as between the two in any effort to succeed at the polls the Ford agent would be hopelessly outclassed. These local political leaders are invariably men of substance. If they were not, they could not hold their places. They have a background, long and large, of favors done for their constituents, personal and political, of family affiliations and the like.

If Henry Ford wants to visualize how futile it would be to try to build a political organization on his business organization, let him consider the situation. Let him consider for a moment how he would react to the proposal of putting the local political leader to selling his automobiles as against his trained and experienced automobile salesman. Ford wouldn't think of doing that. And if he puts his mind on it he will dismiss the converse of that, which would be putting his Ford agents at the work of politics.

French Do Not Show Gratitude

Lloyd George Says Poincare Is Failing to Get Coal, but Gets British Gold.

Watch German Regime

Those who ignore the effect which powerful and magnetic personalities may have upon the fortunes of nations in despair must have forgotten their history books. The fall of Dr. Cuno and the rise of Herr Stresemann may well turn out to be a more decisive event than the dispatch or publication of the Curzon note. But if he lacks those rare qualities which can alone inspire a people in an emergency to heroic actions and endurance, then there is nothing but chaos in front of Germany. For the moment it is more important to keep a discerning eye on Herr Stresemann than to peruse these endless notes and speeches.

It is not often I find myself in agreement with M. Poincare, but when he says that British unemployment is not attributable to occupation of the Ruhr, I am in entire accord with him. In November last I called the attention to the house of commons to world conditions which injuriously affected our export trade, and which made unemployment inevitable in the British labor market for some time to come.

We are more dependent on our overseas trade, export and import shipping, and incidental business, than any country in the world. Nearly half of our industrial and commercial activities are associated with outside trade in all its forms. That is not a full statement of the case, for if this important section of our business were to languish, it would also inevitably suffer by the consequential diminution in the purchasing capacity of our people.

Before the French ever entered the Ruhr our overseas trade was down to 75 per cent of its prewar level. Our population has increased by 2,000,000 since 1918. Our taxation has increased four-fold. Our national debt ten-fold. But our business is down 25 per cent. What is this fall in our outside sales and services attributable to? It is the direct consequence of the war. Our customers throughout Europe are impoverished. What is just as bad, our customers' purchases are impoverished. So that neither can we buy at our usual quantities or qualities which they could be relied upon to purchase before the war.

Europe Is Economic Keystone. Until Europe can buy Australia, Canada, India and China cannot pay, as the prime minister pointed out in his last house of commons speech. Germany before the war bought Australian wool, Canadian grain, Indian jute and tea, and the proceeds as often as not went to pay for goods bought by those countries in British markets. The same observation applies to Russia, Austria and the Levantine countries.

The purchasing capacity of Europe must therefore be replenished. That must at best take years of patient effort. It is not often I find myself in agreement with M. Poincare, but when he says that British unemployment is not attributable to occupation of the Ruhr, I am in entire accord with him.

Germany has suffered more from weak or misguided leadership in recent years than any great country in the world. It blundered it into the war; it blundered it through the war; it blundered into the armistice; it blundered during peace negotiations, and it has blundered its affairs badly after the peace. But no one can predict what Germany is capable of with a wise and strong leadership. Her Stresemann has a responsibility cast upon him and an opportunity afforded him as have not been given to any statesman since the days of Stein and his coadjutors for regenerating his country and lifting it out of the slough of despair in which it has been sinking deeper and deeper.

Controversies Raging Over Honor for Bernhardt

Paris, Aug. 25.—Sarah Bernhardt has not been dead many months, but already several controversies are raging about her. There is the question of a statue. Paris abounds with statues to great men, but with the exception of Edith Cavell and Marie Curie, no one is commemorated by a statue erected by the state. And if somebody wanted to change the name of the Place du Chatelet, where the Sarah Bernhardt theater is situated, to the Place Sarah Bernhardt. This also met strenuous opposition.

What! Name a street or a place after a woman? Scarcely had Sarah been buried before a group of municipal councilors put forward a project to close the Sarah Bernhardt theater, which belongs to the city, and construct on its site a home for aged actors.

A burst of indignation followed and the matter is not yet settled. It was declared by the councilor making the motion that Sarah was the worst client the city had ever had. She seldom paid her rent and was owing it for three years when she died. And then somebody wanted to change the name of the Place du Chatelet, where the Sarah Bernhardt theater is situated, to the Place Sarah Bernhardt.

What! Name a street or a place after a woman? Scarcely had Sarah been buried before a group of municipal councilors put forward a project to close the Sarah Bernhardt theater, which belongs to the city, and construct on its site a home for aged actors.

A burst of indignation followed and the matter is not yet settled. It was declared by the councilor making the motion that Sarah was the worst client the city had ever had. She seldom paid her rent and was owing it for three years when she died. And then somebody wanted to change the name of the Place du Chatelet, where the Sarah Bernhardt theater is situated, to the Place Sarah Bernhardt.

What! Name a street or a place after a woman? Scarcely had Sarah been buried before a group of municipal councilors put forward a project to close the Sarah Bernhardt theater, which belongs to the city, and construct on its site a home for aged actors.

A burst of indignation followed and the matter is not yet settled. It was declared by the councilor making the motion that Sarah was the worst client the city had ever had. She seldom paid her rent and was owing it for three years when she died. And then somebody wanted to change the name of the Place du Chatelet, where the Sarah Bernhardt theater is situated, to the Place Sarah Bernhardt.

Remarries First Wife After 25 Years Apart

Orange, Mass., Aug. 25.—What is believed to be a record was made here by Mrs. George A. Drake, who was married twice to the same man by the same preacher, the second ceremony coming 25 years after the first. The clergyman who performed both ceremonies is the Rev. I. P. Quimby of Orange. In 1853 he married Miss Hattie A. Graves of Montague to George A. Drake of Greenfield. The couple were divorced April 23, 1898, and each married. With the passing of years Drake became a widower and his first wife a widow. The last marriage made the third time that Drake has been a bridegroom. He is 78 years old, while Mrs. Drake is 70. They will reside in Orange.

The Tariff. "The tariff is a joke, but it is apt to hang on, to the detriment of both American and foreign countries, until the people learn that special privileges do not pay. Our nation needs no special privileges and won't be perfectly happy until it settles down to doing that share of the

Another MONEY Saver GENUINE ROCK SPRINGS COAL SCREENED LUMP PER TON \$11.50 DELIVERED Again We Say—COMPARE Our Prices CONSUMERS COAL & SUPPLY CO. Phone AT 9146 Dealers in Good Coal Phone AT 9146

Another MONEY Saver GENUINE ROCK SPRINGS COAL SCREENED LUMP PER TON \$11.50 DELIVERED Again We Say—COMPARE Our Prices CONSUMERS COAL & SUPPLY CO. Phone AT 9146 Dealers in Good Coal Phone AT 9146

Another MONEY Saver GENUINE ROCK SPRINGS COAL SCREENED LUMP PER TON \$11.50 DELIVERED Again We Say—COMPARE Our Prices CONSUMERS COAL & SUPPLY CO. Phone AT 9146 Dealers in Good Coal Phone AT 9146

Another MONEY Saver GENUINE ROCK SPRINGS COAL SCREENED LUMP PER TON \$11.50 DELIVERED Again We Say—COMPARE Our Prices CONSUMERS COAL & SUPPLY CO. Phone AT 9146 Dealers in Good Coal Phone AT 9146

Another MONEY Saver GENUINE ROCK SPRINGS COAL SCREENED LUMP PER TON \$11.50 DELIVERED Again We Say—COMPARE Our Prices CONSUMERS COAL & SUPPLY CO. Phone AT 9146 Dealers in Good Coal Phone AT 9146

Alaska May Be Future Field and Summer Resort

Los Angeles, Aug. 25.—A rival to California oil fields is seen in Alaska, according to Louis Margules, Seward hotel man. "Two of the biggest companies in the United States, the Standard and Associated, have started drilling for oil just west of Seward," Margules said when he recently, "indications are that there is a lake of oil under southeastern Alaska. Should a gusher be brought in that territory there undoubtedly will be another rush to Alaska, which will eclipse the old gold rush days.

"As it is, with completion of the new government railroad from Seward to Fairbanks, southeastern Alaska is rapidly forging ahead."

George Harvey, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, paid \$8,000 to entertain the British royal family at a recent state dinner.

George Harvey, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, paid \$8,000 to entertain the British royal family at a recent state dinner.

George Harvey, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, paid \$8,000 to entertain the British royal family at a recent state dinner.

George Harvey, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, paid \$8,000 to entertain the British royal family at a recent state dinner.

George Harvey, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, paid \$8,000 to entertain the British royal family at a recent state dinner.

Last Week ... of Our ... August Sale

For years men and women of discrimination wanting furniture and furnishings that are unquestionably RIGHT as to style, design, quality, workmanship and price have realized that the answer to their question is ORCHARD & WILHELM COMPANY. This is just as true during the August Sale as at any other time, the assurance of genuine satisfaction is always present.

Furniture Sale

Suites for every room in the home, together with several hundred odd pieces that can no longer be "matched up" but that are thoroughly worthy and will prove their worth as separate pieces. Many manufacturers' bargains, samples, etc., late in arriving, are now here.

Savings in every instance are decidedly worth while.

Drapery Sale

Curtains, curtain materials, cretonnes and other drapery fabrics and upholstery goods, together with thousands of remnants of all classes and grades, such as sunfast materials, madras and cretonnes, nets, scrolls, voiles, marquisesettes, dotted and figured muslins, tapestries, velours, mohairs and denims.

The remnants are in useful lengths, in each instance; in the case of curtain materials, there is enough for one or two windows; in the case of drapery fabrics, there is enough for one window, and in the case of upholstery material, the smallest piece is large enough for a cushion or chair seat.

The August sale prices in this department will save you from 25% to 50%, while remnants are marked at HALF PRICE or even less.

Floor Covering Sale

Hundreds of rugs of all grades and sizes, including Axminsters, Wilton Velvets, Brussels, Wiltons and Hartford-Saxons, as well as many Oriental and Chinese fabrics. Linoleum remnants of all sizes in both printed and inlaid goods.

Savings 15% to 30%.

If our Budget Plan will assist you to take advantage of these sale offerings, you should not hesitate to open an account. OUR EXCHANGE DEPARTMENT can probably make the way easier by taking off your hands furniture you now have.

Orchard & Wilhelm Co.