Presidential Conventions.

Stephen B. Elkins Says They Seldom Nominate the Choice of the People.

Hayes and Garfield as Dark Horses-When Blaine was Nearest the White House-How Sherman Lost the Presidency-What Campaigns Cost and Where the Money Goes-Democracy Comes High, But it Pays-Official Morality-The Legitimate Earnings of a United States Senator-The Cleveland Bond Sales - A Billion Dollar People Who Think in Millions.



STEPHEN B. ELKINS IN 1904.

From a Photograph Secured for the Descret News.

(Special Correspondence of the Desere! News by Frank G. Carpenter.)

ASHINGTON, D. C., June 10. 'Do our national conventions represent the choice of the people" I asked this question of Senator Stephen B. Elkins as we sat together in the library of his house on K. street this afternoon. We were discussing the political situation, and the senator had been giving me some of his experiences in the management of presknow, been one Republican party more than a Republican party quarter of a century. He became a member of the national committee when he was a territorial delegate from New Mexico, at the beginning of Grant's second term, almost generation ago, and he was chairman of the Republican executive , committee in the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884. Senator Eikins has had to do with the Senator Elkins has had to do with the making of every presidential candidate for the past twenty-five years. He was a leader of the Blaine forces in the conventions of 1876, 1880, and 1884, he was at the head of the Harrison element in 1888, and he knows about as much of the inside history of national conventions as any public man in the country.

HOW PRESIDENTS CHOSEN. "Do our presidential conventions Benator Elkins repeated my question reflectively and then went on. "I think not as a rule. Sometimes they do, but the nominations are made by the leaders of the party, many of whom are animated by selfish motives and who sometimes accomplish their ends by finesse, intrigue and combination. The result is that the candidate so The result is that the candidate so made is often not the man who is

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closely to your digestive

Like a coal fire when

it gets clinkered up, it's

generally the fuel that's to

I "FORCE" is what you

might call a "free-burn-

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closest to the hearts of the masses

Indeed, it seems to me that the presi-dential nominee is seldom the firs dential noninee is choice of the people. nomination of President "Take the Hayes, for instance," Senator Elkina continued. "It was made at Cincinnati in 1876, notwithstanding Blaine had a greater following than him or any other candidate. I was there as one of the Blaine representatives, and I knew all about the inside workings

of the convention.
"The chief candidates were James G. Blaine, Roscoe Conkling, Oliver P. Morton, Hartranft of Pennsylvania and almost at the tail of the list Rutherford B. Hayes. The day before the nomination was made everything was in Blaine's favor. We thought we had him nominated; but night came on the say of the convention believed. the gas of the convention hall had been tampered with, and we were forced to put off the ballot which would have secured his candidacy until the next day. All that night the oppos-ing forces worked to defeat us. They ing forces worked to defeat us. They firally united, and, as a result, Hayes became the choice of the convention. He was then an almost unknown quantity in the minds of the people."

GARFIELD SAID: "NOT YET."

"It was much the same in the convention of 1889, was it not?" I asked.
"Yes," replied Senator Elkins, "The candidates of the people in that convention were Blaine and Grant. John Sherman had some following, but he had no strong hold upon the masses, and Blaine was more the choice of the whole Republican party than any of the others. Nevertheless James A. Nevertheless James Garfield, who came from Ohio as the representative of the Sherman forces, came the nominee. I don't think Garfield hoped to be the candidate

When I saw him in New York, two months before that, he promised me that if at any time it became impossible to nominate John Sherman he would do all in his power to throw the vote of Ohio to Blaine. The con-LIFE OF A PIONEER. Autobiography of Capt. James S. Brown, 520 pages, bound in cloth. Price, \$2.00; for sale at Deseret News Book Store, Salt Lake City, Utah. vention met, and the Blaine forcer and Grant forces struggled and strug gled in that famous deadlock, with the Sherman vote far in the rear. Ther seemed no chance for Sherman, and seemed no chance for Sherman, and I tried again and again to persuade Garfield to give Blaine the Ohio vote on one ballot at least, but he put me off with, 'Not yet, not yet,' He then seemed to feel that he would be nominated. The speech he made for Sherman was a better speech for himself than for Sherman, and whether intentionally or not it brought him up in the minds of the people as a possible candidate. The result was that he was nominated, taking precedence over Blaine and Grant, the candidates was nominated, taking precedence over Blaine and Grant, the candidates of the people."

WHEN BLAINE WAS NEAREST THE WHITE MOUSE,

"When was Blaine nearest the presi-

dency?"

"Mr. Blaine received the nomination in 1884," said Senator Elkins, "That was a case in which the choice of the people became the choice of the convention. I think the same occurred in the nomination of McKinley in 1896 and 1960, and that will be the case with President Roosevelt in the convention next week. In the national convention of 1884 there were several other candidates. Arthur, then president, had a considerable following. Senator Hawley was presented by Connecticut, Senator Sherman by Ohio and senagor Logan by Illinois. Blaine, however, was easily nominated, receiving 541 votes to Arthur's 207. Gen. Arthur professed Arthur's 207. Gen. Arthur professed himself satisfied, but many of his fol-lowers were lukewarm in the campaign which followed.

which followed.

"I have said that Blaine was nearest the White House then," continued Senstor Elkins. "He was elected, in fact, but the Democrats had the control of the election machinery in the state of New York and they counted a lot of Butler votes as Cleveland votes and thereby made him president. I have never believed that Cleveland was fairly elected."

BLAINE MADE HARRISON PRESI-

"How about the nomination of Harrison?" I asked.

"That took place in 1888," said Senator Elkins, "and largely through Blaine's influence. Mr. Blaine was in Europe that year, and, shortly before the convention, he sent home a letter from Florence in which he declined to be a candidate. Then John Sherman, W. Q. Gresham, Chauness Depew, Russell A. Alger, Joe Hawley, W. B. Allson and Benjamin Harrison came forth as candidates. Shortly before the convention met Andrew Carnegle left New York for Scotland, where he expected to take a coaching tour with Mr. New York for Scotland, where he expected to take a coaching tour with Mr.
Blaine. I had a chat with him about
the time he sailed, and we then made
up a code of 20 words in order that I
might cable Blaine about the convention and what passed be known to ourselves alone.

selves alone.

"Carnegie gave Blaine the code, and by it I cabled Flaine from Chicago. He again declined to be a candidate, and I asked him to cable me his choice among those before the convention. He replied: Take Harrison.' In the balloting which followed it was Blaine's

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him the nominee, although this was greatly helped by the support of Tom Platt. John Sherman was also an element in that convention, and he might possibly have had the Blaine following had he shown more sympathy for Blaine in the conventions of 1876 and

WHAT CAMPAIGNS COST.

"You have had much to do with the management of campaigns, Senator Elkins," said I, "What does it cost to run one?"

"The expenses vary from year to year," replied Senator Elkins, "but I may say they are steadily increasing. The Hayes campaign cost about \$500.000. The Blaine cumpaign of 1884 cost \$450.000 and that of Harrison, which was \$450,000 and that of Harrison, which was managed by Quay, cost, I have been told, about \$1,200,000. The two campaigns since then have, according to current belief, cost doubly as much as the Harrison campaign. So, you see,

"How about the Democrats, do they spend much money?"
"They spend all they can get," replied Senator Elkins, "but they are usually not able to raise so much as the Republicans. In the Blame-Cleveland campaign they spent fully as much as we did; and I know what we spent, for I was then chairman of the Republican executive committee, with Mr. Jones of Pittsburg at the head of the pasional committee. Wr. Jones was a national committee. Mr. Jones was a very cautious business man, and we kept close accounts of everything, so that we knew just where the money

WHERE THE MONEY GOES.

"But where do these vast sums go, senator? Are they used to buy votes?"
"No." replied Senator Elkins. "The man who will sell his vote to you will resell the same vote to the Democrats, and even if it were not dishonest it would not be good business to buy votes. The literary bureaus which prepare and circulate campaign literature pare and circulate campaign literature cost enormous sums. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are pald to speakers who must be ready to go to any part of the country on telegraphic notice. Many public men who give up their whole lime to the campaign are paid Many public men who give up their whole time to the campaign are paid so much for the season, or so much per night. Indeed, one United States senator asked me \$5,000 for his services during one campaign. Then it costs a fortune to poil the country; that is, to ascertain just how many Republicans, Democrats and independents there are in each election precinct and how they will vote. It is upon such polling that will vote. It is upon such polling that every campaign is planned. This is largely done by the states, but the national committee helps.

ALL POLITICIANS NOT HONEST.

"But, senator, is not much of the money used dishonestly?" I asked.
"I think not," as the reply. 'I don't think any of it is knowingly so used by the national committee. In a vast machine like that of a political party, however, will have a find dishonest. chine like that of a political party, however, you will always find dishonest men and the money given out for organization and special work sometimes sticks to the hands of those who receive it. I think we lost a large percentage of what we spent in that way during the Blaine campaign."

"The cost of a national campaign," continued Senator Eikins, "Is very great outside of the actual money spent in polities. There is an enormous loss of business. The people let politics take

business. The people let politics take them away from their stores, trades and farms. There is always an uncer-

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OFFICIAL MORALITY But does not our democracy tend to

"But does not our democracy tend to produce a nation of boodlers"
"No." replied Senator Elkins. "There is some official corruption, but the press exposes the most of it and there are an hundred honest men to every rascal. I am not afraid of the morality of the American people and I don't believe there is any danger of our town councils, our state legislatures and our national Congress becoming corrupt. As long as men are men you will now and then find a dishonest one, here and there among them, but the majority will always be true to themselves and their country."

EARNINGS OF A SENATOR.

"How about official morality at Washington? How much can a United States senator legitimately make"
"He can make just \$5,000 a year," said Senator Elkins, "and not one cent more. I am tired of this talk about senatorial corruntion. I know it is said there are members of the senate whose votes are for sale, but, if so, I do not know them. No one has ever approached me with an offer for my vote proached me with an offer for my vote or my influence. The professional lob-byist is largely a newspaper fiction. He did exist in the past, but at present, if he exists at all, his weight is so small as to be imperceptible."

THE SENATE AS A WALL STREET ANNEX.

"But how about making money out of nformation as to probable legislation? Congress is supposed by some to be a kind of an annex to Wall street."
"It is not so," replied Senator Eikins I don't think senators speculate upon such matters. In the first place how can one be sure of his information, and

can one be sure of his information, and if so, how be sure that the markets will go as you expect them to go. The truth is the Wall street brokers can discount the action of Congress quite as well as we can, and such of our senatorial lambs as have gone to Wall street have come back badly shorn. They are not many, but now and then one may take a flyer, as it is called, but it is usually to his serrow. Indeed, I have never heard of any senator or representative making much money by such speculations. I don't believe it possible, unless backed by an experience and ability in such matters which would make the man a success on the outside. Besides most of the senators are poor, and that in itself is an evidence of their innocence as to this charge."

HOW PIERPONT MORGAN MADE A MILLION IN ONE DAY.

"But, Senator Elkins, some men do make a great deal out of the government. How about the Cleveland bond sale of \$62,000,000, whereby, according to the papers, Pierpent Morgan made \$1,000,000 (n one day?"

"I remember that statement," said Senator Elkins, "I quoted it in one of my speeches in the senate. But Pierpent Morgan is not a United States senator. He is a New York banker of international note, and greater in business than any or all the senators put together. The money he and his fellows made out of that sale was in the ordinary course of legitimate business, and their success came largely from playing their success came largely from playing upon the fears of the administration and the country.

"I can't see why Grover Cleveland

tainty as to the results and as to a possible change of tariff and other matters continued Senator Elkins. "It may be that affect business, so that presidential that he wants to be the Democratic that affect business, so that presidential years are lean years as far as business is concerned."

"But this makes our government a very expensive one, senator?"

"Yes, it is expensive," was the reply, "but it is worth all it costs. The advantages of a democracy far outwelgh

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made without advertisement or by private contract. I believe that resolution saved Uncle Sam a great deal of money. When it was before the Senate Russell Sage wrote me that I had saved the government \$6,000,000 by it." HOW CLEVELAND SOLD BONDS.

'Give me the story in a nutshell,'

"Since Grover Cleveland has revived the subject I have no objection to do-ing so," replied Senator Elkins. "It was in the latter part of 1895 that Cleveland made his contract with certain New York bankers to take \$62,-000,000 worth of United States 4 per cent bonds at 1041/2 and place them in cent bonds at 194½ and place them in Europe. This contract was made without advertisement for bids and at a private sale to J. Pierpont Morgan. The reason for it was that there seemed to be a scarcity of gold in the country, and the gold reserve fund in the treasury had fallen considerably below the \$100,000,000 mark, which is the legal reserve. Shortly after the sale was made it was reported that Mr. Morgan took the bonds to New York, and within 24 hours thereafter sold and within 24 hours thereafter sold them for 112, and more, so that t syndicate made about \$6,000,000 out of the deal. Of this it was alleged that J. Pierpont Morgan received \$1,000,-

"At the same fine more gold was needed, and it was proposed to issue \$109,000,000 or \$209,000,000 more of bonds in the same way. Our laws provide that even the smallest of our public that even the smallest of our public contracts shall be by advertisement, and only to the highest bidder, and I did not think it was right to sell the bonds in this way to private parties without such advertisement. I also thought there was plenty of gold in the country, and that the bonds could be sold at home. I was so convinced of this, that, although I was then new to the senate and backward about pushing myself to the front, and although all my friends advised against it. I ofall my friends advised against it, I of-fered my resolution that no further bonds should be placed at private sale or under private contract, and that no sale whatever should be made without due advertisement for proposals, and then only to the highest bidder."

MIGHT HAVE MADE \$16,000,000.

"How did the resolution take in the senate when it was offered?" I asked. "I was warned that it would create a panic. Some of the senators thought it would throw the nation into bankruptcy and begged me to keep quiet I offered the resolution, nevertheless I offered the resolution, nevertheless, and in speaking upon it showed that war loans aggregating more than \$2,500,000,000 placed in time of peril had been put out at less expense to the government than these \$62,000,000 issued in time of peace. I showed that the loans of the Civil war were placed at commissions of less than 2 per cent to the government, while the Naw York commissions of less than 2 per cent to the government, while the Naw York bankers had already made more than 8 per cent out of that contract with Uncle Sam, and that they now expect-ed to make as much or a greater per-centage on the \$100,000,000 or the \$200,-000,000 then under consideration. In other words, if the issue of \$200,000,000 was sold through them at the same rate their profits would be about \$16. rate their profits would be about \$16,-

"How did it turn out, senator?" "The result was that the people began to protest against further private sales," said Senator Elkins. "The president and the senate woke up and saw that they were not necessary, and that they would be unpopular. A \$100,000,-600 worth of bonds were then advertised as for sale to the highest bidders. Those bonds were subscribed for six times over at 1121/2, or at \$8,000,000 more than government would have received

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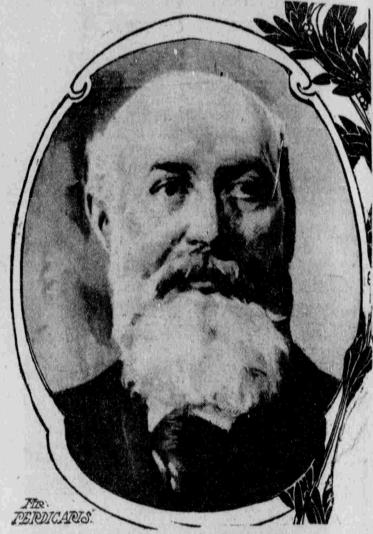
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"Yes, but the Wall street bankers frightened him. He did not understand the country, and they made him think we were in danger of bankruptey. I have nothing to say against the bankers. It was their business to get the bonds as cheaply as they could. The members of the syndicate were able men, and many of them were my friends. Indeed, had I not been in the United States senate I hardly think I should have objected to having been with them in the deal."

What do you think of Mr. Cleve-

"I consider him the strongest man of "I consider him the strongest man of the Democratic party. I shall never forget some of the things he has done for the country. He saved Chicago by sending the soldiers there at the time of the viols, thereby preventing a reign of anarchy which might have spread to other cities. He kept his party from to other cities. He kept his party from putting the country on a silver basis, and he showed extraordinary nerve in his treatment of the Venezuela question. As a man he has many elements of strength, but he also has elements of weakness, some of which cropped out in the sale of those bonds."

"Just one word more, senator," said I "Are your not element at the energy of the country of the countr

I. "Are you not alarmed at the enor-mously increased cost of running the

government? "No," said Senator Elkins, "and I don't think the people are alarmed about it. You must remember that we have an enormous country—the richest

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"Yes, but the Wall street bankers and greatest on the face of the earth-

and greatest on the face of the earthand that it is just at the beginning of
its development.

"It is a billion-dollar proposition and
must be treated accordingly. In a situation like this you can't do things in
the small. Our day of the little is past
and the day-of the big is at hand. We
used to think in hundreds of thousands.
We are now a billion-dollar people,
and we are thinking in millions.

"I was asked the other day if we
were not appropriating too much for
the navy," the senator continued. "I
replied no, that I would rather see Uncle Sam build 50 big ships than five.
We need the strongest navy on the face
of the earth; it would enforce peace
and would be cheapest in the end. This
is all talk about the opposition of the
people to large expenditures on the
part of the government. They don't
object to the expenditures if we can
give them the results. What they want,
and all they want, is to know that ther
money is honestly spent; and that
they are getting the worth of it in
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