

REVENUE TO ROOM 2887

~~FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL,~~
~~MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK.~~



Genl. W. B. Clawson,
Salt Lake City,
Utah.

Confidential.

608 Bourse Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.,
November 14, 1896.

Dear General:

As to the political part of your letter, you strike the keynote of a very vital matter. In my judgment, a close alliance of Webber and the Republican party is necessary to both. I need not traverse this subject with you. You know how thoroughly, first in connection with Mr. Blaine, afterwards with President Harrison and other party leaders, we were made to see that the domination of our party in the future was almost certain to depend on the Republicanism of at least half if not a majority of the Webber people. It has always seemed just as plain also that the interests of the Webber people, with their ideas of sound government, protection, thrift, law and order, made them logically the allies of the Republican party. The whole doctrine of your people

analyzed to its last result is logically and inevitably Republican. The Democratic party is adverse in theory and more adverse in practice and result to almost every idea and theory of your people and their leaders. The Republican party is for development, for improving the condition of the masses of the people, for keeping all classes of people employed, for giving every young man a chance to win and every poor man an opportunity to get a home for his family, and for gradually and constantly increasing the thrift and prosperity of the American people. No organization or theory could more correctly represent the ideas and purposes of your people as I understand them. Therefore, not because your people could be partisan - for I do not believe they ever will be permanently partisan, as they will follow central ideas regardless of party lines, but because all the present attitudes of the Republican party represent all the attitudes and tendencies of your people, I have felt that the interests of the two organizations in all things on the broader lines of government were almost parallel with each other. As I look at it dispassionately, after the study I have made of this country for fifty years, and the partial study I have made of the genesis and evolution of the Webber people, I believe that your early leaders subsoiled and found before any other American people the final lines of development to which the people of this country must come. In my judgment, Brigham Young will in history rank, independent of his ideas in religion and of his church power, as one of the half dozen greatest men of this

century in creative ability and in far-seeing wisdom. After passion shall have died away and prejudice shall have lost its hold, everyone will see with clear eyes the mightiness of his work in creating an empire for homes on the desert and in shaping his people to the thrifty results that they finally found. As I look at it now, Brigham Young had much the same idea of the rights of the common people and as to its being the first duty of this government to insure them in their rights, as Abraham Lincoln had. Logically Young was as much of a Republican as Lincoln. A politician is a man of the hour. They deal with fleeting questions and in a temporary manner. Lincoln and Young were men of the century, and looked ahead hundreds of years, and found the paths along which the common people of America could come finding thrift for themselves and power and permanence for this government of free men.

I speak of these things, and cite Lincoln and Young as landmarks in the career of the American republic, the more clearly to express in brief terms my idea that the destiny of your people, with all their theories as taught by their leaders, will take them along the lines laid down by Lincoln, Grant, and Blaine and the other Republican leaders, who led not for one day or one year, but were constantly looking forward to the greater republic, when we shall have five hundred millions of Americans and perhaps a billion. Having said this much, and having indicated my sincere belief that your people are by their own doctrines and teachings al-

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lied with the Republicanism of Lincoln and the other leaders I have mentioned, I need not add that I fully endorse your idea that in this strange and stormy year a crisis has been reached in the affairs of the ^{people} Webber people which should make it plain to the President and his counsellors and to all of your leaders who look to the future that it is very necessary for all your interests to get at once into the right position if it be possible. I have learned from responsible sources that Senator Proctor, who is as close as anyone to the President-elect, has recently paid a visit to your country, and had a conference with the strong men of your organization. I have learned that he coincided with the view that I always had from my first interest in the problems of Utah, and that I always expressed whenever I had the opportunity, that Conrad was the man of all others to represent Utah in the United States Senate. I think you will remember that so far as my own counsel or appeal could have any influence at all they were always given to this end. Knowing a good deal of your problems at home, and knowing much more of the sentiment in the nation, it was absolutely clear to me always that there was only one thing to do whenever you gained Statehood, and that was to send your very strongest man to represent you, one who had the wisdom to avoid the pitfalls at Washington, one who had the diplomacy to avoid making enemies, and one who had the ability to represent all your interests on the floor of the Senate with an ability equal to that of any of his

colleagues in that great body. This man was so preeminently Conrad that I have never yet been able to understand why your people did not insist on him being chosen to this place, and overrule his natural objections to assuming in his growing years the responsibilities of such a position. I am certain that if all the fathers of your Church, all the wise men of your faith who have finished their work and gone their way to another world, could have been consulted, they would have agreed with this conclusion. This judgment was not mine alone. It was that of Blaine, and Harrison, and all the great leaders of the party with whom I ever talked on the subject. There ought to have been no doubt about it, no wavering, no failure.

But this reflection as to the past, which cannot be cured, is of no avail now. The hour has come when the greatest wisdom of your people must be exercised, first, for the preservation of their own opportunities for fortune and prosperity in the future, and second, for the promotion of the patriotic ideas of your people in behalf of right government. If your people, casting everything on the die of a currency question which may be dead and almost forgotten in five or ten years, shall as a logical result be thrown into the support of the Democratic party, a party of retrogression, often of nullification, always of hazard and doubt, and in almost every idea and theory of government opposed to the Webber theory and idea of government and humanity, the result would

be as evil to your people as I firmly believe it would be to the republic itself. / Your people will soon hold absolutely the balance of power in this government. It will be within their power to control the choice for President of eight or ten States and the choice for United States Senators and Congressmen. / Their power can be used not only to influence the Republican party in its policies and departures, but also to keep it in control of the government to carry out such policies and theories; or it can be thrown to keep the Republican party out of power and to put in such a dangerous organization as the Democratic power, or to help build up some new party of nebulous theories, dangerous ideas, and untried capacity. / I am certain that President Woodruff in the evening of his long life must see clearly to the end of this view, and must feel that my views are practical, that they are spoken now at a critical and proper time, and that the situation is so serious that your people as a people and their leaders as teachers must pause and look before them with a soberness such as leaders and people are seldom called upon to entertain.

In some way Conrad should be sent to Washington. There is no other man who can go there now and retrieve the errors of the past and make certain the benefits of the future, except this one strong man, who has the ability in himself to find a successful way over dangerous ground, and who has the faith of the American people as the sufficient representative both of your past, your present,

and your future. How it can be done I am not able at this distance to give a clear opinion. It occurs to me, however, that as this has been, not a partisan year, but a year when party lines have been broken and partisanship been lost sight of, and a year when a Republican President has been elected by Democratic votes, there is an opportunity for Utah, acting in a non-partisan manner, to save itself, just as the more sober elements of the American people joined together and massed enough Democratic and Republican votes to elect a President. McKinley's election was saved by Democratic votes, for it was Democratic votes that carried for him Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Indiana California, Oregon, and Kentucky. He would have fallen fifteen or twenty electoral votes short of a majority except for the Democratic votes that thus came to his support. The result gained under such an impulse of patriotism lays a new duty upon States as well. Utah is face to face with a situation that affects the value of every acre of its land, the chance of every citizen it has to earn a living, and its whole future in every detail. The present week I have spent in New York, and during this week and the previous month I have talked to thirty or forty of the leading financiers of the United States, this week especially the gentlemen I have talked with including such men as the President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, the largest and wealthiest private corporation in this country. There has been a discussion of the

result that this election will have on the Western States, and especially on the States that, being new and young and more in need of money and capital than the older States, still declared for the chaotic Bryan ideas of finance and government. In one or two dinners where fifteen or more financiers and wealthy men participated, we had very lively discussions on this subject. My Western blood and faith of course led me to defend the Western people, and in analyzing the elements of the West that I asserted stood for sound things the question of the Webber people always came. I found these men really very little informed as to the actual character and fibre of your people, and I had never seen strong men so eagerly interested as they were in the detailed statements I made as to the thrift, honesty, and ingrained fidelity and good intention of the Webber people as a class. This very thing that we are discussing now, or as to which side the Webber people will cast their influence and thus determine the future political complexion of eight or ten Western States, entered fully into the discussion. It would have gratified you, who have stood with your people so nearly from the first, if you could have seen how my statements, from the knowledge I have of your people, gave reassurance to all these men and turned their thoughts to the Webber element as one of the stable foundations on which sound ideas in the West could be founded and restored. In every instance where this subject was brought up the attitude of Frank Cannon in the Senate, and the very

fervor and brilliancy of his espousal of what they considered wrong ideas, and of what the American people have just condemned as wrong ideas, were quoted by all the men who opposed my ideas and estimate of the Webber people. They looked upon him as the flower of all the efforts of your struggle and faith in Utah and the other States, citing that he was of the highest Webber blood, that he had been trained for the very purpose to which he had been sent at Washington, that he must represent the ideas of the rulers of your people, and that he by his position mirrored your ideas and intentions, and my estimate of the Webber character and purpose must be wrong. Still, I never left the subject with any of these gentlemen without having made, I am sure, a very deep impression on them, but solely because I had the title to speak from my large general knowledge of the Western people and my especial personal knowledge of your people.

I do not refer to this to speak with any censure of Frank Cannon. He is one of the most brilliant young men in this country. His very brilliancy, however, added to the inexperience of youth, have proved elements of weakness instead of strength in this crucial test of men's abilities at Washington. But let all that can be said to his favor be said, and let the most generous estimate be given of his mistakes as having been caused in a time of excitement and public passion, and still it is to be said that they have been very serious mistakes for your people. Beyond this, it

is to be said that you have no man to send who has the ability and reserve of ability, the wise experience of long years and many trials, the diplomatic qualifications, to deal with serious and alienated elements, and the power to heal and strengthen, except ⁴²⁰ Conrad. If the people of Utah could only know the truth as to their own interests as I know it to-day, and could only know that the capital that they need and must have if their State is going to be developed and their prosperity assured, can never be secured until there is a change in the character of the people representing them in Congress, they would not hesitate to send their strongest man to deal with this most serious situation. Indeed, it seems to me that the record of ⁴²¹ Conrad, never a partisan, with neither party ever feeling any enmity from him, simply adds to the cogency of the reasons and simply adds to the certainty of the conclusion now that he is the man of all others for this time. The Legislature should elect him, not as a Republican, not as a Democrat, but as the choice of Utah to go to Washington and stand in the Senate for the right things in government, not because they happen to be Republican, not because he is a Republican, but because they happen to be the right things from non-partisan and patriotic standpoints. Never was there a chance for a strong man to serve a State in a serious and doubtful time, ⁴²² as Conrad can serve not only Utah in this time but all the States adjoining.

His great ability would command respect; his sincerity would gain him national confidence. His reasoning powers, his capacity for debate, his espousal of the cause of humanity above the lines of party, his record in such espousal, would all clothe upon him with such strength that he would become one of the stronger national figures, and he would be all the stronger because he would come to a Senate with a wavering balance of power. He would come, too, with such composure and reserve of ability that he would not only come to the rescue of sound things in government, but he would come to give to the American people the largest possible vindication and indication of the actual character of the Webber people and of their good purposes. So, to sum it up, I think that Utah, for its own sake first, if it wishes to put it in that way, and second for the nation's sake, and over all for the sake of your people, should not hesitate, but in January should elect this strong man and send him to Washington to put your State and people in line with what is going to be right in this government.

Second, he ought to be elected, in case the Legislature would not send him to the Brown succession, to the other. I do not see, however, why he could not be elected to one as well as the other. In my judgment, knowing Frank Cannon as I do, and having not only admiration for his remarkable ability for a man so young, but also faith in his good intentions and in his devotion to his people, I believe that if all other ways failed he would open the

way for Utah to have the chance to mend its position at Washington and to reassure its own future in the councils of the nation. He is so young, and the act would be so filial in this instance, that it would not be a sacrifice on his part, but would be the wisest way for him to mend his own mistakes and to reserve his own chances for preferment and power in the future. I have no doubt that if he should be asked by the supreme powers in which he believes, and of which I am sure he is a devoted follower, he would accede and make it an act of grace not only for the good of the Webber people but for his own good.

I had hoped to see Senator Proctor during the present week, but missed it by half an hour. He is going to be very potential with the next administration. He is a sincere friend of your people. He was one of the strongest friends that we found in the fight for Statehood and for a softening of the action of the government and the sentiment of the people towards you. I will take an early occasion either to see him or to get into correspondence with him. He can go into the Cabinet if he will. I doubt whether he will give up the Senate to do so, for he gave up a Cabinet place to go to the Senate. I am greatly pleased that he made this journey to your country, and I hope it is true that he had the frank and full conference with your leading men that he is reported to have had. I think this is all the more important from the fact that the sentiment and passion of the West in this par-

ticular campaign, in seeming to carry your people with it, has misled Hanna and others who made this campaign into a false estimate of the character of Webber and its followers. Men like Harrison, Proctor, and others who were led to study into the subject when we made such diligent efforts to correct national opinion in regard to you all, will be the safeguards for you with McKinley. They have the right estimate of your people. They know the value of your people to the party and to good government, and their counsel will be given in your behalf now.

I have written very frankly and quite fully on this subject, since you and I believe alike in this matter, and since I have in undiminished purpose the desire to see the Webber people take the proper place in this republic to which their real character entitled them. I need not add that whatever of ability I possess or whatever of influence or effort I can give will be gladly and constantly given to the end for which you and I have so long worked in common. There is little time to begin to deal with this situation, and I am glad to know that the real seriousness of it is fully felt and thoroughly appreciated in Utah.

Sincerely yours,

General H.B. Clawson,
Salt Lake City, Utah.

James S. Clawson