

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

Wood, Harding and Lowden Avowed Possibilities in the Presidential Campaign, With Some Dark Horses in Background

CONTRASTS that portend a momentous struggle within the party stand out in a comparison of the relative strength of the three most prominent aspirants for the Republican nomination for the Presidency—Major Gen. Leonard Wood, Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, and Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio. The deeper significance in the contrasts is that there is a double basis of comparison: First, concerning the personalities and achievements of the three men; second, a comparison, striking down deeper than the personalities represented, which concerns the two wings of the party.

First, on the basis of personality and achievements, take Governor Lowden. In the beginning his advantages will be pointed out, then disadvantages. He has an excellent record as administrator and reformer of the Illinois State Government. Qualities he has shown there are among those in demand for the President in the period of reconstruction that faces the country. When he was elected Governor in 1916 there were 128 State

commissions, overlapping in wastefulness and inefficiency. These were consolidated into nine departments and an effective budget system was introduced. In his first year the tax rate was 90 cents; the second year, by the practice of economies that deprived no needed agency, he brought the rate down to 75 cents; this year a cut to 60 cents is expected. These achievements have not only strongly impressed the people of Illinois, but they have drawn to him the attention of the Middle West.

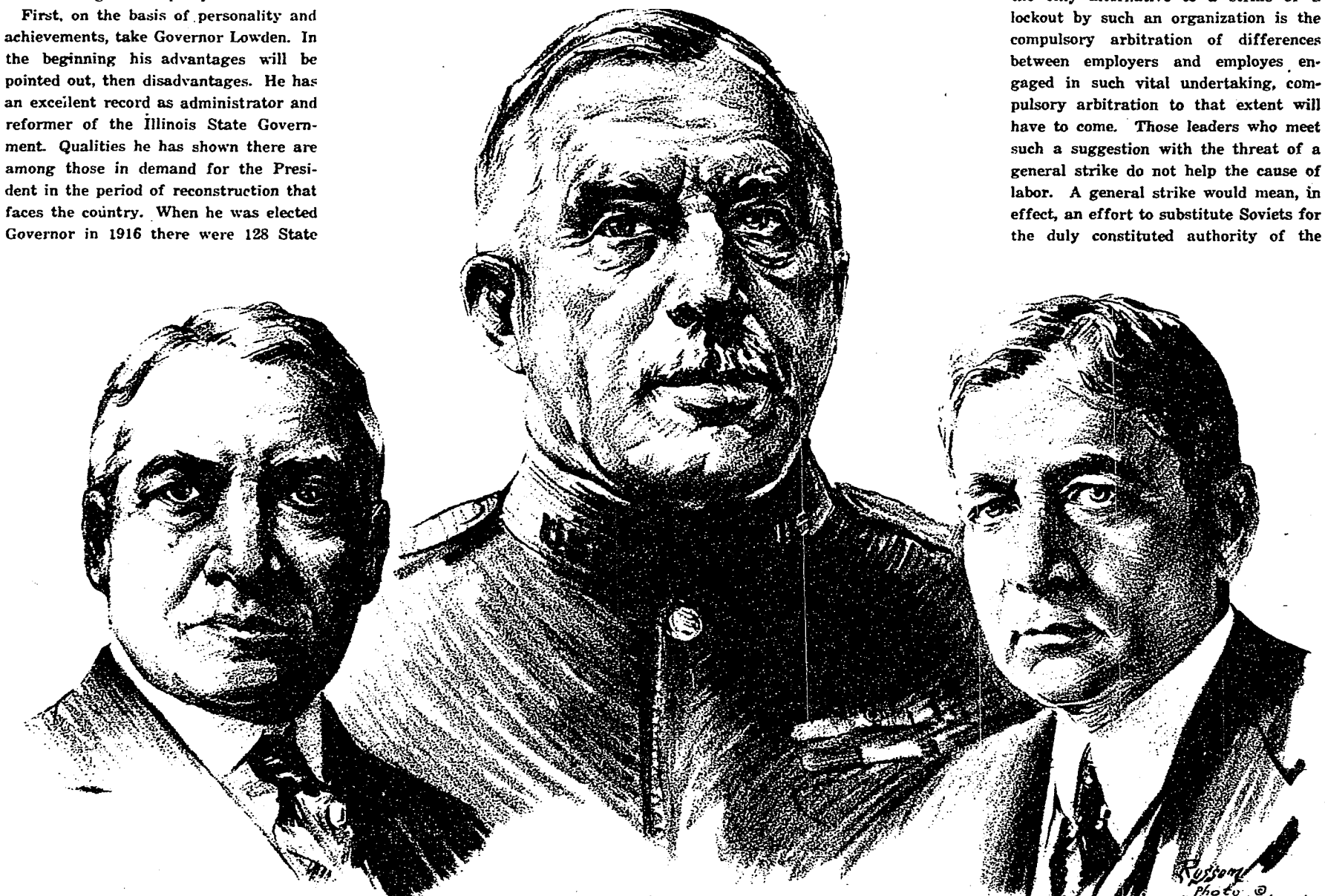
Courage as a public man is another asset. He led the way among Governors

in vigilant policy against disloyalty and sedition. When Mayor Thompson failed to interfere with the meeting of the "People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace," charged with being pro-German, Governor Lowden called out the troops to prevent the meeting. He denounced Socialists as obstructors of the Government and arraigned the Bolsheviks as destroyers of the home and the Church. He was prompt to defend the law at the time of the Praeger lynching by calling out the troops.

In the more recent troubles between

labor and capital he has acted with equal boldness, declaring that compulsory arbitration was the only alternative, if no other way could be found, to prevent the cutting off of such a necessity to the life and well-being of the people as coal. This is from a statement by him on the strike of the coal miners:

"Whenever any organization, whether capital or labor, becomes so powerful as to be able to give or to withhold from the public the necessities of life, such an organization must come under the control of the Government. Otherwise the part becomes greater than the whole. If the only alternative to a strike or a lockout by such an organization is the compulsory arbitration of differences between employers and employes engaged in such vital undertaking, compulsory arbitration to that extent will have to come. Those leaders who meet such a suggestion with the threat of a general strike do not help the cause of labor. A general strike would mean, in effect, an effort to substitute Soviets for the duly constituted authority of the



Senator Warren G. Harding.

Major Gen. Leonard Wood.

Frank O. Lowden, Governor of Illinois.

and. "The people are not ready to abandon their form of government."

In Governor Lowden's career, starting from a humble beginning, there is a quality that has its appeal to the voter. He is the son of a village blacksmith, born in 1861 at Sunrise, Minn. He worked his way through college in Iowa, and soon made his mark practicing law in Chicago. In 1896 he married Miss Florence Pullman, the daughter of George M. Pullman. In pointing out his ability as a business man, one of his supporters said that the fortune Miss Pullman inherited had been tripled by Mr. Lowden's good management. He entered politics as a McKinley man in 1900, and served as a member of Congress from 1906 to 1911.

Disadvantages: He lives in a State which is regarded as safely Republican. Granting his good record as Governor and his sound business ideas, he has not made enough impression on the nation, as a whole, to have aroused any spontaneous movement for him in any State other than his own, his opponents say; admitted he would make a strong appeal to the business element, his large wealth could be made the target of attack to prejudice labor against him; asserted, further, that Roosevelt followers have not forgotten that he voted against seating Roosevelt delegates, except those from California, in the 1912 convention.

Senator Harding stands out most conspicuously in the eyes of the Republican powers that be as a safe man. His career is not marked with any striking achievement, but has been a steady growth from a farmer's boy upward. He apparently knows the secret of making advances in life without arousing antagonisms, and this is probably best illustrated by his relations with the late Senator Foraker. Mr. Harding, then a successful newspaper editor and owner in Marion, Ohio, made his entry in politics at the instance of Senator Foraker. Elected to the State Senate, he was a factor in sending Foraker to the Senate for the second term. Later, after serving as Lieutenant Governor in the Herrick administration, 1904-5, the current of events brought it around that he and the man who had introduced him in politics stood face to face as rival candidates for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate, and Mr. Harding so bore himself as to retain the goodwill of Senator Foraker.

In the Senate his career has been that of a strong partisan, but during the war he gave full support to war measures, though criticising the President for what he termed usurpation of power. During the treaty debates he characterized the treaty as the "colossal blunder of all time." On the night the final vote was taken he said:

"I know, Mr. President, that in this covenant we have, originally, bartered American independence in order to establish a super-government of the world, and it was never intended to be any less. I speak for one who is old-fashioned enough to believe that the Government of the United States of America is good enough for me. In speaking my reverence for the Government of the United States of America, Senators, I want the preservation of those co-ordinate branches of government which were conceived and instituted by the fathers; and if there is nothing else significant in the action of this day, you can tell to the people of the United States of America and to the world that the Senate of the United States has once more asserted its authority and that representative government abides."

Senator Harding's supporters point to his record as an employer. Born in Blooming Grove, Ohio, in 1865, he started in life in Marion, Ohio, as the publisher and editor of a small newspaper, The Marion Star. Serving in the beginning also as typesetter, pressman, advertising man, and reporter, he built the paper up, year after year, until it became the most influential daily in that part of the State. The number of employes increased until it reached fifty. As the paper prospered, he invited the employes to become stockholders, selling them stock and per-

mitting the dividends to accrue to help pay for it, until now one-fourth of the ownership of The Star has passed into the hands of the employes. It is a union shop, but he has not faced any labor troubles. On principle he is for the open shop, but in his contact with his workers, in likeness to the McKinley style of harmony, he finds a way to meet the issue before it reaches an acute stage.

Though a strong partisan, Senator Harding's liking for a man does not stop at party lines always in political preference. George B. Christian, Jr., the Senator's secretary, is a Democrat; they had long been next-door neighbors at Marion. Outside of his own State, Senator Harding's supporters expect him to make an especially strong appeal to constructive business interests. But his greatest advantage from a political standpoint is that he hails from a pivotal State, a



Harris & Ewing.

Frank H. Hitchcock, Veteran Campaign Pilot, Who Was Shelved by the Republicans in Their Losing Fight of 1916, But May Have a Leading Part in the Party Councils This Year.

doubtful one with a big electoral vote. From being considered a rock-ribbed Republican State, Ohio has gone Democratic in the last two Presidential elections. In 1916 Wilson carried it by 40,000. Its loss wrote defeat for the Republicans, and the efforts to regain it in 1920 will add much to the advantage of an available Ohio candidate.

Disadvantages: Senator Harding has failed to come out in clear-cut fashion on some of the important issues that have arisen in this country since the armistice, his opponents point out. They have waited in vain, they assert, to hear from him on the steel strike, the coal strike, the Plumb plan, and on radicalism generally; they don't doubt how he really stands, they continue, but they think a leader, above all in these times, should come out publicly and use his voice to help mold opinion. Conformity with the tenets of the Republican Party, a conservative record free from missteps, is not sufficient, critics in his party say, at a period when aggressive action is required to stem the tide of revolutionary doctrines and efforts. Another disadvantage alleged is that the Senator, though by no means a reactionary, belongs to the Old Guard, and that his candidacy will not draw the Roosevelt element. Like Lowden, it is further pointed out, he has no spontaneous strength outside of his own State.

The first advantage claimed for General Wood is that there is a spontaneous movement for him over the country, and that he is the only aspirant among the Republicans about whom this can be said. Two reasons are given for this: First, because of his record as a soldier and administrator; second, that because of his close association with Theodore Roosevelt the following of the late leader is rallying to him. Other candidates will have to build up their organizations outside of their own States

largely on appeals to the ambition or self-interest of political managers, while General Wood has, it is asserted, the natural nucleus of such an organization in the officers and privates who formerly served with him. Places where the Wood strength will show itself notably are given as New England, where he was born and educated, being a native of New Hampshire and a graduate of Harvard; in New York, where he started the Plattsburg officers' training schools; in Kansas and Oklahoma, on account of the members of the two divisions from these States who were trained at Camp Funston, and in the Southwest, where former members of the Rough Riders are influential and prominent; in the West generally on account of the strong Roosevelt sentiment there.

The fact that the South Dakota Republican convention indorsed General Wood is pointed out as an illustration. All these elements of Wood strength are to be drawn together in a National General Wood League, and through them the claims of General Wood set before the people in an aggressive campaign.

There is no doubt the achievements of an administrator of high ability are there to build upon. They reach far back in his career. He was born in 1860 at Winchester, N. H. In 1884 he was graduated from the medical department of Harvard, and two years later entered the United States Army as an assistant surgeon. In 1886, in the campaign against the Apaches in the West, his conduct as a medical and line officer won for him the Congressional Medal of Honor. The Spanish-American war gave him his first great opportunity, first as a soldier as Colonel of the Rough Riders and then as administrator as Military Governor of Cuba in the reconstruction period following the war and preceding the transfer of Cuba to the Cuban Republic. He served in this position from 1899 until 1902. Here he had to face complex and difficult problems, requiring grasp, judgment, energy, tact and firmness, and in solving these problems he revealed qualities which showed him to be a man of larger calibre than that of an able soldier. From 1910 until 1914 General Wood served as Chief of Staff. Then, following his transfer to the post of commander of the Department of the East, his name was associated with a new work. He became the champion of preparedness, and in the development of a campaign he evolved the Plattsburg training camp idea, realizing that if we were drawn into the war lack of officers would be a dire need. Since the armistice his manner of handling the race riots at Omaha and the labor troubles at Gary and in West Virginia have centred attention on him anew. In a difficult position, he emerged with the good-will of both sides, but making it plain that law and order came first and in stating that a fair deal was the basis for the co-operation of capital and labor recalled the old slogan of Roosevelt.

Disadvantages: As the campaign unfolds, General Wood, as an officer under the President as Commander in Chief of the Army, is withheld from making known his views on questions uppermost before the people, or in putting his own energy in the fight for the nomination. In order to become eligible for the South Dakota primary, he must by Jan. 1 declare himself and the principles for which he stands. There is nothing in the army regulations to prevent him from becoming a candidate for the Presidency, but the ethics of it is another question, it is stated. However, were it not for the primaries, which in several of the States require a declaration of principles, and for a Republican candidate these, it would seem, imply censure of the Democratic Administration, General Wood might remain in the army until he knows from the action of the convention whether he is to be the nominee, but on account of this situation some think he will resign. Whatever course he pursues, opponents will aim to turn to his disadvantage that he is a soldier, asserting that the people do not want a soldier for President at this time,

that a military man even with broad interests outside of his profession lacks the training to cope with the great problems of reconstruction that will confront the country in the decade following the war, and that once General Wood is free to make known his opinion on these, his inadequate preparation, as alleged, will be disclosed in the attacks opponents will level at him.

Meantime General Wood is distinctly in the lead. In the closer comparison of the three men this fact stands out: Governor Lowden and Senator Harding have some strong resemblances as candidates. They appeal to the same elements, and their staunch backing comes from the Old Guard in the Republican Party. In contrast, General Wood's larger support is from the Roosevelt following. The challenge is not yet clean-cut, but events move toward such a challenge.

In any event, the three-cornered race will narrow down to a two-sided one, it is predicted, with General Wood pitted against Harding or Lowden, or some other representative of the stalwart end of the Republican Party, General Wood against the field. Mr. Harding's hailing from Ohio outweighs any additional aggressiveness or larger administrative experience which Lowden may possess, and besides he is close to the Republican members of the Senate who are leaders of the Old Guard. At the head of these is Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania. Many of the favorite sons, who, it is asserted, will be manoeuvred to hold the Wood boom from spreading too wide before convention time, are Senators and some other candidates in the list are sponsored by Senators. There was never such an array of "possibilities" before, and the greater number of these, it will be seen, might be put forward as a substitute for Harding or Lowden. The list embraces:

Senator Howard Sutherland of West Virginia, Senator Miles Poindexter of Washington, Senator Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota, Senator James W. Wadsworth of New York, Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts, championed by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; Governor Sprout of Pennsylvania, supported by Senator Penrose; Governor Allen of Kansas, Governor Goodrich of Indiana, Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, Senator Hiram Johnson of California. With these favorite sons, or most of them, winning the complimentary votes of their States as planned—and most of the Northern States with big votes are included—leaders opposed to the Wood boom count that they can hold him in check, and then name the candidate they finally settle upon in the convention.

Can they? That depends on how much of a genuine demand for Wood his supporters are able to bring out, some of his supporters declare, and whether they lead out into a straight fight in favorite States where Wood is believed to have strength. Ohio friends of the General say there is a decided Wood sentiment in Northern Ohio, where Dan Hanna and The Toledo Blade are out for him, and also in the Cincinnati section, where Colonel William Cooper Procter, chosen as Chairman of the Wood League, lives, and that if it were decided to enter the Ohio primary the result would be a split delegation, a heavy blow to Harding, even though he landed most of the delegates. Some of the Harding supporters are apprehensive that this may be attempted.

In carrying the fight aggressively into the States of favorite sons the course to be followed by Senator Hiram M. Johnson of California will have an important bearing on the plans of Wood's managers. In announcing his candidacy for the Republican nomination Senator Johnson said that he intended to make a personal campaign in every primary and convention State. He ran for Vice President with Roosevelt on the Progressive ticket in 1912, and, especially in the West, his appeal will be made to the Roosevelt following. His platform, no doubt, will be radical compared with the average Republican views; he has been

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an advocate of the Government ownership of railroads, and, before his uncompromising fight against the League of Nations absorbed all his energies, was demanding the withdrawal of our troops from Russia when Bolshevism, opponents asserted, was threatening to overrun surrounding countries. If in the development of General Wood's campaign it is shown that he holds and can hold the main part of the Progressive wing of the party, the old Roosevelt men, against the efforts of Johnson, then his nomination would become almost a foregone conclusion. His name would go before the convention as that of the logical candidate, for while his political program will be forward-looking in general accord, it is expected, with the Roosevelt ideas they at the same time will be marked with a moderation, it is indicated, to which the conservative wing when forced to compromise on some one other than a favorite leader of the Old Guard could find no serious objection.

Old liners questioned profess that they have nothing against Wood, but

that they are going to put him to the test of proving that there is a deep and extensive demand for him by Republicans. They say that they are not going to have the Hughes case repeated; that the Hughes boomers made it appear that he was the man to win with and that the demand for him was insistent and nation-wide, but that when he got into the race this strength did not show itself.

That means a real fight, and thus, back of the personalities of the candidates, the two wings of the party move in position for a contest for supremacy, as in Roosevelt's time; and in a contest he looked forward to with the greatest zest the influence of his name and his ideas are at least to be a factor in determining who is to be the next standard bearer of the Republican Party.

All the Democratic candidates are in the dark horse class. Those who have been mentioned include McAdoo, Baker, Marshall, Palmer, and Pomerene, with Woodrow Wilson as a third-term possibility. General Pershing or Herbert Hoover may be named, but their politics is in doubt.