

COOLIDGE AND DAWES NAMED BY REPUBLICANS AMID STIRRING SCENES

Convention at Cleveland Which Renominated the President and Selected His Running Mate Marked by a Subdued Opening and a Thrilling Climax.

VICE PRESIDENT CHOSEN AFTER LOWDEN SETS PRECEDENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Former Governor of Illinois Chosen First With Ovation Rivaling President's, Refuses to Accept—General Dawes Was Nominated on the First Ballot at the Last of the Day's Three Sessions, Receiving 682½ Votes, as Against 234½ for Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, and 75 for Judge William S. Kenyon and a Few Scattering.

THE REPUBLICAN TICKET
FOR PRESIDENT
CALVIN COOLIDGE
Of Massachusetts
FOR VICE PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. DAWES
Of Illinois

By EDWARD W. PICKARD

Cleveland, O.—Calvin Coolidge's national convention has been held, and it will go down in political history as the quietest, smoothest, most peaceful affair of the kind ever pulled off in this country, unless one except Woodrow Wilson's convention in St. Louis eight years ago. And this gathering of the Republican party really was Mr. Coolidge's convention, here to do just what he wanted done and not to do the things he did not want done.

Mr. Coolidge wished to be nominated to succeed himself. He was nominated. He wished to have for a running mate a man from the Middle West who would be acceptable to all elements of the party. The convention complied with this wish by nominating Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, on the second ballot. When Lowden positively declined the honor, creating a precedent in political history, word came from Washington that on the third ballot gave second place on the ticket to General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago.

Mr. Coolidge selected for temporary chairman of the convention Congressman Theodore E. Burton of Ohio and told that gentleman what his views were on all the mooted public questions of the day—if he did not already know them—and Mr. Burton in his keynote speech faithfully reproduced all those views. Mr. Coolidge chose for permanent chairman Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming, because as vice chairman of the War Finance corporation which has loaned much money to agricultural interests Mr. Mondell might be considered acceptable to the possibly disgruntled farmers. So Mr. Mondell presided over the convention after the opening of the second session.

Mr. Coolidge had positive opinions concerning the platform on which he would have to stand during the campaign, so out of all the planks fashioned by the numerous interests that sought to have a hand in the building of that platform, were carefully picked the ones that conformed strictly with those opinions, and all the rest were thrown into the discard by the resolutions committee headed by Ambassador Warren, who was Mr. Coolidge's selection for the place of chairman.

Coolidge's Preferences Paramount
No reflection on the Republican party is intended in recording this seeming dictation by the chief executive. The condition not only justified it but made it inevitable. The rank and file of the party had, in the selection of instructed delegates, made known its firm intention to nominate Mr. Coolidge, and the political and legislative events of recent months made it evident that his preferences and opinions must be put above all else. Temporary Chairman Burton gave expression to this when he said in his address: "With some disappointment, as one whose public service has been in a legislative position, truth compels me to say that by far the greater share of our citizenship looks to President Coolidge rather than to congress for leadership." The outburst of cheering that greeted this, the first spontaneous applause of the convention, proved that the great mass of the delegates agreed with it.

Outside the convention hall, in the rooms where the various state delegations met to organize and name their representatives on the committees, another mandate of the mass of the party was carried out. The old line leaders were relegated to the rear and the management put into new hands. Thus the Massachusetts delegation took its chairmanship away from Senator Lodge and gave it to Governor Cox, and the man who had for so long dictated to the Bay state Republicans was not even put on the platform committee. The efforts of Harry Daugherty's friends in the Ohio delegation to rehabilitate him came to naught when Maurice Maschke was chosen as national com-

mitteeman, Senator Willis as chairman of the delegation and Simeon D. Fess was put on the committee on resolutions. So it went, not in all the delegations, but in enough to show that a revolution in party management was under way. Senator Lodge was as suave and smiling as ever, and as tired looking, but his smile had a touch of bitterness, and many another former leader was in the dumps as he saw his power fading away.

La Follette's Discordant Note
There was but one discordant element in the convention—the La Follette delegation from Wisconsin. All but one of its members were selected to vote for the Badger senator and to present to the platform committee the planks representing his views. Their action, of course, was known far in advance and so was discounted, but to some members of the party it was no less ominous. They got into action early with a set of resolutions of which the following is a synopsis:
House cleaning pledged.
Monopoly—crush, not foster.
Recover oil preserves.
Vigorous prosecution of grafters.
Revise public domain legislation.
Public ownership of water power.
Super-water power systems.
Public control and conservation of natural resources.
Repeat Esch-Cummins law.
Make rates on prudent investment and cost of service.
Railroads—public ownership final solution.
Reduce federal taxes.
Curtail the \$800,000,000 now spent annually for the army and navy.
Recover war stealings.
Collect foreign loan interest.
Oppose Mellon tax plan.
Amend Constitution to permit a re-enactment to supersede a judicial vote.
Reduce tariff.
Promote co-operation between producers and consumers.
Reduce freight rates for farmers.
Abolish injunctions in labor disputes.
Grant cash bonus to ex-soldiers.
Provide Great Lakes waterway.
Amend Constitution to provide for direct nomination and election of President, federal initiative and referendum and referendum on war.
Revise Versailles treaty to comply with terms of armistice, promote treaties to outlaw war, abolish conscription, reduce amendments and guarantee referendums on peace and war.

There were some other planks, but these are enough to indicate the kind of a platform Senator La Follette demanded. He and everyone else knew they would be turned down by the committee and rejected by the convention, so no one was surprised or shocked when that was done. But upon such a platform, it was assumed, La Follette would stand as an independent candidate for the Presidency. What would be the effect of his candidacy was naturally a fruitful topic of discussion among the delegates and other visitors.

Women Win Equal Representation
Women were prepared to play a conspicuous part in the convention. There were more than 600 delegates and alternates of the gentler sex, nearly every state giving them place in its delegation. Even far away Hawaii sent one, Princess David Kawanakoa, and she was made an associate member of the national committee. In social usage she retains her title, but she is said to be thoroughly one of the people and a power among the Republican voters of the islands.
Temporary Chairman Burton overlooked the women when he wrote his address and had the advance copies printed, but he noticed the omission and interpolated a graceful paragraph warmly welcoming them to the party's councils. They were ready to do their share of the work, but really there was nothing much for them to do. It had all been arranged beforehand, and some of them were a bit peeved. They had a lot of pet ideas, but only a few of them, notably Mrs. A. T. Hert of Kentucky, were seriously consulted by the men who formulated the program. Mrs. Medill McCormick, wife of the senator from Chicago, said: "They have steam rolled the whole thing nicely. Those who are going to be elected have everything to say about the convention and the appointments and activi-

ties, and those who are elected and hold party office have nothing to say and can only go back home and work for the campaign."
This was largely true at the time it was said, but a few hours later the men gave their sense of fair play a chance and accorded to the women equal participation in party management by giving them full membership on the national committee. Five of the most prominent of the ladies went before the committee on rules and order of business and pleaded that the example set by the Democrats four years ago should be followed. Two or three of the men were obstinate, but the majority of the committee yielded and their report on this matter was adopted by the convention with nearly every woman in the hall standing and shouting as loudly as she could.

Reduce South's Delegates
Another thing this committee did, which also was approved by the convention, was to reduce the delegate representation of the southern states which always go Democratic. The convention of 1920 directed the national committee to work this reform, but it had refused to obey. In this convention there was no outspoken opposition to the change. To make it more binding an additional member of the national committee was given to each state that exceeds a given Republican vote in the last preceding national election.

To tell in detail the story of the convention would be superfluous; to read it would be tedious. But it had its high lights and interesting phases. Regular attendants on such gatherings always are on the lookout for "ovations" and outbursts of enthusiasm; frequently are suspicious of the genuineness of such demonstrations. The first session, however, witnessed several that were undoubtedly genuine. The first came toward the close of Temporary Chairman Burton's speech when he first mentioned President Coolidge by name. And it really wasn't so much the mention of the name that evoked loud and long cheering as what Mr. Burton said. This was it:
"With some disappointment, as one whose public service has been in a legislative position, truth compels me to say that by far the greater share of our citizenship looks to President Coolidge rather than to Congress for leadership."
All over the great public hall delegates and spectators rose to their feet to applaud this statement, and even many of the senators and representatives who have set themselves in opposition to the President over and over again joined in the handclapping.

Secretary Mellon's Ovation
Another demonstration that seemed real was the ovation given Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon. During the formalities of completing the temporary organization he rose from the midst of the Pennsylvania delegation to make a trifling motion. At once the convention burst into almost wild cheering, and the secretary was compelled to mount to the platform and acknowledge it. The man who runs the country's finances might well feel flattered by the reception given him.
Just after this incident a bit of real sentiment was injected into the proceedings. The chair announced that there was present the sole surviving member of the Republican convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency, Addison G. Proctor of St. Joseph, Mich. The venerable gentleman was led to the front, and the cheering host arose to greet him and listened with respect to his brief response.
That Congressman Burton in his



REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT
CALVIN COOLIDGE
OF MASSACHUSETTS.



REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR VICE PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. DAWES
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keynote speech accomplished with great skill a difficult task was admitted by all. He could not entirely overlook the breach that has existed between the Administration and Congress, nor could he be too emphatic in placing the blame for it. But he recognized the change that was coming over the party management and gave the President full measure of praise. At the same time he said little that could offend the most sensitive of those Republican members of Congress who have been in opposition to the Administration's policies.

Dr. Burton Nominates Coolidge
An easier task and one no less admirably performed was that which fell to the lot of the other Burton, Marion Leroy, president of the University of Michigan. As his friend of many years' standing, he was chosen by Mr. Coolidge to make the nominating speech on Thursday, and no more eloquent and sincere speech has been heard in a national convention. It was not flowery nor was it political. It was a sympathetic setting forth of the qualities of Mr. Coolidge as the speaker conceived them, a heartfelt tribute to his character, his stern uprightness and honesty, his unflinching courage and his capacity for the leadership of his party and his country. "My function is to present the man," said Dr. Burton. "The emphasis must be just there. My primary task does not concern policies nor platforms as such. Anyone will tell you he is 'one of us,' and he is. In keeping with his real qualities I shall make no effort to exalt him, for he does not need it. He is not a super-man and would be the last to think so. There is not a trace of show or ostentation about him, for he does nothing merely for appearances. He may be an example, but he would never set one."

A little later Dr. Burton said: "He has moral fiber. To me it is his distinguishing characteristic. There is a moral grandeur about him which does credit to American life. You simply cannot think of him as soft or flabby. He aims actually to do what he knows he ought to do." And again: "In the largest sense of the term he is a patient man. He knows that time will do its perfect work. He instinctively takes the long look. He makes a calm, unhurried, steady approach to the tasks of life. No one can throw him into a panic, for he sees life steadily and sees it whole. He cannot please every one. Therefore some, for the time, become hostile and critical. This man in a very remarkable way takes his punishment quietly and silently."

Eloquent Peroration
Here is Dr. Burton's closing paragraph, which was the signal for a mighty outburst of cheering that lasted for many minutes:
"As self respecting individuals we can trust this man. As lovers of America we can follow one who is supremely American. As citizens with interests as broad as humanity we can accept his guidance into a new and larger world leadership because he is at heart a human being. To the national convention of the greatest party in American history I have the distinction to present as candidate to succeed himself as President of the United States of America the virile man—the staunch American—the real human being—Calvin Coolidge."

So, with the swift nomination of Coolidge on the first ballot and the naming of his running mate, after a few remaining formalities the national Republican convention of 1924 passed into history.
Cleveland Covered Herself With Glory
Too much cannot be said in praise of the way in which the city of Cleve-

land did its part in making the convention pleasant and successful. First and most important, it provided Public Hall, the finest place in which a national convention has ever been privileged to meet, excepting that in which the Democrats gathered in San Francisco in 1920. Public Hall cost the people of Cleveland \$6,300,000 and is located in the heart of the downtown district, convenient to the hotels. Its architecture is beautiful, and it seats 16,000 persons. Within its walls are all the conveniences that the builders could think of, and its stage is the largest in the country.

Then there are the hotels, ample in number and well conducted. Their managers looked after the comfort of the city's guests in every possible way, and what is more to the point, they did not rob them. Rates were kept well within reason.
Cleveland seems to have more automobiles than any other city in the world in comparison with the population, but the able and well trained traffic police protected the life and limb of the convention visitor in a way that elicited the admiration of all. No one was permitted to get himself run over, whether or not he wished to do so.

Local committees, social organizations and individuals arranged programs of entertainment to fill up the hours when the convention was not in session, and many of the men and women visitors were accommodated on the various golf clubs. There were theatre parties, boat rides, band concerts, fireworks and other things galore. Special teas and receptions were given for the women, and the program for colored visitors was separate from all else.

So it was not in any way the fault of Cleveland that the convention of 1924 was quiet and uneventful. It did its part, and the matter of providing excitement was up to the representatives of the party, who had none to provide. The crowds in the hotel lobbies, when they were not occupied in the discussion of that elusive subject, the vice presidential candidate, gossiped with old and new acquaintances and amused themselves by picking out from the passing through the notabilities. They had no trouble in recognizing the dome-like head of Secretary of War Weeks nor the bronze face of Bascom Slemp, secretary to President Coolidge; the genial homeliness of Joseph B. Keating of Indiana and the Lincoln-like physiognomy of Lawrence Y. Sherman of Illinois could not be mistaken. Young Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy, aroused mild interest as he wriggled through the crowds, but eyes did not follow him as they did his father.

Music a Distinctive Feature
Always in a national convention the music is an attractive feature, and this Cleveland gathering was no exception. The big brass band in the hall was led by John Philip Sousa himself, and every American knows what that means. In the hall is a magnificent pipe organ, which was magnificently played at frequent intervals. The flood lights of the hall, "plain and colored," were used with discretion and art during the playing of the national anthem and other patriotic airs. From Columbus came a large Republican glee club, which sang not only in the convention hall, but at the Coolidge headquarters of the women and elsewhere.

Humorous writers of wide reputation have become an established part of these national party meetings, and they were more numerous in Cleveland than ever before and perhaps less humorous. Will Rogers, Heywood Brown, Ring Lardner and a score more were here looking for material for jokes.

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NAMING OF DAWES GIVES BIG THRILL

Republicans Select Their Vice President Under Conditions Unparalleled in Political Conventions.

Cleveland, O.—The events preliminary to the naming of Dawes were dramatic as anything political has happened in a generation.
It was only a Vice Presidential election was at stake—something usually accomplishable in a hurry after the close of the convention delegates had started home, but this time an interest was engendered far beyond that brought out in most contests for Presidency.

In the enthusiasm begotten of satisfaction at getting out of an unusual and unforeseen situation so well, the nomination was made—not unanimous but as near it as a convention could be with a Wisconsin delegation an integral and irrevocable part.
After President Coolidge had been easily nominated on the first ballot, only Wisconsin holding out against him, the fight for the second place began.

Former Gov. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, won in a stampede of delegates to him that ignored his explanation and often repeated insistence he would not accept. He did not and after a recess of two hours, during which the wires were being burned up over the country, the convention came back and nominated Brig. Gen. Charles G. Dawes over Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover. The nomination was made by acclamation after the Secretary had polled heavily in the early balloting.

Nominates Dawes
The Californian started out gallantly with a string of states, giving him all or most of their votes. But when the Middle West was reached on the roll call, the swing to Dawes was irresistible, and when the state of Texas were cast for him he had won his majority, and a great chorus of triumph went up to mark his election.
During the recess, which was called to 9 o'clock p. m., of the last day, word came from the leaders that it must be either Hoover or Dawes.

"It can't be Dawes, it must be Hoover," William M. Butler, Mr. Coolidge's campaign manager, claimed to Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania.
"It can't be done. It must be Dawes," the Senator retorted, and seventy-eight votes from his state backed him up.
The jettisoning of Hoover for "Hell an' Maria" of reparation fame was just such a reaction against the strict rule imposed by the Coolidge leaders as had been the nomination of Lowden.
With the nomination of "Hell an' Maria," Republicans generally were delighted.

Dawes makes up as a campaigner what he may lack in political experience. He has not run for elective office for many years, since he was double-crossed when a candidate for the nomination for United States Senator some twenty years ago.
This makes the fifth time he has been drafted, however, for public service, first as Comptroller of the Currency, then as a member of Pershing's staff in the World War, later as Director of the Budget, and then to help solve the reparation problem which had defied the best brains in the world for six years.