OHIO IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1920

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A Thesis Presented for the Degree of Master of Arts

By

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Approved by:

[Signature]
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Chapter 1

The Political Situation in Ohio

The political situation in Ohio in the spring of 1920 was very complex. The years just previous had wrought great changes. To see just why a normal Republican State went so heavily Democratic in the Presidential election in 1916, only to swing back in the congressional election in 1918 and to be carried once again by Republicans by an unprecedented majority in 1920, requires explanation. The motives which brought about these marked changes were not altogether confined to the state of Ohio, but it is an outstanding example of the general trend of the nation and served as a battlefield for the major political parties.

In the presidential campaign of 1916 the Democrats had renominated President Woodrow Wilson in a convention marked by harmony and enthusiasm. The Republican convention had nominated Justice Charles E. Hughes of the Supreme Court who was a reformer by nature and recognized as a man of high principles, courageous, able and remembered as a vigorous and popular governor of New York. For their candidate the Progressives looked only to Theodore Roosevelt. All three men spoke in Ohio.¹ The Democrats were victorious and elected their entire state ticket and majority of the congressmen. The plea that President Wilson should be re-elected because 'he kept us out of war'¹

¹Charles B. Galbreath, History of Ohio, 11, 715.
and the faith that he would continue to avert participation in the European conflict seems to account for his triumph and the triumph of his party in Ohio. The state gave Wilson 604,161 votes and Hughes 514,752. While for United States Senator Atlee Pomerene, a Democrat, received 571,488 to Ex-Governor Myron Herrick's 535,391.2

In 1917 after the nation had been drawn into the World War, the Republicans in many parts of the state staged a comeback and elected mayors in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus.3 Cincinnati adopted a home rule city chart to take effect January 1, 1918.4 The woman suffrage amendment was rejected by a majority of 146,180 votes as was the state-wide prohibition amendment which had been placed on the ballot by the initiative process.5 In many communities there was a marked increase in the Socialist vote.

In the August primaries of 1918 the Democrats renominated Governor James M. Cox, while his Republican opponent was again Ex-Governor Frank B. Willis. In the campaign both Willis and Cox talked tax reform and economy and were not sharply divided on any issue. The returns of the November election

3 Galbreath, op. cit., 717.
4 Ibid.
5 Ohio Statistics, 1918, p. 258.
showed Governor Cox re-elected for his third term. All the other state officers were Republicans. The defeat of Willis may be explained by the results in Hamilton County. Two years previously he had carried Hamilton County (Cincinnati) by a plurality of 7,878, only to lose it to Cox in 1918 by a plurality of 16,570.\(^6\) The liberal Republicans of Cincinnati remembered the declaration which Willis had made for prohibition and woman suffrage, and chastized him in this manner. All the other Republican candidates received pluralities in Hamilton County.\(^7\) Because of this situation in Hamilton County Governor Cox was especially honored in this election. Beside being the only Democrat chosen on the entire state ticket he had the distinction of being chosen for a third term, an honor accorded to only one man before, Rutherford B. Hayes, afterwards nineteenth President of the United States.\(^8\) This distinctive mark of favor from the electors of the state at once led to suggestions from many quarters of higher honors for Governor Cox. He inevitably became a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency of the United States in the presidential election two years hence.


\(^7\) Passim.

\(^8\) Galbreath, op cit., 780.
In the congressional election of 1918 the Republicans elected 14 out of the 22 members from Ohio.\footnote{9} The party representation in the State Senate was 21 Republicans and 12 Democrats; House of Representatives, 77 Republicans and 47 Democrats.\footnote{10} The reason for this Republican gain in Ohio as well throughout the northern states is generally attributed to the famous letter of President Wilson written on October 25, 1918, just a few days before the election, appealing to the electors of the country to send Democrats to Congress. It was influential in producing exactly the opposite result in Ohio and inaugurating a reaction in favor of the Republican party. If this appeal of Wilson's helped the Democrats in this election it made all the more certain the tremendous landslide against them in the election of 1920. The Republicans had loyally supported President Wilson during the war. Criticism had been suppressed and he had had great power placed in his hands. Now the people not only began to remember his mistakes in diplomacy leading up to the war, but the immense cost of unpreparedness. Also his previous insistence that 'politics was retired' and his patriotic appeal to his countrymen regardless of party in time of war had brought him large support from Republican voters, but this appeal in the interest of his party alienated

\footnote{9} Ohio Statistics, 1919, 569.  
\footnote{10} Ibid., 571.
these and stimulated Republicans to increased activity in the November election. A joint counter-appeal was issued by two Ex-Presidents, Roosevelt and Taft. The latter being an Ohioan this appeal had a tremendous political influence in the state.

Another mistake of President Wilson that aided the return of Republicanism was his going abroad to negotiate a treaty of peace accompanied by a Peace Commission on which he appointed only one Republican and not one United State Senator. This was in striking contrast to the policy of the Ohio President William McKinley at the close of the Spanish-American War in 1898.

The move which aided to alienate the average citizen from the national administrative policies was the failure of President Wilson, in the spring of 1920, to sign an Act repealing some sixty war-time laws which had conferred exceptional powers upon the Executive. The Act had passed the House by a vote of 343 to 5, and the Senate unanimously.\textsuperscript{11} By pocket vetoing the Act and the adjourning of Congress the President continued to enjoy his dictatorial authority until after its final session in the following December. The Senate, on March 19, 1920, refused to ratify the partially amended Treaty of Versailles by a vote of 57 to 37. The President then asserted that he would appeal again to the

\textsuperscript{11} William S. Myers, The Republican Party, 441.
people 'in a great and solemn referendum' which meant the approaching national election of 1920. Both of the major parties at once prepared for the campaign giving it unusual interest and significance.

Governor Cox's third administration was full of intense political activity, but 'getting back to normalcy' was a matter of more serious concern to the citizens of Ohio and the entire nation. During the year 1919 turbulent conditions developed in many communities of Ohio as a result of strikes. On October 17th of that year Governor Cox issued a statement to all the mayors of municipalities and county sheriffs of Ohio setting forth specifically the duties of the state executives and local authorities 'in the matter of turbulent condition' that had developed in many communities. He also addressed a conference county prosecutors on high food cost investigation, suggesting in conclusion that while the Government's contract with the wheat growers should be kept, the supply of wheat purchased should be sold at a price 'which would give us the pre-war five cent loaf of bread'. The price of sugar was very high, perhaps the highest in our history. There were many profiteers in the sugar speculation. This afforded good propaganda for the Republican

12 Ibid., 440.
13 Galbreath, op. cit., 726.
14 Ibid., 726.
campaign and for which the Democratic government was held responsible.\textsuperscript{15}

According to statistical estimates the increased cost of living for the period from July 1914 to July 1920 was more than doubled. The average increase of all list prices was 104.5 per cent. Food prices increased by 119 per cent, and clothing by 166 per cent. In spite of the building crises and recent rent booms in the great cities, the cost of housing, the least of the major items of expense of the American citizen, showed an increase of but 58 per cent. The cost of heat and light increased by 66 per cent in the six years of Democratic rule. In 1920 coal in Central Ohio retailed for $11.00 per ton increasing from $7.25, the price of the preceding spring.\textsuperscript{16} The cost of milk in Columbus and Cleveland was $1.20 per quart while dairy feed varied from $80.00 per ton in 1914, $60.00 in 1919, and $54.00 in 1920.\textsuperscript{17} This decline in the price of feed for cattle should have also lowered the price of milk and meat. From July 1919 to July 1920 food cost rose on the average by 15 per cent and clothing by 33 per cent.\textsuperscript{18} The general increase of prices continued just as sharply as during the war. It was apparent

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ohio State Journal, September 18, 1918.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid., October 27, 1918.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid., September 24, 1918.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
that some practical recommendation of reducing this high cost of living and lightening the burden of taxation would find a place among the issues of the coming campaign. For many of the people believed that the burden of taxation should be growing lighter now that almost two years had passed since the war had ended. The enormous cost of the World War together with the high cost of governmental expenditures inevitably increased the cost of living. The expense of the Federal Government cost more than $90.00 per capita, or averaged $450 a family.

Added to this was all the other taxes, real, personal, or otherwise and high cost of living.

The Fourteenth Federal Census Report for Ohio in 1920 showed a substantial gain in population of the state for the last decade. It rose from 4,767,121 in 1910 to 5,759,394 in 1920, a gain of nearly a million. While the urban population had increased rapidly the rural population in number of counties showed decreases. Ohio still retained her rank as fourth among the states of the Union in number of inhabitants. This increase in population added importance to the campaign because of the possibility of some gerrymandering of the congressional districts of the state.

The League of Nations issue in all probability loomed as the paramount issue in the Democratic party. To bring it to the front again in support of the present administration

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19 "Senator Capper's speech at Columbus", Ibid, September 18, 1918.
20 Ohio Statistics, 1921, p. 653.
was its sole aim. At times the League question seemed to be a political issue. Even the persistent and devoted agitation and work along the line of propaganda which its advocates had been engaged in with great sincerity and personal sacrifice was unable to stem the tide flowing in the other direction. Its long contest had changed many votes in favor of the opposition. As Senator Warren G. Harding, on August 23, 1919, wrote to a friend,

...There are many problems needing attention here in the United States, the solution of which would have been more helpful than this negotiation of an international compact which is to rob us of our nationality. I quite agree with you Mr. Crosier that public sentiment is very rapidly changing on this question and deliberate judgment of the country is very much opposed to our entrance into the League of Nations....

This was the situation when the time for the campaign advanced. There was apparently a strong undercurrent against the Democratic party, which seemed to have grown steadily since President Wilson's appeal for a Democratic congress. There was no defense made of the economic policy of the Democratic administration. There had been a time when it had been necessary for people to exercise thrift because of scarcity but the time had passed. The

21 Letter to C. W. Crosier, of Bethesda, Ohio, published in Ohio State Journal, October 18, 1918.
22 " Calvin Coolidge Speech at Boston ", Ibid., October 30, 1918.
people could buy with assurance that production had caught up with consumption so that self denial would not have been necessary on the part of the public to prevent profiteering and price increases. So many realized that if prosperity was to be had a change must be made and a return to constitutional government and end the extravagances in governmental expenses.
Chapter II
The Presidential Primaries

The State of Ohio began to attract the attention of the country as the time drew near for the presidential primaries. Many people looked forward for a return of the rule of the Republican Party and as Ohio had furnished candidates in crises in the past it seemed only customary for some outstanding Ohioan to be considered as a candidate. From the beginning the state had played her part well in giving her distinguished sons for the Presidency from the ranks of the Republican Party. Every Republican President who had entered the White House since the Civil War had come directly from Ohio or had been born in Ohio. The other two Presidents of the same party entered by the way of the vice-presidency.

On the other hand the loyal Democrats of the state were strongly in favor of Governor Cox for their candidate. The stricken President could not lead his party through another campaign so a transfer of leadership was evident, and Cox having been elected three times as governor of the state seemed perhaps their strongest candidate to assume that leadership.

The favorite son which the Republicans of the state was supporting was United States Senator Warren G. Harding of Marion. In political circles Senator Harding was widely known. In the beginning of his political career he had been a protege of Foraker and rose to a subordinate office by favor
of Cox of Cincinnati. He was defeated by Judson Harmon in the contest for the Governorship of the state in 1910. In 1914 he was named for United States Senator, having a majority of more than 100,000 votes over his Democratic opponent. He had taken an active part in several national conventions. In 1904 he was alternate-at-large and a delegate-at-large in 1912 when he had presented the name of a fellow Ohioan, William H. Taft for renomination for President. In the 1916 Republican convention Senator Harding was given a delegate-at-large and was made permanent chairman and the keynote speaker. His speech was based upon the theme 'Let us forget 1912'. It was a masterpiece for the purpose intended as it pleased everybody and offended nobody, which was characteristic of many of his later speeches, yet there was not a phrase in it which made it memorable. Senator Harding was warmly complimented on his handling of the convention, a difficult job which undoubtedly brought him to the forefront for the succeeding one. So now in 1920 he was an aspirant for the Presidential nomination.

Among the other sixteen who sought the presidential nomination General Leonard Wood of the United States Army was the leading figure. He had a large organized force

1 Willis Fletcher Johnson, The Life of Warren G. Harding, 63.
2 Charles B. Galbreath, History of Ohio, II, 716.
supporting him and an excellent chance of securing more and the nomination. He had an outstanding personality and his record in the service of his country was good. He had spent his entire life as a doctor, soldier, and administrator. His record in Cuba forms a page in the history of civilization. He had achieved high distinction as an officer in the World War and yet he was a very unmilitaristic and democratic American.

General Wood secured a leave of absence from the War Department until the 20th day of May in which time he was to wage his campaign. But his enthusiastic supporters persuaded him to cancel the leave. 3 This action was capitalized by his Ohio campaign manager, John H. Price of Cleveland, who spread propaganda to the limits of the state. 4 Wood was to have spoken in fifteen cities in thirteen congressional districts of the state. Preparations were made for keeping the engagements by William H. Boyd, Cleveland, and former Attorney-General Edward C. Turner, candidates for delegate-at-large and other speakers from other states. 5 However, Wood secured the leave of absence again and filled his engagements with these men accompanying him.

Senator Harding did not spend much time in Ohio previous to

3 Ohio State Journal, April 14, 1920.
5 Ibid.
the primary but devoted his time principally in the neighboring states. The number of speeches he made in Ohio was limited. He spoke in Toledo on April 12th, three times in Columbus the next day, and one time each in Urbana April 18th, Akron April 19th, and in Dayton on the 20th. At Dayton the speech was made and Harding had left town before Wood arrived to deliver his address.\(^6\) From the beginning the well organized forces and the moneyed interests supporting General Wood had a telling effect on the Harding campaign. Mud slinging played an important part. The Harding campaign manager Daugherty was particularly assailed.\(^7\) The Harding votes on labor during the war were resurrected and used effectively in eastern Ohio in the mining region.\(^8\) After the neighboring state of Michigan went heavily for Wood and the invasion of Ohio by the third leading candidate, Hiram Johnson, every supporter of Harding began to realize that Ohio was a battle ground and every effort was put forward to produce a good showing for the Senator in his home state.

The election was held on the 27th day of April, the same day as the elections in four other states. The five states were electing ninety-three delegates to the National Convention, which was to meet in June at Chicago. Ohio was to

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6 Ibid., April 21, 1920.
7 Ibid., April 24, 1920.
8 Ibid., April 16 and 17, 1920.
elect 48, Massachusetts 35, New Jersey 28, Washington 14, and Idaho 8. The election in Ohio seems to have attracted the most attention because of the favorite son in the race. Also Ohio was electing the largest delegation which coupled with that of Massachusetts or New Jersey might have a vital bearing on the nomination in June. The Wood followers did not expect him to receive a majority or even a very large vote. They wanted about a fourth of the delegation in order to bring out the weakness of Senator Harding in his home state. If this could be secured it would kill his chances of gaining the nomination at the convention.

The returns of the primaries showed that General Wood had gained only nine of the district delegates and one delegate-at-large, William H. Boyd of Cleveland, who had defeated Harry M. Daugherty, a lawyer of Columbus and Harding's campaign manager. Wood's strength lay in the industrial districts and the larger cities of Ohio with the exception of Cincinnati. Senator Harding at Vincennes, Indiana, received the returns calmly and gratefully, especially when his own county of Marion gave him 2,411 votes to Wood's 238. Together with the thirty-nine delegates and

9 Ibid., April 28, 1920.
10 Ibid., April 27, 1920.
three delegates-at-large, Senator Harding received 16,363 votes more than General Wood.\footnote{13} He did not, however, receive a majority because Herbert C. Hoover was credited with 15,000 written-in-votes and Hiram Johnson with 12,000 votes.

These results brought forth many shades of opinion. many held it to be evident that Harding was not wanted as a presidential candidate in Ohio and should retire as gracefully as possible. Others believed that the Daugherty management had ruined him and that the heavy vote against him was more largely directed against the manager than against the candidate.\footnote{14} Many other Republicans were disheartened over this wide factional division in their party and the encroachment of Johnson radicalism. The Democratic leaders asserted that it was the outcome of the united Republican effort in the past months to stir up public dissatisfaction against President Wilson and the League of Nations, and that these attacks were rebounding to divide the Republican party in Ohio as in other states.\footnote{15} Certain hostile national politicians saw the fundamental weakness of Senator Harding which would make it dangerous from the party's standpoint to nominate him either for the Presidency or the Vice-Presidency. Even for re-election to the United States

\footnote{13 Ibid.}
\footnote{14 Ibid.}
\footnote{15 Ibid.}
Senate they believed that with him on the ticket the party would have an uphill fight to carry Ohio. The possible candidates for the Republican nomination to the Senate seat were former Ex-Governors, Myron T. Herrick and Frank B. Willis, who had been elected by a large vote as delegates-at-large for Harding. With their showing in mind it appeared to many political observers that Senator Harding would be certain to lose if such a race were undertaken. The Republican party could not jeopardize its chances with an electoral vote as large as it was in Ohio. Harding’s ardent supporters viewed the election results as a setback to General Wood. They were determined to keep him in the race because he was the favorite of the Republican Senate, and if by chance the nominating convention became deadlocked he might be the choice by a compromise after about the fourth day of the convention. And this is virtually what happened.

The defeated Daugherty, Harding’s manager, summed up the results thus:

17 Ibid.
It was a remarkable victory for Senator Harding and we must consider that it was a very good vote for no money was used for billboard advertising and no money was used to pay workers for Harding. He won by a majority on his merits while he was away campaigning in another state. Considering the results in Massachusetts and New Jersey one can see that General Wood's nomination is impossible. We are well satisfied with the results and will go forth with the assurance that the nation will ratify Ohio's choice. 18

The Wood manager, John H. Price of Cleveland, made more extreme claims of victory. Yet his aim had not been accomplished, he said that: 'The result was confessedly disappointing to the Harding management which had confidently claimed the entire state delegation but the districts showed that the industrial centers were opposed to his nomination and he was the candidate of the minority.' 19

In the Republican pre-convention campaign of 1920 General Wood spent $1,773,303, Frank Lowden $414,984, Hiram Johnson $194,393, Herbert Hoover $173,542, and Warren G. Harding $113,109. 20 Wood's fund was larger by $450,000 than the national campaign fund of the Democratic party of that year. 21 Price, state chairman of the Wood campaign, raised

18 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
some $500,000 in Ohio 'in the twinkling of an eye', as the Democrats later charged. Senator Kenyon as chairman of the Senatorial Investigating Committee made a thorough investigation of the campaign soon after and found that enormous sums had been spent on behalf of Wood in Ohio as well as through the entire country.

The Wood campaign officers in the state had concluded that a fund of $650,000 was needed to secure a fourth of Ohio's delegation. Headed by Carmi A. Thompson of Cleveland, prominent men in all cities and towns of the state began to canvass for money. They seemed to possess a commanding influence and their work met with success. At a meeting in Columbus John Kelly, Fred A. Miller, and Robert F. Wolfe, the last, the publisher of the two leading newspapers in central Ohio, distributed this quota of $650,000 to be raised among the cities and counties of the state.

The quota of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) was set at $400,000 but later lowered to $350,000. The extra $50,000 according to Kelly was for local purposes. The quota of Hamilton County (Cincinnati) was reduced from $300,000 to $260,000, Mahoning County (Youngstown) from $75,000 to $80,000 which was typical of raising $21,350 in cash at

22 Ohio State Journal, September 8, 1920.
23 The Ohio State Journal and The Columbus Dispatch.
24 Columbus Dispatch, September 10, 1920.
once and pledging $37,750, at one meeting. This city was
in an industrial region and because the Democratic governor
of the state had refused to allow the use of the State mi-
litia in strikes, many of the manufacturing concerns con-
tributed heavily to the Wood fund. Six officials of The
Sheet and Tube Company of Youngstown each gave $1,000 to
the fund.

Mr. Robert F. Wolfe of Columbus admitted afterwards that
he had spent $12,000 of his own money on letters, postal
cards, and personal campaign work for General Wood. His own
estimate of the expense of the campaign was that each can-
didate's supporters had spent approximately $100,000 in addi-
tion to what legislative influence and local machinery they
already possessed. Had it been any other candidate it would
have cost three times as much. As for his own papers he said
he never thought about the advertising involved. His activ-
ities were against the group managing Senator Harding's
candidacy because their control over election boards.

Mr. Wolfe went on to say:

25 Ibid.
26 Ohio State Journal, June 2, 1920.
27 Ibid.
That Politics in Ohio are in the hands of an inside coterie of men whom I felt it my duty to oppose. I wanted to support Senator Harding but told him I could not if his candidacy went into the hands of this group. Our fight afterwards was against an element in the Republican party rather than for any individual. I told Senator Harding that if he allowed Harry W. Daugherty to pick the delegates to the National Convention, I felt it would be a menace to the state and that I would fight it. 28

One of the bad features of the Ohio election from Harding's point of view was the effect that it might have on the other primaries in the neighboring states of Kentucky and Indiana. The Kentucky delegations was to go to the convention uninstructed, but congressional members of the state did not think that the Ohio result was in favor of any candidate. The leader of the Kentucky members of Congress, John W. Langley, was quoted as saying, 'The primary results in Ohio are too close for comfort and I am afraid bodes no good to Senator Harding. The primaries indicate that the Republican contest is still anybody's race with Senator Johnson showing unusual strength'. 29 The influence of the primary in Indiana is summed up by Representative Louis W. Fairfield, Republican, of the Fort Wayne district, thus: 'The Ohio primary's result is a remarkable showing for Wood. It proves that a very considerable number of people in Ohio thinks well of Wood. It is equivalent to a victory for General Wood. I have never changed any of my opinions that

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., April 29, 1920.
Wood will carry Indiana by a big majority. The Indiana primary was held several days later and resulted in a victory for Wood who gained that state's four delegates-at-large, while Senator Harding received fourth place in the number of votes.

Governor James M. Cox without opposition received a solid Democratic state delegation. His much courted labor record had not been in vain. This was part of his reward as William Green, head of the United Mine Workers of America, one of the largest bodies in the American Federation of Labor, favored him and won many votes. Governor Cox did not make much of a fight for the primary. His administrative record was good. By not using the militia he had won the support of the mining element in eastern Ohio and as well as the industrial northern sections of the state. His home was in the southwestern section of the state which had given him a large plurality in 1918. Cox's confined his campaign in the state was limited to a few visits in the southeast and northwest sections of the state. Assisted by State Auditor Vic Donahey and W. C. Sharp of Elyria, former Ambassador to France.

30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., May 12, 1920.
32 Outlook, July 21, 1920.
33 Ohio State Journal, April 14, 1920.
Delegation to the Republican Convention

Delegates-at-large; (Three for Harding, one for Wood):
Myron T. Herrick (H) 132,366
Frank B. Willis (H) 123,130
John Galvin (H) 120,010
William H. Boyd (W) 107,682
*Harry M. Daugherty (H) 107,375
Edw. C. Turner (W) 106,124

District Delegates:
1 R. K. Hynicka Cincinnati
   M. Y. Cooper “
2 J. J. Burchnell “
   Albert Bode “
3 R. G. Patterson Dayton
   F. I. Brown “
4 W. W. Woodhill Miami County
   J. W. Halfhill Allen County
5 H. B. Franks Montpelier County
   Jacob Longenecker Fulton County
6 C. E. Hord Portsmouth
   J. D. McManna West Union
7 Dr. L. E. Evans West Jefferson
   G. U. Wilbur Marysville
8 C. H. Lewis Marion
   Hope Donithen Wyandotte County
9 W. F. Brown Toledo
   W. W. Knight “
10 R. W. Switzer Gallipolis
   A. R. Johnson Ironton
11 S. F. McCracken Lancaster
   Labert M. Davis New Lexington

*While the plurality of Harding at the election of delegates to the convention was 16,303, Daugherty was defeated by Boyd, a Wood delegate.

34 Charles B. Galbreath, History of Ohio, II, 727.
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<th>Party</th>
<th>City</th>
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<td>(W)</td>
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<td>J. B. Miles</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Earl Ash</td>
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Delegation to the Democratic Convention
(Solid for Cox)

Delegates-at-Large:
James E. Campbell
Judson Harmon
E. H. Moore
Atlee Pomerene

Columbus
Cincinnati
Youngstown
Canton

District No.

1  S. M. Johnson
    W. A. Julian
    Cincinnati

2  Alfred G. Allen
    Thomas J. Noctor
    "

3  Clarence N. Greer
    E. C. Sohngen
    Dayton
    Hamilton

4  J. Henry Goeka
    J. R. Marker
    Wapakoneta
    Versailles

5  Daniel W. Bailey
    Henry L. Conn
    Ottawa
    Van Wert

6  W. F. Roudebush
    A. G. Turnipseed
    Batavia
    West Union

7  M. R. Denver
    W. S. Thomas
    Wilmington
    Springfield

8  W. W. Durbin
    Wm. D. Cover
    Kenton
    Crestline

9  Alfred C. Duff
    J. A. O'Dwyer
    Port Clinton
    Toledo

10 Louis Horwitz
    Milton S. Cox
    Pomeroy
    McArthur

11 M. A. Daugherty
    F. A. Stacy
    Lancaster
    Chillicothe

12 James Ross
    Curtis C. Williams
    Columbus
    "

13 Frank T. Dore
    A. V. Bauman, Jr.
    Tiffin
    Fremont

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<th>C. Mulcahy</th>
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<td>John J. Babka</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Martin J. Madden</td>
<td>B. S. Pyke</td>
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Chapter III
The Nominating Conventions

Neither the Democratic nor the Republican Convention of 1920 was held in Ohio. However, the state played an important part in the roles of each convention. Ohio's 'Favorite Son' of the Republican party went to the Convention at Chicago, June 8, 1920, only perhaps as the third or fourth choice of the nation, with General Wood and Governor Lowden of Illinois far in the lead and Senator Hiram Johnson representing the radical element throughout the country ranking in third place. The name of the Democratic 'Favorite Son' went before the Convention at San Francisco which met on June 28, 1920. With a solid Ohio delegation of 48 and a few more scattered votes, he was far overshadowed by two nationally known figures in William G. M'Adoo, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury and son-in-law of President Wilson, and Attorney-General Mitchell Palmer of the same cabinet. Thus both candidates went to the conventions as third choice, and with little hope of securing the nomination in either case unless the voting became deadlocked. The Ohio delegations had been instructed and were confident and determined to follow out the instructions to the limit.

The date of the Republican National Convention was set for June 8th in Chicago. The delegations, however as usual began to arrive early and many rumors were abounding when the divided Ohio delegation arrived accompanied by the nationally known Republican Glee Club of Columbus. Senator Harding was not with them as he was undecided whether or not to attend, but after a few days he concluded that modern methods seemed to
suggest the presence of candidates and particularly at this
convention as no decisive choice was manifested. 'This Ohio
mission is not to dictate or demand', he said, 'nor even
attempt dramatic appeal inside or outside of the convention.
It would be folly to fit a platform to a movement and mark
the end of popular government through political parties'. ¹
It might be said that he and his co-workers Harry M.
Daugherty his manager, Ex-Governor Frank B. Willis, who was
to present his name to the convention, Carmi A. Thompson of
Cleveland, H. B' Manning who had charge of his Washington
headquarters, and F. E. Scobey of Texas, were instrumental in
winning over a few of the uninstructed delegates. ²

There were 984 delegates in all, General Wood claiming
110 including the 9 from Columbus, Senator Hiram Johnson 112,
Governor Lowden 65. The 'Favorite Son' class continued 560
including the 39 in Ohio, 14 in Washington for Senator
Poindeexter and 16 in West Virginia for Senator Howard
Sutherland. There were 137 contested votes. ³ It was apparent
from a preliminary count that Wood or Lowden needed more votes.
It was necessary that they be secured from the two as the other
delegates opposed the two leading candidates; Wood because of
the vast amount of money expended in his campaign, especially
by Colonel William C. Proctor of Cincinnati, and Lowden because

³ Ibid.
of large amounts spent by party leaders in Missouri. This had apparently been done entirely without Lowden's knowledge for there was no proof of the slightest impropriety in the use of money.

After Johnson's affirmed statement that he was a candidate only for the Presidency and would not accept the Vice-Presidency, the Old Guard revived the 'Elder Statesmen Plan', and Harding was to be kept in to prevent the nomination from going to Wood.

However in this convention of 1920 women played a more conspicuous part than ever. Tennessee's ratification was pending as the 36th state and the 19th Amendment was almost sure to be effective by the November election. Many women were numbered among the alternates. The entrances to the coliseum were picketed at the opening session by the members of the National Woman's Party. On June 9th a short meeting was held with speeches by Mrs. M. H. McCarter of Kansas and others.\(^5\)

The Chairman of the National Convention Will H. Hays of Indiana also arrived early on the scene and took charge of the difficulty in the seating of the delegates. The majority of disputes came from the South.

The Keynote Speech by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of

\(^4\) Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1920.

\(^5\) World Almanac, 1921, p. 645.
Massachusetts assailed the 'Wilson Dynasty' and took a bold stand against the League of Nations. Then came the nominating speeches. On June 12th, after Mrs. James W. Morrison had seconded the nomination of Herbert C. Hoover and told of the millions of women who would support him, Senator Smoot announced that Ex-Governor Willis would nominate Warren G. Harding. There was a roar from the Ohio section which swept around the hall. Senator Harding was held in affectionate regard by delegates from many states. The Ex-Governor got a big hand when he said that no matter whom the convention nominated all delegates and party leaders should keep in mind that the Republican party must face the country with a united front. Such a result, he said, could be brought about by Harding's nomination. Willis had been asked by Senator Harding to present his name. In the convention the roll is called alphabetically by states, and an "A" state yielded so that Ohio's favorite might be presented early. As a student of former conventions and of mass psychology, Mr. Willis asked that Ohio's name be called in regular order. The result justified his judgment to an even greater extent than he could have anticipated. He advanced to the platform on Friday afternoon after long and somewhat tedious speeches which had virtually tortured the delegates in a hot wearisome atmosphere so that they were intolerant of further speeches.

7 Ibid., June 12, 1920.
In the midst of his speech Mr. Willis started to say, "say boys let's nominate Harding", but as he spoke the words "say boys" it occurred to him that in this convention women too were voting for the first time. There was an almost imperceptible pause but the audience grasped it instantly. When he added "and girls" the convention broke loose. It was on its feet in its first spontaneous demonstration. The slogan "say boys and girls let's nominate Harding" spread everywhere in a short time. The speech and the slogan won the convention to good feeling for Harding. No other speech in any convention is said to have had a real helpfulness in swinging the nomination to the man for whom it was given.

J. Newton Colver of the Spokesman Review, Spokane, Washington, wrote for his paper this description:

The Speech of Ex-Governor Frank B. Willis of Ohio nominating Senator Harding is to take place for all time among the really great national convention orations. It was an oration and not a speech to win applause, because it won action, it made votes, it turned the delegates attention to a hitherto somewhat inconspicuous candidate and when the drift of voting to Harding began on the fifth ballot it was apparent that the delegates themselves and not the bosses had been fired by Willis' eloquence to a determination to put Harding over. Willis far surpassed any other of the nominating speakers. He alone of all the men that faced the convention during its five days of excitement and confusion, could quiet it by simply raising his hand. It adds to his fame as an orator and veterans pronounced it one of the most effective nominating speeches ever delivered in any Republican Convention. 8

8 June 13, 1920.
The crowd's greeting to Harding's name after ornate presentation by Willis was of considerable volume but had no picturesque features comparable to the feather shower in honor of Wood and lacked the vim of the Lowden and Johnson outbursts. It lasted for about ten minutes. In seconding the Harding nomination, R. B. Creager of Texas, got a few cheers and a laugh for saying that the Ohio Senator could carry Texas and break into the solid South.

On the first ballot Wood and Lowden led, though neither came near having a majority. Hiram Johnson stood third and Harding fourth with only 65 l-2 votes. This order was maintained until after the seventh ballot. After the fourth ballot the Harding supporters asked for a recess. Wood at the end of this ballot stood where he was at first, 299, while Harding had been pushed slowly forward.

On the fifth or the first ballot of the next day, June 13th, the Wood vote remained at 299, while Lowden advanced to 313, much to the delight of his followers. Johnson's vote dropped slightly. The effects of the over night conferences were apparent in a Harding gain of 16 l-2 while Johnson lost and Harding gained. On the seventh ballot Harding still showed a gain because word had been given out by the conservative

10 Ibid.
element that Harding was the man wanted. Thus he received 105 1-2, Lowden 311 1-2, and Johnson's dropped to 99 1-2.

On the eighth ballot Lowden went ahead of Wood 307 to 299. Harding again received a gain of votes in this ballot going to 133 1-2, while Johnson's forces began to disintegrate. His vote dropped to 87. After this ballot had been announced the convention took a recess until four o'clock. The motion to recess had come from A. T. Hert, National Committeeman of Kentucky and leader of the Lowden forces. An immediate protest came from the Ohio delegation which saw a chance of gaining the nomination for Senator Harding. Some of the leaders who were working in Harding's interest as a compromise went to Ex-Governors Herrick and Willis and persuaded them to agree to the recess so the objection was withdrawn and the question was put and declared carried.¹²

During this recess a conference of leaders was held in the Blackstone Hotel rooms which were occupied by Colonel George Harvey. This eminent editor of the 'North American Review' and 'Harper's Weekly' was a close personal friend of Harding as well as of various other candidates and leaders. He had been for some time a sort of advisor-in-chief of the managers of the Republican party. By a process of elimination all other candidates but Harding were sidetracked. The claims of Senators Smoot, Brandegee, Lodge, New, and Wadsworth as well as those of others were canvassed. The decision was reached to center on Senator Harding for the

Presidential nominee.13

After the recess votes were cast for the ninth ballot, Alabama stood pat, then came Arizona and for the ninth time the gallant Arizona Woodmen arose. Arkansas recorded no changes, neither did California who still threw her vote to Johnson. Colorado made no changes, then something happened. The chairman called Connecticut, which up to now had always voted for Johnson and Lowden, but now she cast the 13 Lowden votes for Harding. That was the largest switch yet to take place. When it came to Florida the bulk of that delegation went to Harding. Kansas had started out for Wood but later had steered to Lowden. But at this time she cast her entire 20 votes for Harding. That settled it. The big break was on. The Kentucky delegation switched its whole 26 votes from Lowden to Harding. That meant the elimination of Wood and Lowden.14 Missouri clinched the evidence. The entire 36 delegates of state switched to Harding. The rest was a rush for the band wagon. Finally Pennsylvania broke and her sixty delegates left their favorite, Governor Sproul, and voted for Harding. At the end of this ballot Harding had received a total of 374 1-4 votes.

On the tenth ballot Senator Harding received majority 692 votes and the nomination. Mr. Willis was called by

13 Columbus Dispatch, June 13, 1920.
Chairman Lodge, to preside during the nominating speeches and voting for Vice-President. He went to the chair fully expecting the nominee to be Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, upon whom most of the leaders had agreed. Ex-Governor Herrick of the Ohio delegation seconded Mr. Lenroot's name. The unexpected presentation of the name of Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts by a delegate from Ohio and the enthusiasm it provoked upset this program. A rush was made to Coolidge which resulted in giving him a sufficient number of votes to nominate him on the first ballot. Ohio well scattered its votes for the Vice-Presidency giving Coolidge ten, Prichard of New Jersey ten, Anderson of Virginia nine, Allen of Kansas ten, and Lenroot nine votes. R. K. Hynicka of Cincinnati was re-elected as National Committeeman.

So Senator Harding gained the Presidential nomination within twenty-four hours after he was looked upon as being out of the race. He had made a poor showing in the convention's balloting on the preceding day, but just before midnight on that day papers had been filed at Columbus, entering him as a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. These papers had been prepared in advance and

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15 Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications, XXXVII, 39.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Columbus Dispatch, June 16, 1920.
were left with friends in Columbus to whom Senator Harding gave discretion to file or not to file as they saw fit. These friends were advised from Chicago that Harding could not be nominated for President. As the Ohio law required nominations for the Senatorial primaries to be closed at midnight on June 11th, Mr. Harding's papers were filed only two minutes before the time limit expired. George B. Harris of Cleveland was sent from Chicago for that specific purpose. This fact was stated, although not prominently, in the Chicago papers on the next morning. 19 A delegate even spoke of the fact on the floor of the convention as recorded in the minutes for June 12th.

Evidently the break to Harding had so progressed that his action relative to the Senate was not to check it.

It had been so evident to the Senate group that Harding was out of the contest for the nomination that after the convention adjourned on June 12th an effort was made to have him agree to accept the nomination for Vice-President. There were conferences in the Ohio delegation which were attended by Senator Harding. It was decided to stick by him for President to the last. 20 Not until the next morning when Harding's nomination for the Presidency was in sight did the Senate group give consideration to the selection of a candidate for Vice President.

19 Chicago Tribune, June 12, 1920.
Many thought the rejection of General Leonard Wood was due to the fact that the Senate group could not dictate to him. This group favored Governor Lowden until Borah served upon it his notice of a veto of that nomination. Borah was commanding because he knew how to deal with them. The leadership of the Republican party having fallen into the hands of the Senatorial group saved Borah from bolting and prevented Johnson from promoting his radical view on the League issue.

The states which had been solid for Wood were slow to recognize Senator Harding as the nation's choice. The press and especially the leading eastern newspapers the next day carried sharp criticisms of the convention's choice but were loud in praise of the nominee for Vice President, Calvin Coolidge. The New York Times the next day published the following article:

Warren G. Harding is a very respectable Ohio politician of the second class. He was never a leader of men or a director of policies. For years a protégé of Foraker, he rose to a subordinate office by favor of 'Boss Cox' of Cincinnati. Beaten by Judson Harmon in the contest for the governorship in 1910 he has never shown independent strength in his own state save when he was named for Senator in 1914 having a majority of a little more than 100,000 votes over his Democratic competitor and outside of Ohio he has only such strength as he now derives from his place as the head of the Republican ticket. Senator Harding's record at Washington has been faint and colorless. He was an undistinguished and undistinguishable unit in the rack of the Republican Senate who obediently followed Mr. Lodge in the twisting and turning

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21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
of that statesman's foray upon the Treaty and
Covenant.

The nomination of Harding for whose coun-
erpart we must go back to Franklin Pierce, if
we would seek a President who measures down to
his political stature is the fine and perfect
flower of the cowardice and imbecility of the
Senatorial Cabal that charged itself with the
management of the Republican Convention again-
st who control Governor Beeckman so vehemently
protested.

Governor Coolidge for Vice President really
shines by comparison with the head of the
ticket. He is at least a man of achievement,
he is known to the party and to the nation.
When the police force of Boston went a strike
he showed himself to be a man. He met that
menace to the public safety with courage and
determination and the nation rang with praise
for him.

It is fortunate that not a word is to be
said against the character of either can-
date. They are irreproachable. But that
doesn't compensate for the lack of achieve-
ment, for the colorlessness of the can-
date for the first place or for the manner
in which his nomination was brought about.
It will be felt and said everywhere that the
Democrats at San Francisco have received
from their opponents at Chicago the gift of
a splendid opportunity.

The reaction within the state Democratic circles to
Harding's nomination was plain. The solid Cox delegation
resolved more strongly than ever to back him to the last.
This is plainly shown by W. W. Durbin, Democratic Chair-
man of the State Executive Committee:

The nomination of United States Senator
Warren G. Harding at Chicago clinches be-
yond a doubt the nomination of Governor
James M. Cox, at San Francisco. Harding is
undoubtedly the strongest of the Old Guard
candidates in Ohio and the only man who can
defeat him is Governor Cox. If the Democrati-
ic Convention pays any attention to the
situation in pivotal Ohio and I am sure it
will, it must turn to Cox on an early ballot. 23

The Governor of Ohio stood at the head of a solid enthusiastic delegation. His selection could be reasonably assured of if it were not that some considerations harmful to his cause were effecting delegates, both men and women, who are usually dominated by the desire to name a candidate whose chances of winning will be the best. The delegates from the border states admitted the Governor's strength, but at the same time pointed to weaknesses which they felt would greatly affect his chance of winning in the general election. The Governor, though he was of good character was very popular with the wet element within the state. As has already been pointed out, he had been elected the year before on the votes of south-western Ohio over his opponent who stood out for prohibition. This was feared by many to be a disadvantage in trying to gain the large vote of the women in case the thirty-sixth state would ratify the nineteenth amendment before November. But on the other hand he would realize, if nominated, a large vote from states calling for a modified Volstead Law. This was particularly true of New York and Tammany Hall with its leader Charles F. Murphy who was behind him. This sentiment was prevalent throughout Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, and New Jersey, and the New England States. 24

The Democrats held a state wide rally at Dayton, the home of Governor Cox, before the special train bearing the delegates, the Democratic Glee Club and the Cox rooters started on its transcontinental journey. Stirring speeches were made by the Governor and United States Senator Atlee Pomerene. The Ohio delegation was led by Ex-Governor, James E. Campbell, who did yeoman service in behalf of Governor Cox, and E. H. Moore of Youngstown who afterward was given chief credit for securing the Cox nomination.25

The Democratic Glee Club added much enthusiasm with its songs, having paraphrased an Ohio State University song which claimed to have won two football championships. Now they were going to use it to good effect and win a nomination for the presidency, and if given a chance would use it to elect one. This song should rank with Champ Clark's 'Hound Dog', and 'Tippecanoe and Tyler Too'.

OHIO, OHIO, The hills gives back their cry, We're here to do or die, OHIO, OHIO, We nominate Cox or know the reason why.

And when we win the game, We'll buy a keg of booze, And we'll drink to dear old Ohio, Till we wobble in our shoes.

OHIO, OHIO,
They say that you are wet,
But we haven't seen it yet,
OHIO, OHIO,
We'll get a drink or know the reason why. 26

The Democratic National Convention was to open in San Francisco on the 28th of June. When the Ohio delegates arrived at that city they found three contending interests in the convention. 27 The Wilson interests were endeavoring to fashion things politically according to the desires of the President. The Anti-Administration interests as they might be called were endeavoring to rid the party of responsibility for the Administration. This faction believed that the administration was a detriment to the party and sought to get through the convention with as little mention of it as possible and by nominating someone who was in no way connected with it. The third interest maybe placed under the head of 'wet and dry'. The 'wets' were to try to get something into the platform concerning light wines and beer. They recognized the fact that the Supreme Court decision was a final blow to the liquor interest as such, but they still hoped that the Congressional election would result in enough friendly members being chosen to modify in some way prohibition enforcement by allowing a greater alcoholic content in liquors. 28

26 Ohio State Journal, June 20, 1920. The third stanza was added at a later date probably by the Maryland delegates.
27 Columbus Dispatch, June 15, 1920.
28 Ibid.
The convention was to have 1092 delegates including 308 women. There were twenty-five women delegates-at-large, Ohio having one, twenty-three alternates-at-large, while the rest were district delegates and alternates. 29 A preliminary survey showed M'Adoo to be a big favorite, being popular with the West. Up until now M'Adoo himself had been indifferent and only his friends and admirers were determined to secure the nomination for him, but on June 20th he issued to the public a statement that he had no desire of his own to obtain the nomination and flatly refused to permit his name to go before the convention. 30 This freed most all his delegates and many came to the support of Cox as his view on labor was very similar to M'Adoo's. 31 This move brightened the hopes of the Ohio delegates, but they were dimmed on the same day by William Jennings Bryan the great Democratic party leader, who declared himself against Governor Cox because of his stand on the liquor question. Bryan pointed out that Cox had been elected Governor of Ohio by deceiving the people as to his attitude on this question. 32

Another incident which lowered the hope of the Cox supporters was the withdrawal from him of the large New York delegation headed by Charles Murphy of Tammany Hall who was given the

30 Ohio State Journal, June 20, 1920.
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
privilege of writing the 'wet' plank of the platform. The Tammany Hall group had made a survey with a ticket composed of Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York for President and Governor Cox for Vice President and was assured 280 votes toward this winning combination.

When the convention opened United States Senator Homer S. Cummings of Connecticut was chosen temporary chairman and on June 29th United States Senator James T. Robinson of Arkansas was elected permanent chairman. Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who represented the desires of President Wilson, brought the League plank from the White House and was made chairman of the resolution committee. The convention sent by unanimous vote a message of sympathy to President Wilson. On July 2nd the convention defeated by a vote of 929 1-2 to 155 1-2 the 'dry' plank of William Jennings Bryan. The Ohio vote was 2 yeas and 46 noes. The convention also defeated by a vote of 723 1-2 to 356 Bourke Cookman's 'wet' plank. The Ohio vote for this was 28 yeas and 20 noes. The convention defeated without roll call Bryan's League of Nations plank. It then without roll call adopted the platform after having rejected 675 1-2 to 402 1-2 the Doheny Irish plank.

34 World Almanac, 1921, p. 654.
36 World Almanac, 1921, p. 654.
Nominating speeches were made on June 30th and July 1st. When Kentucky was reached on the roll call the chairman of its delegation announced that Kentucky would yield to Ohio. A cheer went up from the galleries where the Cox boomers were seated. The Ohio delegation rose in a body and sent Judge James G. Johnson of Springfield to the platform to place Governor Cox in nomination. Judge Johnson was not a delegate or even an alternate but a lifelong friend of the Governor. In his nominating speech the Judge praised the record of the Governor as Chief Executive of the Buckeye State and as one of its representatives in Congress where he had served before his election as governor. He put most emphasis, however, on the belief that as a candidate for President Governor Cox would carry his home state against Senator Harding. This was the only part of his speech applauded. After the speech the Cox Glee Club in the galleries began to sing its battle song:

OHIO, OHIO,
The hills send back the cry,
We are here to do or die,
OHIO, OHIO,
We'll win with Cox or know the reason why.

The convention waited for the singing to end and for a demonstration for Cox to begin. Everyone who had witnessed the activity displayed by his friends on the eve of the convention and had listened to the claims made by his campaign managers had expected a great demonstration. Nothing of the kind

happened however at first there was applause and cheering, but it was not spontaneous, nor was it anything like in volume the outburst for Attorney-General Palmer earlier. Member of the Ohio delegation seemed taken aback somewhat but soon the delegation bestirred itself and displayed a blue silken banner bearing the legend, 'Governor Cox with Ohio will win' in golden letters. This banner was started on its way down the aisle in front of the platform to the tune of the Ohio song played by the Cox band in the galleries and sung by the Cox boomers who marched behind the banner. Every artifice was employed to get the demonstration going strong. The standard of Ohio was picked up and paraded through the aisle behind the Cox banner. The standards of Arizona, Kentucky, Mississippi, Maryland, Arkansas, and for a little while Florida joined the procession. The Ohio delegates to the man were marching, Their number included Ex-Governor Judson Harmon, National Committee-man Edwin H. Moore, and Charles E. Morris, private secretary to Governor Cox.39

It was evident that the friends of Governor Cox were disappointed over the frosty attitude of the convention toward their candidate. The demonstration was kept alive for thirty-two minutes by the watch but at no time did it seem anything but artificial.40

It was apparent before the balloting began that there was an even more divided counsel and clashing ambitions than had

39 Ibid.
40 Ibid.
characterized the Republican convention. The rule of requiring a two-thirds vote for the nomination was a difficult obstacle in the way of all aspirants who sought the nomination. The Ohio delegation led by E. H. Moore seemed quite confident, as Cox who began in third place was steadily gaining. On July 2nd Palmer had reached his maximum strength of 264 votes. Some of the leaders agreed to unite upon Cox and sought to combine the 'wets' and the Palmer men to prevent the nomination of M'Aadoo. On the next day Cox gradually moved into the lead on the 16th ballot at the expense of Palmer whose strength had fallen off 100 votes.

After a recess over the Fourth of July the Tammany leaders definitely refused to accept M'Aadoo. They were wanting to favor Cox. When the night session began and the 37th and 38th ballots were taken, Charles C. Carlin, manager of Palmer's delegation, released the delegates. This was followed by a twenty minute recess. In the succeeding ballots Cox gained steadily until on the 44th ballot he had secured 699 votes and it was apparent that he would now obtain more than 729 votes required to nominate. After the counting of the ballots he had received more than the required number and had gained the nomination; Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was nominated for the Vice-President.

41 Columbus Dispatch, June 15, 1920.
The Prohibition party held its National Convention in Lincoln Nebraska, July 19-23. The Presidential nomination was offered to William Jennings Bryan and William A. Sunday, prominent evangelist. After their refusal the convention turned to Aaron S. Watkins of Germantown, Ohio, and nominated him on the second ballot after tying with R. H. Patton with 65 votes on the first ballot. Thus Ohio got its third Presidential candidate for the 1920 campaign. Before this convention closed its nominated for Vice President on the first ballot, D. Leigh Calvin, of New York, an author. He was born in Ohio. Beside this virtual monopoly of candidates enjoyed by Ohio there were in addition the vice presidential candidates of the Farmer Labor party (Hughes) and the single taxers (Barnum). Such an incident is without parallel in our Ohio history.

45 Muzzey, The United States of America. II, 766.
Chapter IV
The Republican Campaign

As it has been suggested in a previous chapter that the Republican National Convention of 1920 resembled that of 1880, so it might be said that the presidential campaign of 1920 was somewhat similar to that of 1896. The Republican leaders desired to revive such a campaign and strove to make it so. Apparently it was so planned, for, within several hours after Senator Harding received the nomination, prominent Republican leaders were wearing the red carnation. This action was quickly followed by the announcement that, is McKinley, in 1896, "had conducted a 'front porch campaign' at his home in Canton, so Harding would conduct a 'front porch campaign' at his Marion home.¹ Even the flagpole from the Canton front lawn was removed and set up in the Marion one. However, these bright ideas soon faded early in the campaign as the public was in no mood for such infantile symbols.

After the convention Senator Harding called off a proposed vacation and settled down for a month of hard work before coming to his home in Marion to be officially notified of his nomination.

In writing about Warren G. Harding it is customary to emphasize his attractiveness and his charm. This seems to have been regarded as the key to his selection by the 'Senatorial Cabal'. It may be a good explanation since the choice seems otherwise inexplicable. But in private conversation there is

¹ Thompson, Charles W., Presidents I have Known, p. 331.
always a doubt about his attractiveness. At least the Senator did have an unusual disposition and a glowing personality. Throughout his senatorial career he was known for his winning smile and the art of gaining his point or aim without offending anyone in the least.

As Ex-Governor Willis had said in his nominating speech, whoever was chosen as nominee, the Republican party should be united behind him. So it was after the convention we find a united party behind Harding in Ohio. The Republican State Chairman, George H. Clark, is quoted as saying, 'We have had some family quarrels in Ohio, but they are passed and gone. There will be no divorces in the family.' He further explained that the action of Rudolph Hynicka, National Committeeman, in throwing the votes of the Cincinnati delegation to Wood on two ballots at Chicago was a debt-paying proposition. He pointed out that Colonel William Cooper Procter had befriended him (Hynicka), and advanced the opinion that Hynicka desired to pay him. Now Hynicka had been re-elected as National Committeeman to the next convention, and soon afterward sent a letter of felicitation to Senator Harding, which the Senator described as very pleasing. Will H. Hays was appointed as National Campaign Manager, while Mr. Daugherty, who had retired from the position as manager

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2 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
of Harding's pre-convention campaign, was appointed a member of the Executive Committee. This committee was composed of fifteen members, including seven women, one being from Ohio.

Another factor which helped to unite the party was, that soon after receiving the nomination, Senator Harding issued the statement that he would not be a 'one man' President, and that if elected, he would seek advice from all factions.

General Wood, too, had telegraphed Harding congratulating him on his nomination, and on July 10th came to Marion with Hays, the National Campaign Manager. He was a dinner guest on that day and pledged his support to the nominee so far as compatible with his duties. Later in the day Harry L. Davis, mayor of Cleveland, now in the race for the Republican nomination for governor, called on Harding. He thought that the situation in Ohio for himself as well as for Harding, seemed favorable. The nomination of Senator Harding for President had stirred the Buckeye Republicans as no other in years, and the party was ready to give the Senator a large Ohio vote.

The State Republican Club held an old-time rally in Columbus on June 29th. A. R. Johnson of Ironton, Representative

5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Columbus Dispatch, June 27, 1920.
and district delegate from the Tenth Ohio District, was the chairman and keynoter of the meeting, and handled it in excellent style, arousing an immense amount of enthusiasm among party leaders throughout the state. Many expressions were formulated and given out, such as 'Ohio, the pivotal state,' 'Republican Ohio,' and 'Ohio, the mother of Presidents.' These were much used among the faithful, optimistic over the prospect at the November election.\(^{10}\)

The formal notification of the Presidential nomination was held in Garfield Park at Marion on July 22nd. There was an immense crowd in attendance, and Ohio was represented by a large delegation from every county of the state. The famous Republican Glee Club sang two selections, the Star-Spangled Banner in opening, and America in closing. The invocation was offered by the Reverend T. H. McAfee of the Trinity Baptist Church, Marion, of which Harding was a member. After the formal address of notification by Senator Lodge, Harding gave his acceptance of the nomination and announced that he would not make a long campaign.\(^{11}\)

Will Hays, the National Campaign Manager, and the Executive Committee had agreed on a 'Front Porch Campaign' for Harding.\(^{12}\) As such a campaign calls for universal support of the press, Harding soon called for a conference with the

\(^{10}\) Ibid.
\(^{11}\) Ibid.
editors of Republican newspapers in the state so it could be arranged that the candidate and the party press might get into close touch at the beginning.\textsuperscript{13}

The campaign was started on July 21st when the first delegation from outside of Marion arrived to greet the Presidential nominee, about one hundred men belonging to the Elks fraternal order of Findlay, led by Representative R. Clint Cole of that district.\textsuperscript{14} As their visit was unannounced, they thus stole a march on the Mansfield delegation of Richland County, the newly organized Harding and Coolidge Club, which sought to gain the honor of being the first by announcing a visit to the Marion front porch on July 31st.\textsuperscript{15}

The opening of the campaign in the capital city of the state was a large meeting of campaign officials and workers at Memorial Hall September 16th. The principal speaker was Senator Arthur Capper of Kansas. The Hall was packed and the crowd was entertained by a concert by two bands, and several selections from the now famous Glee Club. Afterward, for nearly hour, they listened to their State Chairman, George H. Clark, attack Governor Cox's record and campaign utterances. And then for another hour they listened to the fiery Kansas Senator praise the Republican presidential nominee. It was claimed that not one auditor left the hall during the long session.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., August 14, 1920.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., July 21, 1920.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., July 11, 1920.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., September 18, 1920.
Another event claiming such honors was held a day later, but before the actual campaigning began. This was a formal opening of the Ohio State Republican Campaign. It was held in Washington C. H. at the old home of Harry M. Daugherty on September 17th. This was especially honoring the man who was so instrumental in securing the presidential nomination for Senator Harding. The date was carefully chosen because September 17th was the anniversary of the adoption of the Federal Constitution and it was thought especially appropriate in view of the fact that, as the Republicans proclaimed the campaign was to be largely a fight to save the Constitution from being destroyed by the League of Nations. 17

The League was the chief issue of the Democratic campaign and it was forced to the front by their candidate. This put the Republican nominee on the defensive. He had some doubt as to what position to take, having voted in the Senate for the League and Treaty, with reservations. However vague his views on the League were in his first speeches, Harding later opposed it more strongly. During a speech in the mid-west he definitely took a stand against the League and favored peace with Germany in a separate treaty. 18 Even this did not seem to satisfy the doubting voters of Ohio in both the Democratic and Republican ranks. So, to make it clear to Ohioans, the

17 Columbus Dispatch, September 12, 1920.
18 Ohio State Journal, October 8, 1920; Speech at Des Moines October 7.
attitude taken by Harding was repeated soon afterward at a large rally at Jackson.

At this rally Republicans of southern Ohio gathered by the thousands. It was the occasion of an old-fashioned barbecue on the farm of S. E. Stevenson, a Republican leader of Jackson. Elaborate preparations had been made, and when the presidential nominee and his wife, accompanied by Congressman Nicholas Longworth and wife, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, arrived, they were placed at the head of a huge parade and escorted out to the scene of the big dinner where they served themselves with the rest. Afterwards, Harding spoke confirming his opposition to the League, setting forth that his stand had been consistent because of the attitude he had first taken on Article X. The rest of his speech was more about an old-fashioned tariff than a discourse on present issues. After this rally his special train left for Buffalo, New York, where he and Longworth were to speak the next day.

As already alluded to, Harding's campaign was not entirely conducted from the front porch. Governor Cox was conducting an extensive, whirlwind campaign and the Republican managers realized that the nominee must appear before the people in certain sections of the country. During July and August he had received countless delegations and made many speeches at his home in Marion. But in early September he went west to speak

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19 Cincinnati Enquirer, October 21, 1920.
20 Ibid., October 9, 1920.
the grain growing farmers, appearing first before a large
audience at the Minnesota State Fair.\textsuperscript{21} Here he proposed a
policy to keep the nation self-sustaining, urged co-operative
marketing, price stabilizing, reduction in currency and larger
representation of farmers in the government. Harding had been
invited, together with the other candidates, to speak at the
Ohio State Fair, but had refused.\textsuperscript{22}

Perhaps the reason for Harding’s leaving the front porch
and later taking such a bold stand against the League of Nations
was the hopeful prospects of his party. The foremost of these
favorable signs was the Maine election. This state elects its
state officials several weeks before the presidential election
in November. There is the slogan ‘As Maine Goes So Goes The
Nation’, which had been the guide to oncoming presidential
elections with but few exceptions. This election resulted in a
tremendous Republican landslide, with the defeated candidates
espousing Wilson’s League of Nations issue.\textsuperscript{23} The Maine women
had helped to pile up an unprecedented majority which swept the
entire state, county and local Republican candidates into
office. A bare majority of 40,000 for the head of the ticket
had been allowed, but was shown to be double that amount. The
Harding manager at once set aside the first day of October as
the day on which Harding would receive all delegations of women,
for great hopes were placed in the vote of the women. It was

\textsuperscript{21} Ohio State Journal, September 14, 1920.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., August 27, 1920.
\textsuperscript{23} Columbus Dispatch, September 14, 1920.
called 'Social Justice Day' and was to be considered as non-political in nature. A woman, Mrs. Richard Edward, was chairman and handled the interviewing delegation to perfection.

Harding left Marion again on the 6th of October and made a swing through the mid-west and south, returning October 17th. On the next day, October 18th, approximately 100,000 people, gathered in Marion to hear the Republican nominee for president and vice president speak from the same platform for the first time and to bid goodbye to the 'Front Porch'. This was called 'American First Rally Day' because as a campaign cry it was pointed out that if their opponents were successful, the League of Nations would be accepted and the Constitution and principles for which the American government had always stood would then be second.24

In a speech Harding recalled that it was ninety-seven years before that Thomas Jefferson wrote to President James Monroe that 'our first and fundamental aim should, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe' and 'that America should have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe'.25

Both of the presidential candidates had made the usual general promises of economy and efficiency, but neither had been able to formulate a definite, detailed and impressive plan for lightening the burden of the taxpayers. If one or the

other had been able to do so, and his program had appealed to the average intelligence as sincere and practical, it would have meant many votes. However, it was apparent during the last three weeks of the campaign that every indication pointed to a Republican victory for both state and national tickets. Knowledge of this fact in Democratic headquarters brought bitterness and a sense of desperation. The result was one of foulest campaigns in Ohio history. The last weeks before the general election saw a campaign of underhanded tactics, detestable propaganda and malicious lies on both sides. Democratic workers in particular were accused of setting forth many things detrimental to Senator Harding's name and honor but all was denied by their chairman.

During the last week of the campaign, Harding made a swing through the state and spoke in the largest cities. In Cleveland, on October 27th, he set forth one great mission of the campaign, which was to bring about national harmony. He had met with some success along this line as Ex-President Taft and Hiram Johnson had been brought together and the old wound healed. In Akron on October 28th, he issued the customary campaign appeal, in which he asked for a Republican Senate so that harmony and accomplishments could be brought

about in the Administrative and Legislative departments.  

In Cincinnati on October 29th, he pointed out the charges of misrule at home and the speculative character of Democratic policies as to foreign affairs. On October 30th he closed his campaign in Columbus, denying that he had pledged himself to any group or factions during the campaign and rested his efforts of the past months and the goal of a lifetime in the hands of a 'dependable intelligent public'.

History tells us that the campaign of 1920 was the most expensive ever conducted. It was the first campaign in which one candidate spent over one million and a half dollars in the primary fights alone, some $650,000 of which was expended in the state of Ohio.

Another leading candidate spent approximately another half million dollars. It seemed for a while as if the preferential power of voting could be purchased. Many of the other candidates expended well over a hundred thousand dollars throughout the country.

In the fall election the Democratic opponents were charging that an enormous fund of $15,000,000 had been raised for the national campaign. However, as much was used for local and

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30 Ibid., October 29, 1920.
31 Ibid., October 30, 1920.
32 Ibid., October 31, 1920.
state purposes, it was difficult to get an accurate or even an approximate estimate of money expended. Governor Cox, in a speech at Pittsburg, quoted from a Republican bulletin to substantiate the charge of extravagance. The Ohio cities of Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Newark were to raise a quota of more than a hundred thousand dollars each, to be used for campaign purposes. Yet the report of John A. Kelly, the director of the Ohio Republican Ways and Means Campaign Committee, showed only a total of $650,000, of which $400,000 was for the National election within the state. Yet in the Senatorial report of an investigation by a committee with Senator Kenyon at the head of the Ohio Republicans are charged with spending only $74,373.90. It might be said as to the use of money for campaign purposes that a great deal more was spent during the primary fights to gain favorable vote for a candidate than in the following campaign.

36 Ibid., September 9, 1920.
Chapter V
The Democratic Campaign

As the presidential nominee of 1920, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio was a very popular person. He was the only Democrat elected on the state ticket in the election of 1918. His record as three times governor of his state was good. He had resumed the work on projects of improvement, which had been delayed by the war. Highway construction was pushed forward with vigor, and the conservancy work of flood prevention in the Miami Valley, the largest engineering enterprise undertaken at public expense since the building of the canals, was completed. His administrative record was much better than that of the Republican nominee. It was a work of distinction. He had earlier won through a fight for a Constitutional Convention for the purpose of thoroughly overhauling and revising Ohio's organic law, which had hampered and hobbled the officers who sought to administer the affairs of the state along lines of progressiveness and modern efficiency. The Governor's attitude toward labor was very satisfactory throughout the country. It was most enthusiastically used at the Convention by William Green, head of the united Mine Workers of America, one of the largest bodies in the American Federation of Labor. ¹ On this issue he was preferred over his strongest opponent, William G. M'Adoo. On the prohibition question the stand he took appealed to the large indifferent group. It was that he would

¹ Outlook, July 21, 1920.
enforce the dry laws to the letter if he was elected, but yet he didn't think it necessary, in order to meet the evil of drunkenness, to put the whole country on a prohibition basis.  

While these were to the advantage of Governor Cox in the coming campaign, there were some things which detracted from his strength, and among these the hostility of the group who opposed his position on prohibition. Although he could not be classed as a 'wet', he was certainly not a 'dry'. This stand caused many people to think of him only as a 'wet' because the wet element contributed much to his campaign. His friendship with Tammany Hall officials and with Nugent of New Jersey, Brennan of Illinois and Taggart of Indiana was frowned upon by many. The influence of these at home was regarded as bad, and if it were spread further it would make matters worse for the whole country. Perhaps this is the most important of his disadvantages, as at this election women were voting their first time, and upon this issue the opposition could capitalize. Also there was the general influence of the national administration.

Governor Cox at an earlier date was regarded as somewhat pro-german. During the two years preceding our entry into the war, many editorials appeared in his Dayton Daily News:

2 Ibid.
...nor is victory by Germany the worst thing that can happen. If the Allies were to win and their winning meant a great increase of Russian aggressiveness on one side, and of Japanese assertiveness on the other, America might live to be very sorry that Germany had won ...

...every indication is that tens of thousands of these splendid people (the Germans) are still sympathizing with the Fatherland, still believing in the righteousness of the German cause, still hopeful that Germany will win. There is every evidence that they will vote for President Wilson for reelection as the best means of aiding Germany... 3

In a speech made in Cleveland in 1915 Cox attacked George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the American Monthly, formerly The Fatherland, as being a professional German-American. Since there were some six million people of German descent in the United States, including a large per cent in Ohio, and particularly important in the city of Cleveland, this must have had a bad effect on his political future.

However, Cox disappointed the opposition, who rather expected him to make the campaign anti-Wilson. The nomination of Cox over M'Adoo had constituted a sort of repudiation of the Wilson leadership in the Democratic Party, thus the Republicans were 'set' for this line of attack. The Democrats however launched their offensive in an unexpected way. Governor Cox had visited Washington and conferred with President Wilson, with the result that he was to 'carry on.' 4

3 Ibid.
4 The term used originated during the late war.
The first act of Governor Cox after the reins of authority, metaphorically speaking, had been transferred from Washington to Columbus was to hurl a dramatic challenge at the foe for a showdown of campaign expenditures. This started a campaign which, within itself, was full of action.\(^5\)

The cry for 'new blood' in the control of the Democratic Committee was met by the selection of a man who confessed that four hours before he became the actual head of the party organization he had not thought of himself in that connection.\(^6\) The selection of George White of Marietta as National Democratic Campaign Manager was not a surprise, as it followed his long personal friendship with Governor Cox and his participation in the Cox candidacy at San Francisco. At the Convention White was regarded as E. H. Moore's 'right bower'. Moore as the Cox manager was the general, while White was the lieutenant general. Developments both before and during the Convention showed that White's six years in Congress associating with the party leaders and participating in party councils were a valuable asset in securing strength for Cox in state where his candidacy had not been actively projected during the primaries.\(^7\) He was familiar with the political situation

\(^5\) Ibid., July 21, 1920.
\(^6\) Ibid., Ohio State Journal, July 10, 1920.
\(^7\) Ibid.
in Ohio, having served for three years, 1907-1910, as 
Representative in the State Legislature. His selection was 
arrived at by a process of elimination in which various 
names were mentioned. They were gone over one at a time and 
dropped. White was considered to be dry, although he was 
independent of the Anti-Saloon League. This was regarded 
as a strategical move of the first order of importance. The 
selection of White for the National Chairmanship supplanted 
an eastern man with a man of the mid-west. White had roughed 
it in the Klondike and his selection it was thought would aid 
in the elaborate plans of winning the west. He had been a 
pupil of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton, and had the reputation 
of being one of his supporters. It was contended by Democratic 
champions of the new deal that this appointment should tend to 
soften the criticism of those who otherwise might be inclined 
to denounce the sweeping change in party control.

Chairman White was careful in the selection of the 
personnel of the new executive campaign committees. Mrs. 
Bernice S. Pyke of Cleveland was slated for a place, but 
her name was erased for no other reason than that she was an 
Ohio woman. It was felt that in as much as Ohio had secured 
the National Chairmanship, it might seem like a monopoly of 
honors if an Ohioan was appointed on the executive campaign 
committee.

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., July 22, 1920.
The official notification of Governor Cox took place on August 7th at Dayton. The crowd was estimated at 15,000. Governor Cox and the Vice-Presidential candidate, Roosevelt, walked at the head of the parade in the broiling sun from Monument Square to the Montgomery County Fair Grounds, where the services were held. Their reason for doing this was explained on the ground that automobiles were not for the 'top kicks' of the untrammeled democracy.

One interesting factor which was brought out in the newspapers concerning the notification gathering was the presence of a large delegation from Marion County. Its delegation was second in size only to Hamilton County, and contained more banners than any of the others. Two large bands accompanied it and received the greatest ovation.

Marion was there
And she's all set,
Revenge is sweet
She'll get it yet.

Thus rang the campaign cry; and plans were soon made to make the campaign the biggest of its kind ever conducted in the state, eclipsing even the great tour of Bryan in 1896. Many believed if the plans were carried out fully Cox would endanger his health if nothing more.

10 Ibid., August 8, 1920.
11 Ibid.
12 Literary Digest, September 18, 1920.
Governor Cox did not resign his governorship, but entered the campaign with vim. His stand was identical with that of Wilson's, to commit the United States to the League with Article X and only minor reservations.¹³ The Democratic platform was satisfactory to progressives, and nearly approximately for labor the desired declaration of human rights.¹⁴ Considering all the obstacles confronting it, the platform met with remarkable success from the first. But there was a failure almost everywhere to follow up Cox's campaign with organization work. While he was in the west his campaign lagged in the east; and when he came east, the seed had sown in the west was neglected for want of organization.¹⁵ It was not until the last three weeks that the campaign began to show real life, and then it created a great awakening of interest on the League issue, which many thought had broken the ranks of the old parties.

Cox entered the campaign with a great degree of confidence. This he maintained throughout. The words confidence and 'Cox-sure' were used extensively by Democratic leaders. Throughout the country, and more especially in Ohio, he assumed the

¹³ Cincinnati Enquirer, October 24, 1920.
¹⁵ Columbus Dispatch, November 1, 1920.
attitude which these words described, even in the face of the strong undercurrent which set in after the Des Moines speech of Harding's against the League of Nations. The Democratic leaders in Ohio published many bold defiances in the very face of the drifting away from their ranks. One of these articles was published in the New York newspapers, given to them after a visit to that city by Judge David L. Rockwell of Ravenna, and Cornelius Mulcahy of Akron, Chairmen of Portage and Summit counties of the 14th Congressional District. This one, which is typical of many others, was copied by all leading papers of the state:

We had a distinct mission in coming here. We brought a message of real hope and an appeal for enthusiastic effort. There is so noticeable a change in the trend of sentiment in Ohio, that a Democratic victory in the state can be made a practical certainty.

...we have recommended to the National Committee a carefully considered program for the remained of the campaign in Ohio. The Committee has accepted it in spirit and we go back to Ohio happy and confident that if the result in the nation depends upon the results in our state, James M. Cox will be our next President.

We chiefly account the change in sentiment to the effect of Harding, to produce utterances which seem to mean a great deal, and yet mean nothing at all, principally his Des Moines speech. By that speech he stands convicted of cowardice and duplicity in the eyes of people who look for straight dealing and honest thoughts. Harding will be beaten in Ohio by that speech alone. He will be beaten badly if we carry our message to the voters in the way it ought to be carried.
It is to aid as much as possible in the effort that we are here. 16

From the first the Democrats were claiming the large city vote. In Cleveland the large independent vote seemed almost certain, and at one time it was said to have included approximately 80% of the women's vote. The foundations for such claims could be largely based on the 16,331 plurality of Cox in 1918 over Willis. 17 They failed to consider that now the former mayor of Cleveland was a Republican candidate for governor. The Hamilton county division of 1918 was remembered because of the large majority given Cox. This claim was strengthened somewhat because W. A. Julian, Democratic candidate for United States Senator, was very popular in Cincinnati. 18

The Democratic leaders received their first serious setback in the poor showing of their candidates in the August primaries. They came near losing faith in the primary system, which they had ardently promoted since 1913. They had been looking with much glee upon the recurring difficulties and sometimes sore spots in the Republican ranks, until their own choice for United States Senator, W. A. Julian, a

17 Ibid., October 20, 1920.
18 Ibid., October 19, 1920.
prominent Cincinnati business man, came near to suffering defeat at the hands of a young municipal judge of Akron. This was caused by Julian's refusal to recognize the first requisite of a primary contest, namely an active statewide campaign for votes. He thought he would wait with his campaign until after receiving the nomination. But in the meantime Judge A. F. O'Neil of Akron jumped in, advertised himself widely as a friend of Irish freedom and a supporter of a soldier bonus, and almost carried off the nomination. The Democratic vote decreased to about half of the 1918 vote. Some Democrats explained this decrease by saying that the primaries were not a fair system. Mr. E. H. Moore, Cox's ex-manager, who was among those who hated primaries the most, said:

That's your primary system for you. They call it the popular system of nominating candidates. That is a misnomer. The principle doesn't represent the people at all when only 20% of the voters go to the polls.

The Republican greatly outnumbered the Democratic vote, but the same confidence reigned in the Democratic camp. Three days after the state primaries they held their first state rally at Memorial Hall in Columbus. A large crowd gathered to welcome Cox and the other nominees of state
ticket. Enthusiasm and apparent confidence prevailed on every hand, with the idea being stressed that Ohio Democracy would keep faith with the National Democracy just as the National Democracy was demanding that America keep faith with the nations of the civilized world.21

During August Governor Cox divided his time between his official duties and short trips to cities in neighboring states. Among the first was a trip to Wheeling, passing over the newly completed National Highway, stopping for a dedicatory address to this effect in Newark.22 A memorial had been erected to Cox's interest in good roads, particularly this improved highway, which connected Ohio with the east. On his return several days later, his party was seized for speeding at Jacksontown, 32 miles east of Columbus. This was thought to have been brought about by petty politicians, and the Governor ordered the party on the way again.23

Another such move, which gained statewide publicity, was the refusal of the County Commissioners, who controlled Memorial Hall in Dayton, to allow the Democrats to hold a rally. They secured the Fair Grounds, the rally was held and a large crowd was reported to have attended.24 The Republicans held a

21 Ibid., August 18, 1920.
22 Ibid., August 13, 1920.
23 Ibid., August 15, 1920.
24 Cincinnati Enquirer, October 23, 1920.
meeting the next night and Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana announced the League of Nations. 25

Very early in the campaign various delegations of the National Women's Party began to pay numerous visits to the State House. 26 They urged Governor Cox to do his utmost to influence the bringing about of the ratification of the 19th Amendment in the state of Tennessee. All the Democratic Governor could do was to pledge himself to give his time, strength and influence to get this Democratic state to accept the Women's Suffrage Amendment which would enfranchise some seventeen million women voters throughout the country. They later urged Senator Harding to exert his influence, but without avail, for northern intervention was resented by southern party leaders. But in August the Legislature of Tennessee ratified the Amendment; in September, that of Connecticut did likewise. Throughout the Union women voted in the fall of 1920.

On the last day of August Governor Cox spoke before a large crowd in the Coliseum at the Ohio State Fair. He promised early entry into the League, declaring that we did not join it then the war had been in vain. Roosevelt, the vice presidential candidate, spoke next, and referred to agricultural developments in the west, telling how during his tour the cries went up 'Send us the man who put Ohio on the map'. We've heard of his record. He speaks our language.' 27

25 Ibid., October 24, 1920.
26 Ohio State Journal, July 17, 1920.
27 Ibid., September 1, 1920.
With this invitation, Governor Cox began his great western tour on September 2nd, traveling about 11,300 miles in twenty-two states, and delivering some two hundred and twenty addresses. His special was wrecked near Phoenix, Arizona, because of spreading rails, but his party escaped injury. During the absence of Governor Cox, the Democrats were very active in the campaign. Many noted speakers were imported to carry on the work until his return. Former Secretary of War Baker made a short speaking trip in the state. The governor of Louisiana, John M. Parker, a former Progressive, came north and spent six days in Ohio campaigning with W. A. Julian, Democratic candidate for Senator. A Marion newspaper editor started a stumping tour of the state on behalf of Cox. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Vice Presidential candidate, made a three day tour of the state. So did Vice President Marshall. United States Senator A. C. Stanley of

28 Ibid., October 3, 1920.
29 Ibid., September 22, 1920.
30 Columbus Dispatch, September 19, 1920.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.
Kentucky spent a week in Ohio, as did Senator J. T. Robinson of Arkansas, who had been Chairman of the Democratic National Convention. Later Secretary of Labor Wilson paid the state a ten day visit.

When the Governor returned to Ohio in early October, President Wilson issued his final appeal to the voters on behalf of the League of Nations. He declared America must keep faith, denied that Article X contained any war pledges, and asserted that the issue had been falsified. This was the first of a series of speeches in the campaign finale. Cox spoke in the northern Ohio cities on a tour terminating in the east. The Democratic leaders of the state believed that the industrial element had enlisted on their side, and that there was an unmistakable trend toward the Governor. Chairman White gave as a reason for this the speech of Harding in which opposed the League of Nations and his giving up the front porch campaign idea, and starting out to tour the country.

Ohio is assured for Cox and Roosevelt. The same is true of Indiana and the southern border states. They are as safe for Democracy as Texas. Anxiety has followed confidence among Republican leaders. Their next state of mind will be desperation. Evidences of certain Democratic victories have begun to accumulate.

34 Tbid., September 16, 1920.
35 Tbid.
37 Ohio State Journal, October 17, 1920.
Those who are in close touch with the Democratic camp, are awaiting with perfect confidence the balloting. 38

The Governor decided to spend the last week in Ohio and the neighboring states. Just at this time Cox's Chairman, W. W. Durbin, issued a challenge for a debate to Senator Harding to oppose the Governor on the issues of the campaign. 39 Harding refused to debate because the end of the campaign was near, and his manager could not see any political advantage in it. The trend to the Republican camp, became quite noticeable afterwards. The Governor spent four days in Ohio, then visited Indiana for the fifth time during the campaign, then went on to Chicago, and came back to close his campaign in Ohio at Toledo on the eve of the election. 40

One of the most interesting phases of the campaign was the showing of personal love and affection for each candidate by his neighbors. The Demonstrations given were marked by the utmost of friendship from both young and old. The homecoming after the campaign to Cox and Harding was not political; each was welcomed back home not as a candidate, but as a friend, a neighbor, who had won distinction and the community rejoiced at his good fortune. Each welcome carried the flavor of the bond of real and long established friendship.

William Jennings Bryan had been nominated for president by the Prohibition Party while he was spending his vacation

38 "White's statement to Democrats," Cincinnati Enquirer, October 20, 1920.
40 Ibid., October 25, 1920.
at Bozeman, Montana. He refused the nomination because he felt that he could not do justice to the Prohibition Party nor to himself by accepting it. So Ohio got its third presidential candidacy for the 1920 campaign when this party nominated Aaron S. Watkins of Germantown.

The Prohibition Party failed to secure the necessary signatures to the petition that the Ohio Law required for an organization that has not polled at least 10% of the total vote at the last general election and for that reason there was neither an electoral nor a state ticket of the party on the ballot. Prescott Gillilan, Prohibition State Chairman, secured by petition only 7,000 of the 9,579 signatures required. 41 The voters had to write Watkins's name in the ballot. Watkins conducted his campaign chiefly within the state. To him the real issues were, Labor, League, and Liquor. Any others were only to serve as smoke screens for these. 42 The prohibition issue was paramount and he criticized the candidates of the major parties for not taking a definite stand on it. 43

Being a minister, Watkins, after his campaign was over, was assigned to the Linwood Church in the Cincinnati

41 Ibid., September 15, 1920.
42 "Watkins speech at Chamber of Commerce Auditorium, Columbus." Ibid., October 22, 1920.
43 Ibid., August 31, 1920.
District of the Western Ohio Methodist Conference. 

The poor showing which this party made may be attributed to two main reasons. The chief one was a late statement by Senator Harding to the National Temperance Council that he would use whatever power he possessed to prevent the re-establishment of intoxicating liquors and that his future action on prohibition should be interpreted by his vote on the 18th Amendment and the Volstead Law. The other was that the names did not appear on the ballots and had to be written in. The party leaders were very much more pleased with Senator Harding than they would have been with Governor Cox.

44 Ibid., September 8, 1920.
45 Columbus Dispatch, November 3, 1920.
46 Statement by National Committee, Ibid.
Chapter VI

Results and Conclusions

From the Maine election in early September until Senator Harding made his Des Moines speech, which alienated the pro-League Republicans, it is doubtful if the Democratic managers themselves had any real hope of a successful campaign. That speech undeniably started a reaction toward the Democratic candidate, but apparently it fell far short of being deep-seated and widespread enough to overcome the general desire for a party change after eight years of Democratic administration in one of the most trying periods in our history. This general dissatisfaction with the status quo, together with the cumulative effects of all the resentments engendered against President Wilson and his official acts, undoubtedly is the chief explanation of the impressive proportions of the Republican triumph. Added to this was the strong support of Senator Harding by great racial groups whose individual constituents flocked to him, not so much as Americans, but with the supposed interests of their former homelands uppermost in their minds; and the Republican candidate, with the full strength of his party as a nucleus, had an invincible mass of support.

The astounding thoroughness of the Republican victory cannot be ascribed to any positive virtue in its candidate. Mr. Harding's majority was due solely to an aggrieved electorate bent on punishment. And, too, it was a vote for the only
alternative to President Wilson and the Democratic party.

It seemed to be a fact that the election results were, to a great extent, a foregone conclusion. A current, perceptible for months, was flowing in favor of the Republican party which made the election a dull affair. But for the newspapers, any visitor or traveler might have passed through the state like the Parisian gentleman who passed through the French Revolution, without knowing it was going on.

It was predestined that the Republicans should win and they knew it. It had been many years since the country had had two Democratic administrations in succession. The taxes, the unrest, the multitudinous harassments that were the progeny of the Great War, aroused a very general desire to put the Democratic party out of power. Party preference was responsible for its usual share of votes in Ohio, but this year results showed the voters becoming more and more independent in their political thinking. Party preference was not a controlling factor at the polls. The vote-it-straight sentiment was notably strong throughout the state, but it would be a mistake to say that this was due to deep seated party preference. Governor Cox's attitude toward the wet element was well circularized over the state by the Anti-Saloon League advocates, and the many voters had not forgotten Bryan's epitaph: "The smell of the beer vats on his
garment. The liquor ring of the state showed much concern for Cox.  

The lack of strength shown by Governor Cox was not in any sense his fault. He made a gallant fight which, under any ordinary conditions, would have been effective. He talked to the people in language the most humble could understand. He emerged from the campaign with the credit of having given a splendid account of himself. But, speaking in the vernacular, the odds were against him. He was the heir of conditions which he had no hand in creating, and which he could neither throw off nor circumvent.

The League of Nations issue created a whirlwind of talk but did not make the appeal to the electorate that the Democrats had hoped. In Ohio and many other states the people were wholly indifferent to it. They regarded it as too far away and too nebulous to concern them greatly. Some voters of the state believed that Wilson's League gave the Irish an unjust deal. Others made their ballots express their disgust over a mountain of taxes piled on them by a party that had always professed to stand for economy in government. In other words, it was a cumulative series of eight years of dissatisfaction that weighted down Governor Cox from the beginning.

2 Outlook, November 17, 1920. The largest single contribution to the National campaign of either party by any individual was sent to Cox's New York headquarters by a former liquor dealer.
To make Governor Cox's situation worse, he had practically no support. It was a one-man campaign. His attack on the Republicans for raising an alleged slush fund was unfortunate and reacted with tremendous effect by making it impossible for the Democrats to realize much from their usual source of contribution. He was handicapped also by the fact that most of the leading newspapers of Ohio, and the nation as well, were for the opposition.

It is said that afterthought is better than foresight, and many thought that if Governor Cox had not made the trip to Washington where he called on the President and pledged himself, if elected, to carry out the present policies, but had thrown over the League issue and had come out for a return to old-fashioned Democratic principles in America, he might have won against a conservative high protection advocate like Senator Harding. But speculation of this kind is mere guesswork because, if he had taken this course, he would have had the National Administration against him. It would have been another case where a house divided against itself would have been certain to fall. Yet it may be said that he made as good a showing as any Democratic candidate could have made against the country's determination for a change.

The independent voters went almost in a body to the Harding camp because they cared nothing about the League.

3 Columbus Dispatch, November 3, 1920.
They were satisfied with the possibility that moderate Republican opinion would be transferred into the new administration. The alien vote also went almost solidly to Harding. Citizens of German descent professed themselves disgusted with the 'Wilson dynasty'. The German press declared that no German-American who respected himself could vote for Cox, the 'tool of Wilson'. German papers pointed out the fact that Governor Cox had helped to eliminate German instruction from the schools of Ohio, and that he favored the present Peace Treaty with Germany which, to them, was 'the crime of Versailles'. The Scandinavians voted likewise. The Italians voted as a protest against Wilson's Adriatic stand. The Poles voted against his Russo-Polish policy. Minor alien groups were similarly actuated.

The agricultural interests of the state had long felt a discrimination at the hands of the Democratic party. They pointed to Democratic paternalism in the South where cotton interest were pampered, and then figured up their grain receipts which had shown a steady decline. They had determined to put an end to an administration which could ignore their claims.

Business men, and laborers joined to pile up an unprecedented majority of some 350,000 votes for the Republican candidate. Only a few traditional Democrats, a few proponents of the League of Nations, a very few ultra-wets, and a

4 Outlook, November 17, 1920.
sprinkling of those who felt that Cox was a more progressive man than Harding, cast their votes for a continuation of Democratic power. The League of Nations issue had little effect. The newly achieved rights of the women to vote did little to change the balance. Prohibition was no issue as the returns of that party showed only 274 scattered votes. The punishment of the Democratic President and his principles, together with a return to normalcy, was the real issue.

The result of the election of 1920 did not mean that the American people had suddenly lost their idealism and become sordid and selfish. Neither did it mean that they did not believe in the organization of a world army was a way to secure world peace, or that autocratic methods are required to make the world safe for democracy. They believed to establish international justice was to leave delicate and difficult questions of international law to the final decisions of a committee of diplomats. The way to secure liberty for all nations was not by establishing on a new and world-wide scale a Venetian Court of Ten. The election was not a desertion of progressivism, for it is not reactionary to see that damage to the foundations of government shall be repaired.

With all these in mind, the voters of Ohio gave to its Republican candidate and unprecedented plurality. His opponent carried only eight counties in the entire state.

5 Ohio Statistics, 1921, p. 233.
Of the group of normally Democratic counties in northwestern Ohio, populated to a large extent by persons of German ancestry, Cox carried only Shelby county. Cox lost Auglaize by 2,000 votes. It elected a Republican ticket for the first time in its history. The county of Ottawa, normally strongly Democratic, went Republican two to one. Among the other normally Democratic counties to go Republican were: Allen, Ashland, Defiance, Erie, Henry, Licking, Mercer, Putnam, Richland, Sandusky, Wayne, and Wyandot. He carried only Brown, Butler, Crawford, Fairfield, Holmes, Monroe, and Pickaway. Cox's own county, Montgomery, in the election turned in a Republican majority of 8,000, for the first time in fifteen years. It was caught in the general Republican landslide and gave a majority to county officials seeking offices. Even Willis, candidate for United States Senator, received a plurality almost equal to that of Harding's.

This Republican landslide carried with it a complete state ticket. Also a solidly Republican Congressional delegation was secured for the first time since the Civil War.

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7 Ohio Statistics, 1921, p. 284.
8 Passim.
9 Columbus Dispatch, November 3, 1920.
11 Columbus Dispatch, November 4, 1920.
The nearest to a solid Republican Ohio delegation that had been sent was to the 59th Congress in 1904 when Roosevelt carried the state by a plurality of 256,000. The Republican tidal wave that swept the state then submerged all but one strong Democratic District—the Fourth—and its Congressman, Harvey C. Garber, was the solitary Democrat in Congress from Ohio for the next two years. 12

It was the opinion of most of the people of Ohio, as throughout the nation, that the Republican standard-bearers were more reliable, and that our foreign policy, if not our domestic, would be more secure in their hands than in those of their opponents. Also, concerning a supposed traditional Republican efficiency as opposed to a supposed traditional Democratic inefficiency, the independent public, apparently holding the balance of opinion, was inclined to swing toward Republicanism.

12 Ibid.
The election returns for the constitutional state officers were canvassed. The votes for those named as recorded by the Secretary of State were as follows:

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<th>Position</th>
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<td>Governor</td>
<td>Harry L. Davis</td>
<td>1,039,325</td>
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<td>Vic Donohuey</td>
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<td>Lieutenant Governor</td>
<td>Clarence J. Brown</td>
<td>1,117,550</td>
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<td>Lowell Wright</td>
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<td>(D)</td>
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<td>Secretary of State</td>
<td>Harvey C. Smith</td>
<td>1,184,687</td>
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<td>W. D. Fulto</td>
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<td>Auditor</td>
<td>Joseph T. Tracy</td>
<td>1,116,341</td>
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<td>R. F. Butler</td>
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<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Rudolph W. Archer</td>
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<td>C. B. Craig</td>
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<td>Attorney General</td>
<td>John W. Price</td>
<td>1,083,584</td>
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<td>Joseph Steele</td>
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<td>United States Senator</td>
<td>Frank B. Willis</td>
<td>1,134,588</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Henry B. Strong</td>
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Chief Justice of Supreme Court:
* C. T. Marshall
  Hugh L. Nichols

Judges of the Supreme Court [Long term - two to elect]:
  Dan. B. Cull
  Frank R. Field
  C. D. Heresey
* Thos. A. Jones
  Geo. W. Mannix, Jr.
* Low. B. Matthais

Judge of the Supreme Court (Short term):
  Coleman Avery
  Geo. Cook
* Benson W. Hough

*Marshall, Jones, Matthais and Hough, all Republicans, were elected.
Ohio Delegates to Congress
(Solid Republican)\textsuperscript{14}

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<td>E. D. Ricketts</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>John C. Speaks</td>
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\textsuperscript{14} Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor and General Assembly of the State of Ohio for the year ending June 30, 1921, pp. 286-295.
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<td>R. C. Gahn</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Theodore E. Burton</td>
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3. MAGAZINES

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Independent (Boston).
Literary Digest (N Y).
Nation (N Y).
North American (N Y).
New Republic (N Y).
Outlook (N Y).
Saturday Evening Post (Philadelphia).
4. NEWSPAPERS

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Cincinnati Enquirer.

Cleveland News.

Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Columbus Dispatch.

Columbus Citizen.

* Dayton Daily News.

** Marion Star.


*** Ohio State Journal (Columbus).

* Partisan, owned by Cox.
** Partisan, owned by Harding.
*** Centrally located and reliable.