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Article Summary: Stevenson joined the Democratic ticket in 1900 to placate disgruntled party supporters opposed to Bryan's stand on the money issue. Nominated unanimously, the less rigid vice-presidential candidate provided geographical balance and party unity.

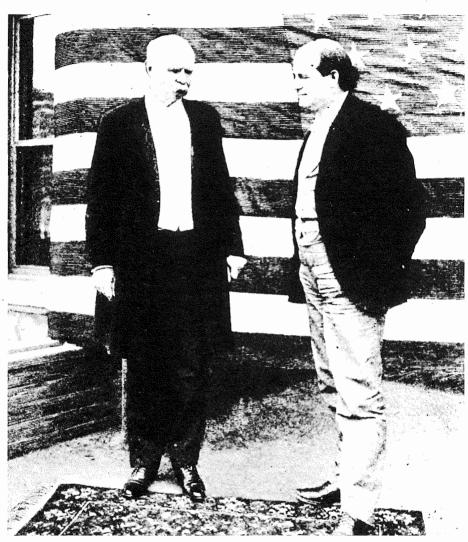
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Stevenson (left) and Bryan were photographed in Lincoln on July 10, 1900, especially for the New York Herald.

## IN THE SHADOW OF BRYAN: ADLAI E. STEVENSON AND THE RESURGENCE OF CONSERVATISM AT THE 1900 CONVENTION

## By Leonard Schlup

William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska (1860-1925), standard-bearer of the Democratic party in the presidential elections of 1896, 1900, and 1908, teamed with three different running mates in his attempts to capture the White House. One of his political partners was Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois (1835-1914), the vice-presidential nominee in 1900. Stevenson, who had served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, four years as first assistant postmaster general under President Grover Cleveland, and four years as vice-president during Cleveland's second term (1893-97), joined the Democratic ticket in 1900 as a pacifier to placate disgruntled Democrats who opposed Bryan and his stand on the money issue. This political partnership turned out to be a fascinating feature of the campaign of 1900.

The Democratic convention of 1900 (held in Kansas City, Missouri, from July 4 to 6) was a ratifying assembly for Bryan. After the delegates framed the platform according to his wishes (though not without controversy), they nominated him for president on the first ballot.

With the writing of the party document accomplished and Bryan's nomination secured unanimously, the delegates focused their attention on the vice-presidency. Unlike the presidential selection, a cloud of uncertainty enveloped the vice-presidential contest although the nominee had to be someone whose views were compatible with the platform. Several candidates competed for the second place on the ticket including Charles A. Towne of Minnesota, Congressman William Sulzer of New York, Benjamin Franklin Shively of Indiana, Senator David Bennett Hill of New York, Elliott Danforth of New York, and Mayor Carter Henry Harrison II of Chicago.

Stevenson was not a serious contender for the vice-presidential nomination during the months preceding the convention. Yet in private consultations his name figured prominently. One instance occurred a few days before the convention when Shively, a former congressman from Indiana, discussed vice-presidential possibilities with a Washington correspondent, Arthur W. Dunn. He said, "Stevenson is just the man. There you have it. Uniting the old Cleveland element with the new Bryan Democracy. You've got enough for one story. But say, this is more than a joke. Stevenson is just the man."<sup>2</sup>

By the time the Kansas City convention opened, Stevenson had emerged as a possible candidate. Mayor Harrison assumed the initiative by presenting Stevenson's name to the Illinois delegation as a favorite son. Eight years earlier, as publisher and editor of the *Chicago Times*, Harrison had helped achieve Stevenson's victory at the 1892 Chicago convention, and he postulated in 1900 that Stevenson would consent to a second nomination. The mayor debated the matter with midwestern politicians and then quietly wired the former vice-president to see if he would agree to the use of his name by his home state's delegation.

Shortly before addressing an Illinois caucus, Harrison received Stevenson's favorable reply by telegram. The wily mayor flashed the news to the astounded delegates and proposed the Prairie State Democrat as Bryan's running mate.<sup>3</sup>

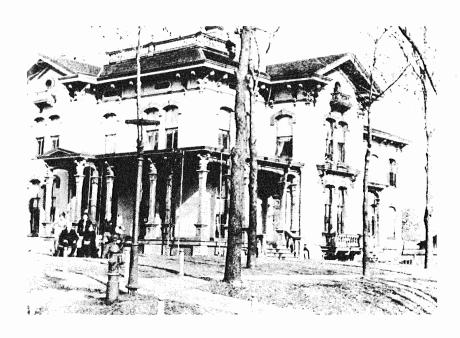
The timing was perfect. Illinois delegates caught by surprise over Harrison's suggestion and influenced by the sudden show of strength, yielded to pressure and endorsed the idea to place Stevenson's name in nomination. Confident that he would strengthen the national ticket and enhance Democratic prospects for victory in Illinois, they began a concerted effort on the night of July 3 to secure the votes for his nomination.<sup>4</sup>

The following day Harrison telegraphed the editor of a New York newspaper:

I believe we are going to nominate Adlai Stevenson for Vice-President. I received a telegram from him tonight stating that he was in the hands of his friends. I think there is no doubt that he is the best man for the place .... He is the most available man for the place and will add strength to the ticket where it is most needed. He gave great strength to the Cleveland ticket. Illinois was carried with him on the ticket, and I am convinced that it can be done again.<sup>5</sup>

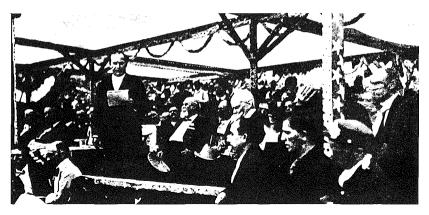
Thomas Gahan, national committeeman from Illinois, echoed Harrison's confidence when he announced on July 4: "Stevenson is as good as nominated for Vice-President right now. There is no question about it." 6

The Stevenson boom grew rapidly and reached significant proportions by the time of the voting for the vice-presidential nominee. Stevenson's candidacy offered a solution to the complicated problem of filling second place on the ticket because he was one upon whom progressive and conservative factions of the Democratic party could unite. One newspaper reported on July 4: "His candidacy commends itself to the conservative element of the party who desire to nominate a



Bryan visited Stevenson at his home in Bloomington, Illinois, in 1896.... (Below) Delegates to the Democratic convention of 1900 crowded the Kansas City convention hall to nominate Bryan for the presidency on the first ballot.





Bryan delivered his formal notification speech in Indianapolis on August 8, 1900.



strong man in whom the country has confidence." Stevenson's telegram to Harrison had stressed this notion of party unity. "The act of the Illinois delegation," he wired, "is highly appreciated. I leave to the delegation the propriety of presenting or withholding my name. Let all be in the interest of harmony." The implication was clear. Stevenson would agree to the nomination if his candidacy would help harmonize the contending factions of the Democracy.

Stevenson's main opponent for the vice-presidential nomination, former congressman Charles Towne, refused to surrender his ambitions. An ardent proponent of free silver, Towne had been elected to Congress as a Republican in 1894. His candidacy offered several advantages.

First, he had already won the Populist nomination for second place on a slate headed by Bryan. If the Democrats chose another candidate, Bryan would lead a double-tailed ticket similar to the one in 1896 when he had both a Democratic and a Populist running mate. Second, Towne knew that he was Bryan's personal choice for the vice-presidency because of his fusion politics, youth, and steadfast dedication to free silver. He enjoyed the support of John Peter Altgeld, former governor of Illinois, in his quest for the nomination. Finally, Towne had the endorsement of the Silver Republicans.<sup>9</sup>

Although Towne recognized that Stevenson, his friend of long standing, would make a good showing in the official balloting, he counted on his favorable qualifications to defeat the former vice-president. The Minnesota candidate, present at the convention to work for his own nomination, had kept in touch with Bryan regarding the second spot. In a letter dated June 4, 1900, Towne boldly confessed:

The leading Anti-Imperialists are expressing pretty generally their satisfaction with me as your associate on the ticket, and I have had some very strong letters from some of their principal men in the East. In the West there is pretty general satisfaction with my proposed nomination.<sup>10</sup>

However, Towne overrated himself and dismissed too quickly the possibility of a successful Stevenson candidacy. Once support for Stevenson had grown to an appreciable extent, nothing could have prevented his nomination except Bryan's intervention. For various personal and political reasons Bryan declined to intercede on behalf of Towne.

The zeal with which Bryan pursued the presidential nomination and dictated the platform contrasted sharply with his hesitant handling of the dilemma surrounding the vice-presidency. In the latter instance, he was following tradition. Unlike political leaders of the twentieth century, a presidential nominee in the Gilded Age was not expected to chose his vice-presidential partner and present that individual to the delegates as a fait accompli.

Bryan belatedly became cognizant of Stevenson's appeal as a candidate for vice-president and chose to yield to the demands of the delegates. Although caught off guard by Stevenson's unexpected popularity, Bryan remembered his friend's loyalty to the Bryan-Sewall ticket in 1896 when Stevenson was the highest elected official to endorse Bryan and campaign for him across the nation. Stevenson, a moderate bimetallist and anti-imperialist, met the criteria Bryan demanded in a candidate.

Towne had several liabilities that helped frustrate his desire to earn second place on the ticket. For one thing, the proposed Bryan-Towne slate lacked sectional balance since both candidates were from rural, midwestern states. A running mate from an industrial state east of the Mississippi River made better political sense.

More importantly, Towne failed to provide that element of party unity of which Stevenson was a master. Though he was favored by Populists, Silver Republicans, and Bryanites, the former Republican congressman did not appeal to conservative Democrats in the east or stalwart Democrats in the south. Some delegates complained that they might as well vote for a sound money Republican as a quasi-Republican renegade who resembled a political half-breed. Ultimately Towne's strength evaporated due to the opposition of those who preferred a loyalist Democrat instead of a Silver Republican whom they criticized as an opportunist.

On July 6 Stevenson's name was placed in nomination for the vice-presidency by James R. Williams of Illinois, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and delegate-at-large to the convention. In a short speech, Congressman Williams referred to Stevenson as a "swift rider" rather than a rough rider, as a statesman instead of a warrior (two obvious references to Theodore Roosevelt, Republican vice-presidential nominee), as a person who would not trade the life of an American soldier for a nugget of gold in the Philippines, and as a politician who knew a Republican when he saw one in an office that belonged to a Democrat. Williams added that the former vice-president, a "reliable Democrat," was a tested leader who could be counted on to conduct a forceful campaign. 11

The results of the first ballot for vice-president revealed clearly that Stevenson was the choice of the delegates. He led with 559 and one-half votes from all regions of the nation. David Bennett Hill of New York, an opponent of free silver who had not actively sought the nomination, placed second with 200 votes. Towne ran a poor third with 89 and one-half votes. The Illinois delegates voted unanimously for Stevenson, while the Nebraska delegation cast six votes for Towne and ten votes for Stevenson. Before the tabulation of the first ballot could be completed, delegates from various states scrambled to jump aboard the Stevenson bandwagon and his nomination was made unan-



MR. McKINLEY: "Theodore, please be less boisterous. See how quiet and dignified Mr. Stevenson is."

MR. BRYAN: "Adlai, liven up a little, can't you? Just notice how Teddy there whoops it up."

— The Chicago News.

imous. Because 936 delegates attended the convention, a candidate needed two-thirds, or 624, to be proclaimed the winner. Stevenson was well on his way toward obtaining the required number and doubtless would have reached that goal had a second ballot been necessary.<sup>12</sup>

Political analysts interpreted Stevenson's nomination as an effort to coax back to the party those old-line Democrats who had deserted it in 1896. Bryan would garner Populist and Silver Republican support while Stevenson would add a portion of the conservative vote to consolidate Democratic strength and make the ticket more formidable against the well-financed Republicans. With this in mind, Bryan's managers agreed to accept Stevenson in order to broaden the appeal of the ticket.<sup>13</sup>

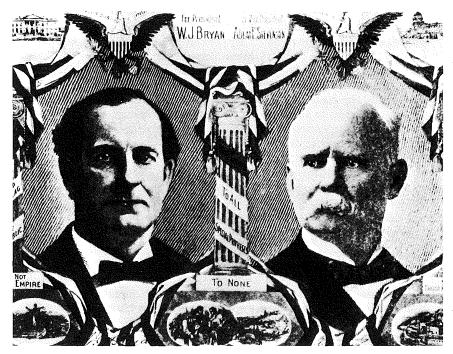
The New York Tribune observed that Stevenson's nomination:

appealed... as a happy inspiration to all those elements in the party which had been made restless by the gradual drift in four years toward radicalism and Populism, while to a majority of the radical leaders themselves the addition of the ex-Vice-President's name to the ticket commended itself as a graceful and timely concession to the sentiment in the convention which had just been worsted in the struggle to modify the Chicago platform. <sup>14</sup>

Perhaps this rationale for nominating a candidate who four years earlier had claimed that the party had not deviated from its principles would have been more useful to the Bryan Democrats had they employed it in 1896. Stevenson might have been a more effective running mate with Bryan in 1896 than in 1900 and being twenty-five years older, would have balanced the Nebraskan's youth. In 1896 a Stevenson nomination for a second term as vice-president might have been construed by conservative Democrats as a conciliatory gesture on the part of the victorious Bryanites who had condemned the Cleveland administration and plunged the party into turmoil.

Political perceptions of Stevenson had changed in eight years: In 1892 eastern Democrats had expressed apprehension about Stevenson, and his nomination had been viewed as an effort to placate southern silverites who distrusted former President Cleveland. In 1900 Stevenson's candidacy promised to soothe the eastern conservatives who abhorred Bryan but no longer harbored an intense distrust of the former vice-president. Nominated for vice-president in 1892 as a liberal to run on a ticket headed by a conservative, Stevenson won renomination in 1900 as a conservative to balance a slate led by a liberal.

The choice of Stevenson in 1900 helped solve the problem that confronted Bourbon Democrats who did not relish the idea of going outside the party for a vice-presidential nominee. For them, Towne's nomination would have meant two liberals on the Democratic ticket. Those who recalled Stevenson's days as first assistant postmaster general recognized his long service to the party. "We've got Bryan to



Portrait poster circulated by the Democratic National Committee during the 1900 campaign.

look after the principles," a party loyalist admitted, "and we've got Uncle Adlai to look after the offices. Whoop"!15

On July 6 Stevenson received news of his nomination for vice-president at the summer cottage of his son-in-law at Minnetonka Beach, Minnesota, where he was vacationing with his family. The former vice-president, who first learned that his name would be presented to the delegates when he received Harrison's telegram, informed reporters that he was gratified at the honor again conferred upon him and pleased to be associated with Bryan. In his immediate response to the press, he said:

This comes as a great surprise to me. I was not a candidate at any time and never expected to be nominated. But, of course, I shall accept the call of my party. Endorse the platform? Of course I shall. How else could I accept? I believe the Democrats generally will support the ticket. I had expected to do some campaigning anyway but now I shall do a great deal more. <sup>16</sup>

Stevenson extolled the platform and the outcome of the convention. Bryan had been his choice for the party's nomination in 1900 and a second chance to defeat McKinley and Republican protectionism. Unlike the Gold Democrats, Stevenson scoffed at the fears that Bryan was a national peril. He regarded the young presidential nominee as a great orator, a gifted man, a thorough scholar, and "a fearless cham-

pion of what he deems right." Stevenson, who had introduced Bryan to crowds in Illinois in 1896, knew Bryan both as a person and as a politician and believed he was the right leader to battle the trusts and imperialism in 1900. He quickly sent Bryan a telegram on July 6 congratulating the Nebraskan on his unanimous nomination. 18

Bryan reacted to the news of Stevenson's nomination with mixed emotions. In the spring of 1900 he had privately favored Towne as a running mate and at first seemed genuinely disappointed that the Silver Republican had failed to capture second place on the ticket. Publicly Bryan expressed satisfaction with the selection of Stevenson, a cordial friend who was personally and politically acceptable, and dictated a statement regarding the vice-presidential nomination:

Mr. Stevenson is an excellent man for the place. He supported the ticket in 1896 and will defend the platform of 1900. Towne would have strengthened the ticket in the states where there is fusion between the Democrats, the Populists, and Silver Republicans, but the support given Mr. Stevenson shows the convention thought Mr. Stevenson the more available man. The choice has fallen upon one who is in every respect worthy of the position. <sup>19</sup>

The presidential nominee, who remained in Nebraska during the Kansas City convention, took steps to demonstrate his faith in Stevenson. He immediately sent his running mate a telegram on July 6: "Accept congratulations upon your nomination. It was a deserved recognition of party service." This was the key to Bryan's thinking on why Stevenson had won the nomination. He interpreted Stevenson's victory as a reward for steadfast loyalty to the Democracy. Bryan implied that certain individuals in the party could not claim that distinction.

Bryan's correspondence with friends after the convention further revealed his thoughts about the outcome. In a letter to Altgeld on July 11, he sought to minimize the former governor's suspicions of Stevenson. "The platform as adopted is superb," he explained, "and I believe Mr. Stevenson's nomination will prove satisfactory." The next day Bryan wrote Mayor Harrison: "I believe that Stevenson will prove to be a very satisfactory candidate. While it is too early to forecast results, I regard our chances in Illinois as almost even. If the German vote comes to our ticket there will be no doubt of success." 22

Bryan collected a number of letters concerning the Democratic convention. Wrote one follower from Topeka, Kansas:

In my judgment the nomination of Mr. Stevenson for vice-president was the happiest possible solution for that vexed question and that together with the moderate position of the party on the silver question will . . . bring back to the party fold the vast number of democrats who failed to support the ticket in 1896.  $^{23}\,$ 

An Ohio lawyer and Bryan supporter expressed disappointment over Towne's defeat and noted that the Stevenson nomination "does not strengthen our cause in several of the western states."<sup>24</sup>

Another disenchanted Bryanite confessed on July 25: "I was very

much disappointed that the Convention could not see Mr. Towne as we do, but I suppose it is for the best and perhaps Mr. Stevenson will make as strong a candidate in one sense as Mr. Towne would have made." Others complained that Stevenson was too weak, or that he was too old, or that problems would develop with the Populists over his nomination. Other complained that Stevenson was too weak, or that he was too old, or that problems would develop with the Populists over his nomination.

At the conclusion of the Kansas City convention, leading Democrats journeyed to Lincoln to confer with Bryan. This entourage included Stevenson, Towne, and Senator James Kimbrough Jones of Arkansas, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Although he was informed on July 6 of the scheduled meeting in Nebraska, Stevenson neglected to mention it in his afternoon session with the press. After consulting with his family, he completed hasty preparations for the trip. From Minneapolis he telegraphed Bryan on Sunday, July 8, that he would arrive in Lincoln the next morning.<sup>27</sup>

Stevenson found a warm welcome when he arrived in Lincoln on July 9. More than 1,000 people showed their support by gathering at the depot. As the train rolled into the station, Bryan and Senator Jones entered the car to greet the Illinois Democrat, and they departed the coach together. Stevenson then met other members of the Bryan party. At the conclusion of the reception, the candidates walked arm in arm down the platform to the carriages.

The party drove a few blocks to the Lincoln Hotel where another crowd had gathered. When Bryan and Stevenson arrived the people cheered and demanded to hear the candidates speak. Stevenson thanked them for a friendly welcome but carefully noted that he was "too modest a man to make the first speech" when he stood in the presence of the next President.<sup>28</sup> After brief remarks, the nominees managed to shake hands with many in the crowd before going inside for a meeting. They later went to Bryan's home, Fairview, where Stevenson stayed for the rest of his visit.<sup>29</sup>

Stevenson concluded his discussions with Bryan on July 11 and returned to Minnetonka Beach to resume his vacation and ponder the role he would play in the campaign. Senator Jones joined him there for a continuation of the political planning that had commenced in Nebraska. The two men worked out an initial campaign strategy for the coming autumn, and Stevenson reviewed a Bryan letter mentioning foreign policy and other issues. On July 24, he wrote Bryan: "I agree with you fully that Imperialism is *the issue* of the campaign. My remarks will be on that line, and not of trusts."<sup>30</sup>

Stevenson's letter also outlined his upcoming itinerary. He planned to leave Minnesota on August 3, spend three days at his home in Bloomington, Illinois, and travel to Chicago on August 7 for a joint appearance with Bryan. From there Stevenson would go to Indianapolis for his formal notification. "I will then talk over with you

future campaign matters," he added.<sup>31</sup> Although Stevenson's nomination had a mollifying effect on conservative Democrats, it weakened the alliance between Bryan, the Silver Republicans, and the Populists. The former group, which nominated Bryan as their presidential candidate on a free silver platform, preferred Towne for second place. The Democrats' choice of Stevenson disappointed them, but they agreed reluctantly to endorse him for vice-president and abide by the wishes of Towne and Bryan.<sup>32</sup>

The danger that the reform forces would be splintered between a Bryan-Stevenson ticket on the one hand, and a Bryan-Towne slate on the other, surfaced with the Populist party. The Populists, meeting in convention before the Democrats, had already nominated Towne for vice-president. At first they were recalcitrant and dilatory, refusing to consider Towne's withdrawal.

Radical cohorts urged Bryan to accept a double-tailed ticket, an idea abhorrent to Stevenson and rejected by Bryan and Towne. 33 A similar situation had occurred in 1896 when Bryan was paired with Thomas Watson on the Populist ticket and Arthur Sewall on the Democratic slate. Watson, a "middle of the road" Populist, refused to campaign for Bryan. Contending that his phantom candidacy would prevent the unity he deemed imperative for a Bryan victory, Towne withdrew from the Populist ticket shortly after Stevenson received formal notification of his nomination by the Democrats. 34

At a conference in Chicago on August 27, members of the Populist National Committee, without enthusiasm, named Stevenson as the party's nominee for vice-president, thereby avoiding another unworkable triumvirate. This action met with Bryan's approval for he regarded Towne's withdrawal and the substitution of Stevenson as the best solution to the dilemma. After learning of the Populists' decision, Bryan was relieved. He remarked: "To have nominated anyone else would have weakened the ticket. The Populist organization will profit rather than suffer by this evidence of its willingness to place the triumph of principles above partisanship." Unfortunately for Bryan, the anti-fusionist faction of the Populists, spearheading a movement to field a separate ticket, nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania for president and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for vice-president. 36

His nomination by the Populist Party left Stevenson in a somewhat awkward position. It was he who had vehemently castigated the Populists during his 1892 southern campaign. Pledging economic assistance and political benefits to Democrats in a calculated endeavor to blunt the growing popularity of Populism in agricultural regions, Stevenson vilified the third party and its programs. The scheme succeeded to the extent that James B. Weaver, the Populist presidential candidate, neither penetrated the South nor triumphed on election day. In 1900 stalwart Populists found it exceedingly difficult to

swallow Stevenson, tolerating his name on the ticket only because of Bryan and the prospect of defeating McKinley.

In characteristic fashion Stevenson overlooked the past and turned a potentially embarrassing situation to his advantage by accepting the Populist vice-presidential nomination tendered by the fusionists aligned with Bryan and praising Populist leaders for looking outside their party for national candidates.<sup>37</sup>

Stevenson regarded the vice-presidency in 1900 as a suitable conclusion to his long career of public service. His upset victory at Kansas City propelled him once again into the political spotlight and temporarily extricated him from retirement. The prospect of serving his party and his country under Bryan's leadership prompted Stevenson to campaign widely. Though he was not elected, Stevenson earned the distinction of being the first vice-president in American history to



recapture his party's vice-presidential nomination several years after having left the office. He was the only vice-president to have a grandson (Adlai E. Stevenson II) nominated to the presidency.

In many ways the political partnership of William Jennings Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson in 1900 was unusual. Although stranger combinations have appeared on national tickets by the dictates of politics, the Bryan-Stevenson ticket provided sharp contrasts in the personalities of the two nominees.

Compared to Bryan, Stevenson was the product of another age: he was older, reserved, cautious, and Victorian in dress and style. Lacking a charismatic personality, he failed to awaken enthusiasm among the voters. Bryan, an evangelist by nature, voiced the issues in peripatetic fashion, and possessed a personal dynamism and magnetism that Stevenson lacked. Stevenson, who shared with McKinley certain personal traits, appeared weak when compared with the party's youthful leader. Yet if any personality trait identified Stevenson, it was his ability in private to communicate with people.

The political relationship between Bryan and Stevenson enhanced their personal friendship. Bryan admired his running mate for his party loyalty and courageous fight for political survival after Stevenson endorsed the Bryan-Sewall ticket in 1896. The Cleveland administration favored the Gold Democratic slate led by Senator John M. Palmer of Illinois. Furthermore, Bryan believed that Stevenson was a person of "splendid character," and in an unprecedented move announced his determination to increase the importance of the vice-presidency by having Stevenson attend cabinet meetings.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately Bryan did not have an opportunity to effect this plan, because the magnitude of his devastating loss in the election of 1900 was even greater than it had been four years earlier. President William McKinley swept to a handsome re-election victory by winning twenty-eight states, including Nebraska and Illinois, and garnering 292 electoral votes. Bryan and Stevenson carried seventeen states for a total of 155 electoral votes.<sup>39</sup>

Unlike Bryan, Stevenson was a coalition Democrat who preached the politics of accommodation. Free from the inflexible position of leadership into which Bryan thrust himself, Stevenson pursued a course that was more suited to his personality. As a compromise candidate, he sought harmony in an era of vituperation and partisanship, offering soothing medicine to heal internal dissension. A man who respected his opponents, Stevenson was a gentleman of the old school who reportedly never made a personal enemy of a political adversary. Perhaps Bryan should have taken a lesson in the politics of pacification from his running mate in 1900.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Adlai Ewing Stevenson, patriarch of a prominent family and founder of a political dynasty, was the grandfather of Adlai Ewing Stevenson II (1900-1965), governor of Illinois (1949-53), Democratic nominee for president (1952 and 1956), and United States ambassador to the United Nations (1961-65).

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Wallace Dunn, From Harrison to Harding: A Personal Narrative, Covering a

Third of a Century, 1888-1921 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), I:344.

<sup>3</sup>Carter H. Harrison, Stormy Years: The Autobiography of Carter H. Harrison, Five Times Mayor of Chicago (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), 200-201.

<sup>4</sup>Daily Pantagraph (Bloomington), July 5, 1900, p. 1. Courier-Journal (Louisville),

July 4, 1900, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup>World (New York), July 5, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup>New York Evening Journal, July 4, 1900, p. 1.

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<sup>8</sup>Chicago Daily Tribune, July 5, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid

10 Charles A. Towne to William Jennings Bryan, June 4, 1900, William Jennings Bryan

Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

11 William Jennings Bryan et al., The Second Battle, Or, The New Declaration of

Independence, 1776-1900: An Account of the Struggle of 1900 (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1900), 30. New York Times, July 7, 1900, p. 1.

12The Public, III (July 14, 1900):215; Chicago Daily Tribune, July 7, 1900, p. 4; Democratic Campaign Book: Presidential Election, 1900 (Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Company, 1900), 33-41; Herbert J. Bass, "I am a Democrat": The Political Career of David Bennett Hill (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1961), 244-53; Paolo E. Coletta, William Jennings Bryan: I. Political Evangelist, 1860-1908 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), 261.

Richard Croker, the Irish-born leader of Tammany Hall, and Thomas Grady, Tammany's orator, contrived a devious scheme at the 1900 convention to humiliate the envenomed Hill, an 1896 hard money Democrat who had interpreted Bryan's nomination as an aberration. They suggested the former senator for the vice-presidency in a carefully calculated endeavor to provoke an embarrassing incident before the delegates and needlessly purge a public figure who no longer commanded political influence in the Empire State. The plan backfired in that the plot failed to touch off a condemnation of Hill. By eroding the cohesiveness of the Bryanites, Croker's cabal enabled conservatives to muster an impregnable defense against Towne, thereby culminating in Stevenson's triumph.

<sup>13</sup>James S. Ewing, "Mr. Stevenson, The Democratic Candidate for Vice-President," The American Monthly Review of Reviews XXII (October 1900):420-24; Francis E. Leupp, "Mr. Bryan's Running Mate," The Independent LII (September 6, 1900):2139-42; Louis W. Koenig, Bryan: A Political Biography of William Jennings Bryan (New York:

G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), 324.

<sup>14</sup>New York Tribune, July 7, 1900, p. 1.

15"The Democratic Convention," The Outlook LXV (July 14, 1900):635; J. M. Patterson to James B. Weaver, May 22, 1900, James Baird Weaver Papers, Iowa State Department of History and Archives, Des Moines; John Lind to George Fred Williams, May 24, 1900, John Lind Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

<sup>16</sup>Courier-Journal, July 7, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup>Adlai E. Stevenson, Something of Men I Have Known; With Some Papers of a General Nature, Political, Historical, and Retrospective (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1909):315.

<sup>18</sup>Courier-Journal, July 7, 1900, p. 3. Chicago Daily Tribune, July 7, 1900, p. 2. <sup>19</sup>World, July 7, 1900, p. 2.New York Herald, July 7, 1900, p. 4.Morning World-Herald

(Omaha), July 7, 1900, p. 5.

20Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Bryan to John Peter Altgeld, July 11, 1900, John Peter Altgeld Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.

<sup>22</sup>Bryan to Carter H. Harrison, July 12, 1900, Carter Henry Harrison II Papers, The

Newberry Library, Chicago.

<sup>23</sup>J. Martin to Bryan, July 10, 1900, Bryan Papers.
 <sup>24</sup>George A. Groot to Bryan, July 10, 1900, ibid.
 <sup>25</sup>Ambibald Manuflet Properties 1000, ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Archibald McNeil to Bryan, July 25, 1900, ibid. <sup>26</sup>See, for example, W. A. Ayres to Bryan, July 10, 1900, ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Telegram, Stevenson to Bryan, July 8, 1900, Bryan Papers.

<sup>28</sup>Daily Pantagraph. July 10, 1900, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup>New York Evening Journal, July 9, 1900, p. 4. Courier-Journal, July 9, 1900, p.

<sup>30</sup>Stevenson to Bryan, July 24, 1900, Bryan Papers. See Adlai E. Stevenson, "The Issue of the Campaign," *The North American Review CLXXI* (October 1900):433-39.
 <sup>31</sup>Stevenson to Bryan, July 24, 1900, Bryan Papers.

<sup>32</sup>Bryan, The Second Battle, 246. Chicago Daily Tribune, July 7, 1900, p. 5. Daily Pan-

tagraph, July 7, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup>See, for example, Martin to Bryan, July 10, 1900, Bryan Papers. Ayres to Bryan,

July 10, 1900, ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Towne to Bryan, July 23, 1900, ibid. Daily Pantagraph, July 9, 12, 1900, p. 1. James D. Porter to Stevenson November 8, 1900, Adlai Ewing Stevenson II Papers, Illinois State Historical Library; William Randolph Hearst to Lewis Green Stevenson, November 22, 1900, ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Atlanta Journal, August 28, 1900, p. 1. Chicago Daily Tribune, August 28, 1900,

p. 12.

<sup>36</sup>Ignatius Donnelly to A. P. Onsdorff, July 2, 1900, Ignatius Donnelly Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>37</sup>New York Times, September 28, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup>William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan* (Chicago: John C. Winston Company, 1925), 128. See Adlai E. Stevenson, "The Vice-Presidency," *Collier's Weekly* XXV (September 1, 1900):3.

<sup>39</sup>Joseph Nathan Kane, Facts About the Presidents (New York: Permabooks,

1960), 271.