

**Iowa statewide voting patterns
1891-1912: naturalization does not create voting citizens**

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Lee W. Atkinson, whose assistance in assembling the database (not available in electronic format) made the project possible.

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Abstract

Analysis of voting in political history can be problematic if sampling is used without regard for demographics, location, and participation rates. This project used population data, rather than sampling, from the township level, for the entire state of Iowa, beginning with the 1890 census (covering the gubernatorial election of 1891 and presidential election of 1892), moving on to the 1900 census (covering the presidential election of 1900 and the gubernatorial election of 1902), and ended with the 1910 census covering the combined presidential and gubernatorial election of 1912). By the 1912 election the secret ballot had been adopted, so all candidates for all positions and parties appeared on the same ballot. Regression analysis examined religious affiliation and ethnicity for voting preferences, as well as generation in the country.

Iowa can be divided into five geologic regions that present different circumstances for the diversified farming operations existing within each region. Southern Democrats initially settled in two of the regions (containing the worst soil in the state), writing the state constitution, generally voting the Democrat ticket, and having the highest participation rates coupled with the lowest immigration rates in the state for the time of this study. The remaining three regions saw largest number of immigrants settling on the best land in the state. Participation rates for foreign-born lagged the native-born of native-born parents and native-born of foreign-born parents.

Regression analysis showed more of a breakdown between liberal and conservative than by ethnicity, religious affiliation, or generation in the country.

Analysis by region revealed more consistency in voting outcomes, but the geologic regions were divided to form eleven congressional districts whose voting outcomes marginalized some groups and emphasized others. Political divisions based on population count crosscut the circumstances of location, rearranging the distribution of demographics and, thus, votes.

At the county level, results remained more consistent for the time of this study. Political power between Democrats and Republicans in Iowa remained close, with the selection of issues enticing some to vote and some to stay home on election day. Voting in the 1912 election showed the political savvy of Iowans as they took advantage of the secret ballot to vote for Progressive candidate Roosevelt for President (giving Democrat Wilson the win because Progressive issues crosscut more Republican issues than Democrat), but ignore Progressive Candidate Stevens for governor, as another Republican governor won election in the state.

Chapter 1: Introduction

An anomaly of agricultural political history is the lack of agreement about politics, movements, and policy. Variances go beyond corn growers and pork producers, for example, they exist between growers and producers of the same product but living in different locations. Some of these differences involve political socialization, some involve circumstances, some involve both, and all involve manmade political boundaries within which votes are tallied for influence. The discipline of political science recognizes several factors influencing political positions and outcomes of voting that become important to historical interpretation of politics.

In the political socialization process, political values and their specific uses are both overtly taught as well as demonstrated by family, friends, school, church and the media. Government can even be an agent of socialization because many of its activities are intended to explain or display the government to the public with an eye toward building support and loyalty, often by framing the issue in a certain manner. Groups marginalized either overtly or by indifference to their plight pick up their subcultures, often putting them at odds with mainstream culture. This can play out with positions on political issues, particularly with participation in the process, if voting occurs at all on specific issues. Organized voices speak louder than single voices to elected officials.

Economics undergirds almost everything in politics. Most public policy choices have economic ramifications that can make or break a policy if affected groups find a way to work together for either support or change. Economic

factors can bring union or disunion. U. S. industrialization in the late 1800s (after the Civil War militarily settled the question of labor and economic systems) required people of diverse racial, ethnic, religious, social, and historical backgrounds to work together for a common purpose; often this proved problematic. Prior to the Civil War, in the beginning, when the new United States tore down the tariff barriers between the thirteen former colonies, by writing and approving the Constitution as a replacement for the Articles of Confederation, they began working more together, but differences in economic theory and form of government still engendered policy debates among the diverse groups. While not all Antifederalists resided in southern states, we do know that agricultural capitalism dominated economic theories in that region, along with political concepts of confederation versus federation (states rights versus a stronger national government). Their environmental circumstances, coupled with those who settled there, and the history of the region influenced their politics.

A nation is a political system; it has territory, it has people, and it has a language. The history of how it got to its present time forms the experiences, just as events in personal lives form experiences, often influencing positions on issues. Philosophies and religions become part of the socializing influence that factor into government policymaking by forming values and priorities. Nations have economies, influenced by almost every political decision made, affecting the groups of people who reside within in different ways – forming an experience for them that they carry with them into the future as part of their socialization process. Nations have a dominant culture and many subcultures. “Culture” can

be thought of as a core of traditional ideas, practices, and technology shared by a people.

World history explains how people carried their ideas and practices – their culture -- with them as they moved about the earth adapting to new locations (in social relationships, economic activity, political decisions). These movements eventually brought Europeans to the New World and ultimately to Iowa, where they interacted with the existing environment and circumstances as they went about their lives. The new self-government of the United States created a situation for increased political interaction between diverse cultural groups of immigrants than the world had previously experienced with its conquests, defeats, and empires. How this played out in Iowa during industrialization, the Populist Movement, and the Progressive Movement can best be told by identifying the settlers, their locations, and their voting (or lack of voting). Politics is a collection of issues, rarely a single issue (although single-issue voting can occur). Single issues can be examined for divisions of political position on that issue at that time, but it is not an indicator of positions in multi-issue voting. General elections bring multiple issues, framed by participating political parties attempting to attract voters so votes can be translated into political influence. Voters must prioritize their issues when voting because it is possible for each party to select an issue of interest to the same voters. The United States has winner-take-all elections, not the proportional voting found in Europe, where political parties tend to be more ideological, so voters must prioritize their issues and vote for the party position they favor. Sometimes no participation or Third Party voting results in a major

party victory that might not have happened otherwise. Survival strategies must find a way to deal with these circumstances, as they have always dealt with the social, economic, and political circumstances of location and its environment within a political structure.

As Europeans traveled to other areas, they attempted to function according to their concepts of social, economic, and political ideas into which they had been socialized, repeating the process practiced before them and adapting when necessary. The Americas presented them with very different cultures from the more familiar ones in Europe. Some of the native inhabitants of the Americas still existed in the hunter-gatherer forms, using the ideas and experiences they had developed over the millennia; other groups of the native inhabitants met all the criteria we use today for defined civilization, except writing. Spain and Portugal, generally, led the discovery and settlement of South and Central America, as well as the southern and western parts of North America because they had been conquered by Islamic forces after the fall of Rome, keeping education flourishing while the rest of Europe floundered. England came late to the New World “feast” because of its preoccupation with other affairs. The one constant shared by each conqueror was a disdain for the native inhabitants as being “beneath” Europeans. In the eyes of Europeans resources in the New World were available for the taking.

Spanish conquerors and colonists brought with them their Catholic religion, their society (with its class structure) and economy, and familiar forms of organization, adapted to the circumstances of the New World setting. Between

this type of settlement and England's later form of settlement in eastern North America (almost one hundred years later), the Protestant Reformation occurred, changing some of the ideas under consideration by Western Europe – particularly England. With the exception of Lord Baltimore's Catholic colony of Maryland, the North American English settlements used the ideas of various Protestant denominations as the basis for their values and policies, often differing because the matrix of Protestant sect priorities and interpretations differed. During the first one hundred years of English settlement, Enlightenment writings spread theories for new forms of social, economic and political organization. While various Protestant denominations and Catholics engaged in these treatises, only some Protestant ones gained acceptance in the North American English colonies. Like teenagers away from home for the first time (away from immediate parental oversight and possible constraints), the English colonists in America eagerly debated and discussed what they had not liked about life in Europe, what they liked, and how new ideas for self-government could work as the vehicle of change in their location.

Testing the mix of circulating Protestant Enlightenment ideas came to a head after the Revolutionary War, when it came time to form a new government. Since the colonies had initially been founded separately under the government of England, the states each considered themselves sovereign and in a better position to look after the interests of their citizens, as they had been doing with their colonial governments and appointed royal governors. They did not trust a strong central government that might become what they fought to escape. For this

reason, the first attempt at self-government took the rough form of the Greek city-states in a loose confederation. About half the new states found this arrangement unsatisfactory, desiring a stronger central government to assist with expanding commerce and manufacturing (denied to them under the mercantilist theory of colonialism). Northern and middle states wanted a stronger central government, while southern states wanted the stronger state governments in a confederation because it fit with their spread-out agricultural capitalism preferences and the Greek concept of an ideal size for a well-functioning city-state. The negotiated settlement among the states resulted in what we call today federalism.

Established by a carefully worded Constitution, federalism sets out specific powers to a stronger central government but reserves other powers to the states, in a loose adapted combination of the Greek form of republic and the larger Roman form (that failed when it became too large to manage). The debate over the powers of each continues to this day, playing out in political party platforms designed to woo voters and translate to political power for making policy. Such experiences became part of the knowledge of native-born individuals who eventually migrated to new territories, ultimately to become states within the union. Later immigrants settling these same areas brought their own historical experiences and culture with them from their native lands. While they might find some agreement on specific issues with native-born citizens, interpretation of the source of the problem and the proper remedy could also split political alignments.

Maldwyn Allen Jones, in *American Immigration* (1960), cited immigration as the most persistent and most pervasive influence on development in America

through the inherited thoughts immigrants brought with them, coupled with the new environment.¹ Immigrants to the new experiment in self-government came with their learned ways from a former life, and expectations of what a new life would be like in this new environment, just as migrants, colonizers, and conquerors had been doing for thousands of years. Immigrants today continue this survival-strategy process. The dominant group influenced the parameters within which all this played out, as it continues to do today.

Given the rate of immigration to the new United States, groups of citizens (nativists) became concerned about potential influences that could change the functioning of the new government, causing it to fail. John Higham, in 1955, defined “nativism” as an intense opposition to an internal minority because of foreign connections.² Robert A. Carlson’s *The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity* (1975) cited concerns about immigration and ethnic minorities intersecting with anxieties about an American national identity because of the white Anglo Saxon Protestant ideals of the dominant group as to who could become an American capable of self-government – and who could not.³ The American Revolution may have severed the lines of authority from the Crown to the people, but it did not change the Anglo-Saxon Protestant Enlightenment assumptions about who the “people” were. All of the imbedded prejudices had been woven into the matrix of republican ideals being overlaid on the American landscape. Whiteness equated with republicanism due to the beginning

¹ Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

² John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

³ Robert A Carlson, *The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1975).

assumptions of those who had been discussing the meaning of republicanism as they put together a new government based on the selected ideals (parameters). Differences between groups desiring a stronger state government versus groups desiring a stronger national government continued to define the parameters for these debates. Concern for “negative” influences, or inability to be self-governing (prejudice against some ethnicities and races), led ultimately to restricted immigration.

Between the first Immigration Act of 1790, providing citizenship for white European immigrants, and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned immigration from China, a process of defining and redefining whiteness evolved in America, fracturing by the 1840s into a hierarchy of whiteness with increased immigration. The original thirteen U.S. states began as an English colonial effort, transplanting English Anglo Saxon Protestant Enlightenment ideals with the immigrant groups that came to dominate the area and determine policy. Continued domination of social, economic, and political power underlay the debate and built discrimination into the system by setting the standard for citizenship: conform or suffer the consequences of inequality. With those ideals as the defining basis of a proper American identity, citizenship in the republic focused around the issue of assimilability. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act was revisited every ten years, renewed with the inclusion of additional groups each time: Filipino, Korean, South Sea Island, etc. It took Congress until 1921 to enact European restrictions against certain ethnicities. In 1924, amendments made the rules more restrictive by setting quotas of three percent, based on the 1890 census

(prior to the big influx of ethnic groups from Eastern and southern Europe occurring mostly between 1900 and 1910). A large percentage of these immigrants were Catholic. This policy did not significantly change until 1965.

According to Matthew Frye Jacobson, in *Whiteness of a Different Color* (1998), capitalism (with its appetite for cheap labor applied to industrialization) and republicanism (with its imperative for responsible citizenship and self-governing) formed the forces fashioning whiteness across time.⁴ The small, elite, capitalist group that came to dominate ideas of policy in America encouraged some immigration at times when cheap labor was needed – and when land needed to be settled to hold the territory, such as the Louisiana Purchase and the states carved from that, including Iowa. Generally the poorer classes immigrated to the urban areas looking for work because they lacked the capital necessary to begin a business or go into farming. Those with sufficient capital to settle the territory in the Louisiana Purchase tended to be those groups considered higher up on the hierarchy of whiteness, or more capable of self-governing. Germans and Scandinavians tended to fall into this category of defined acceptable whiteness, so it should come as no surprise they are among the four dominant nationalities settling the Midwest (including Iowa). These nationalities tended to have the necessary capital to enter farming. John Commons noted this phenomenon in his *Races and Immigrants in America* (1907): immigrants from northwestern Europe went into farming while later immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who

⁴ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color* (London: Harvard University Press, 1998).

generally lacked capital, went into manufacturing.⁵ The arrival of immigrants in the U.S. created social classes as much because of their station in Europe as by their placement on the hierarchy by the dominant U.S. class making policy.

Oscar Handlin noted in *The Uprooted* (1951) that problems arose for immigrants from the inability to transfer the Old World to the New World with the migrant crossing, as well as a resistance of the New World to Old World methods of social, economic, and political organization and functioning.⁶ The implementation of Protestant Enlightenment ideas in the New World after the Revolution worked to sever ties to the Old World, creating a situation of rejection of Old World ways, particularly where Catholicism was concerned. Immigrants coming from this background had to come to terms with this because Americans had little grasp and even less patience with the centuries-old social, economic, and political relationships and understandings of the Old World life. This affected survival strategies.

According to Jon Gjerde in *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Middle West 1830-1917* (1997), the relationship between the land and the way migrants occupied it was critical to informing the meaning of the West for many Americans. European immigrants tended to construct varied meanings of the West from similar objective observations that in some respects paralleled but in other respects crosscut the American narrative.⁷ The intellectual contours of Europe differed dramatically from those that had evolved in the

⁵ John Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1907).

⁶ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Gossett and Dunlap, 1951).

⁷ Jon Gjerde, *The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Middle West 1830-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

eastern U.S. European versus U.S. intellectual worlds were evolving and infused with intellectual developments that posited remarkably distinct conceptions of salvation and grace that informed their models of society and its institutional structure. The immigrant survival strategy seemed to be preventing circumstances from getting worse. Such a view of the New World led to conservatism, tradition, and acceptance of authority, initially. Young America, in its growing pains, seemed unstable and lacking in the orderly elements of existence, in the view of many immigrants. They sought to set their ideas within a fortification of religious and cultural institutions designed to keep them sound against the new strange land.

One of the big changes was politics. In the Old World, peasants would not have been involved in politics except for an occasional uprising. In the New World, citizens were expected to be participants. Naturalization did not create voters; voting came with needs, with experience, and with a comfort level within the system. Coupled with conservatism, a sense of tradition, respect for authority, and reluctance for change, immigrants did not tend to go along with progressive ideas, although second and third generations might be comfortable doing so. While some studies have examined voting patterns in urban areas for ethnic and religious influence, and others have selected a few counties or townships, or a single issue, none has examined an entire state, such as Iowa, from the township level, where the voting took place. This study does, by cross-referencing voting patterns to census demographics by location, including the geology and dominant farming activity of the locations. Included is a discussion of how the dominant

two-party political system, coupled with its plurality voting, works to organize interest groups around specific issues for an election but marginalizes those who fall outside these prioritized issues (with their imbedded parameters).

This project examined Iowa voting patterns from around 1891 to 1912, using statewide voting and census demographics by township for both governor (state politics) and president (national politics) to see if ethnicity, location, and/or religion factored into the preferences indicated. Because women got to vote in the 1920 election, this study had to stop with the 1912 election, the closest to the 1910 decennial census.

Since we are all socialized beings, whose life experiences also factor into our decisions, and this was the time of high immigration and settlement of Iowa as well as the U.S. industrial revolution, what responses might be discernible? The outcome could surprise those expecting ethnicity and religion to form major influences. Regression analysis of the entire state for multiple elections failed to uphold this outcome for Iowa during this timeframe. Election participation affects the outcome, as well as using an entire voting population rather than sampling, and location factors that changed economic circumstances. In self-government, voters must be interested in the election issues sufficiently to make the effort to vote. In the case of interest in multiple issues, sometimes favoring positions held by different parties, voters must prioritize because they could only take one party ballot until the Australian ballot was approved. Some respond by not voting at all; some vote for one party, based on an issue in one election, but for a different party the next election because of a different issue.

Another factor to consider is the liberal versus the conservative view. In *The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930* (1982), Ferenc Morton Szasz identified the emergence of the liberal and conservative viewpoints.⁸ These became part of all the major religious denominations in one form or another. The churches involved with the realignment were among the largest and most powerful in the country, bringing major social implications to the entire nation. When industrialism, immigration, and technology transformed a primarily rural nation into an industrial giant, the churches responded with a force of overwhelming proportions. The social gospel movement also occurred during this timeframe. Iowa had many Protestant religions in addition to Catholicism, which regression analysis of Iowa voting reveals fractured on election issues. Census data report the fractures of Protestantism, but the status of “Catholic” is not subdivided into the range of conservative to liberal divisions that exist because of the world structure of that religion. When voting analysis reflects no voting preference for Catholic, the result likely stems from a range of liberal to conservative, or a difference in priority of issues.

Iowa can be divided into five geological zones, or regions. Each area has a unique geologic history forming the circumstances that exist for residents in that location. Chapter 2 presents Iowa’s geologic history and the unique regional zones within the state confronting residents. Settlers to the state, beginning with Native Americans, had to find ways to deal with the environmental circumstances they encountered, for their survival. Each group did this along the lines of their

⁸ Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1982).

own socialized set of values and within the existing political controls available.

Leland Sage, in his *History of Iowa* (1974), identified five regions by the dominance of certain farming activities, even though general forms of diversified farming existed around the state: Western livestock, Southern pasture, North Central grain, Eastern livestock, and Northeast dairy.⁹ The general boundaries of these regions correspond to the geological regions of the state, formed during the geologic past activity. Economic circumstances at the time of an election could influence political choices in regard to both priority of issues as well as position.

Chapter 3 discusses early white settlement to Iowa, which began with the southeast corner of the state, the Eastern livestock regional zone, moving west into the Southern pasture regional zone. That left the remaining three zones of what became Western livestock, North central grain, and Northeast dairy for immigrants. According to the geology of the state, these last three zones contained the best soil, creating a different set of circumstances and dominant economic activity for residents in addition to the ethnic and religious differences of those settling the areas.

Settlers to Iowa dispersed, but mapping shows distinct clustering by region after the initial period of settlement. Chapter 6 discusses voting analysis by region showing patterns of preferences for the time period of 1890 to 1912, but not exclusive party preferences. Even at the regional level the closeness of support for the two major political parties reveals the struggle within the state for political control over policymaking at that level. While some Midwest states had

⁹ Leland Sage, *History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974).

strong Populist political movements and strong Progressive political movements, the two major parties in Iowa managed to select election issues that worked to marginalize those votes at the state level. The 1912 election became the only one, for the timeframe of this study, when a third party exhibited major influence in Iowa: former President Theodore Roosevelt ran as a Progressive. Iowans supported him as a Republican in 1904, and again in 1912 as a Progressive. For the 1912 election, use of the new Australian ballot placed candidates of all parties together, instead of the former method of separate party ballots for each party's slate of candidates, and Iowa voters demonstrated their awareness of the close political control between the two major parties at the state level by voting a third party for president and reverting to a major party for governor – splitting their votes on a single ballot (something not previously possible). The difference in the vote counts match. Votes for Progressive Roosevelt exceeded those for Republican Taft in all five regions, with Progressive Roosevelt winning two of the regions: Western livestock and North Central grain. What this says about the election is that the progressive interests represented by the Progressive Party more closely aligned with Iowa interests on national issues than those selected by the Republican Party, splitting votes that might have otherwise gone Republican in Iowa. This is the significance of party selection of issues for an election, trying to attract voter priorities at election time. Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the election in the state and nationally. At the state level, on state issues, the governor's race revealed few votes for the Progressive gubernatorial candidate. The Republican candidate won, supported by only three of the five regions, but

those regions had the highest percentage of participation as well as the larger amount of population. This demonstrates how the form of the ballot influenced available choices to voters up to the time all candidates appeared on the same ballot – particularly in a state where the two major political parties were so close in power. The vote shows an awareness, by Iowa voters, of state issues and party positions on those issues of priority to them.

The areas with the largest numbers of immigrants had the lowest participation rates in the elections of this study. The areas with the highest numbers of native-born voters had the highest participation rates in elections. Beginning with the debate over the Constitution and the federalist system resulting from that, American voters remained as divided on issues as they were on forms of Protestantism. Studies of participation in urban areas show a support system assisting immigrant voters; little evidence exists of such a system in rural areas. The low participation rate in areas with the highest number of immigrants reflected low organization to garner those votes. The pattern remained persistent through all the elections of this study. In *Human Nature in American Thought* (1980), Merle Curti asserted that influences on actions took their form in the operations of the faculties of the body-mind relationships and the environmental conditions (geography, economic, and social).¹⁰ When new concepts appear, older ideas linger and do not always vanish; they change form; and the role of the older idea becomes downplayed. Such a description fits not only industrializing

¹⁰ Merle Curti, *Human Nature in American Thought* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980).

America's native-born but also immigrant struggles to adapt, survive, and find stability.

What groups settled Iowa, and where did they settle? Could this have a bearing on the voting patterns? Once Iowa white settlement officially began in 1832, the population increased at the rate of about half a million people a decade for the first four decades. It then slowed to a rate of about two hundred thousand for two of the next three decades before trailing off by 1930. Between 1900 and 1910 it lost population. The native-born migrants came largely from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana, according to census data. The largest groups of foreign-born immigrants came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, according to census data. Individuals have beliefs and, according to Merle Curti, experiences can sometimes adapt and sometimes reinforce those beliefs. In spite of these ethnicities being the highest on the perceived social hierarchy of whiteness, they did not all agree on issues – as evidenced by the voting patterns.

The mix of native-born to foreign-born varied with the area and the times. Some counties had percentages of immigrants multiple times higher than the state average; other counties had less, according to census data. While the timing of the inflow of immigrants tended to lag the urban areas to the east, Iowa census data does not show the corresponding big influx of eastern and southern Europeans, although some clustering occurred. Some did settle in Iowa, but not in the proportions seen in larger urban areas of the country. This seems to support the conclusions of Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* (1951) that the eastern and

southern Europeans did not have the capital to go into farming when they immigrated.¹¹ Iowa was a farm state, so many likely stayed in more urban areas to find work. Iowa did witness some clustering of ethnic groups, as experienced in larger urban areas, some more than others, but mostly immigrants dispersed throughout the ninety-nine counties as the counties developed.

Chapter 4 discusses Catholicism. Understanding some of its history in the Old World, which immigrants brought with them and which American nativists resisted, becomes important in understanding their political organization and responses to issues. Just as American colonists forged their political ideas around forms and interpretations of Protestant Enlightenment ideas, Europe saw a Catholic Counter-reformation and response to Protestant Enlightenment theories that both influenced the development of their new political systems out of the old entrenched class structure and control of power. Transplanted to the New World with the immigrants and adjusted for circumstances, these played out in the political process and voter involvement. Did European and Catholic immigrant influences run counter to the parameters of the various Protestant ideas forming the dominant culture in America?

Chapter 5 discusses Iowa religions in general, using church census data, situating the context for Catholicism. Religion is likely a stronger socialization influence than ethnicity per se, so the types of churches found in Iowa, along with their location and membership number, were analyzed for influence on election outcomes. As from the earliest days of colonization by various English

¹¹ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Gossett and Dunlap, 1951).

Protestants on the east coast, Protestants continued to show themselves diverse. Some issues united some sects, but not all of them, as voting results indicate.

English settlements in North America tended to be some form of Protestantism. Enlightenment thoughts dominating discussions in English colonies tended to be various Protestant approaches to social, economic, and political relationships, although Catholic Enlightenment ideas circulated in Europe due to the dominance of the Catholic Church for over 1,000 years after the fall of Rome. With some form of Protestant Enlightenment theories forming the basis of government in the English colonies and ultimate U.S. government under the Constitution, the question becomes one of how Catholics and the American Catholic Church chose to deal with this situation? This was, after all, an organized structure that had shared government power with rulers in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, contrary to the numerous Protestant groups that lacked a unified organized supra-structure. Beginning with large groups of immigrating Irish in the early years of the new republic, expanding considerably after the Mexican War and the annexation of the southwestern territory of former Spanish Catholic settlement, and then into the latter part of the 19th century, the first 100 years of the new experiment in self-government saw what many considered an uncomfortable number of Catholics – something of the Old World they wished to put behind them and marginalize. While Catholic parties formed in other countries, particularly after the industrial revolution, Third Parties have not done well in the U.S., where a dominant two-party system prevails due to the type of plurality elections, and no evidence exists of Catholic parties.

A two-party system functions differently than a multi-party system in that less ideology dominates because issues determine which groups support which political parties in a specific election. The following normal curve illustrates how this works.

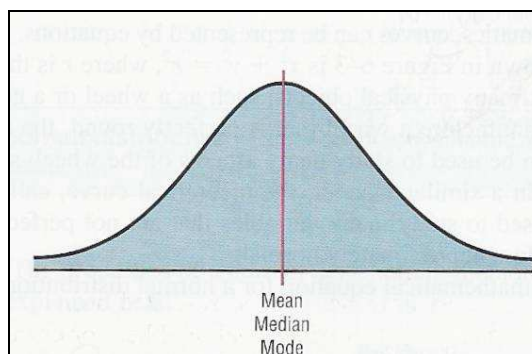


Figure 1: Liberal and Democrat (left) vs Conservative and Republican (right)

In U. S. politics, the left side of this normal distribution is liberal and Democrat while the right side is conservative and Republican. Centrist voters fall toward the center and slightly one side or the other on issues, which is why issue selection is important. A “hot” third party issue siphons votes from that side of the distribution, reducing votes to the major party on that side.

Where the mean (average), median (middle by location), and mode (frequency) converge in the center, political parties focus on groups likely to vote in elections, selecting issues and positions on issues with the idea of stimulating voters to vote in favor of these, thus translating to political power. In a system where plurality marginalizes all others – because only one party will be declared the winner in an election -- only those voters and issues falling within the central dominant parameters of American culture see voting translating to political power at the policy table. Third parties have influence only when they can siphon sufficient votes from the major party on their side of center to influence the

outcome of an election to the political party on the opposite side of the normal curve – essentially splitting votes with the major party on their own side of the normal curve. Such an approach puts all members of potential third parties, including Catholics and the Catholic Church, in the position of selecting which issues to work on and leaving it up to individuals to work with their party of choice on the issues. While some factions could, and did, form third parties to either call attention to an issue or to promote their solution, gaining votes when the circumstances at the time of an election warranted, the American Catholic Church did not have the possibility of taking such an action because of the nativist attitude toward it.

Given the discrimination against Catholics in the U.S., calling attention to itself by forming a third party would not have been wise. This left the church “free” to work with conservative and liberal factions within each political party on specific issues. In John Higham’s *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (1955), he acknowledged some ethnicities were not perceived as fitting within the American model. He cited three themes of nativist thought at different times but all connected to a definition of Americanism based on white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism: anti-Catholicism, fear of foreign radicals, and racial discrimination.¹²

In *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (1958), Robert Cross examined a major attempt to improve the often unhappy relations between

¹² John Higham., *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 10.

Catholics and American culture.¹³ Non-Catholics demanded both loyalty to the state sovereignty and acceptance of majority rule for deciding political questions, indicating a belief Catholics had a loyalty to the Pope rather than a state and its leader. Such a belief persisted up to 1960, when Sen. John Kennedy had to include in his presidential candidacy announcement the statement his religion would not interfere with his ability to be President of the United States. Majority rule would work to marginalize the Catholic vote instead of allowing proportional representation that could be observed in countries with proportional voting and Catholic political parties – as long as the number of Catholic voters could be limited.

Susan Curtis, in *A Consuming Faith* (1991), noted that Protestants worried about losing their faith and their government to Catholics and Jews.¹⁴ Essays in *Immigration and the American* (1976), edited by Moses Rischin, noted that Americans identified liberty with Protestantism (part of their historical experience), making them hostile to pre-Reformation Europe and its representatives.¹⁵ Papism seemed to threaten the assumptions of the new republic because the Enlightenment thoughts brought to the New World had a basis in English Protestant ideas to which the Catholic Church in Rome had staunchly objected.

¹³ Robert Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

¹⁴ Susan Curtis, in *A Consuming Faith* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

¹⁵ Moses Rischin, *Immigration and the American* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1976).

John B. Duffy, in *The Irish in the United States* (1971), noted the skills of Irish Catholics to utilize a two-party-dominated political system to advance their position, consciously taking advantage of the alternatives allowed them to change the expected outcomes.¹⁶ Since the Irish controlled the U.S. Catholic Church, nativists noted how this position could be used to change some things about America through its political system, because the Irish had done just that elsewhere. While this process worked with some degree of success in urban areas, there is little evidence it worked in rural areas.

In Iowa, original settlers to the state tended to come from the northern tier of southern states, thus putting native-born southern Democrats in control of state politics and constitution writing (1846). It took the Civil War for another major party, the Republicans, to successfully mount a challenge and keep the closeness of support for the two major political parties (although numerous political parties fielded candidates in Iowa elections) an issue itself in each election, limiting maneuvering ability for either major party because of the potential for siphoning votes. This likely accounted for the inability of a third party to dominate, as Catholic voters chose political parties based on specific issues. It possibly accounts for why the Populist Party did not become a big factor in Iowa, as it was in other Midwest states, although it fielded candidates. Iowa voters appeared to recognize the closeness of politics in the state and made selections from the two major party candidates at the state level. As long as political parties furnished their own ballots, voters could not split tickets, as they did once the Australian

¹⁶ John B. Duffy, *The Irish in the United States* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971).

ballot came into use. Iowa voters also faced a different set of geological circumstances than voters in other states that witnessed stronger support for the Populist movement.

C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (1951), depicts the transition of a region dominated by rural interests to one dominated by business interests.¹⁷ He saw the "new South" as a rallying cry for a particular political, social, and economic vision that ran counter to the old vision. After Reconstruction, a new group of leaders emerged to challenge the old antebellum elites with their vision for the South. In this new order, business-oriented southerners allied with industrial and financial interests of the Northeast. The region tended to be dominated by extractive industries that provided lower lifestyles than in other regions; the new system was a political ring dominated by business interests less democratic than before the war. The Southern Farmers Alliance and Populists mounted a challenge to this power by organizing southern farmers. In this section of the country, Populists challenged a dominant political party. Iowa did not face such a situation.

On the Great Plains, a semi-arid region, a similar rise in support for the Populist movement arose to address issues there due to environmental and geological circumstances. Historical differences, settlement differences, and geologic differences all appear to factor into political decisions over policy because they form the circumstances of voters as they decide whether or not they

¹⁷ C. Vann C. Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951).

will vote in an election, and which issues represent their favored positions.

Failure of a political party to address voter concerns can translate to nonvoting.

Iowa voter participation varied, as it did for the country as a whole, but showed a tendency for native-born to have higher rates of participation for the time period of this project, with native-born of foreign-born parents coming in a close second in voter participation. During the time of intense settlement by immigrants, native-born participated at higher rates but reflected increasingly smaller numbers, thus reducing their influence as immigrants became more politically active with the next generation, but foreign-born show lower rates of political participation initially. When township and county data is clustered into regions, ethnic differences show as clusters in three of the five regional zones of the state, but the cause likely stems from two of the zones receiving the first migrants to the state and the remaining open settlement land occurring in the other three regions.

Regression analysis, using township data, produced problematic results, as explained in the Appendix. The reason lies with voter participation, which varied drastically from location to location. Attempts to locate relationships between voter demographics and voting patterns have to assume high participation rate for relationships to legitimately appear. The lower the participation rates, the less likely true relationships show. Rural areas voted by townships for the period of this project, and continue to vote by townships today, so this is as close to the actual vote as we can get. The only additional information that would be useful is the list of who actually voted. That information was not available for this study.

Township voting patterns that showed as anomalies within their county of location and region were examined for the state as a whole. Could voters with similar demographic characteristics have voted differently in different regions, leading to a conclusion location accounted for political issues? We know some townships were settled entirely by groups. As their voting results mixed with larger areas, their influence would likely be diffused or marginalized, due to the nature of our winner-take-all elections. In other words, a group of like minds could elect a local official but as their votes mixed with votes from additional locations for officials covering larger areas, the ability to influence the outcome depended on the cumulative effect of plurality. The winner-take-all American elections marginalizes groups outside the central cultural parameters, and in locations where a single political party tends to dominate, voters voting the other party experience the frustration of not having their issues represented at the policy table.

A few works have examined Iowa politics, mostly from the perspective of party leadership and statewide numbers. I found no studies examining data from the township level for the state as a whole. I noted almost no references to participation levels, which would skew statistical analysis unless participation levels were high. In her book *Iowa: The Middle Land* (1996), Dorothy Schwieder examined the history of Iowa politics.¹⁸ For the time period of my project, she noted the politics of prohibition, how this split by section of the state as well as by urban versus rural, and along ethnocultural lines. My study does not entirely

¹⁸ Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), pp. 211-230.

support this conclusion, although acknowledging all party platforms contained a position on this issue. Schwieder used a specific 1917 referendum on the single issue of prohibition for her conclusion, with no reference to participation level that I found. An election for a specific purpose would be less problematic than a general election with multiple political party platform planks and no way of knowing which issues attracted or repelled which voters.

Leland Sage, in *A History of Iowa* (1974), discussed political party control through leadership and the selection of issues and positions on those issues, but did not go into participation rates of voters by location.¹⁹ He laid out the geography of Iowa, showing the regional divisions and dominant farming operations, and explained how the diversity of Iowa agriculture allowed some marginal income even in tough times, unlike other states that turned more toward populist politics. The extent to which such diversification was successful depended entirely on the specific commodity and its location in the state, given the vast geological differences. For example, the poor soils of the Southern Pasture region produce lower yields for crops than the North Central Grain region. The closeness of Democrat versus Republican politics in the state, plus the geography, created a different circumstance than in the states supporting the Populist Movement. Sage explained the dynamics of party politics in Iowa but offered only statewide voting figures without the minute analysis offered by my township study. Leadership in politics is important, but what were the voters doing in response to it and to the selection of issues in the party platforms, which

¹⁹ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa*, (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974).

either compelled eligible voters to go to the polls or failed to attract them so they stayed home?

In *Baptism of Fire: The Republican Party in Iowa, 1838-1878* (1995), Robert Cook examined the Republican Party in Iowa during its developmental phase to challenge the ruling Democratic Party that had dominated Iowa politics since its settlement and had written the state constitution.²⁰ While the examination was prior to the timeframe of this work, it does explain the closeness of the politics in the state, without going into participation rates.

Considered a definitive work by many on the politics of populism, Jeffrey Ostler's *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (1993) acknowledged the closeness and competitive nature of Iowa politics as the basis for acceptance of populist legislation in Iowa.²¹ He used statewide data and percentages, ignoring the detail of location. For example, he noted that in 1880 nineteen percent of leases in Iowa required payment in cash, while by 1900 this figure had risen to fifty-six percent. If this average percentage rate varied as much by location as voting participation rates, the differences in priorities could be considerable. What locations saw an impact from this? Was it the areas being settled by immigrants? Did this affect all types of farming operations or one type in particular, which might impact a region but not an entire state? Did this make a change in their voting behavior, by an increase in political participation or selection of political party? Without a detailed examination, by

²⁰ Robert Cook, *Baptism of Fire: The Republican Party in Iowa, 1838-1878* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1995).

²¹ Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), p. 23.

location, we cannot know. In the other two states of Kansas and Nebraska, the entire western half of each is classified as Great Plains, thereby susceptible to periodic drought and different farming circumstances than those found in Iowa. In addition, different groups of people settled in those states. Kansas, for example fought a pre-Civil War, which Iowa did not. The politics of those states differed from Iowa. Statewide data cannot explain what was really happening at lower levels. Third party movements call attention to issues that either go away in time on their own or find sufficient following that one of the major parties must address it because of the loss of voters being siphoned by the third party. Ostler used statewide data but not township data, and there is no evidence of considering participation rates that could skew the outcome.

The largest location of Catholics in Iowa occurred in the Western Livestock Region, generally rife with low voter participation, but their voting patterns appear no different from those of the Central Grain Regions or the Northeast Dairy Region. Averages can be derived by adding a group of numbers and dividing by the number of numbers in the group. When the numbers in the group are clustered, the average will be close to the center of the numbers. If there is an outlier number – one that is drastically low or drastically high – then the average can be skewed and conclusions can be off. Statistical regression analysis uses averages to determine relationships between groups of data. Regression analysis is based on statistical sampling of data. For this project the entire population was used, reducing the probability of skewed sampling, but still dependent on participation rates.

According to the GIS (Geographic Information System) mapping of data, Catholics covered Iowa with different densities by location. GIS plots data to location for a visual comparison of density. Densities do not necessarily equate with voting participation. Densities also do not indicate which issue attracted voters in a multi-issue election.. Single-issue referendums, such as Schwieder's conclusion in regard to the 1917 election on the specific issue of prohibition, reflect the responses of those who participated.

Since the colonization of this country, Protestant religions have not worked together. Iowa politics continued this tradition. Dorothy Schwieder included a good explanation of the differences between liturgicals and pietists in her work.²² Liturgicals (Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, and Episcopalians) rejected prohibition and governmental attempts to regulate lives for proper behavior. That left the pietists as those favoring prohibition. Seven forms of Lutheranism appear in the Iowa church census. Identifying issue priorities in a multi-issue election is problematic at best. While prohibition was a hot topic for the time period of this project, there is no reason to presume that was the priority issue at a general election. Other issues might have taken priority for them.

While Schwieder's cited locations coincide with those of my study, the lack of voter participation numbers may, or may not, support the conclusion²³ Using a 1917 constitutional amendment vote for prohibition – citing only two locations in the state – her conclusion is that voters in Ringgold County

²² Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996), p. 215.

²³ Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1996), pp. 211-230.

(described as southern, rural, native-stock, and pietist) approved the amendment with 76.7%; while voters in the community of Dubuque (described as German-American, Irish-American, and Catholic) disapproved with 80.7%. Two locations, one a town and one a county, formed the basis for this conclusion? No mention was made of participation levels in either election.

For the time period of this study, the Iowa population showed increasing numbers of immigrants, whose ethnicity and generation in the U.S. (first, second, or third) can be determined by census data. Regression analysis of native-born, first, second, or third generation, as well as ethnicity and religious affiliation, reveal mixed support for candidates. Regression is generally used for sampling to draw conclusions about an entire population. In this study, the entire population was used instead of a sample because of the diversity involved. Sampling could lead to an invalid conclusion, and that is exactly what I found in the few cases of analysis tangentially related to a study such as this.

Population demographics can be obtained for males over the age of twenty-one, thus eligible to vote. The problem lies with who actually voted. That information is not known for this study. Comparing the number of votes cast to the number of eligible voters shows a wide range of participation in the voting process. Because it is not known who actually voted, the independent variable (the demographics) is being compared to the dependent variables (the voting outcome), without knowing which demographics actually voted. Results can vary by location, and they can vary from election to election, likely dependent on the

issues that attracted the specific voters. The most consistent areas over time had the lowest number of immigrants and the most constant religious affiliation.

Matrices apply to analysis of this study because they group the demographic factors making up each individual and expanding to populations of individuals, as they must prioritize values on issues and their circumstances selected for an election. An individual's matrix is composed of such things as ethnic background, socialization, religious or philosophical values, and historical experiences. Because a dominant two-party political system demands some centrist agreement to translate to influence over policy, individuals must find common factors from their matrix that will lead to agreement on issues. Absence of agreement leads to either division of party votes or nonparticipation, as indicated in this study of Iowa's voting population.

A good grasp of the nature and real functioning of the American political system is necessary to properly analyze the historical context. Iowa data for the time period of this study show immigrants in rural areas tended not to participate in elections, thus skewing attempts at regression analysis through sampling. Contrary to some urban studies for this time period, showing machine politics and bossism at work organizing immigrants to participate in elections as a survival strategy, no evidence of this type of activity has revealed itself in rural Iowa. The highest participation rates occurred with native-born southern Democrats settling in the southern two tiers of Iowa counties, but whose numbers dwindled in proportion to the increasing numbers of immigrants, eventually limiting their influence. The pattern of Iowa settlement could have supported coordinated

voting by immigrants if they had organized for such a purpose. Voting results show that did not happen.

Analysis of religious voting preferences can distinguish between various forms of Protestantism because the numerous sects can be identified and arrayed along a line of liberal to conservative. Catholicism does not reveal itself in the same numerous forms as Protestantism, but the lack of regression support for any election of this study should be interpreted as an indicator of the differences between liberal to conservative Catholics and their position on election issues, not as an indicator of a monolithic Catholic position on issues.

Agricultural political history analyzing movements and influence must include the workings of our political system and what is involved to apply influence successfully as votes from a movement of farmers mix with votes from non-farming individuals in the voting population who have other priorities. Just as Catholicism is not monolithic, neither is the category of “farmers” and their responses to economic issues. Iowa’s regions provide different circumstances for farmers in each area. While diversified farming was practiced, the regions made certain aspects of this diversity more profitable in different areas. For example, corn production in the Southern Pasture region produced less than corn production in the Central Grain region because of the differences between the regions. Rainfall variances between the regions could also affect yield, in addition to the different soil types and lay of the land. We have similar circumstances between regions of the country, whose farmers often have different expectations of what they want the government to do about their circumstances.

In addition to this, such things as the hog-corn ratio can pit farm products (and their producers) against each other.

Ostler's work presumes the farmers in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa all wanted the same thing. His conclusion that the Iowa Legislature gave Iowa farmers what they wanted and this prevented them from being more active in the Populist Movement oversimplifies the complex differences between farmers, their type of farming operations, their socialized set of values that drive their expectations of government, and the circumstances of location. It also appears to gloss over the large numbers of immigrants to the state that did not participate in elections at a high rate as part of their survival strategy. These immigrants settled on the best farmland in the state, which provided them with a different set of circumstances along with their expectations. C. Vann Woodward recognized that the Populist Movement in the South actually stemmed from a reaction to the state government and its control.

Circumstances of location matter, as indicated by the intellectual history of Merle Curti's theory of individual adaptive response to circumstances over time. Immigrants to Iowa demonstrated this as succeeding generations participated in elections in increasing numbers. Their increased participation did not change the balance between Republican voting and Democrat voting, but demonstrates splits by region and, apparently, by issue in multi-issue elections. The following chapters explain how this played out in Iowa from 1891 to 1912.

Chapter 2: The Lay of the Land

The geologic history of any area influences its uses and interaction with various occupants over time. Stationary settlement results in socialized and learned knowledge of an area, passed from one generation to the next. Moving to another location means taking what one knows about a present location and attempting to use it at a different location that may have a different geologic history entirely. Results can vary from expectations. As mankind roamed the earth, the process of learning about the geology of an area being inhabited has repeated itself, with varying results. The geologic history of Iowa may be an encapsulated area, compared to the entire earth, but it varies sufficiently to provide about five regions whose occupants would have different experiences from others in the state.

As the earliest settlers, Native Americans developed cultures that adapted to the circumstances they encountered in their region of residence. When European cultures arrived they brought with them their knowledge of experiences and circumstances in Europe, attempting to adapt that knowledge to the geological circumstances in the Americas and to Iowa. Coupled with economic, social, and political ideological overlays, responses to issues varied with experiences and socialization. The following discussion of Iowa geologic history includes county location, which will serve as an underlay to the census demographic and voting data of upcoming chapters.

Beginning with the bedrock structure of Iowa, the map on the next page shows significant differences between counties, with general clustering of some

circumstances. The deeper, older, and least frequently seen portions of Iowa geologic history consist mostly of sedimentary rock such as sandstone, limestone, dolomite, and shale, which are over 3,000 feet thick in places. In some locations across the state, the bedrock surface is covered with younger glacial age materials.²⁴ The bedrock map shows rocks from younger periods overlapping older rocks. The rock unit dips to the southwest, where the structure (coupled with a long history of surface erosion) contributes to an irregular bedrock surface.

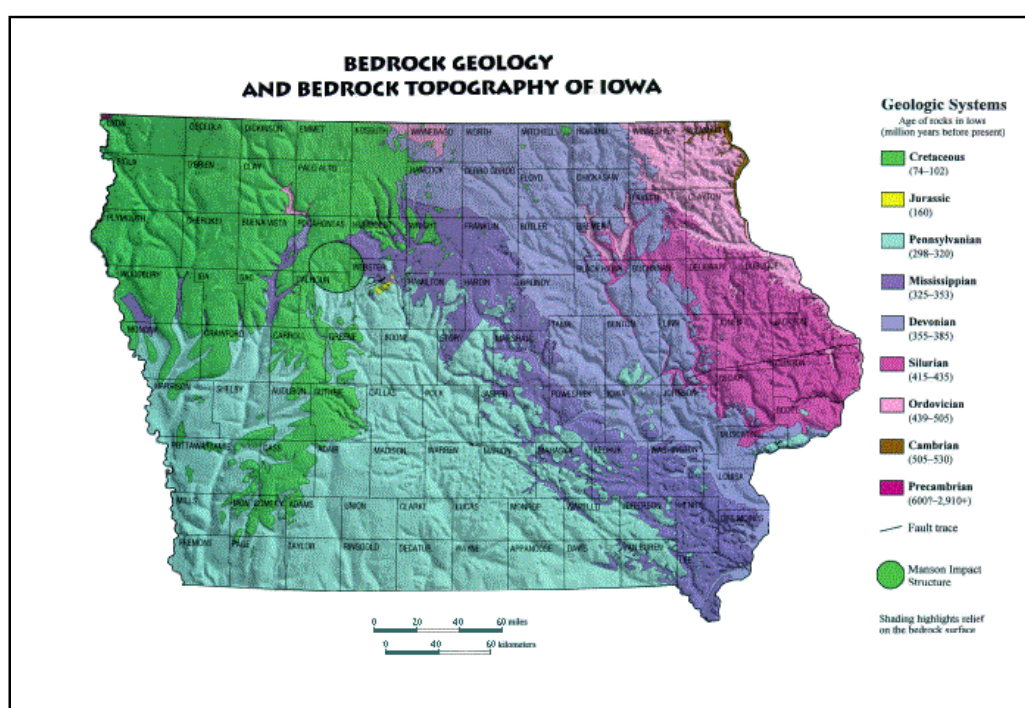


Figure 2. Iowa bedrock topography.

The geology creates a different set of circumstances for people living in each locale in regard to soil type, stability, topology, and consequences of rainfall amounts. The present land surface across Iowa is predominantly loose materials

²⁴ The Geologic Society of Iowa works with the Iowa Department of Natural Resources to explore the geologic history of Iowa and make it available to the public. Numerous publications contain this information, some of which can also be found at the state museum in their early Iowa display.

covering the older bedrock. The materials consist of sediment from ice sheets, glacial melt-water streams, and strong winds during several glacial periods. Composition of this loose material consists of clay, sand, gravel, and silt that vary in composition and depth by location.²⁵ While some locations in Iowa were covered by advancing glaciers more than once, others were not, resulting in differences in geology.

Across southern Iowa, erosion carved the deposits into a steeply rolling but well-drained surface with thin soil, known as the Southern Iowa Drift Plain. The agricultural designation for this Iowa region is the Southern Pasture, where diversified farming may be practiced, but the geologic circumstances make pasture for livestock the more economically productive farming activity in that location. When Iowa was opened to settlement in 1832, this geologic region was mostly populated by migrants from the northern tier of southern states favoring the political party of Jefferson. These settlers first occupied the southeastern part of Iowa and spread out westward across the southern counties. Iowa southeast is known as the Eastern Livestock region.²⁶

The northern half of Iowa saw more intense glacial activity that resulted in more gently rolling terrain and some of the best soils in the state. The central part of this became the North Central Grain region, populated mostly by European immigrants coming directly from Europe after the mid-1800s when the railroads encouraged immigration to sell land and raise capital. The northeastern part of this became the Northeast Dairy region, populated by large groups of immigrants

²⁵ Prior, Jean, "Geology of Iowa: Iowa's Earth History shaped by Ice, Wind, Rivers, and Ancient Seas" (DNR brochure 1991), 1-19.

²⁶ Leland Sage, *History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 12.

from German and Scandinavian countries. The northwestern part of this, extending south to the Southern Pasture region, became the Western Livestock region, populated by European immigrants.²⁷ This last region contains the Loess Hills with their unusually thick deposits of loess. The map below provides a visual of the landform regions and surface topography of Iowa.

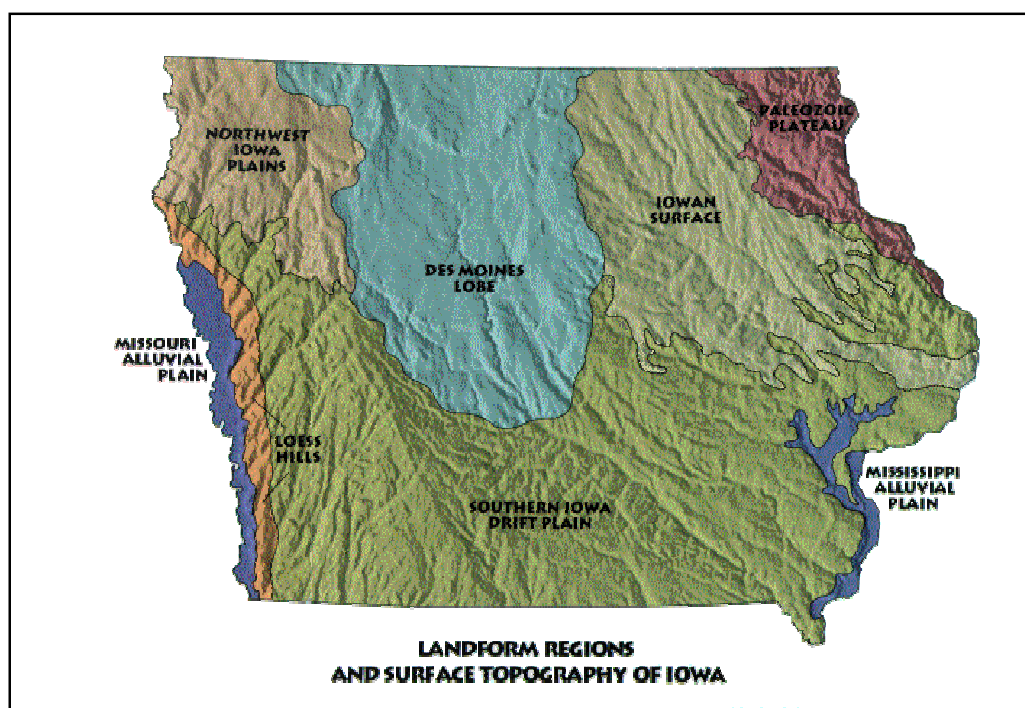


Figure 3. Iowa landform regions.

Glacial melt-water floods had dramatic influences at times. These events established the major valleys in the upper part of the present-day Des Moines, Boone, Iowa, Little Sioux, Big Sioux, Raccoon, Skunk, and Winnebago river basins, none of which are located in the southwestern part of the state. Outside the Des Moines Lobe, where pre-existing valleys were not covered by the glacier,

²⁷ Leland Sage, *History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974), 12.

melt-water floods eroded valley walls, deepened some valleys, and filled others with sand and gravel.²⁸

The impact of this flooding has contributed greatly to the Iowa economy. Sand and gravel, whose size, composition, and thickness of deposits play an important role in Iowa's mineral industry, form one benefit; another benefit is drinking water for urban areas. The Iowa Great Lakes region in the northwestern part of the state adds a tourist aspect to the economy as a result of the effects of glacial melt waters.²⁹

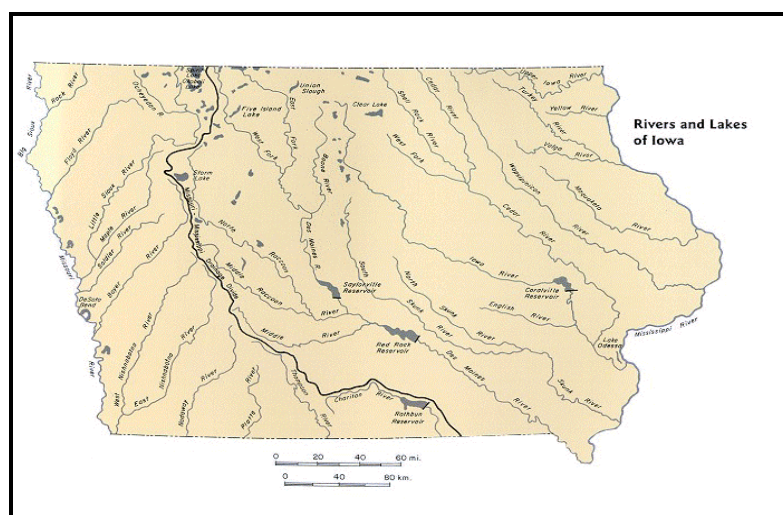


Figure 4. Map of Iowa rivers and lakes.

A map of Iowa's wetlands would vary over time with drainage for farming activities, but 100 years ago roughly formed a "C" centered in the middle of the state. The relationship to the glacial melt waters and bedrock of the land in those

²⁸ Prior, Jean, "Geology of Iowa: Iowa's Earth History shaped by Ice, Wind, Rivers, and Ancient Seas" (DNR brochure 1991), 1-19.

²⁹ Harr, Douglas C., Dean M. Roosa, Jean Cutler Prior, Patricia J. Lohmann, "Glacial Landmarks Trail: Iowa's Heritage of Ice" (DNR brochure, 1990), 15.

Figure 6 shows the glacial advances through the Midwest, and provides a partial explanation for circumstances contributing to various agricultural movements, such as the Populist Movement, and why the following was greater in some locations. Water sources on the Great Plains are sparser than in the Midwest, and derive from a different climate history, creating a different experience for those living in that region. Political responses to this factor into issues addressed (or not addressed) by national and state political parties as much as ideological priorities. Subcultures, feeling their issues are not being heard, respond differently than those who feel they are being heard. These factors become important in political analysis such as the type of Jeffrey Ostler.³¹

Figure 7 begins to explain the geologic circumstances encountered by settlers to the various regions of Iowa.³² Depending on the environment from which they came, they might have successfully adapted, or they might have moved on looking for circumstances more familiar to them.

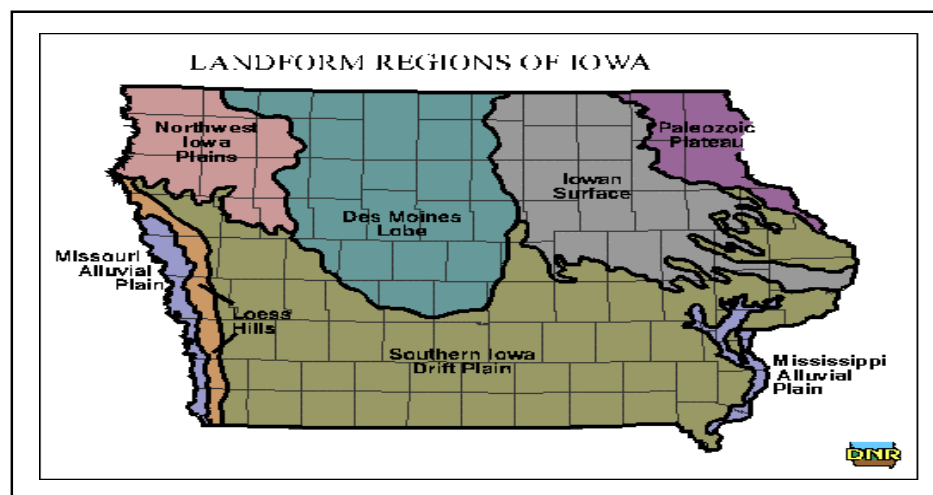


Figure 7. Landform regions of Iowa showing counties.

³¹ Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

³² Prior, Jean Cutler and Deborah J. Quade, "The Loess Hills: A Geologic View" (DNR brochure 1991), 1-19.

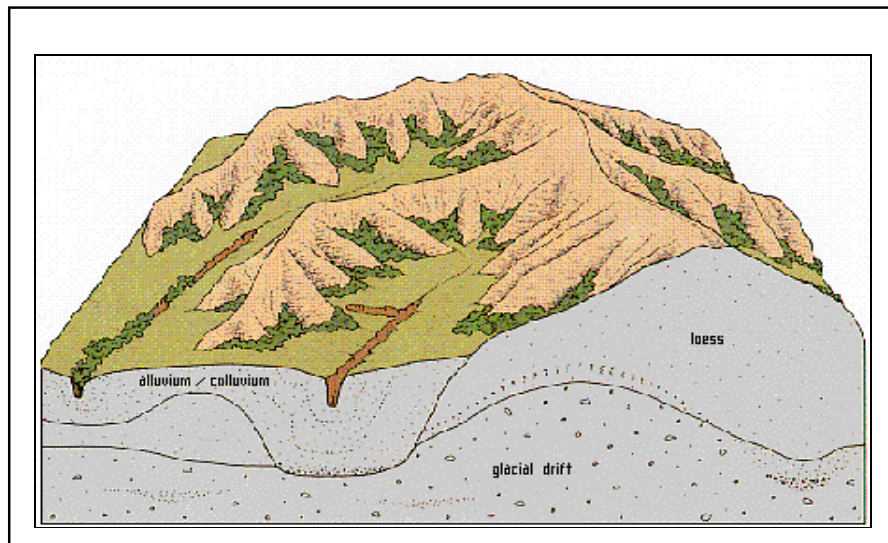


Figure 8. Inside view of Loess Hills (Illustration by Pat Lohmann) .

Figure 8 illustrates the geologic materials found beneath the Loess Hills. The landscape is composed of unusually thick deposits (60-150 ft) of wind-blown silt known as loess. Winds carried this silt-forming loess from the floor of the Missouri Valley following periods of glacial melt-water flooding. Erosion later carved the accumulated loess into narrow ridges and steep side-slopes. According to Figure 7 on the previous page, this particular geology occurs in Iowa only in a narrow band running through six Western Livestock counties. *The picture on the next page reflects a serious effect specific to the loess hills: erosion.* Highly subject to erosion and unstable when wet, loess produces serious hazards to land use. Deep, narrow gullies, which can lengthen and widen quickly after rainstorms, are characteristic features. Characteristics of loess



Figure 9. Gully erosion of loess (Stan Mitchem photo).

make it problematic to farming. Loess is uniformly gritty in texture, dominated by silt-sized particles that are composed mostly of quartz. The lightweight loess also tends to stand in nearly vertical faces when exposed, often forming slabs and columns as it erodes.³³ Attempts to farm along this narrow band of loess deposits where it exists in six western Iowa counties would be frustrating.

Leland Sage, a geographer who wrote a history of Iowa, provided some maps for this discussion of circumstances in the state. Figure 10 on the next page shows the soil types around the state of Iowa as a result of the geologic action described previously. The soil types of a region influence the farming outcomes of diversified activities, along with the landforms and drainage. This means, for example, corn farmers in the southern counties, with poorer soil types and more hills, experience more problems and lower yields at harvest time than corn farmers in those counties with better soil and less hilly farming contours. Their political responses within a state would vary, as would regional responses and

³³ "Iowa Geology" Iowa Department of Natural Resources website 2006.
<http://www.iowadnr.gov/> ; internet.

national responses. Political socialization also influences responses to the perceived source of problems.

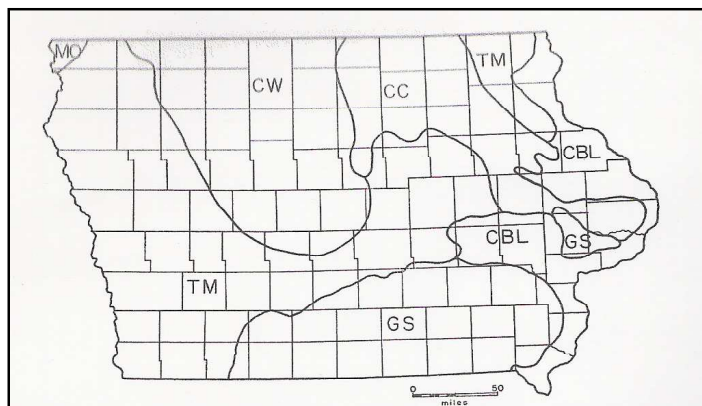


Figure 10. Iowa soil types showing counties.
CW=Clarion-Webster; TM=Tama-Marshall; CC=Carrington-Clyde;
GS=Grundy-Shelby; MO=Moody.

Sage had the following to say about the properties of Iowa soils:

Prairie soils constitute the most familiar type in Iowa, identifiable under three subheads: Clarion-Webster, Tama-Marshall, and Carrington-Clyde. Prairie soils cover a larger portion of the state than any other soil type. These soils developed in moderately humid climates under grass vegetation. The surface layer is deep and rich in humus and nitrogen. They contain a greater amount of the minerals necessary for plant growth than soils which develop under a forest cover. Prairie soils absorb water readily and store water well, and they are easily tilled.³⁴

A breakdown of the three soil types constituting prairie soils reveals some variations between them. Clarion-Webster soils developed on calcareous glacial drift of the late Wisconsin epoch. Clarion soils occupy the gentle hill slopes, while the heavier and blacker Webster soils are found in more level areas. Tama-Marshall soils developed on the loess that tops an older glacial drift. Leached of lime carbonates to depths of three feet or more, they are slightly acidic. Carrington-Clyde soils correspond with the eastern part of the early Wisconsin glacial drift, abounding in glacial boulders on the surface and in the soil; the area consists of more swampy and marshy places than the rest of the state.³⁵ [Is this part of the quotation, or is it a paraphrase?

Sage discussed another soil type found in Iowa: planosol soil:

³⁴ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 12.

³⁵ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 12.

Planosol soils make up another category. Distinguished by a well-defined layer of clay or cemented material at depths varying two to three feet below the surface, the top layer is dark grayish or nearly black in color. In Iowa, the Grundy-Shelby soils belong to the planosol group. The Grundy soil developed under tall grass vegetation, consequently rich in humus, but the soil profile is somewhat less than a prairie soil because of the clay layer.³⁶

Sage identified a third category of Iowa soil known as podzolic:

Another type, the gray-brown podzolic soils, has developed under a deciduous forest cover in areas where annual rainfall ran 30-37 inches. The amount of humus in these soils is much less than the amount found in prairie soils. Tree roots are obviously not well incorporated into the humus complex. The only example of gray-brown podzolic soils in Iowa is the Boone-Lindley area.³⁷

The extremely black soil of northwestern Iowa is called chernozem soil after the Russian word for black soil. Known in Iowa as the Moody area, it runs from dark brown to almost black in color; it accumulates carbonates at a depth of three feet. The lime trait is its principal difference from the Marshall soils.³⁸

Sage also provided a map of dominant farming activity in the various regions of Iowa differentiated by the above-mentioned soil types and various geologic features.

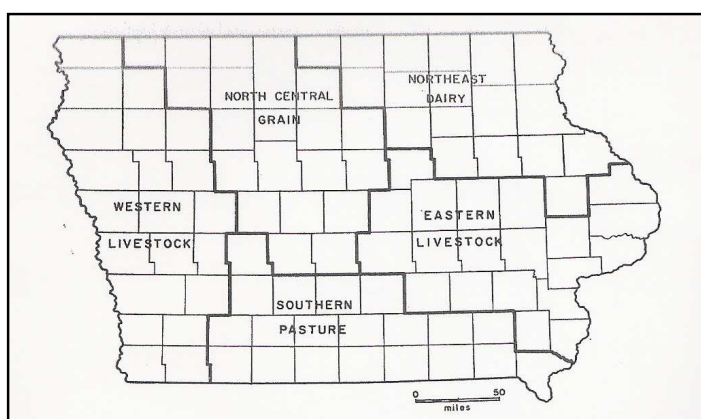


Figure 11. Dominant farming activity by region.

³⁶ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 12.

³⁷ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 12.

³⁸ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1987), 12.

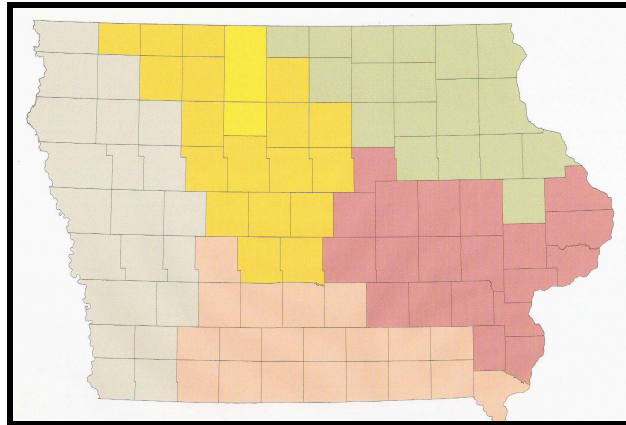


Figure 12: GIS mapping of counties sorted by region.

Settlers to Iowa interact with the lay of the land

Settlement had to occur near water supplies, as maps of settlement patterns in upcoming chapters reflect. Weather patterns interacted with geological circumstances of each area, creating either favorable or unfavorable circumstances for the residents located there. Responses to issues varied from location to location, dependent on circumstances and ideologies. Political issues often found themselves tied to economic issues, playing out with property rights and circumstances of location. The following pages show a graphic breakdown of the ethnic population by region according to three decennial censuses: 1890, 1900, and 1910.

The 1890 census demographic charts that follow begin with the Western Livestock Region, move to the North Central Grain Region, then the Southern Pasture Region, the Eastern Livestock Region, and, finally, the Northeast Dairy Region. Native-born citizens lacked sufficient numbers to settle large areas so “recruits” from European countries helped populate the Midwest, encouraged often by railroad companies. Some countries furnished more citizens to certain

areas than others. The 1890 charts show proportions of ethnicities and native-born to the total population of a region. These charts are followed by GIS maps showing densities of some ethnicities and native-born compared to foreign-born. The 1890 federal census provides the information for the charts and the GIS maps.

Figures 13-17 on the next five pages show the proportional distribution of foreign-born ethnicities living in each of the five regions. The Western Livestock Region shows the largest group to have been 63% native-born, with the next-largest group 16% German. The remaining 21% were divided among several ethnicities in the single digits. The North Central Grain Region shows the largest group to have been 64% native-born with the next-largest group 11% German. The remaining 25% were divided among several ethnicities in the single digits. The Southern Pasture Regions shows the largest group to have been 85% native-born with the remaining 15% divided between German, Irish, Scottish, and English. The Eastern Livestock Region shows the largest group to have been 63% native-born with the next-largest group 21% German. The remaining 16% were divided among several ethnicities in the single digits. The Northeast Dairy Region shows the largest group to have been 53% native-born with the next-largest group 23% German. The remaining 25% were divided among various ethnicities that included Scandinavians in proportions close to double digits.

Circumstances of location, coupled with socialized value sets and dominant farming activity, formed a basis for political activity and position on issues pertinent to specific elections. A political system dominated by two major

parties worked to marginalize some issues and, thus, some demographic groups if their numbers were insufficient for influence, or if enough chose not to participate in an election.

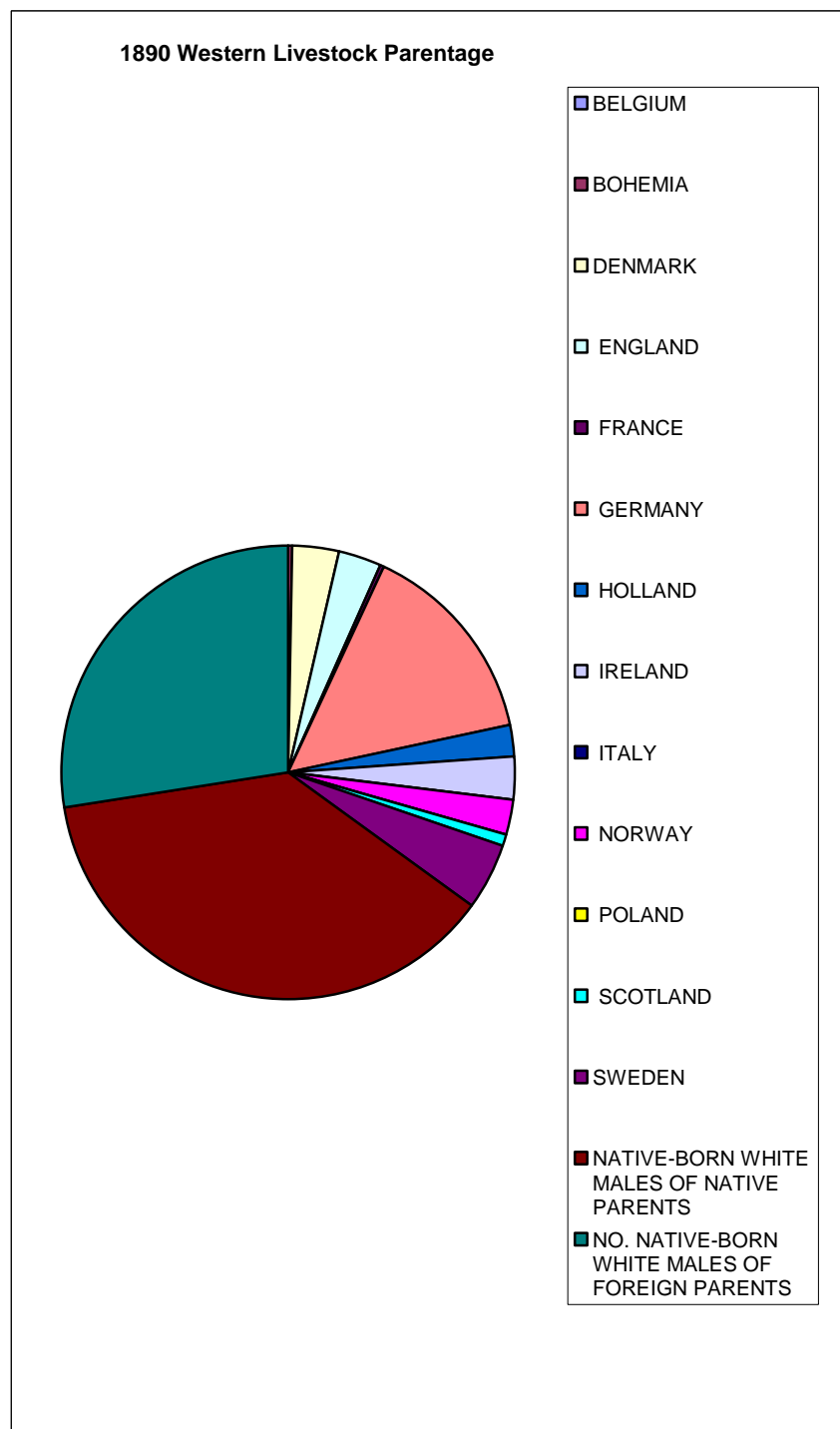


Figure 13. 1890 ethnic population chart of Western Livestock Region.

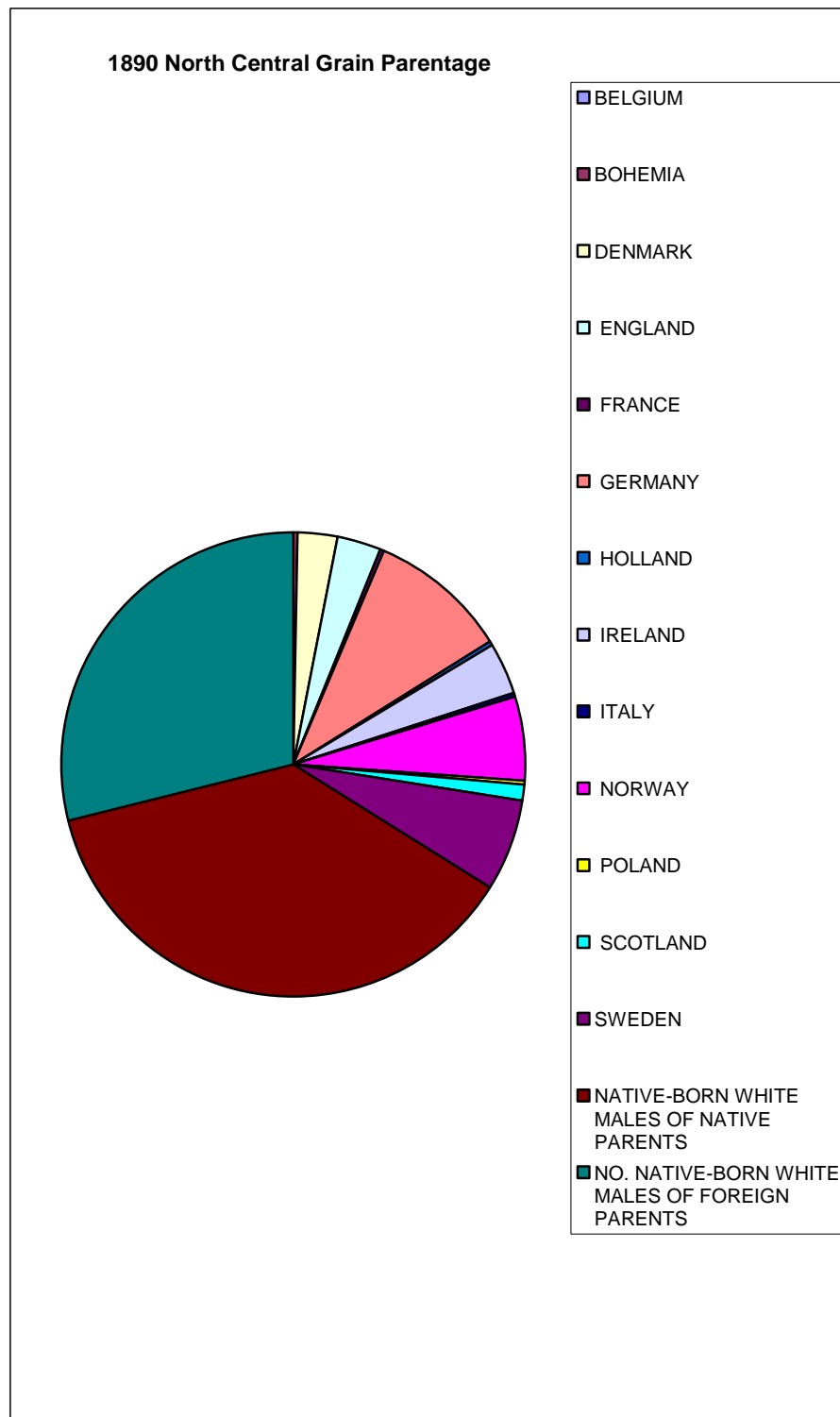


Figure 14. 1890 ethnic population chart of North Central Grain Region.

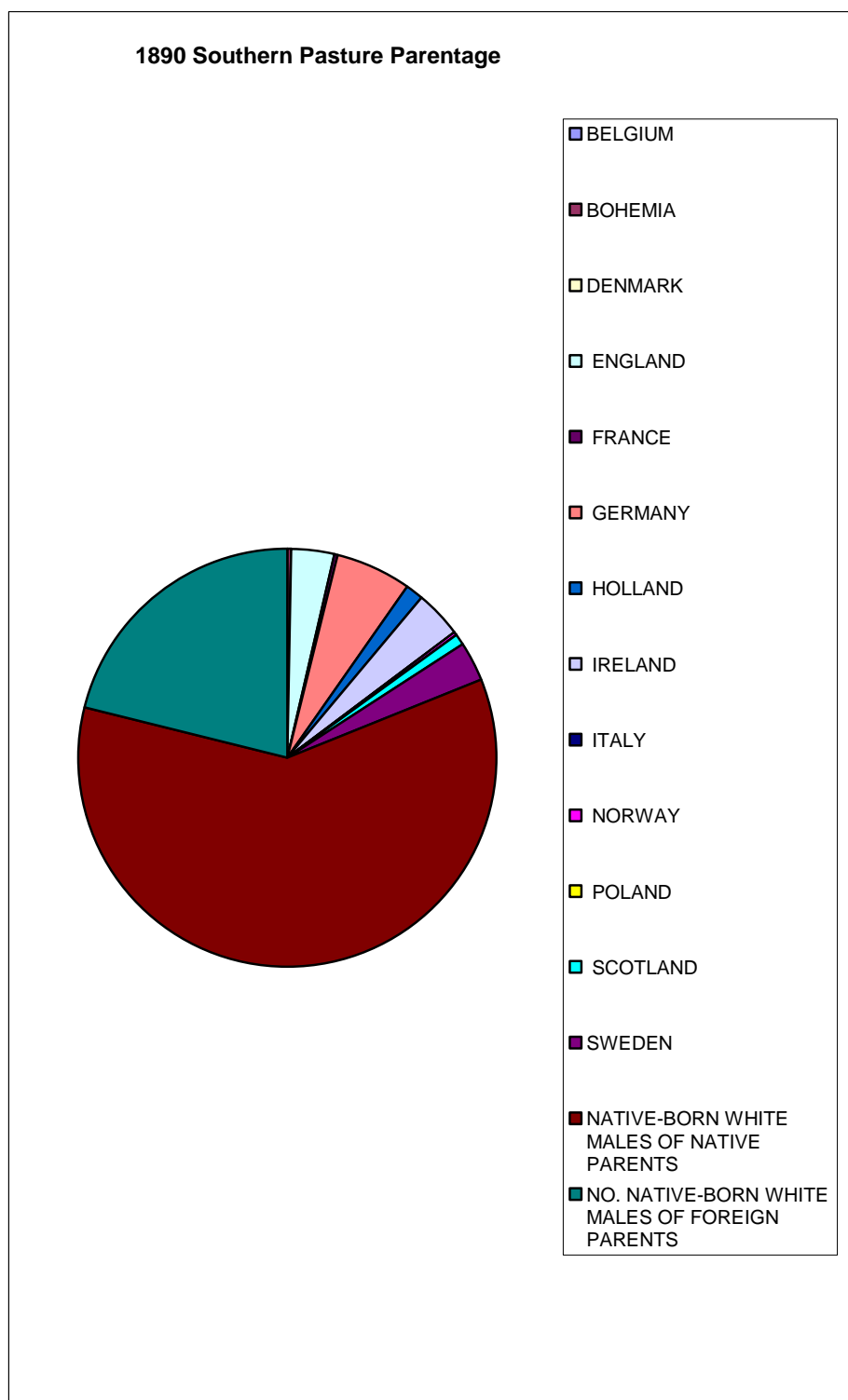


Figure 15. 1890 ethnic population chart of Southern Pasture Region.

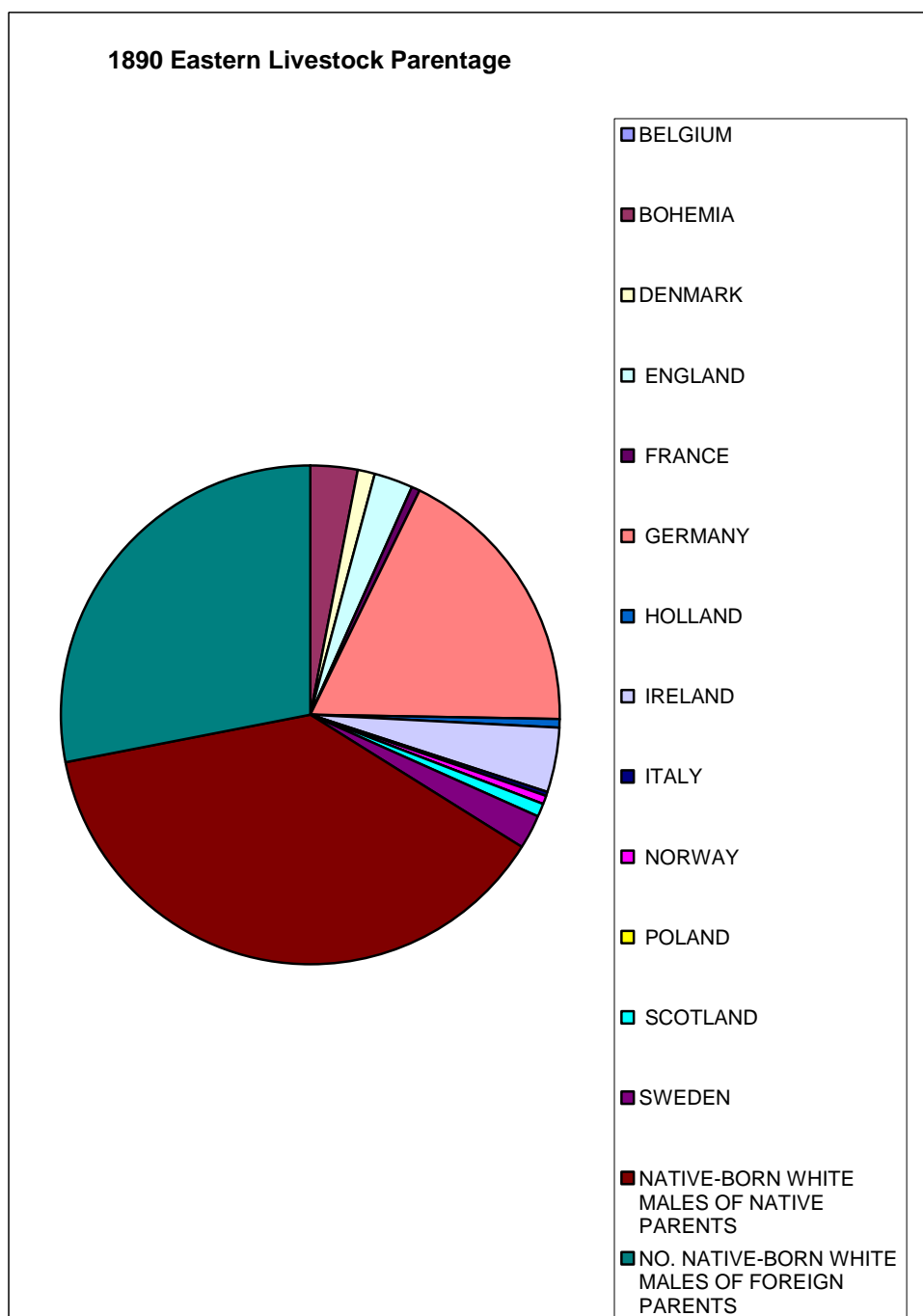


Figure 16. 1890 ethnic population chart of Eastern Livestock Region.

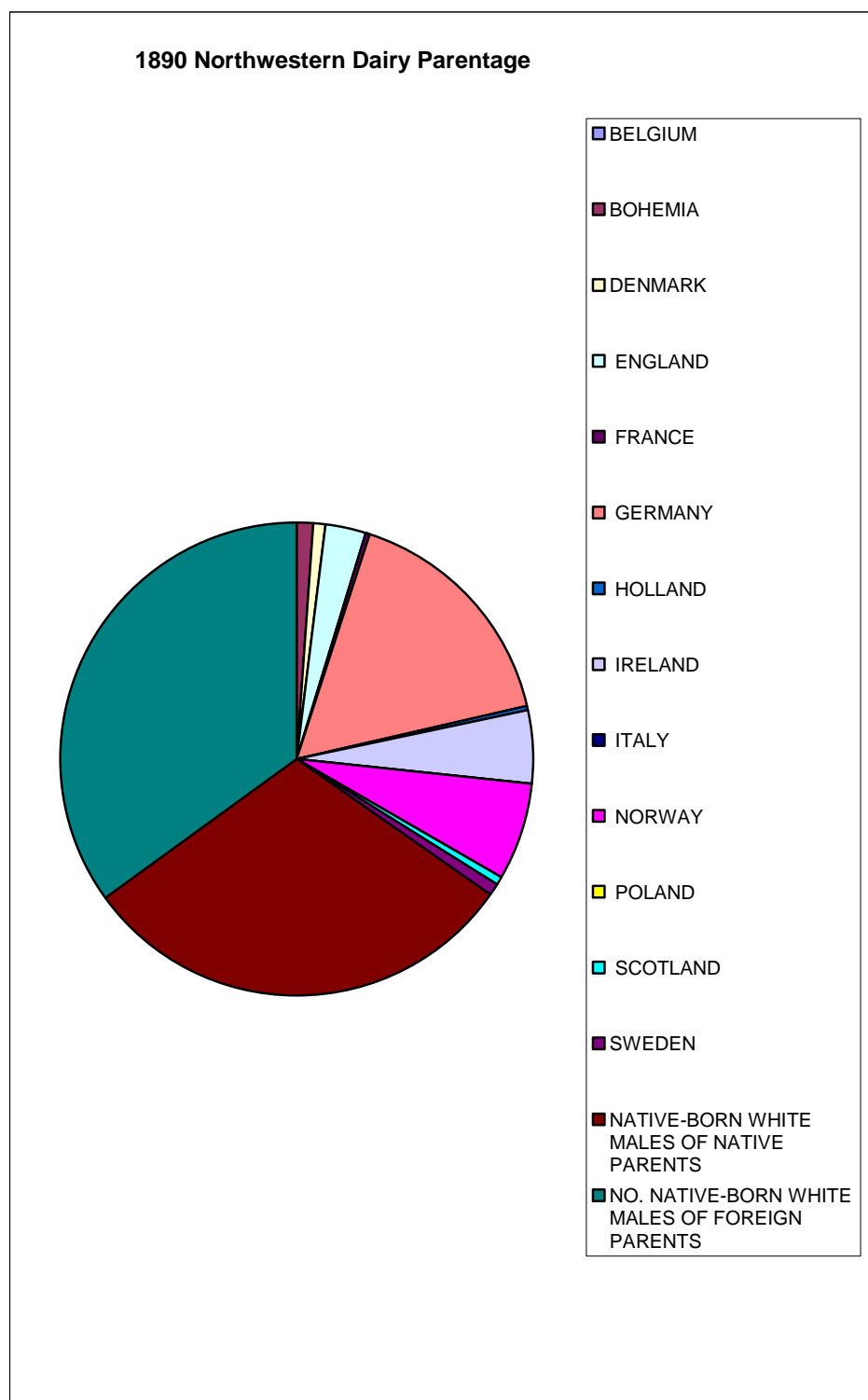


Figure 17. 1890 ethnic population breakdown in Northeast Dairy Region.

Figure 18, a map of 1890 German settlement in Iowa shows their dominant location in the regions of North Central Grain and Northeast Dairy, with a secondary number in the Eastern Livestock Region. According to the soil survey maps these regions have the best soil of the state for crops. The Scots, Irish and English settled all over but tended to join the native-born in the Southern Pasture Region below the glacial advance.

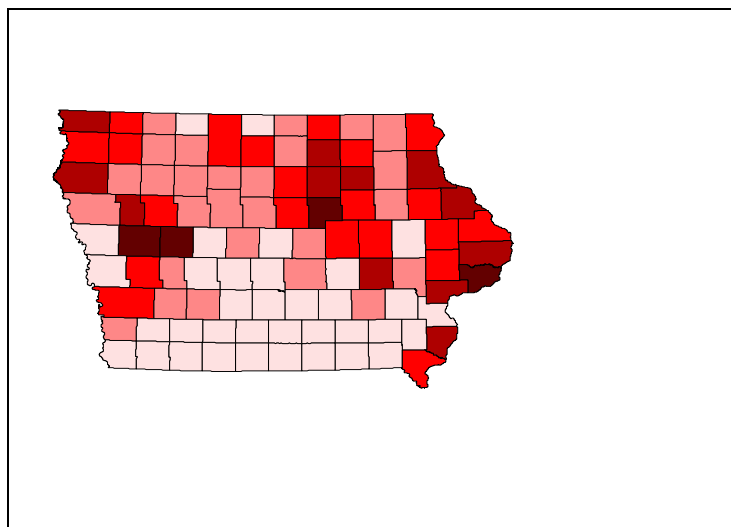


Figure 18. Map showing density of Iowa German settlement 1890.

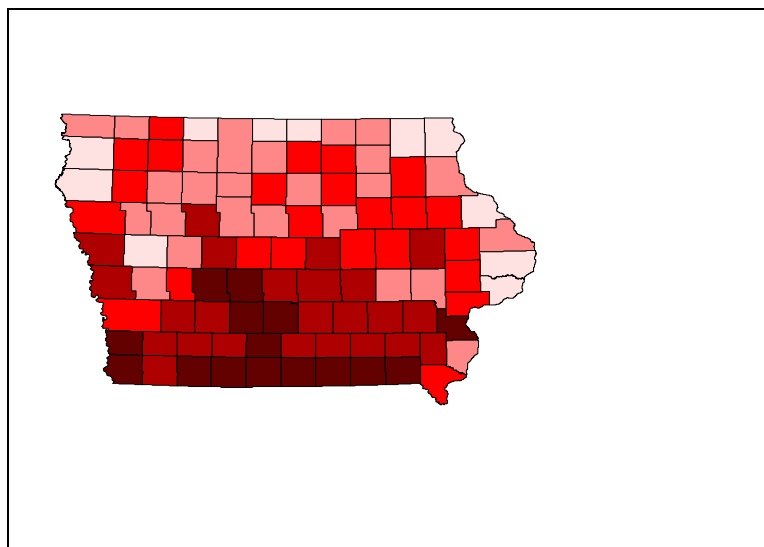


Figure 19. Map showing density of native-born 1890.

Figures 20-23 of the 1890 census shows the relationship of native-born to foreign-born of voting-age males by region, corresponding to Figure 19.

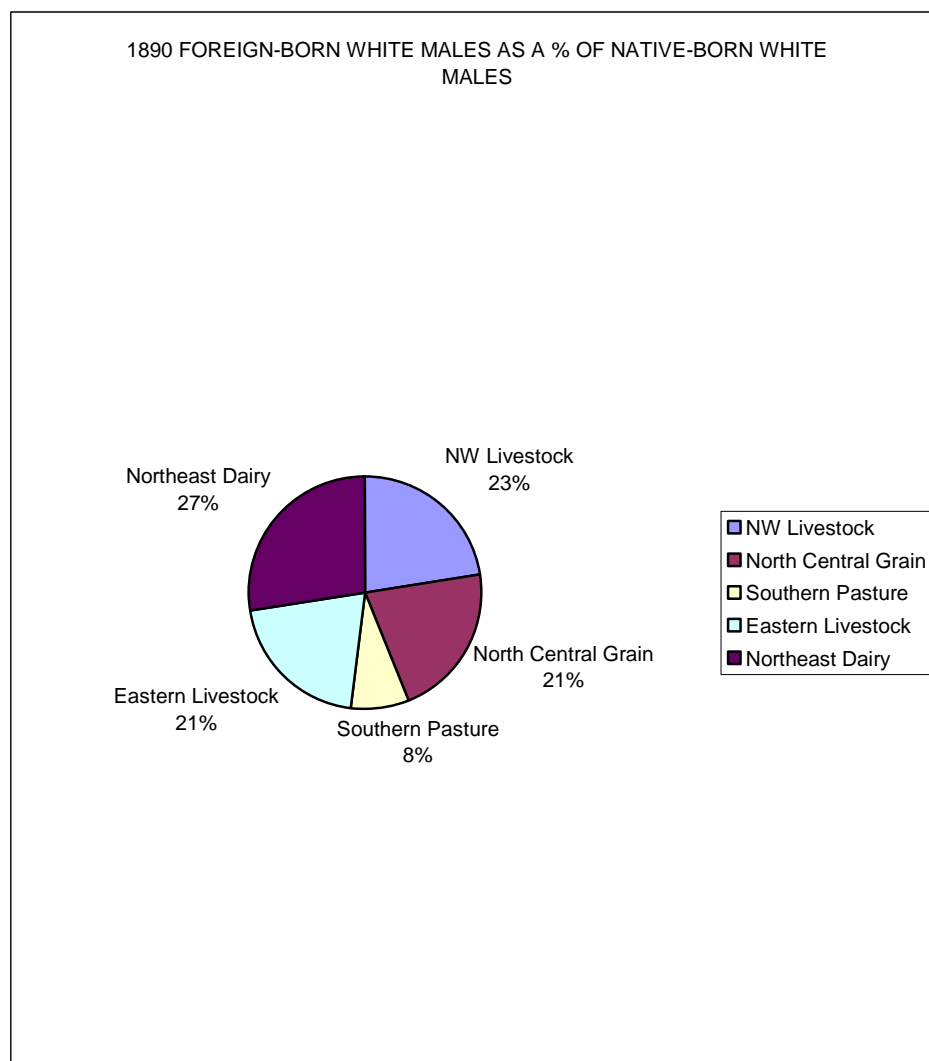


Figure 20. Chart of 1890 native-born to foreign-born by region.

Participation translates to potential influence into policymaking. The 1891 gubernatorial election saw the lowest participation rate in the Northwest region (38.73%), where the immigration rates were the highest and the geologic conditions included large areas of wetlands and loess hills. The highest participation rate continued to be the Southern Pasture Regions, with the poorest soil in the state but the highest proportion of native-born with Southern-Democrat roots.

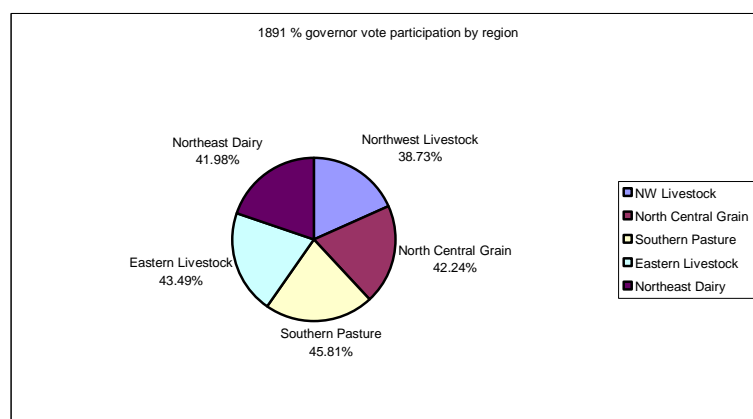


Figure 21. Chart of 1891 voting participation rates by region for governor.

Figure 22 shows the 1892 presidential election the following year, with similar participation rates, with Southern Pasture showing the highest of the five regions for its highest percent of native-born populace:

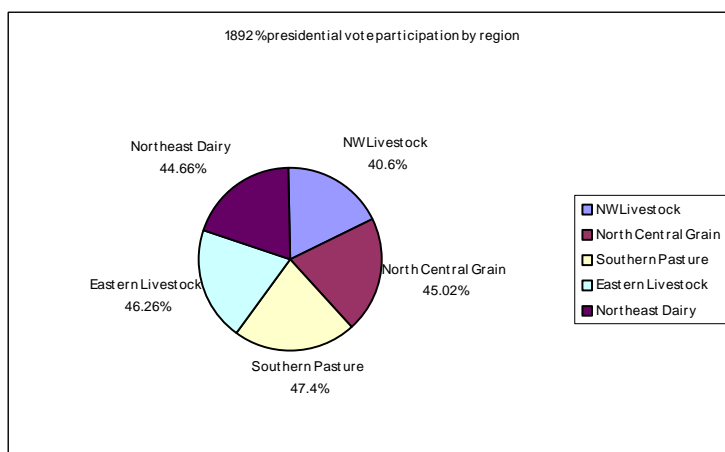


Figure 22. Chart of 1892 voting participation by region for president.

While all regions supported Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, the largest percentage of support came from the North Central grain region, at 57.24%. Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland (who won the election nationally), the next largest vote-getter in Iowa, received 37.06% in that North Central grain region, where the number of eligible male voters was the lowest in the state at the time (as shown on the next page). Voting between these two major candidates was much closer in the other four regions.

Total eligible male voters by region, and their percentage, is illustrated by Figure 23:

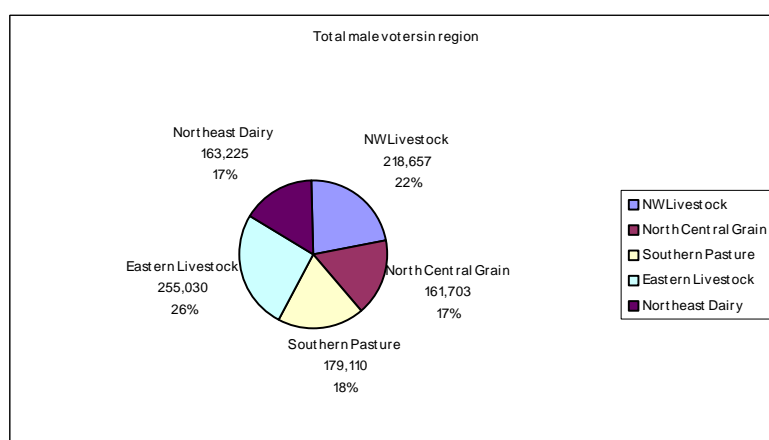


Figure 23. Chart of eligible male voters by region 1890.

The Eastern livestock region of the state had the highest number of eligible voters and the next to lowest ratio of immigrants to native-born, according to census data. One of the first-settled areas, followed by Southern Pasture, this region contained the first state capitol, thus more experience historically at government participation (shown by the second highest participation rate for both the presidential election in 1892 and the governor election in 1891). The highest participation rate, in the Southern pasture region, had the lowest immigration ratio to native settlers (that tended to come from the northern tier of Southern states, according to census data). The number of eligible voters, by region, placed it in the middle, so its high participation rate increased its influence. All regions supported Republican Harrison over Democrat Cleveland in the 1892 presidential election, after supporting Democrat Horace Boies over Republican Hiram Wheeler in 1891 governor election. Figures 24 and 25 provide a visual comparison of these two elections by regional vote.³⁹

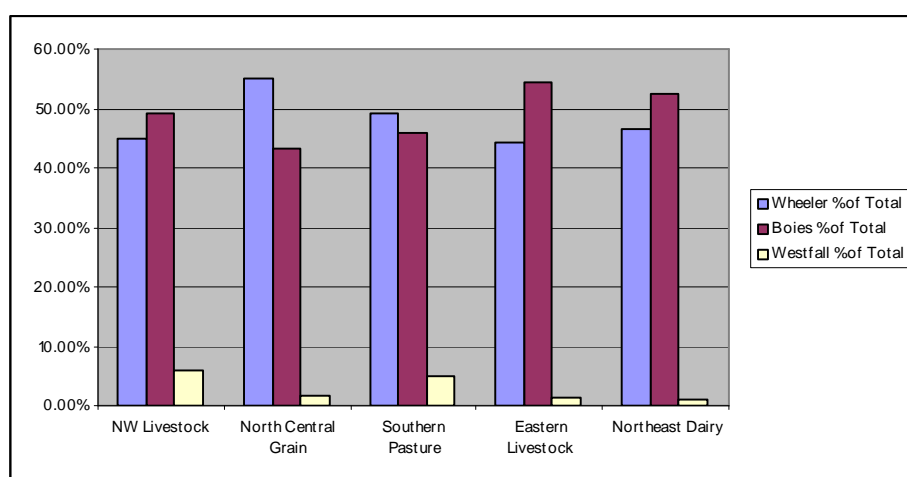


Figure 24. Chart of 1891 Gov. election results by region

³⁹ Iowa Official Register 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, published by the Secretary of State by order of the General Assembly.

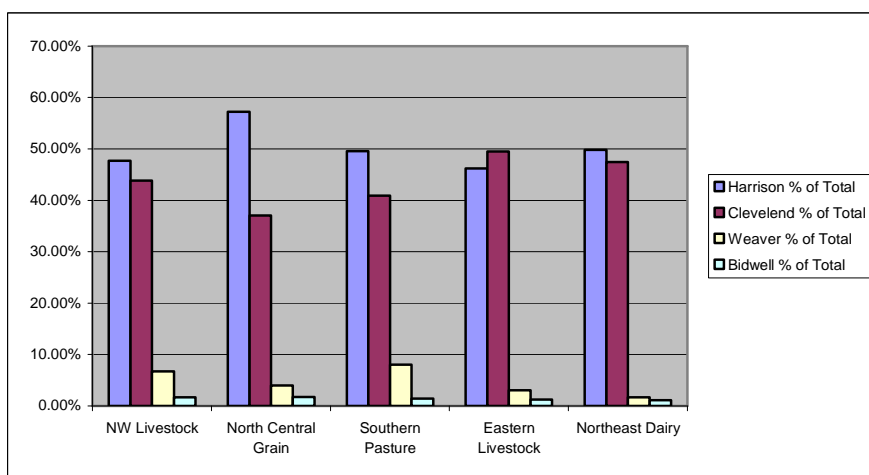


Figure 25. Chart of 1892 Pres. Election results by region.

By 1900 the Western Livestock Region increased its percent native-born population from 64% in 1890 to 74%. The next-largest group, Germans, decreased from 16% to 11%. The remaining ethnicities comprising 15% in single digits of the same ones as in 1890. By 1900 the North Central Grain Region increased its percent native-born population from 64% in 1890 to 75%. The next-largest group, Germans, decreased from 11% in 1890 to 8%. The remaining ethnicities, comprising 17% in single digits, are the same ones as in 1890. By 1900 the Southern Pasture Region increased its percent native-born from 85% in 1890 to 88%. The remaining ethnicities, comprising 12% in small single digits, are the same ones as in 1890. By 1900 the Eastern Livestock Region increased its native-born from 63% in 1890 to 77%. The next-largest group, Germans, decreased from 21% to 12%. The remaining ethnicities comprising 11% in small single digits of the same ones as in 1890. By 1900 the Northeast Dairy Region increased its native-born from 53% in 1890 to 72%. The next-largest group, Germans, decreased from 23% in 1890 to 13%. The remaining ethnicities, comprising 15% in small single digits, are the same ones as in 1890.

Figures 26-30 illustrate the proportion of native-born to various ethnicities by region ten years later, according to the 1900 census data. The increase in native-born can be accounted for by second-generation of immigrants, but ones with more time for socialization into the political system of this country. Elections then, as now, attract participation based on a variety of factors that include socialized sets of values, circumstances at the time of the election, and issues selected by the political parties to attract voters. Side issues, but pertinent to participation, include weather at the time of the election and whether or not harvesting has been completed.

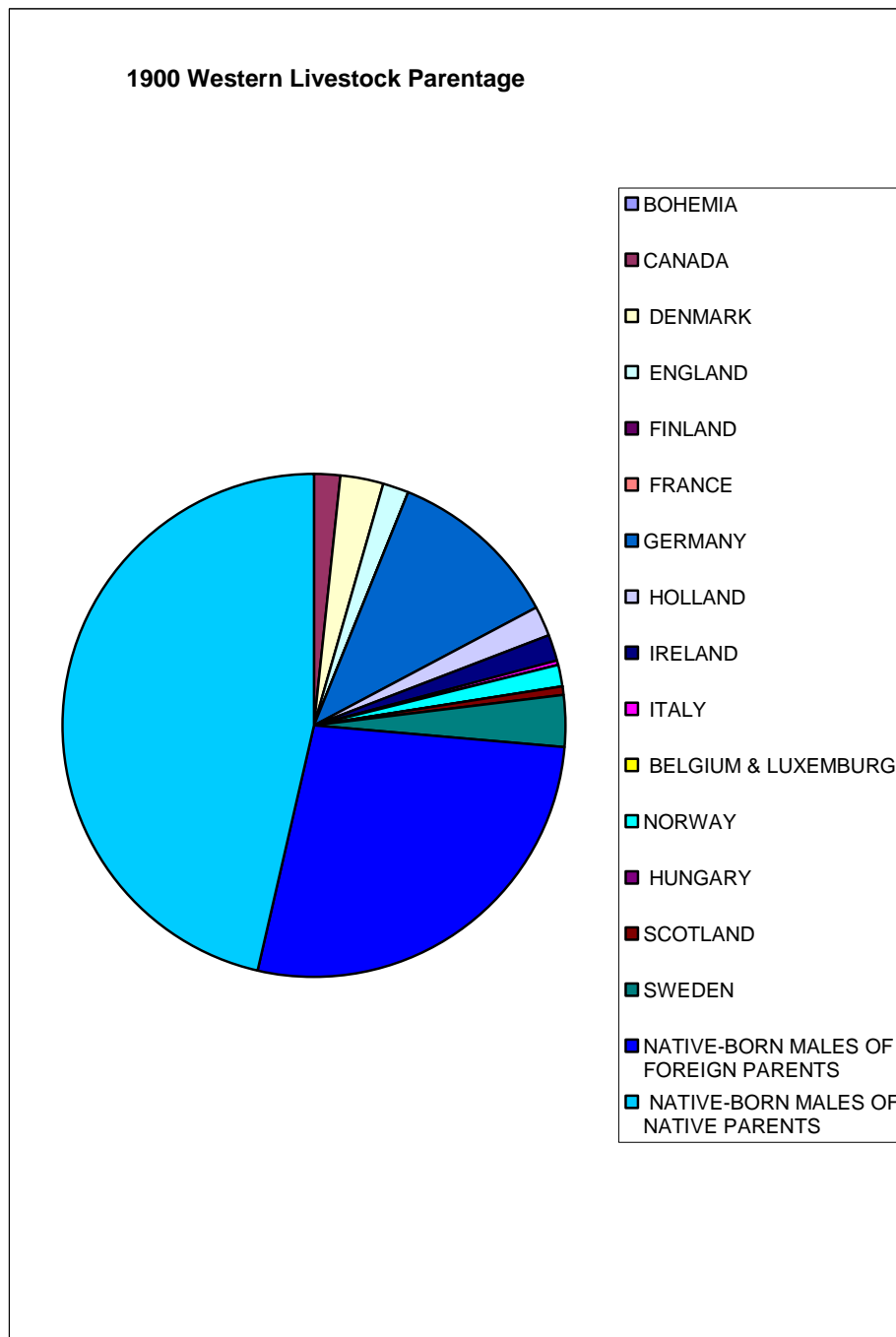


Figure 26. 1900 ethnic population chart of Western Livestock Regions.

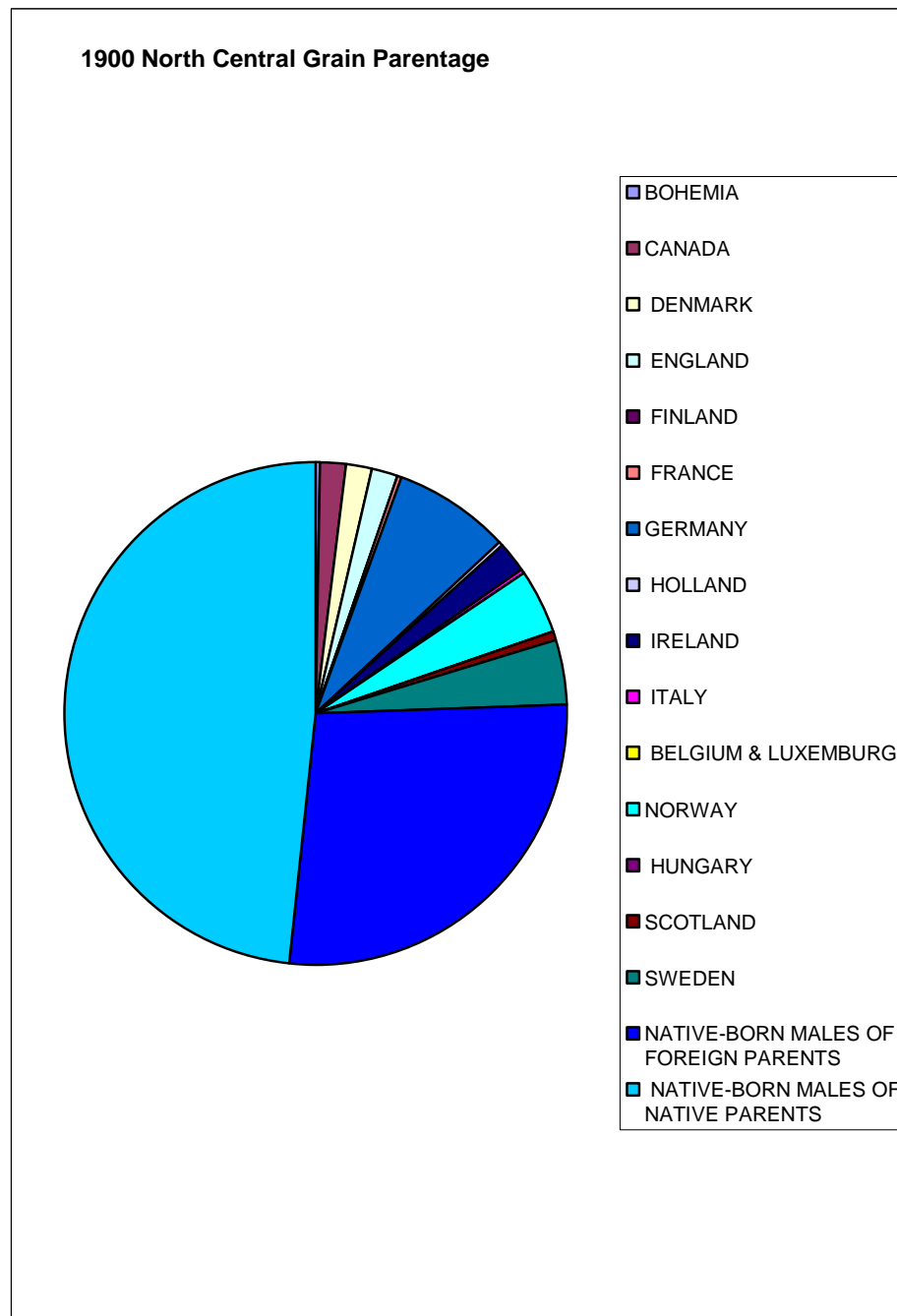


Figure 27. 1900 ethnic population chart of North Central Grain Region.

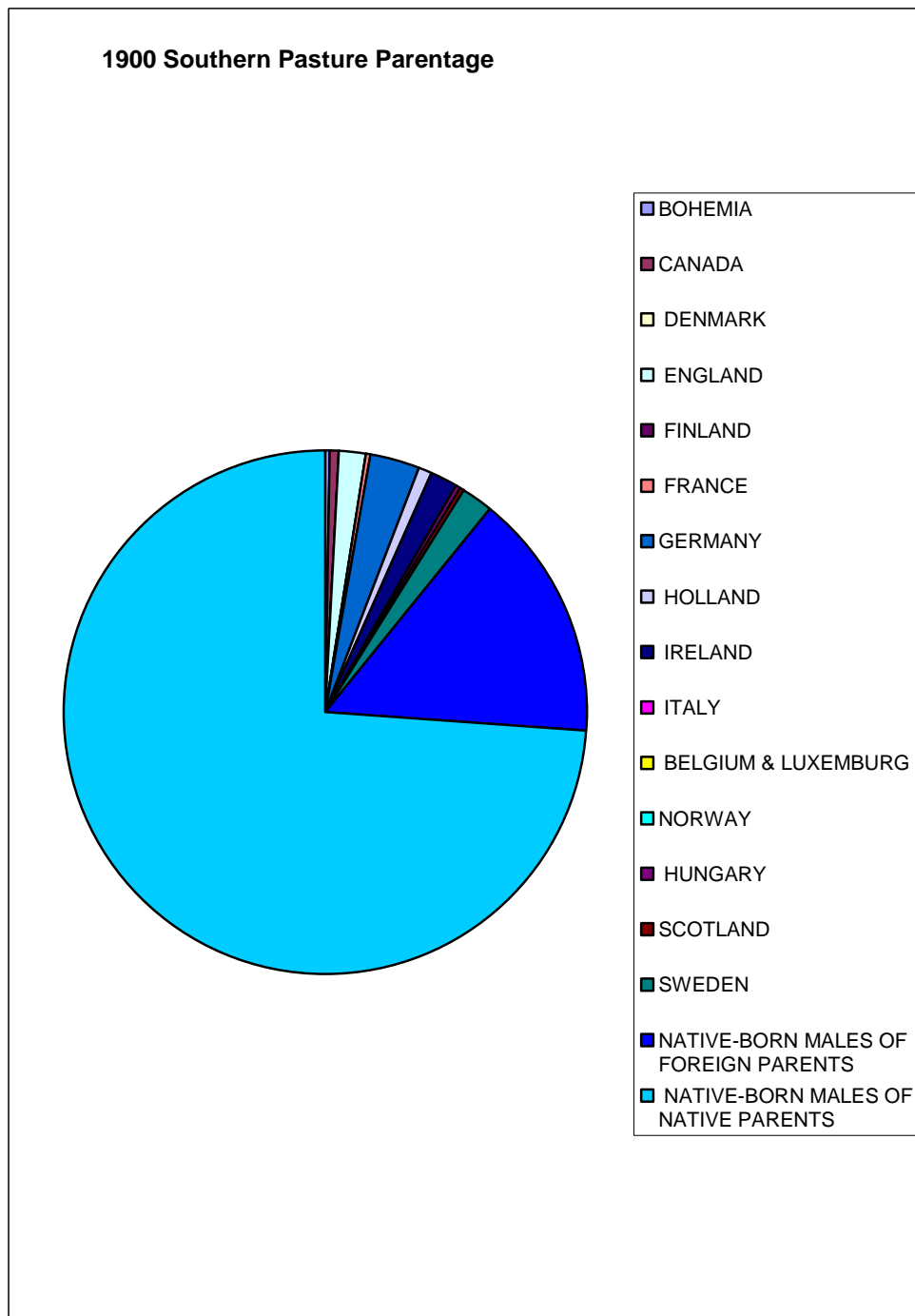


Figure 28. 1900 ethnic population chart of Southern Pasture Region.

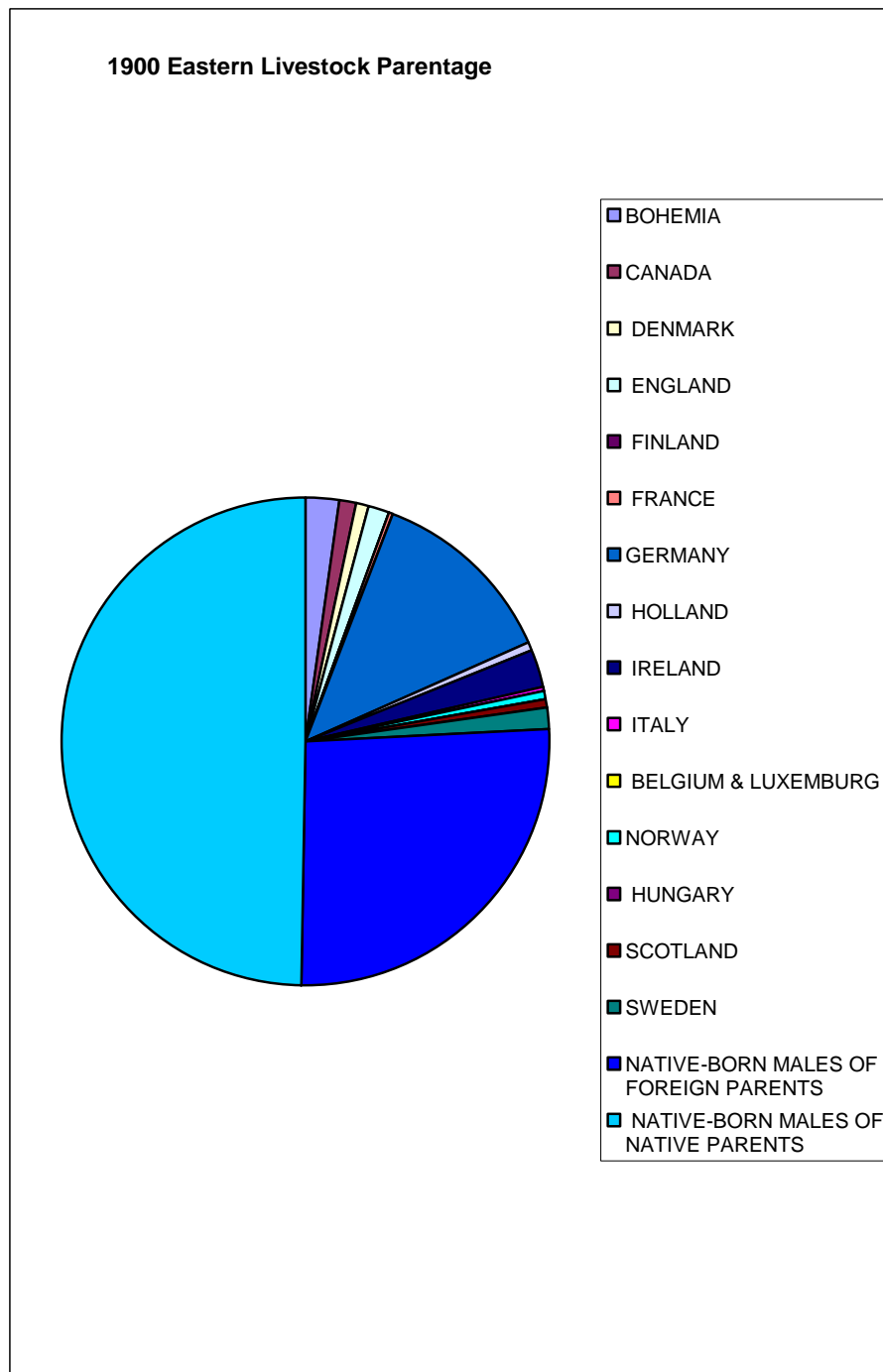


Figure 29. 1900 ethnic population chart for Eastern Livestock Region.

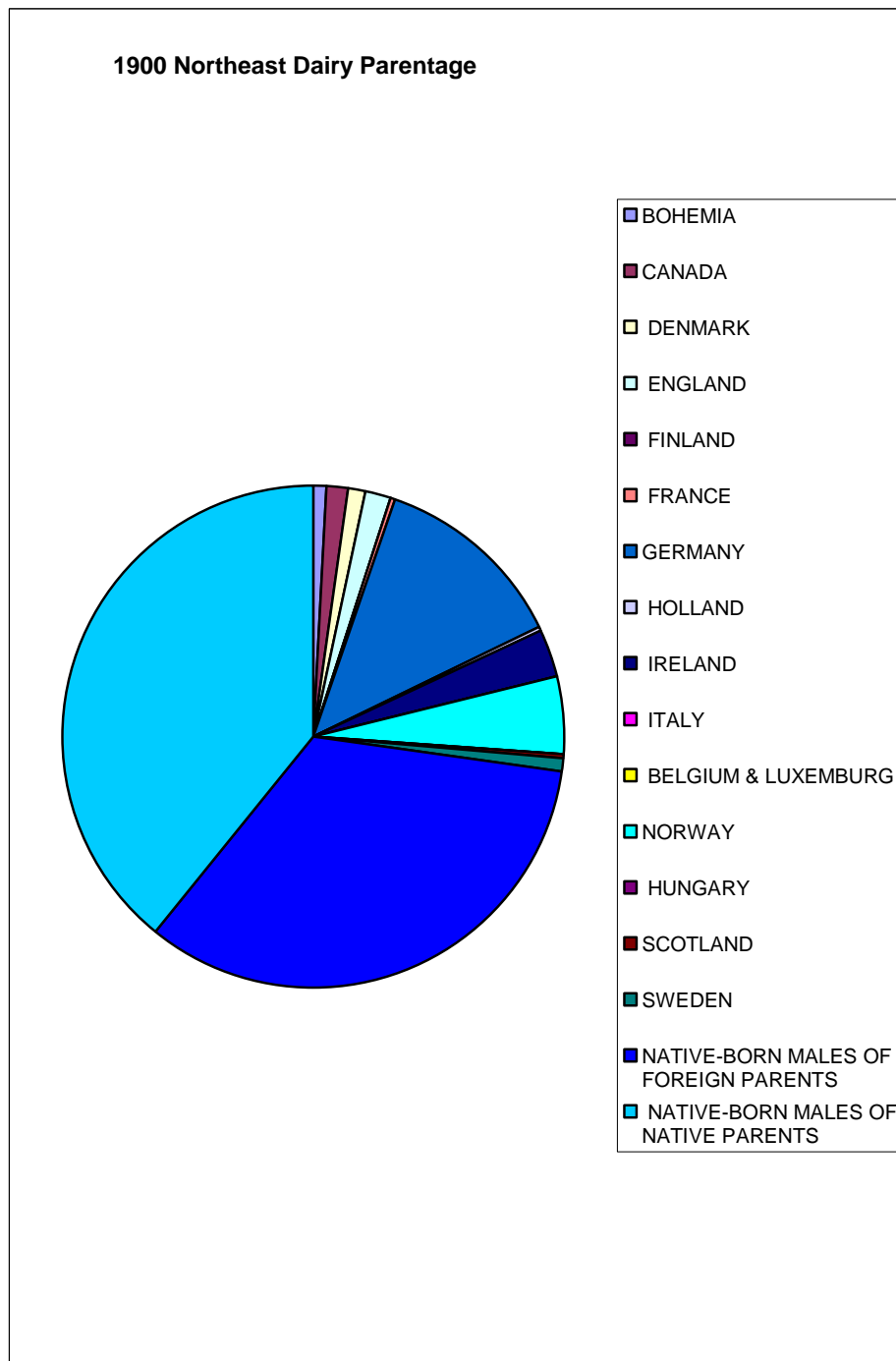


Figure 30. 1900 ethnic population chart for Northeast Dairy Region.

Figure 31, using 1900 data, shows the dominance (by darker color) of native-born, English, Irish, and Scots in the southern half of the state (Southern

Pasture Region) continuing. The lighter counties reflect a higher proportional number of immigrants to the native-born voting-age males, located in the regions of Northeast Dairy, North Central Grain, the northern part of Western Livestock, and the northern part of Eastern Livestock. Immigrants settled the regions with the best soil in the state.

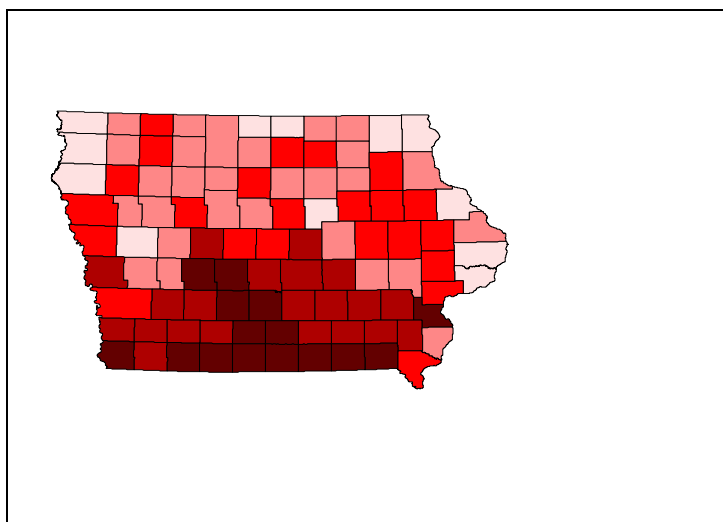


Figure 31. Map showing density of native-born 1900.

Figure 32, using 1900 census data, illustrates the relationship, by region, of immigrant to native-born of voting-age males. The Southern Pasture region had the lowest percent of immigrants while the Northeast Dairy region had the highest percent of immigrants.

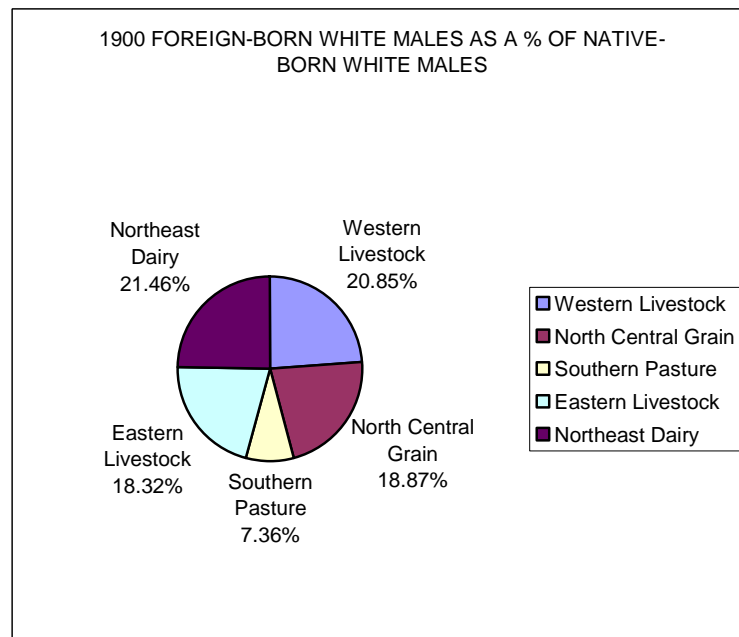


Figure 32. Chart of 1900 foreign-born by region.

For the 1900 presidential election, voter participation rates increased tremendously, according to Figure 33, indicating intense interest at that time in the issues that will be discussed in upcoming chapters.

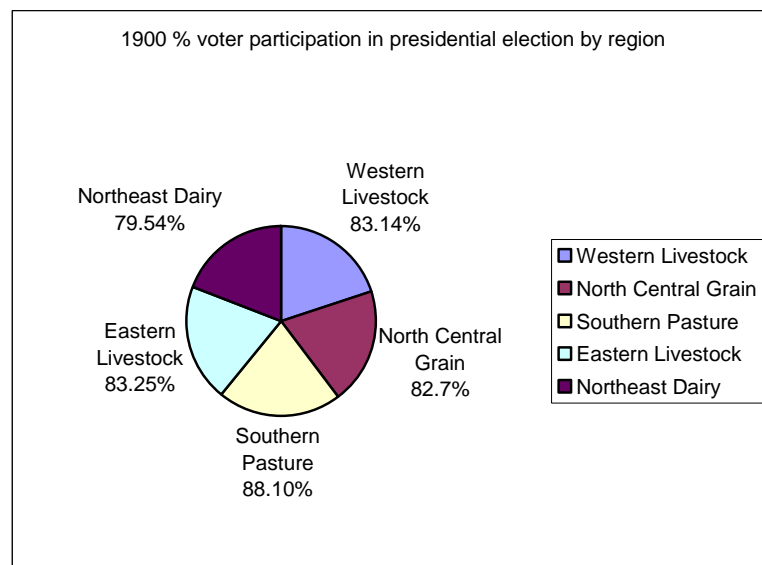


Figure 33. Chart of 1900 presidential election participation by region.

While all regions supported Republican William McKinley, the highest percent of support came from the North Central grain region once again (just as in the 1892 presidential election), with the largest spread between Republican McKinley and Democrat William Jennings Bryan (65.57% to 29.56%). The other regions were closer, as illustrated by Figure 34 and Figure 35.

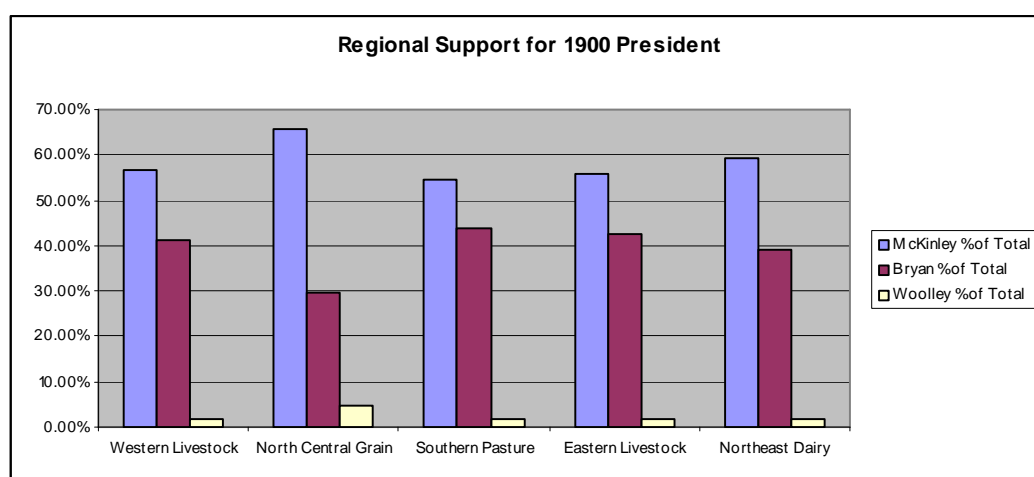


Figure 34. Chart of 1900 Pres. Election results.

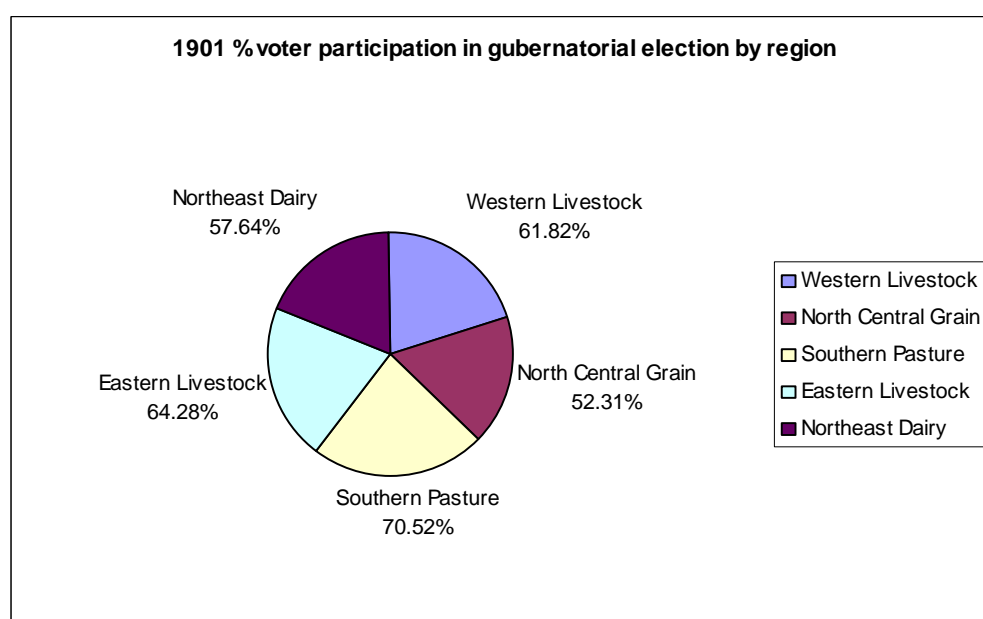


Figure 35. Chart of 1901 Gov. election participation by region.

The highest participation rate in the 1901 gubernatorial election remained in the Southern pasture region, where there continued to be the lowest immigration rate and now the second lowest number of eligible voters (Figure 36). The lowest participation rate, in Northeast Dairy, had the highest percentage of immigrants.

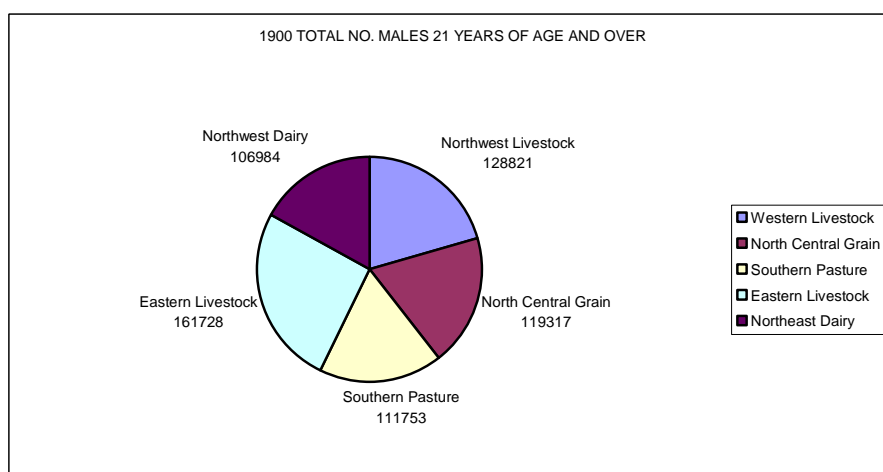


Figure 36. Chart of 1900 eligible voters by region.

All regions supported Republican McKinley over Democratic Bryan in 1900 for president, and all regions supported Republican Albert Cummins over Democrat T. J. Phillips in 1901 for governor (Figure 37).

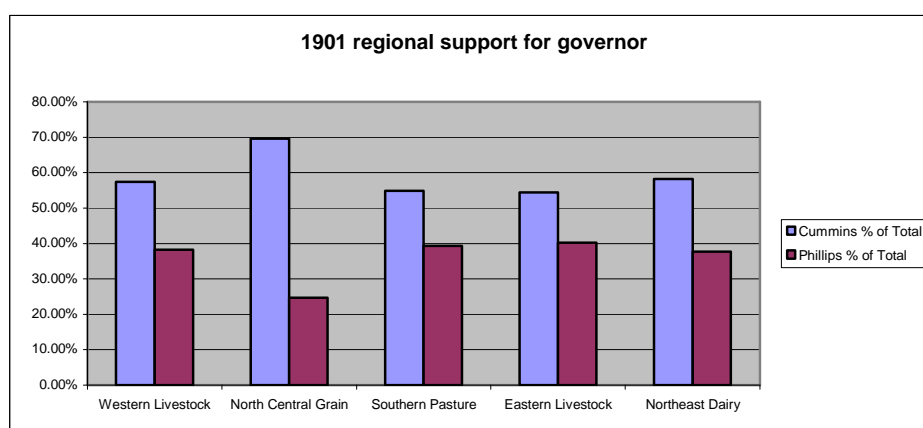


Figure 37. Chart of 1901 Gov. votes by region.

Figures 38-42 show the percentages of ethnicities and native-born by region, based on the 1910 census. Note that the percentages, by region, for native-born are down from the 1900 federal census. As upcoming chapters will show, the population of the state remained mostly unchanged, so the lower percentages reflect increased immigration and outward migration.

By 1910 the Western Livestock Region showed a decrease in native-born from 75% in 1900 to 48%. The next-largest group, Germans, increased slightly from 11% in 1900 to 12%. The remaining 40% were comprised of a variety of ethnicities, none of which were new to the area. By 1910 the North Central Grain Region showed a decrease in native-born from 75% in 1900 to 53%. Germans remained the same at 8%. The remaining 39% were comprised of a variety of ethnicities, none of which were new to the area. By 1910 the Southern Pasture Region showed a decrease in native-born from 88% in 1900 to 73%. The remaining 27% were comprised of the same ethnicities as in 1900, but more of them. By 1910 the Eastern Livestock Region showed a decrease in native-born from 77% in 1900 to 58%. The second largest group, Germans, increased from 12% in 1900 to 14%. The remaining 30% were comprised of the same ethnicities as in 1900. By 1910 the Northeast Dairy Region decreased its native-born from 72% in 1900 to 53%. The second-largest group, Germans, increased from 13% in 1900 to 14%. The remaining 33% were comprised of the same ethnicities as before.

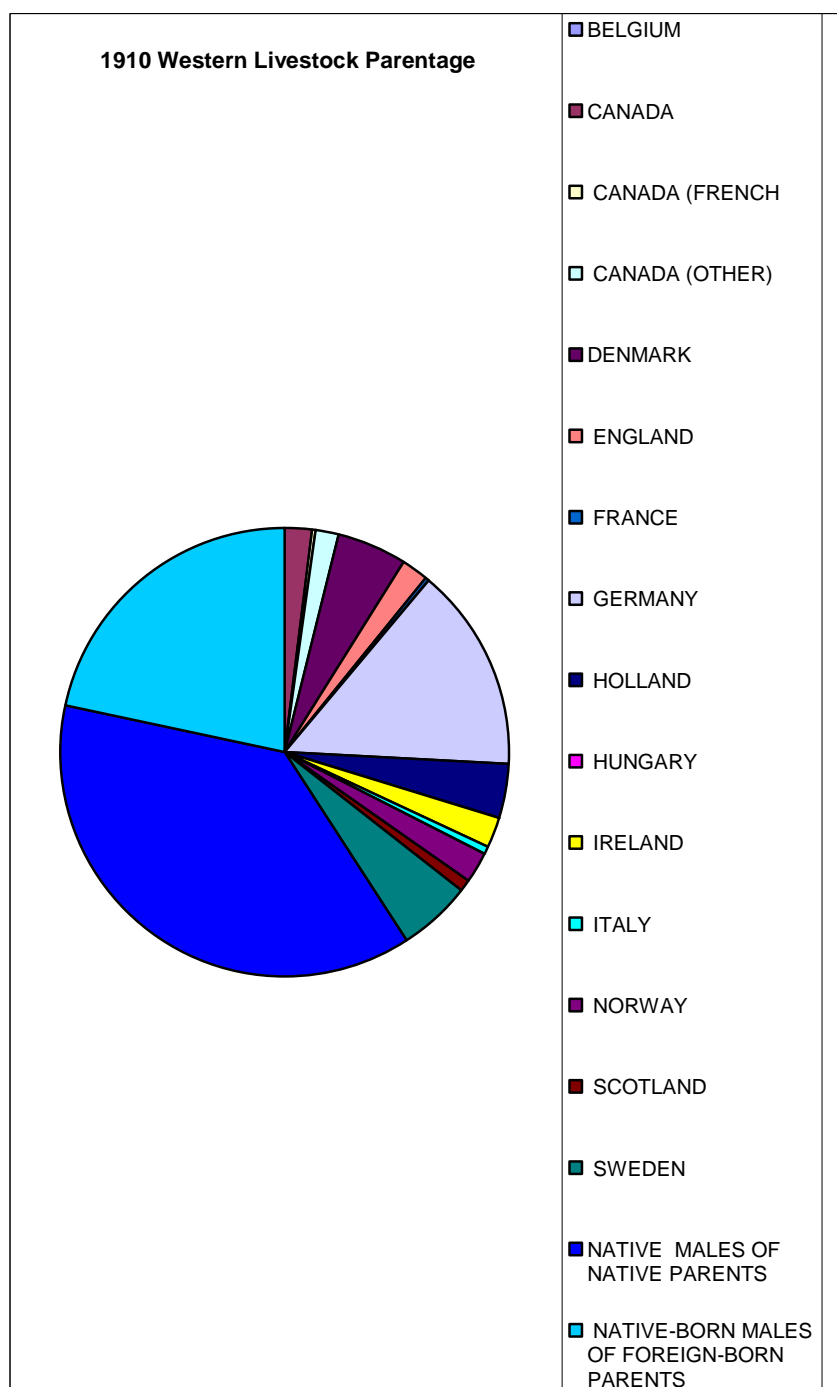


Figure 38. 1910 ethnic population chart of Western Livestock Region.

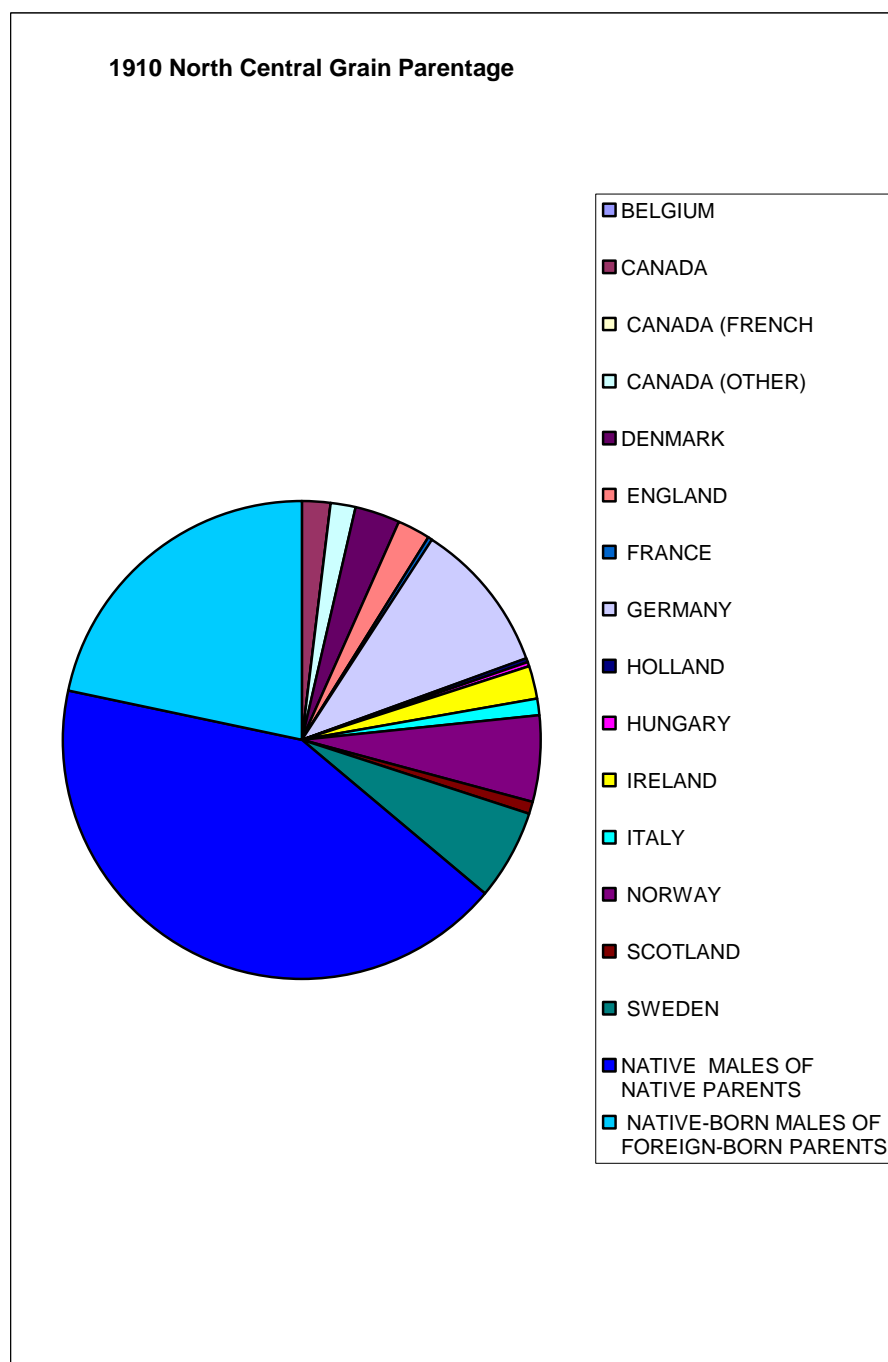


Figure 39. 1910 ethnic population chart of North Central Grain Region.

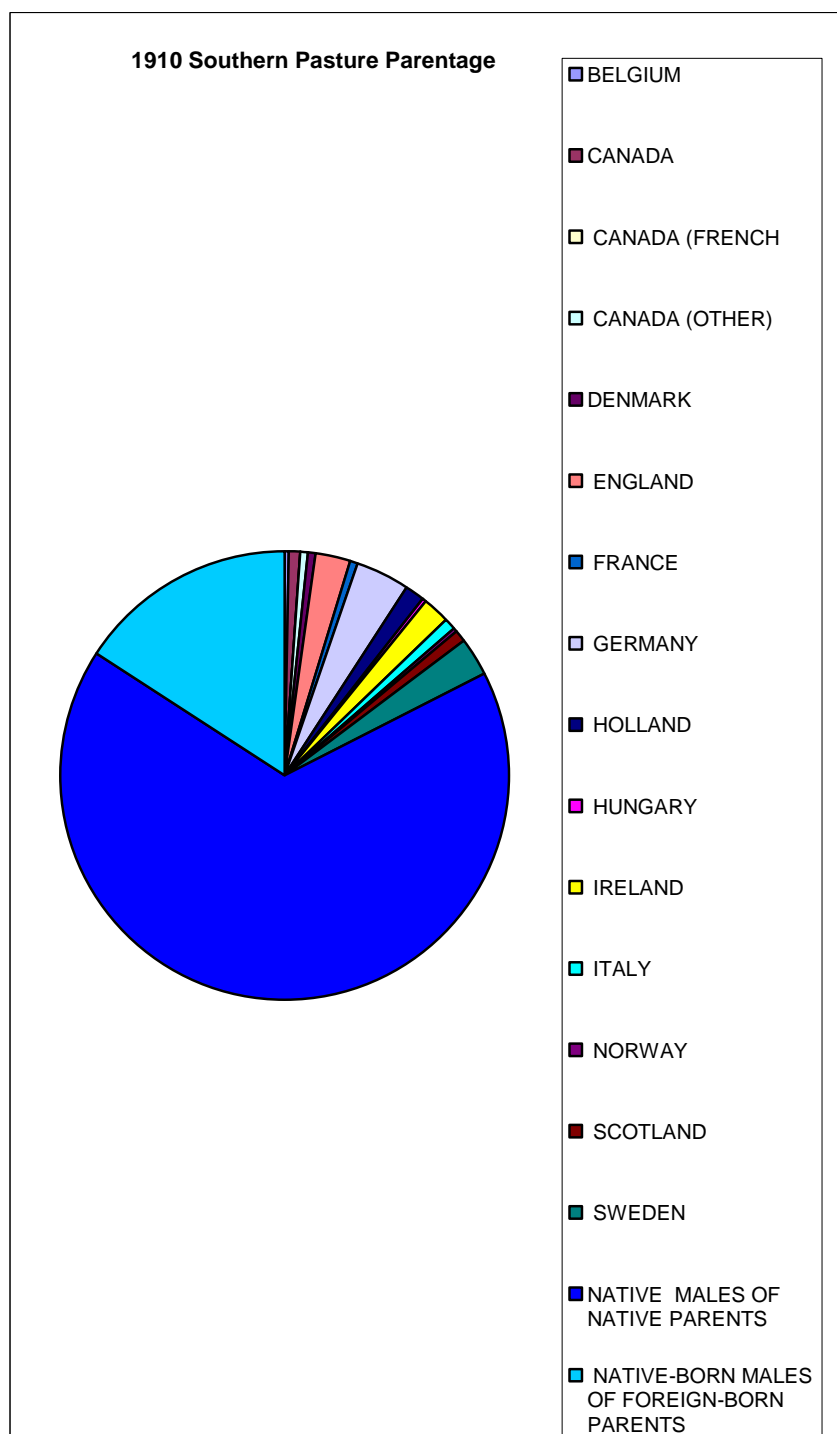


Figure 40. 1910 ethnic population chart of Southern Pasture Region.

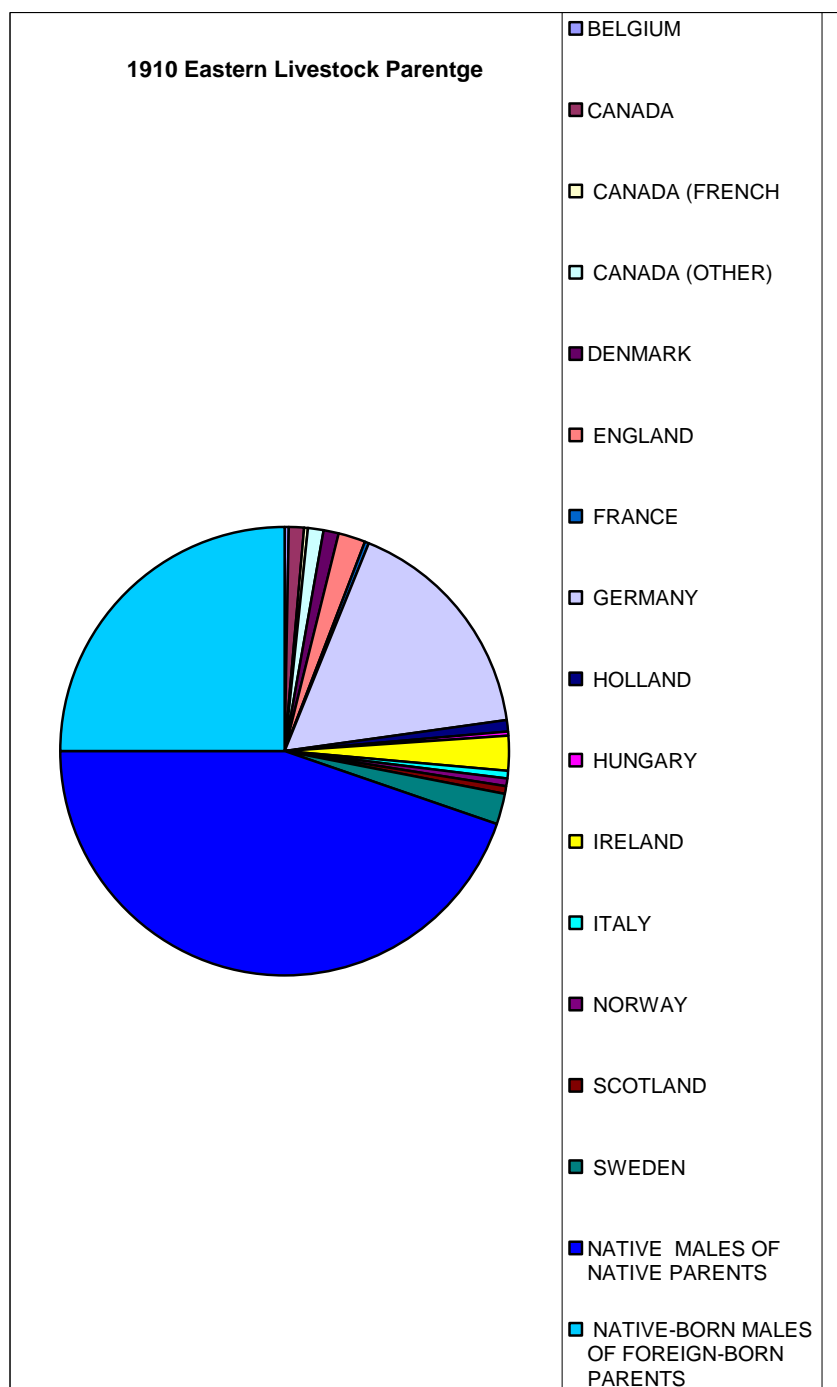


Figure 41. 1910 ethnic population chart of Eastern Livestock Region.

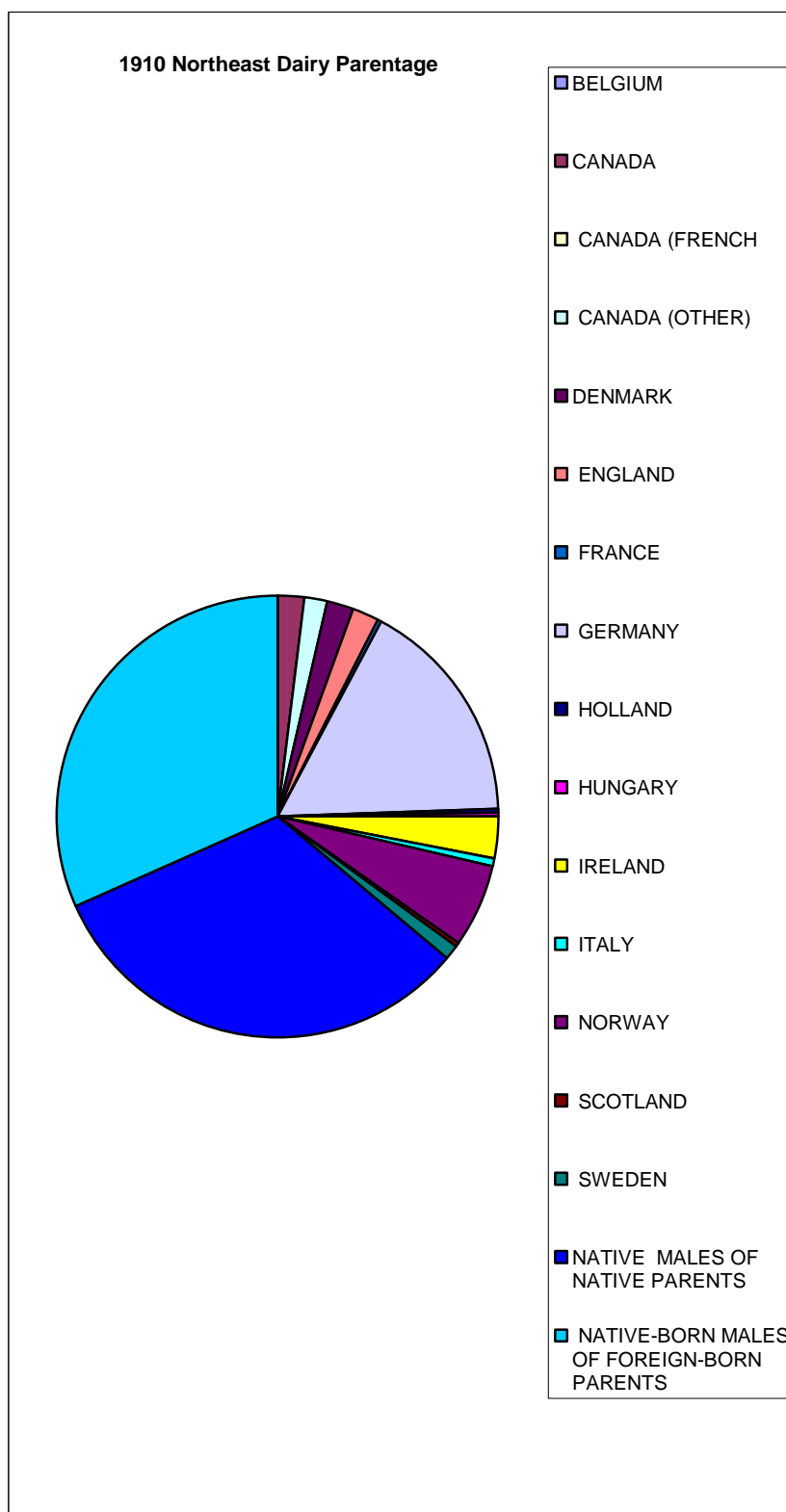


Figure 42. 1910 population chart of Northeast Dairy Region.

Figures 43 and 44, using 1910 data, shows the continuance of the native-born, English, Irish, and Scots in the southern half of the state.

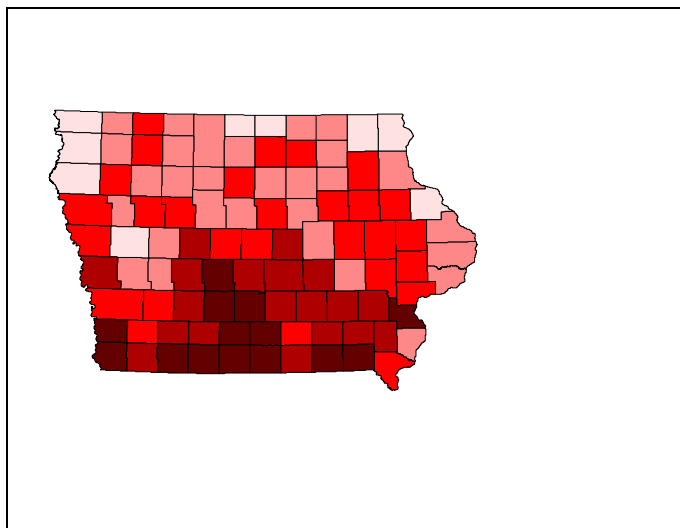


Figure 43. Map showing density of native-born 1910.

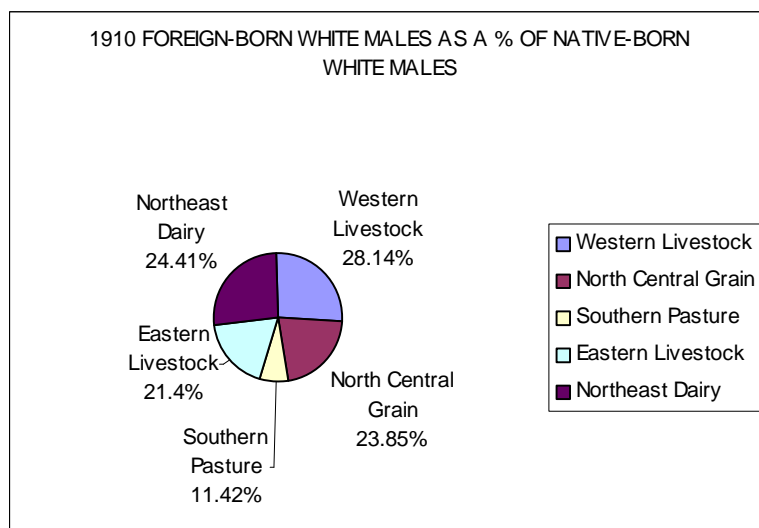


Figure 44. Chart of foreign-born by region.

In the 1912 presidential election, voter participation rates (Figure 45) were down slightly from the 1900 presidential race but up from the 1901 gubernatorial race.

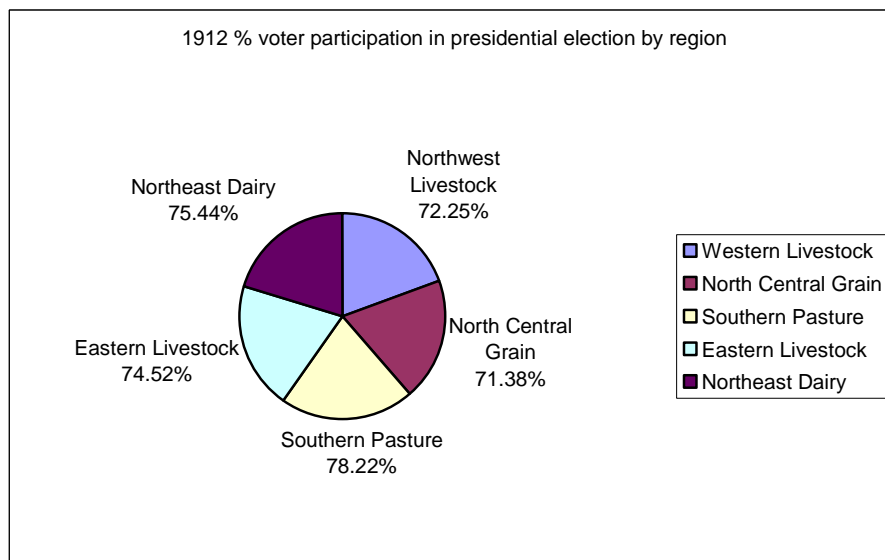


Figure 45. Chart of 1912 Pres. voter participation by region.

In addition to the major party candidates of Republican William Taft and Democrat Woodrow Wilson, the field included Progressive Theodore Roosevelt and Socialist Eugene Debs. Iowans tended to support Roosevelt over either major party candidate in both the Northwest livestock and Central grain regions, where the lowest participation rates occurred. In the other three regions, the percentage of voters for Roosevelt was greater than Republican Taft but less than Democrat Wilson. Since both major parties included some progressive planks in their platforms (as did the Progressive Party, of course), this split in Iowa votes represents different interest groupings and their priorities on specific issues represented by the individual parties. Figure 46 provides a visual comparison of presidential votes by region for the 1912 election.

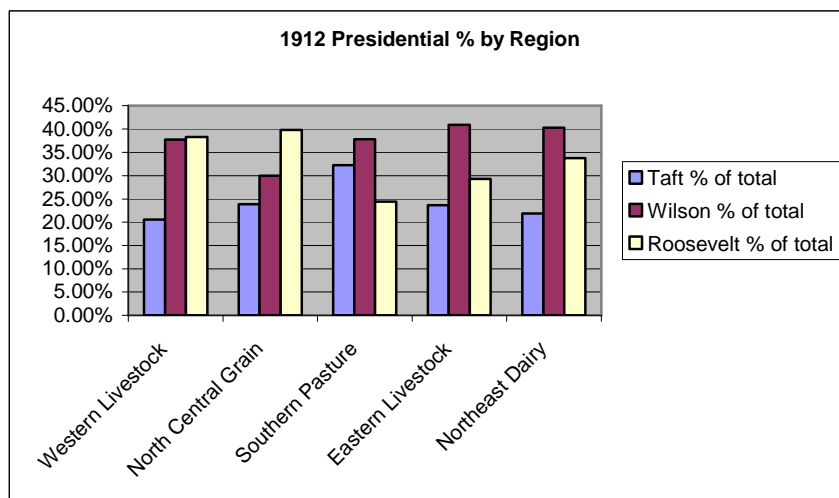


Figure 46. Chart of 1912 Pres. votes by region.

The gubernatorial election of 1912 (Figure 47) showed the following participation rates, down from the presidential race but still consistent in ranking.

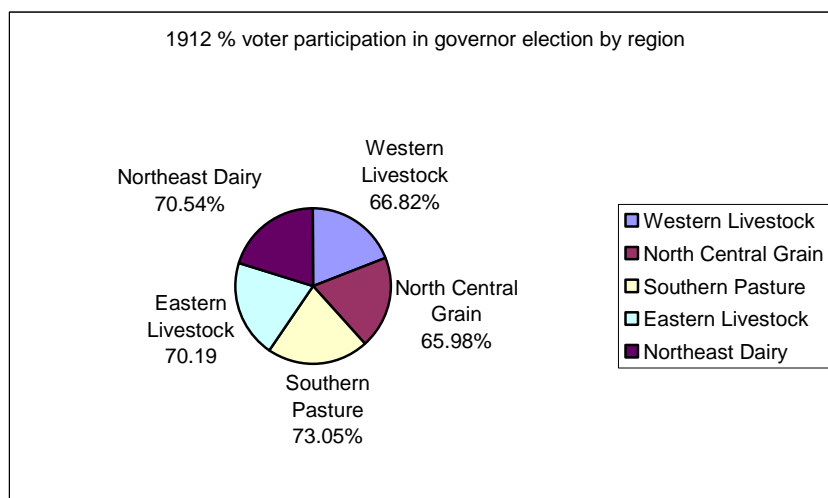


Figure 47. Chart of Gov. voter participation by region.

The Southern pasture region remained consistent during this time period examined. Total eligible male voters by region showed Southern Pasture to have the lowest numbers, but maintained the highest participation rate (Figure 48).

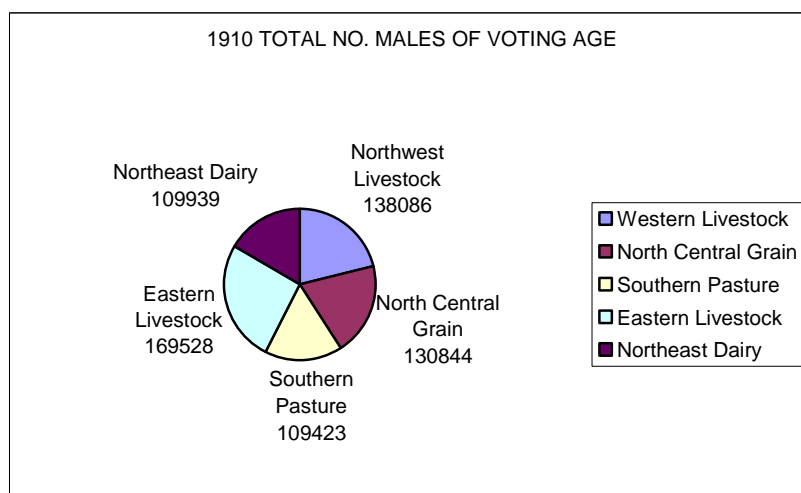


Figure 48. Chart of 1910 number of male voters by region.

Note that while the participation rates decreased in the decade since 1900, the highest rate remained in the Southern pasture region, where there was also the lowest immigration rate, and now the lowest number of eligible voters. In this gubernatorial election, North Central grain and Southern pasture supported Republican George Clarke (winner), but the other three regions supported Democrat Edward Dunn, as indicated by Figure 49 showing regional results.

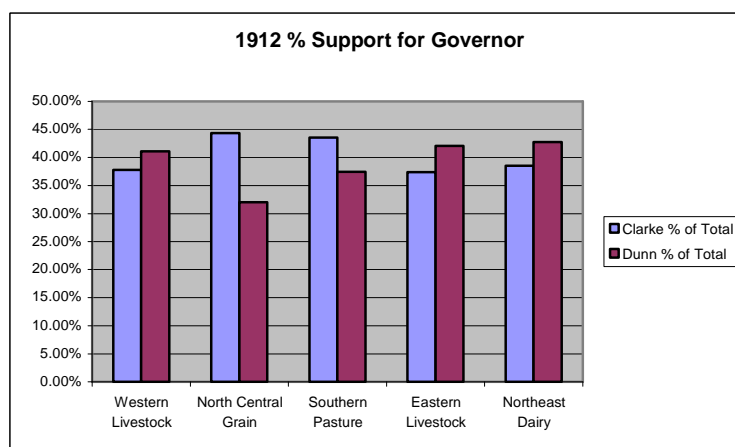


Figure 49. Chart of 1912 Gov. election results by region.

Summary

Each area has a unique geologic history, forming the circumstances that exist for residents. Iowa is no different. Settlers to the state, beginning with Native Americans, had to find ways to deal with the circumstances. Each group did this along the lines of their own socialized set of values and within the existing political controls. Once open to settlement, settlers to Iowa dispersed, but mapping shows distinct clustering by region after the initial period of settlement.

Leland Sage identified five regions by the dominance of certain farming activities, even though diversified farming existed around the state: Western livestock, Southern pasture, North Central grain, Eastern livestock, and Northeast dairy. Sometimes their survival strategies worked and sometimes they did not. Failure could have resulted in moving to another location, as census data shows, or it could have resulted in increased political participation for those socialized into the process in this country, as evidenced by various farmer movements. Participation rates varied by location, showing that immigrants did not participate in the political process in the same numbers as native-born.

Voting analysis by geologic region shows patterns of preferences for the time period of 1891 to 1912. Even at the regional level the closeness of support for the major political parties reveals the struggle within the state for political control over policymaking with the selection of party platform planks with an eye to interest group support. Although Iowa election data shows multiple political parties participating in elections, the only time a third party exhibited major influence for the time of this project was the 1912 election when Theodore

Roosevelt ran as a Progressive. Votes for Progressive Roosevelt exceeded those for Republican Taft in all five regions, with Progressive Roosevelt winning two of the regions: Western livestock and North Central grain. Democrat Wilson won the election in the state and nationally. At the state level during that same election, the gubernatorial race revealed few votes for the Progressive candidate, reflecting an awareness of the close politics within the state, and the differences between state policies and national policies. Republican Clarke won, supported by only three of the five regions, but those regions had the highest percentage of participation. The 1912 election was the first one in this project where voters used the Australian ballot with candidates for all parties on it, and voted for both president and governor at the same time. The 1900 election for president did not have a vote for governor (which occurred in 1901), and the 1891 election for governor was a year before the 1892 election for president. This means the 1912 vote allowed a direct comparison of Iowa voter political savvy in how they voted for national office versus how they voted for an office at the state level: president versus governor.

The upcoming chapters will examine details of the circumstances existing in Iowa's five regions for this time period, looking for explanations of whether socialization based on religion and ethnicity played any part in political position, and whether location became a factor. Political platforms at both national and state levels indicate where political influence lay in controlling the issues debated. Other authors have examined individual political and party influence, but until

now no examination has been done of the entire diverse circumstances existing in the state.

Chapter 3: Iowa settlement and political development

Iowa was officially opened to settlement in 1832, approximately fifty years after the founding of the United States. Initially settled by citizens from established states, the flow of immigrants increased with the opening of territory and the building of the railroads, thus mixing ideologies, value systems, and expectations with politics. To understand how this played out for the location and the time period of this study it is important to examine the path of development.

Twelve of the original thirteen colonies were founded by colonists practicing different forms of Protestantism, escaping a Europe where Catholicism had been the state religion since the fall of the Roman Empire. The Enlightenment ideas these colonists read, discussed, and debated were the ones stemming from various Protestant beliefs and assumptions rather than the Enlightenment ideas of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, experienced in Europe. Having founded a country on interpretations of Protestant Enlightenment ideas, differentiated between different forms of Protestantism, the United States expanded westward across the continent after the Revolutionary War while residents learned about self-government, and the political system adapted to the changing realities of a diverse society of various ethnicities, competing ideologies, and a diversifying expanding economy locating in carrying environmental circumstances. Both the national government as well as state governments experienced a learning curve of governing with diverse parameters. Federalists and Antifederalists – and their evolving party names and matrices --

rushed to settle available new territories, for the purpose of influencing the state governments there and expanding their ideological influence in both the Congress (through membership in the House as well as the equality of state representation in the Senate) and the White House (through the delegation of votes in the Electoral College). Antifederalists would always be at a disadvantage in numbers because their agricultural capitalism (anti-manufacturing) ideology called for an economic base of agriculture with few urban areas, reducing the population count that determined the number of House members, and thus the number of votes in the Electoral College (allotted by number of members in the House plus the two Senators to which every state is entitled).⁴⁰ Federalists surely counted on this when they put the Electoral College in the Constitution. It also provides an explanation for southerners wanting to expand to new territories and be politically active to control the state legislatures (that selected the senators until 1913). This explanation fits with more state histories than Iowa. The timing of immigration, coupled with the mix of settlers from both northern and southern states, provided interesting and varied matrices for the settlement of new territories that would become states. Iowa proved no different.

What did the settlement of Iowa look like? Once inhabited by both Native Americans and wild game in large numbers, each relating to the land and to each other in their own cultural manner, activities in Iowa began to change as it became a part of the young United States in 1803 with the purchase of the

⁴⁰ The conclusion of agricultural capitalism comes from the writings of various Anti-federalists, and reading other research on Anti-federalism. Including *The Anti-Federalist Papers and the Constitutional Convention Debates*, edited by Ralph Ketcham, (New York: Penguin Putnam Inc., 1986).

Louisiana Territory from France by the Thomas Jefferson Administration, and organized white settlement began (officially in 1832 with the Blackhawk Treaty).

Figure 50 shows the original area, in yellow, opened for settlement.

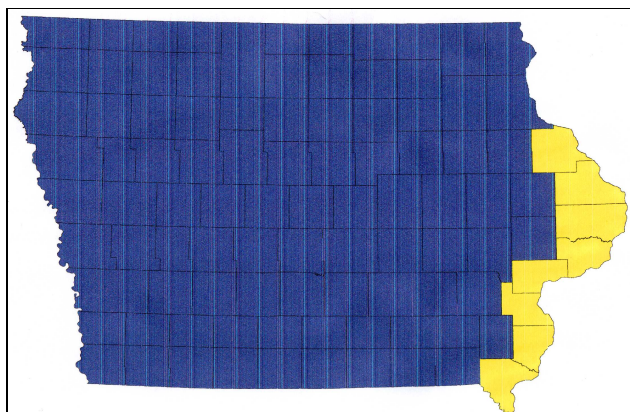


Figure 50. Map of initial settlement area in 1832.

While many of Iowa's initial settlers came from established states, increasing numbers of immigrants found their way to the Midwest and Iowa, according to census data, personal histories, and histories of local areas. Finding themselves in new circumstances required adjustment; survival strategies changed, traditional ways of thinking no longer applied, and native-born individuals had expectations of those moving into the area (assimilability).

The first white native-born settlers to Iowa came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia, according to the territorial census of 1840 (eight years after the official opening of settlement), which showed a total population of 43,112.⁴¹ Many of these first settlers soon moved on westward and out of census reports, according to those attempting to track them.⁴² It should come as no surprise to find native-born settlers to Iowa coming from Ohio,

⁴¹ Federal Census of 1840 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1840).

⁴² Hubert L. Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*. (Palmer: Moeller self-published, 1976).

Pennsylvania, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia. All of those previously settled states border the Ohio River. Migrants from New York could have traveled Lake Erie to Ohio, then gone by land to the Ohio River to begin their journey by water. Traffic on the river had developed sufficiently to allow travel down it to the Mississippi River junction at Missouri, then north to Iowa. While the decision might have been made to turn south instead of north at the junction of the Ohio River to the Mississippi River, the southern states were already in the Union (with the exception of Texas, which separated from Mexico and became an independent republic in 1838); the best settlement land would likely have been taken in those southern states at the time. For this reason many turned north and made their way to Iowa.

Under the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, territorial governors were appointed rather than elected by the residents, a pattern similar to the appointment of royal governors over the English colonies. The first three Iowa territorial governors were appointed by presidents Martin Van Buren (a Democrat), William Henry Harrison (a Whig), and John Tyler (a Whig) during the time period of 1838 to 1846, so they could hardly be cited as examples of Iowans' political leanings. The mix of native-born Americans moving into Iowa showed a surprising early dominance of those from southern states. While we do not think of Iowa today as having southern roots, evidence exists suggesting more Southerners initially settled the state than Northerners; at least they were more politically active. They also tended to be some form of Protestant, according to census records, and settled the Eastern Livestock Region and Southern Pasture region.

When the first Territorial Assembly met in 1838, six years after the official opening for settlement, twenty-six of the thirty-nine members (67%) claimed Southern birth. Such a number of early Iowa political activists claiming Southern roots appears to contradict the idea of parallel migration, but it is consistent with the desire of former Federalists and Antifederalists to spread their ideologies for political control of the governing apparatus. At the convention where Iowa's first constitution was written, in 1846, fifteen of its thirty-two members (47%) claimed Southern birth, indicating a beginning shift in the mix of southern to northern native-born in the state. Nevertheless, when the issue of who could vote came up during the drafting of Iowa's constitution, African Americans were denied the vote. (This changed following the Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.)⁴³

With the level of Southern influence in Iowa at this early time, an initial tendency toward political Democratic-Republican roots might be expected. Electoral College voting results by state shows this to have been the case. Once achieving statehood in 1846, Iowans elected their first three governors – to two-year terms -- on the Democratic ticket, the Democratic ticket, and the Whig ticket (respectively), shifting in the 1850s as factions of Federalists became the Whigs briefly, moving on to become Republicans by 1856. This appears to support the theory of southern dominance of Iowa voting at that time, based on census data, but waning over time as Republicans worked to take political control of the state.

⁴³ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*. See also Iowa's codified Constitution for dates of changes.

While Catholics lived in the state and appear to have voted, no evidence of organized Catholic vote presents itself. Two sources of this detailed political organizing include Leland Sage and Dorothy Schwieder.⁴⁴

Iowa entered the Union in 1846 as the twenty-ninth state, with only forty-nine of its eventual ninety-nine counties organized. Census data show native-born to out-number immigrants for these locations. The first federal presidential election to include Iowa occurred two years later, in 1848. Based on the popular votes for president, Iowa Electoral College electors cast their ballots for the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass. Such an election outcome appears consistent with the dominance of native-born Iowans claiming southern roots at that time. A breakdown of state electoral voting in the Electoral College for that election shows a majority of Democratic votes for Cass coming from southern states, making Iowa consistent with its southern-roots influence for that period in time.⁴⁵

The official Federal Census of 1850, the first for Iowa since statehood, showed the white population at 191,881, almost a five-fold increase from its beginning settlement population in the 1840 census of just over 43,000. Of this 1850 number, 50,380 (26%) had been born in Iowa; 5,535 (3%) had been born in New England; 24,510 (13%) came from middle states; and 30,954 (16%) came from southern states. Over 59,098 citizens said they migrated to Iowa from the Old Northwest Territory. Three states contributed the largest numbers: Ohio

⁴⁴ Schwieder, Dorothy, *Iowa the Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996). Sage, Leland, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1974).

⁴⁵ Electoral College: <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/>

(30,713), Indiana (19,925), and Kentucky (8,994).⁴⁶ Electoral College voting in the 1852 presidential election shows Iowa ballots cast for Democratic candidate Franklin Pierce, continuing to reflect a dominance of southern-rooted political activity. By the 1856 presidential election, Iowa Electoral College ballots went to Republican candidate John C. Fremont, and continued going to the Republican presidential candidate until the 1912 presidential election when they went to Democrat Woodrow Wilson in a contest pitting Democrat Wilson against Republican Taft (supported by Iowa voters previously when he won the presidency in 1908) and Progressive Roosevelt (who took more Iowa votes than Taft but slightly fewer than Wilson).

The percentages of foreign-born to native-born become important if Oscar Handlin's theory holds for political participation. According to Handlin, those who made the crossing from Europe had little to no history of participating in self-government, the whole point of "the great American experiment in Enlightenment republicanism." Native-born Americans had some acculturation and experience with politics, gained gradually over time after the Constitution was ratified in 1788 and the first elections held. In urban areas, associations and organizations formed around ethnicity, providing lessons and experience in governing. Rural areas with less-dense populations, such as in Iowa, presented additional challenges to the immigrants to learn these skills unless they settled in towns and in groups. Sometimes it took the second-generation to "get up to speed" politically as they became part of the acculturation process. Handlin

⁴⁶ Electoral College: <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/>. See also the Federal Census 1850 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1850).

believed that, once familiar with the political process, immigrants tended to be conservative. Having come through a radical change, they had little desire for more, at least for the first generation.⁴⁷ This attitude may have worked to the favor of southern conservative Democrats who also had a desire for the status quo. Iowa's early politics, involving a dominance of Southern Democrats and first-generation immigrants, appears to bear this out. The issues, however, became crucial.

According to the 1850 census, the forty-nine organized counties in Iowa had 44,420 eligible white male voters, 16.22% of whom were foreign-born.⁴⁸ Without analyzing the vote in each county, generally the highest-populated counties also had the highest mix of foreign-born white males to native-born. The mix of southern migrants and naturalized immigrants might have been sufficient to result in Democratic victories up through 1854, given the nature of the Democratic Party at that time (and the fact that the Republican Party needed time to organize to challenge Democratic dominance).⁴⁹

The election of a Whig for governor in 1856 appears to have signaled a change in the mix of voter interest groupings in the state, a trend beginning to become apparent at the constitutional convention in 1846. Factions of Whigs (interest groupings), of course, became the Republican Party in 1858. Following these first three Democratic and Whig governors for Iowa, a series of Republican governors held office from 1858 until 1891, when a Democrat (Horace Boies)

⁴⁷ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*. (Penn Press, 1951), 40.

⁴⁸ 1850 Federal Census, (Washington: Government Printing Office).

⁴⁹ Iowa did not begin publishing an Official Register with voting results until 1888, but election data is available on microfilm of the hand-written official tally by precinct. Unpublished.

took office. These closely follow the trend in sitting presidents of the time as well, possibly correlating to the economic circumstances of an agricultural depression. Two exceptions occur in the correlation of Iowa governor and elected presidents (although they show the dominance of the Republican Party in Iowa): Iowa's Electoral College votes went to Republican James G. Blaine in 1884 as the country elected Democrat Grover Cleveland; and again in 1892 Iowa's Electoral College votes went to Republican Benjamin Harrison while Democrat Grover Cleveland won the election. By this time Iowa's Republican Party played on Civil War sentiment in its attempt to keep the Democratic Party from regaining its once prominent control of the state political process. The selection of a Democratic governor in 1891 indicates something more afoot within the state. We know the nature of the Democratic Party was beginning to change by late in the nineteenth century as it absorbed the Populist Party in 1896, after previously absorbing the Greenback Party in the 1880s (both of which had similar political planks because they were founded by the same individuals), morphing something like globs in a lava lamp. History shows this to have been a time of agricultural problems and the industrial revolution. By the time the Democratic Party put Franklin Roosevelt in the White House during the Great Depression, Iowa voters not only supported Roosevelt, they elected back to back Democratic governors apparently following the lead of the rest of the country in blaming Republicans for the economic circumstances.

What changes took place with Iowa's population during this time? The 1860 census showed Iowa's population to be 674,041, an increase over the 1850

count of almost half a million. The mix of foreign-born to native-born increased less than two percent during this decade, indicating they were coming in at about the same rates as reflected in the previous census. While the state average of foreign-born to native born showed just over 18%, some counties were as high as 61%. The 1870 census showed a state population of 1,194,020, an increase again of about half a million in a decade; the foreign-born to native-born percentage increased two percent for the state, still showing about the same numbers of foreign-born as native-born moving into Iowa. While the state average showed about 20%, some counties were as high as 61%. The population centers contained the most immigrants, so the distribution varied by location.

The 1880 census showed a state population increase of another half a million, with a foreign-born to native-born percentage decrease of half a percent, indicating an influx of still almost equal mix. Included in the foreign-born since the 1870 census were: British (which included Canada), English and Welsh; Irish; Germans; Scandinavian (including Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish), and Scots.⁵⁰ Those groups represent the largest categories of ethnic immigrants settling in Iowa, and ranked high on the “whiteness scale” of the native-born. While other ethnicities show smaller numbers when compared to the state as a whole, they tended to settle in clusters, making their potential influence more apparent in those locations than statewide.

The 1890 census showed a state population increase of 720,000 (just over 50%) to 1,911,896, with a percentage of foreign-born to native-born jumping 24% to over 43% from the 1880 census. The mix varied considerably by location.

⁵⁰ See Federal Census of 1880 and 1890 (Washington: Government Printing Office).

Figure 51 shows the percentage of foreign-born to native-born by county from the 1890 census. Note the low number of immigrants in most of the southern three tiers of counties, indicating a very high percentage of native-born in those counties, located mostly in the Southern Pasture and some of the Eastern Livestock region. Census records show these counties to have been settled predominantly by native-born southerners, and attracted few immigrants.

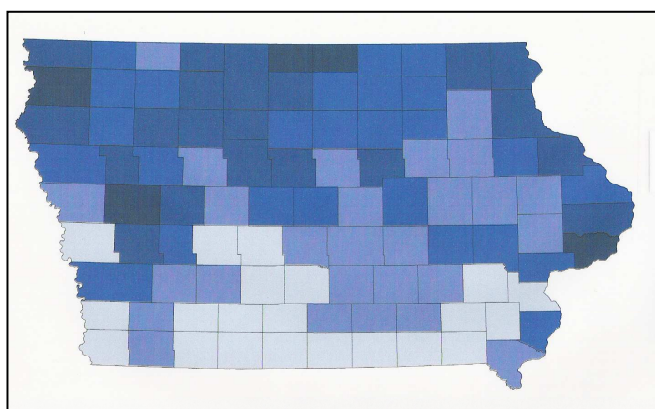


Figure 51. Map showing density of foreign-born 1890.

Those figures reflect a large increase in foreign-born to native-born moving into the state, and settling in the upper two-thirds of the counties. By region this included the Western livestock, the North central grain, and the Northeast dairy. Iowa's population in 1900 was 2,232,853, up only slightly from the 1,911,896 of 1890; foreign-born to native-born stood at 17.33%, a decrease of from the 43.04% of 1890. This was the smallest increase in population since statehood and reflected a shift in proportions of native-born to foreign-born at a time when national figures were showing large increases in foreign-born. The difference probably reflected more immigrants staying in urban areas as the land

available for homesteading disappeared and many immigrants lacked the capital necessary to purchase farms and necessary equipment.

The 1910 population figure becomes interesting in its anomaly. Table 1 shows the population of Iowa decreased about 8,000 but the percentage of foreign-born to native-born jumped 27 percentage points, up to 44% (similar to the 1890 statistic). The assumption has to be an outflow of native-born, with some increases in foreign-born, shifting the proportion of foreign-born to native-born. Farmers had come through some rough times in the late 1800s, including an 1893 depression, as had the businesses in rural towns dependent on the farm economy. In other bad times, people moved to other states looking for something better. The Great Depression saw this phenomenon, as did the 1980 farm crisis, (when Iowa lost about 200,000 citizens, according to census data). Native-born abandoning land provides opportunities for others.

By the time of the 1920 census, the population had increased by about 180,000 (similar to the increase from 1890 to 1900) and the percentage of foreign-born to native-born had decreased more than ten percentage points, indicating a slowing in the rate of immigrants moving into the state. After immigration quotas were put in place in the 1920s, Iowa's population showed an increase of about 70,000 for the 1930 census. The percentage of foreign-born to native-born dropped to eight percent.⁵¹ This would be expected since the favored groups of western and northern Europeans (allowed by the new quota system) were not using all of their allotted slots for immigration. Iowa population demographics indicate a dominance of immigrants from the favored areas of Europe, and chain

⁵¹ Federal Census 1920 and 1930 (Washington: Government Printing Office).

migration can be demonstrated as part of the settlement of the state due to increases of specific ethnicities at certain localities.

Census	Iowa	% Foreign-born to Native-born
Year	Population	
1840	43,112	
1850	191,881	16.22%
1860	674,041	18.68%
1870	1,194,020	20.69%
1880	1,624,615	19.20%
1890	1,911,896	43.04%
1900	2,231,853	17.33%
1910	2,224,771	44.03%
1920	2,404,021	30.56%
1930	2,470,939	8.00%

Table 1. Table of Iowa population changes 1840-1930.

How did this population handle politics?

This study takes an in-depth look at the Iowa statewide elections of 1891/1892, 1901/1902, and 1912 for governor and president in the next chapter. Examination of county and township voting results cross-referenced to native or first or second-generation immigrant, ethnicity, and religious data obtained from the nearest decennial census determines if arguments of ethnicity, religious affiliation and/or generation in the country influenced voting patterns, and whether location in the state accounted for differences between otherwise similar groupings. Census data shows heavy immigration settlement to some areas and a time of outward migration of native Iowans from a few locations, possibly due to economic circumstances. This time period covers U.S. industrialization, with social, economic, and political responses to the changes taking place. In the case of agriculture, the largest sector of Iowa's economy, a meat trust of four

companies formed in the late 1800s (dominated by one company), exerting pressure on shippers, processors, and livestock producers.⁵² Until the 1970s, when cattle production shifted to the Great Plains, Iowa produced the most cattle and hogs in the U.S., so farmers and related businesses had political interests in the effects of industrialization, vertical integration, and possible regulation. Political parties staked out positions on issues related to these circumstances, as they did on other issues that came along, with an eye to attracting votes.

In 1890, the percent of native-born males of voting age (born to native-born parents) to total males of voting age, averaged 55% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of eighty-some percent in the south-central and southwestern counties of Davis, Wayne, Decatur, Clarke, Ringgold, Van Buren, Appanoose, Madison, Warren, Fremont, and Taylor (all in the Southern pasture region), to a low of about 18% in Winnebago County. That reflects a large disparity within the state and between counties. Percent of native-born males (born to foreign-born parents immigrating to Iowa) of voting age to total males of voting age, averaged 27% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of about 50% in Winnebago, Worth, and Winneshiek Counties in the Northeast dairy region of the state to a low of .4% in Union County (Southern pasture region) in 1890. Percent of foreign-born males of voting age to total males of voting age

⁵² Charles Edward Russell, *The Greatest Trust in the World* (New York: New York Times, 1905). See also E. Pendleton Herring "Politics, Personalities, and the Federal Trade Commission" (Harvard University Press, 1914). The Meat Inspection Act of 1891 and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 are products of the Congressional hearings held on the meat trust. The "Report of the Senate Special Committee on the transportation and sale of meat products in the United States" (Vest Report, 1888), Senate Report No. 829, 51 Congressional Session I. This report details the railroad rate manipulations the Populists were complaining about. It also says that the low prices that caused the bottom to fall out of the cattle market were manipulations by the Big Four. A USDA comparison of available beef per population showed a decline during the time the prices were going down to the cattlemen (but up to the consumers).

averaged 18% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of thirty-some percent in the counties of Sioux, Worth, Winnebago, Scott, Crawford, and Clinton (in the north-central part of the state) to a low of .25% in Union County in 1890. Such variation reflects wide differences in settlement patterns. Note the location of counties with high percentages of native-born to foreign-born in south-central and southwestern Iowa in the Southern Iowa Drift Plain, with a tendency to have the poorer Grundy-Shelby soil type. Census demographics show the dominant ethnicity locating in these counties to be English, Scots, Irish, and native-born. The counties with the highest percentages of foreign-born to native born, in the north-central part of the state, are located mostly on the Iowan Surface landform region containing mostly Carrington-Clyde soils that are among the richest in minerals necessary for plant growth. Agricultural activities differed between these two areas, with the south-central focus on pastured livestock while the northern focus lay mostly with dairy and grain. Experiences would have differed between these two areas, along with ethnicity.

The 1900 census showed the percent of native-born males (born of native-born parents) to total males, averaging 56% for the state as a whole, but ranging from a high of eighty-some percent in the counties of Wayne, Davis, Decatur, Clarke, Van Buren, Ringgold, Taylor, Warren, Madison, and Fremont (in the Southern Pasture Region) to a low of 23% in Worth County (in the Northeast Dairy Region). The percentage of native-born males of foreign-born parents averaged 29% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of about 50% in Worth County to a low of just under 8% in Wayne County. The percent of

foreign-born males to total males, averaged 15% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of just under 30% in the counties of Sioux and Worth to a low of just under 3% in the counties of Clarke, Davis and Decatur. The data between the 1890 census and the 1900 census show the same Iowa counties remaining either high or low in percentages of first and second-generation immigrants. Native-borns initially staked out their territory in the southern and southeastern part of the state (with the worst soil and topology), leaving the northern two-thirds of counties (with the best soil and topology) for the immigrants.

The 1910 census showed the percent of native-born males of voting age of native-born parents, averaging 50% for the state as a whole (a slight drop from the two previous censuses, probably accounted for by the outward migration of native stock noted in the census), but ranging from a high of eighty-some percent in the counties of Davis, Wayne, Clarke, Van Buren, Decatur, Taylor, Warren, Ringgold, Fremont, and Madison to a low of seventeen-some percent in the counties of Sioux, Worth, and Winnebago. The percent of native-born males of voting age of foreign-born parents averaged 27% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of forty-some percent in the counties of Allamakee, Winneshiek, Dubuque, Worth, Clayton, Chickasaw, Howard, Winnebago, and Bremer to a low of 8% in Wayne County. Note the increase in the number of northern counties in this category. The percent of foreign-born males of voting age to total males of voting age, averaged 22% for the state as a whole, but ranged from a high of forty-some percent in the northern counties of Sioux, Lyon, and Winnebago to a low of about 4% in the southern counties of Davis, Ringgold, and

Van Buren. The counties with low immigration settlement and high native-born rates remained the same for the time period of this study: south-central and southwestern parts of the state. The new counties showing up on the list of those with high percentages of native-born males of foreign-born parents could be the location of out-migration of native stock, reflected by census data for the state as a whole, as well as the location for new immigrants. Figures 52-54 show Iowa immigrant origins for 1890, 1900, and 1910.

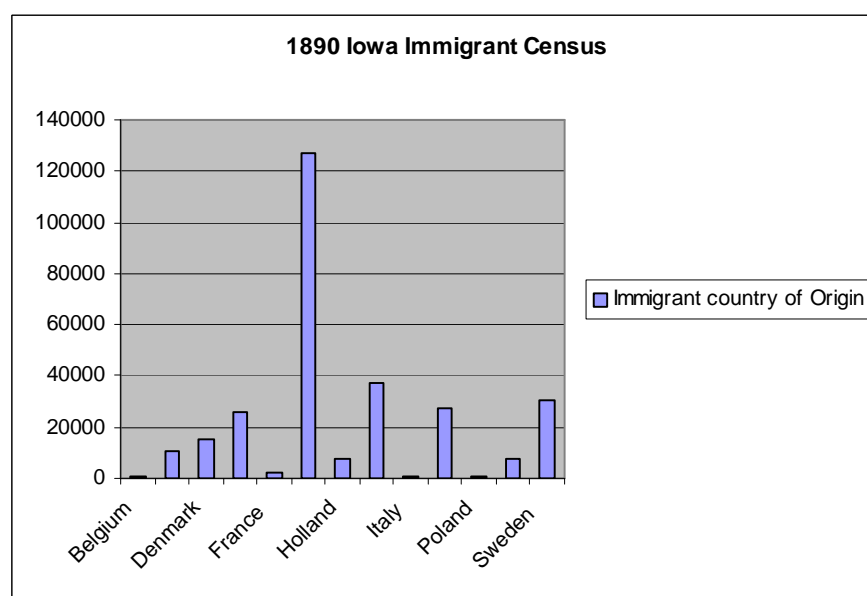


Figure 52. Chart of 1890 Iowa immigrant sources.

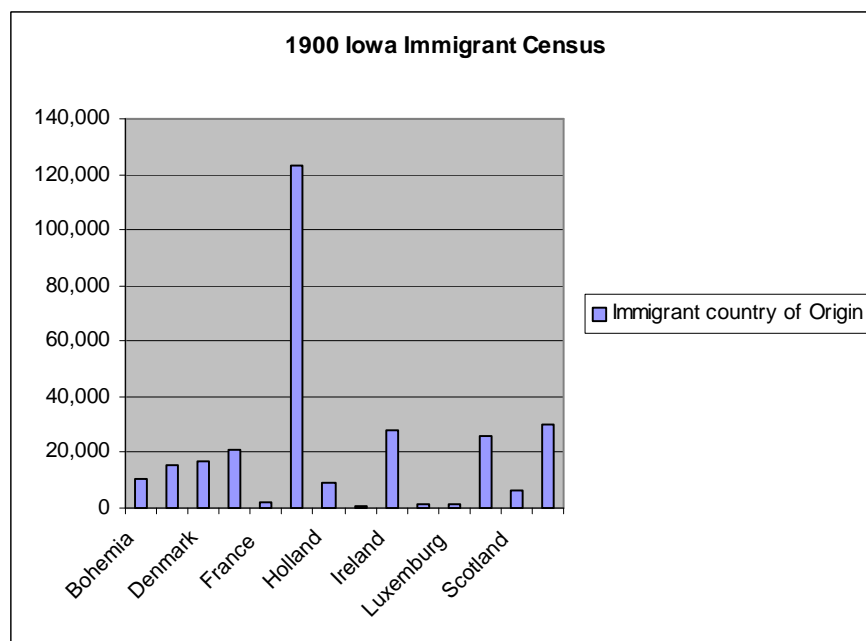


Figure 53. Chart of 1900 Iowa immigrant sources.

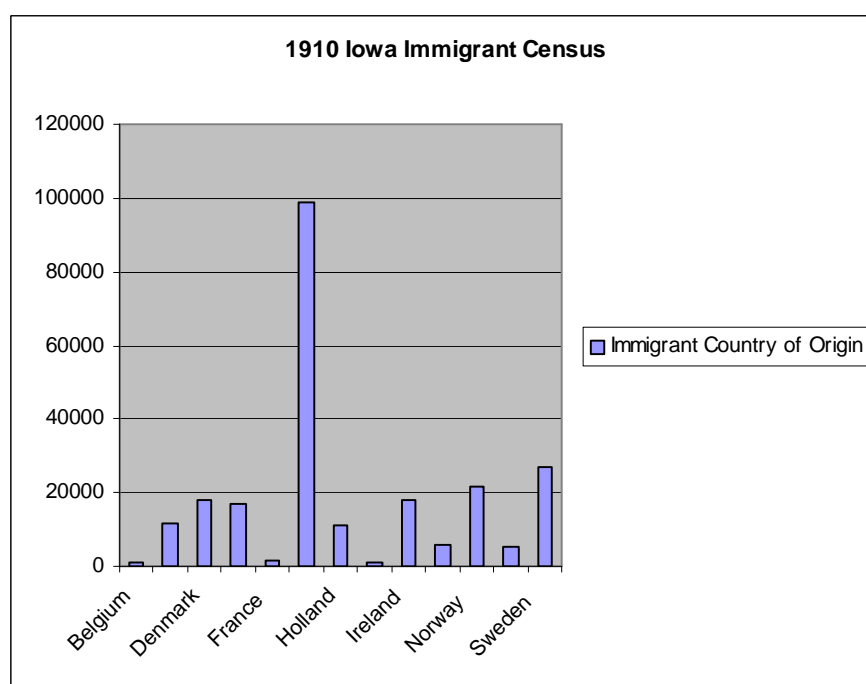


Figure 54. Chart of 1910 Iowa immigrant sources.

Immigrant countries of origin remained relatively constant, as did the percentages. Germany contributed the most immigrants to the Iowa population, but they did not tend to settle in the southern two tiers of counties, which remained mostly native-born (with some English, Irish and Scots) during the time of this study.

Political system structure sets parameters for options

The nature of a political system dominated by two parties makes it difficult for a third party to organize in a meaningful way to gain sufficient political strength to challenge the hegemony. Such systems do not function by ideology the way they do in multiple-party systems in other parts of the world; they function by the selection of issues and positions on those issues that are calculated to attract the greatest number of voters to win positions in the political structure of government for the purpose of policy influence. Factions within each party can exert influence on certain issues by a variety of means. As a rule, a two-party political system will pick up an issue only if it appears it will not go away in time, and a third party finds success in pushing it (indicated by voter preference). Once one of the dominant two parties adopts the issue, it neutralizes the influence of the third party. Those wishing to exert political influence on certain issues learn to work within this type of system (generally through interest groups).

Various farmer movements, beginning with the Grange, attempted to work within the two-party system by telling their members to work to influence issue positions within whichever party they supported. Those who became impatient

with this method formed third parties, only to find their influence neutralized when a major party eventually took up the issue, or the issue went away. Such was the case in Iowa, where third parties existed but remained in the minority, managing to sway elections by the closeness of the vote between the Republican and Democratic parties. The Catholic Church worked in a similar manner, never attempting to form a Catholic political party in this country, as it did in other parts of the world where the political systems were based on ideologies.

In addition to diverse ethnicities and political beliefs, white settlers to Iowa brought several religions. Various Protestant denominations (including several forms of Lutheranism) and Catholicism existed among the Yankees, Southerners, and immigrants settling the state. The number of Iowa Catholics recorded for the 1850 census totaled 4,490 in nine of the forty-nine counties organized at the time. These started in Dubuque County, with 1,350 by the 1850 census, and moved both south and westward across the state. Lee County showed the next largest numbers with 1,250 in 1850, followed by Jackson County with 590. Figure 55 reflects the concentrations in Dubuque County and Lee County with the darkest blue color. Note the one medium blue county along the path of the Des Moines River headed toward the central part of the state.

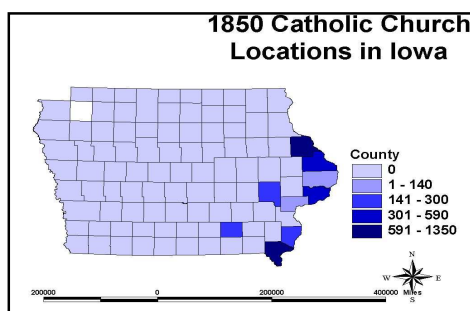


Figure 55. 1850 Catholic churches in Iowa.

The Dubuque Diocese, created in 1837, originally included Iowa, Minnesota, and those parts of the Dakotas lying east of the Missouri River; by the time of the 1850 census, Minnesota and the Dakotas separated from Dubuque to form the diocese of St. Paul. Once the cathedral in Dubuque was completed in 1837, the next Catholic Church built in Iowa was in Jackson County to the south. During 1838 and 1839, Irish immigrants began settling the area. Being too poor to build anything other than a log structure, their church was completed in 1840 for 100 Catholics. Three years later there were about 600 Catholics in the area as well as a school.⁵³

The timing of these actions by the Irish would have coincided with the public school controversy in which the Irish Catholics were embroiled on the east coast. Censuses of the Iowa Territory show these Irish coming from Ireland by way of eastern coastal cities. The later influx, fleeing the potato famine, was “encouraged” to leave east coast urban areas to reduce the nativist problems being experienced there by Irish Catholics; Iowa became one of the target areas for

⁵³ *Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque*, compiled and edited by Rev. M. M. Hoffmann (Dubuque: Columbia College Press, 1938).

resettlement.⁵⁴ About 500 Irish also came later with their families from New York and Canada in the 1850s to work on the railroads being built. They stayed after completion of the work.⁵⁵

Ray Allen Billington, in *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism*, documents the various phases of anti-Catholicism in America. Increases in Catholic immigrants provided support for nativist organizations. While members of these organizations ranged from liberal to conservative, they agreed on the Protestant roots of American natural law and government. The American Protective Association, a virulent anti-Catholic national group, had its base in Iowa. Political strategies to select and frame election issues worked to marginalize, or disperse, the Catholic vote.⁵⁶

According to Handlin, immigrants, who had incorporated religion into their daily lives before making the crossing, insisted on having religion in their lives in the new country as a stabilizer. Religion became something familiar to them in a world that seemed to have lost its grounding from what they had known. They began building their new lives around it.⁵⁷ This may explain why first generation immigrants voted conservative while later generations adopted more “American” ways, showing some departure from their basic religious tenets (if they were Catholic). Catholics and Protestants each had their own Enlightenment

⁵⁴ Robert Francis Hueston, *The Catholic Press and Nativism 1840-1860* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

⁵⁵ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*.

⁵⁶ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938).

⁵⁷ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*.

theories of mankind, government, and relationship issues, which adapted to new circumstances over time.

Figure 56 shows the change by 1900, when the Irish had slowed their immigrating to Iowa but the Germans still came, as did other Catholic groups such as the various Bohemians. While not all Irish and Germans were Catholic, a good percentage of them were, according to census data. However, notice the sparseness of Catholic Churches in the southern region with the highest rates of native-born and lowest rates of immigration. The Des Moines Diocese, covering the southwest quadrant of Iowa, was the last one formed in the state (in the 1920s).

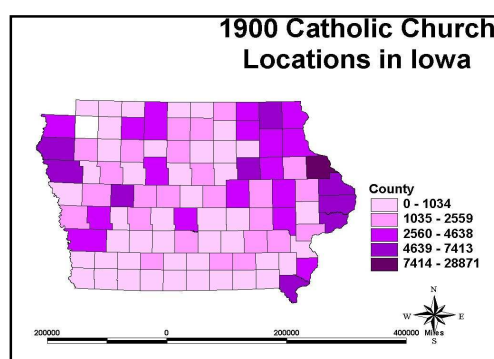


Figure 56. 1900 Iowa church Census.

Figure 56 shows that Dubuque County still had the densest population of Catholics in Iowa, even after fifty years of Catholic immigrants moving into the state. Few Catholic churches were located across the southern two tiers of counties by 1900, dominated by native-born individuals with southern roots, Scots, Irish, and English. There were also noticeable gaps in the north-central and northwest-central counties. A comparison of maps on the following pages for the largest Irish and the largest German concentrations for this time period shows a correlation of location with the Catholic Church locations.

Figure 57, taken from a 1906 census of religions, shows the variety of religions in Iowa at the time, but clearly illustrates the dominance of Catholic and Lutheran. Considering the dominant ethnicities of Scandinavian (predominantly Lutheran) and German (predominantly Catholic or Lutheran), this should not come as a surprise.

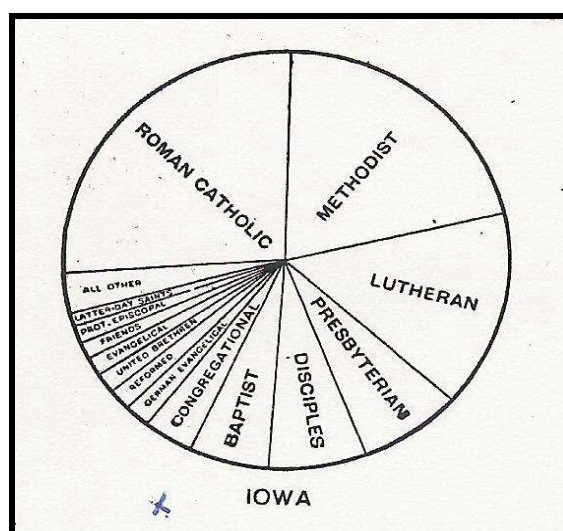


Figure 57. 1906 Church Census of Iowa.

The next question to ask is whether or not ethnic groups congregated once they had settled, or if they spread out across the state, taking advantage of the new areas open to settlement. While congregation might show some political voting clusters, if they exist, participation and party selection of issues for each election influence outcomes. Clustering could influence local levels, but extending outward to multi-county, state, regional, and then national worked to diffuse local clustering. An examination of census data for each ethnic group, beginning with the Irish, will examine this question.

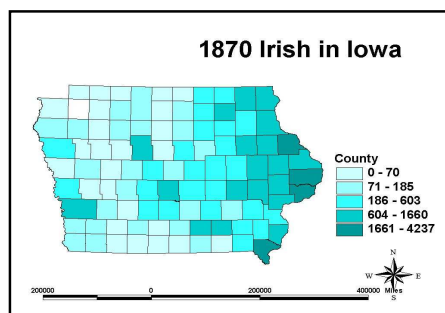


Figure 58. Map of 1870 Irish in Iowa by county.

Assuming settlement happened from east to west, and took time (with the exception of those navigating up the Missouri River along the western border of the state), the 1870 census appears to be the logical starting point for examination (Figure 58). Counties with greater density appear in the darker color. While Irish could be found in many of Iowa's counties, the eastern counties appear to have the greater numbers at that time. Those counties also had the largest population numbers for the time.

Did the Irish disperse as the population moved out across the state? Let's look at the 1890 census data (Figure 59). Clustering appears to have started. By 1890 more counties have sparser populations of first-generation Irish in Iowa. Newcomers could have been joining friends and family in already-settled areas. Des Moines, in Polk County, is the dark color in the middle of the map.

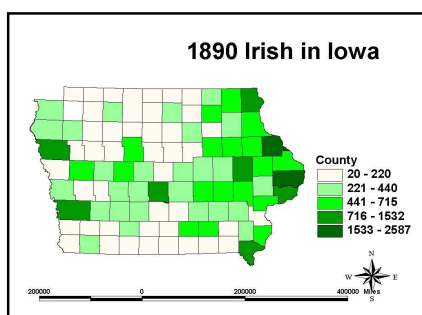


Figure 59. Map of 1890 Federal Census showing Irish in Iowa.

By 1900, the federal census shows the location of the Irish in Iowa to have been stable (Figure 60). The densities and locations of the map above and the map on the next page remain almost constant. Those immigrating to the state appear to have located where other Irish were already located. The greatest density occurred in the urban population centers, becoming sparser outward from those centers.

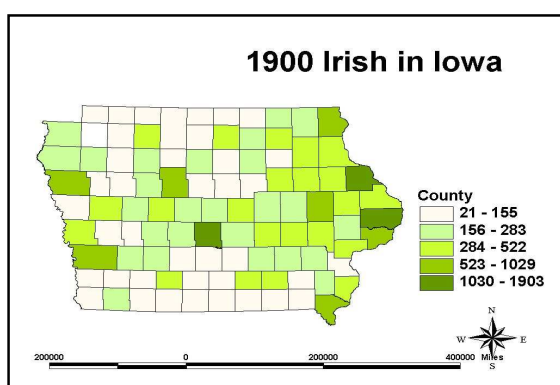


Figure 60. Map of 1900 Federal Census showing Irish in Iowa.

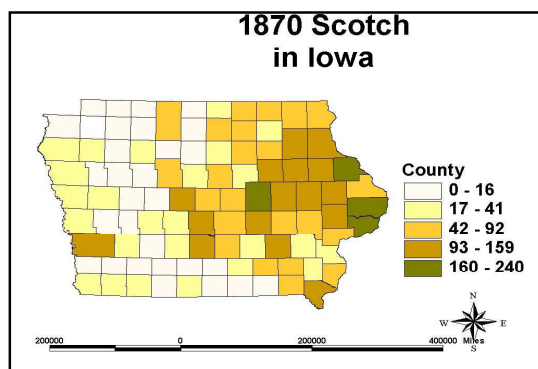
Another ethnic group found its way to Iowa with the Irish during the early settlement times. The Scots came by way of Canada, where they had been settled by the Hudson Bay Company. Unhappy with the area and the company, a scout from their group visited the Iowa area designated as the Black Hawk Purchase in 1832, liked the land, and started the migration in 1835. A second group came in 1838, followed by a third in 1840. They settled about fifty miles from the city of Dubuque. Their letters to friends and relatives back in Scotland lured others to immigrate to the area.⁵⁸ The rising numbers of Scots and Irish in Dubuque

⁵⁸ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 30.

County probably contributed to the large percentage of foreign-born to native-born: 109.36% (likely off because of some inaccurate census numbers) in the 1850 census and 71.48% in the 1860 census. The map on the next page shows their distribution in 1870.

Figure 61. Map of 1870 Federal Census showing Scots in Iowa.

The location of the Scots in 1870 Iowa reflected the general population clusters. In addition to the large density in Dubuque County, as expected from the location of the earliest settlement to the state, note the large density in Benton



County. The cluster of counties between Benton and Dubuque, showing the next-highest densities, attest to the Scottish drawing power for friends and family.

Figure 62 reflects a somewhat different picture for the Scots in Iowa. Dubuque County no longer reflected its dense population. Benton County still had a density cluster, but so did Polk County and Woodbury County (on the western border of the state where one of the bridges across the Missouri River is located). The Scottish were dispersing.

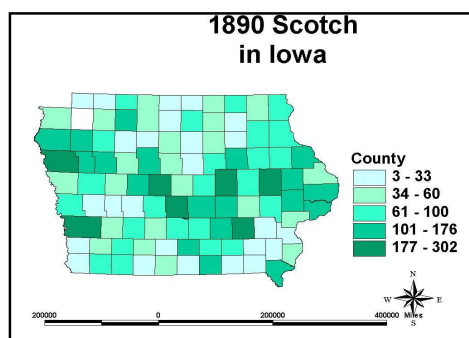


Figure 62. Map of 1890 Federal Census showing Scots in Iowa.

By 1910, the census figures for Iowa counties showed the Scots well-dispersed (Figure 63). Two dense clusters remained at Polk County, Boone County to the northwest, and Woodbury County. Two new densities appeared in the southern tier of counties.

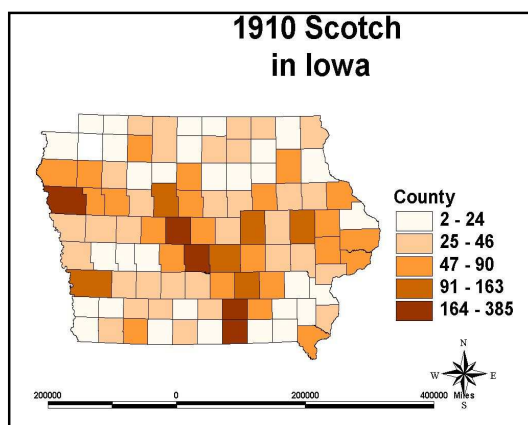


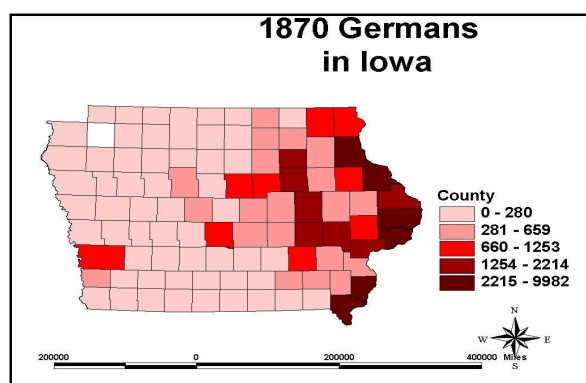
Figure 63. Map of 1910 Federal Census showing Scots in Iowa.

While the Irish and the Scots composed the first two immigrant groups to Iowa, by the 1860 census, the Germans were increasing. In terms of numbers, German immigrants numbered almost the same as the Irish in Iowa. German settlements sprang up in many sections. In May 1842 a St. Louis newspaper announced that during the first three months of that year 529 steamers going by on the Mississippi River had passengers headed for Iowa, many of them German.

The same article went on to say that more than half of the population of Dubuque was then German.⁵⁹ By the time of the 1860 census, Iowa had a population of 674,910; of these 106,081 came from foreign countries, 38,555 from Germany. Many of the “Forty-Eighters,” who left Germany during the revolutions, settled in Davenport in Scott County, which had showed a Catholic membership of 300 for the 1850 census. An estimate of the German immigrants revealed about one-fourth of them to be Catholic; a larger percentage was Lutheran, similar ideologically to Catholicism at that time, according to their liturgy and practices.

Figure 64. Map of 1870 Federal Census showing Germans in Iowa.

Figure 64 shows, by 1870 German immigrants appeared to have been



entering Iowa from the Mississippi River along the eastern border and gradually moving westward. Of interest is the larger settlement along the western border. It is possible that some Germans coming up the Mississippi River from the south chose to take the Missouri River north from Missouri rather than continuing upward along the Mississippi River. We know that railroad tracks were laid by 1870 from the eastern border to at least the central part of the state; therefore,

⁵⁹ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 35.

those later Germans landing on the eastern border could have taken the train westward to look for a place to settle in the state.

By the 1890 census a greater density of first-generation Germans existed in more than just urban areas in Iowa (Figure 65). The urban areas would have been along the eastern border, the two bridge crossings on the western border, and at the capital in Des Moines.

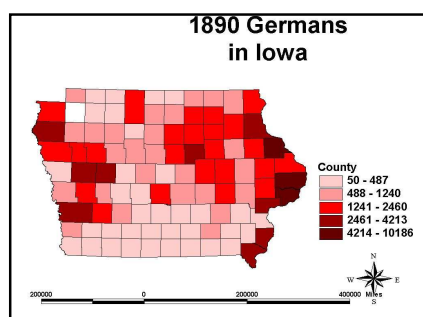


Figure 65. Map of 1890 Federal Census showing Germans in Iowa.

As reflected in the map above, showing population densities, many Germans appear to have chosen to head north up the Missouri River and then head eastward across the state. If these were family and friends of the first settlers to the area who had been told about this route, this would make sense. The darkest areas of settlement along the western border were bridge crossings. Even today, those are the only two places to cross the Missouri River between Iowa and Nebraska. Those would have been railroad crossings as well.

The next largest group to arrive represented Scandinavian countries. Norwegians, first of that grouping, settled in Lee County in the southern part of the state along the eastern border. The next Norwegians left Illinois for Iowa in

1846, settling in Clayton County to the northern part of the state close to the eastern border. More followed, settling in Fayette County, Winneshiek County, and Allamakee County, all toward the northeastern part of the state in the Northeast dairy region. According to the 1850 census, Norwegians represented seventy percent of the Scandinavians in the United States and numbered 361 in Iowa. The 1860 census showed 5,688 Iowans born in Norway; by 1880 the number was up to 21,586. They spread out across the state. Scandinavians tended to be Protestants, predominantly Lutheran, and joined the dominant Protestant church in their community of settlement, although the census reports on churches showed they did have some ethnic Lutheran synods.

Figure 66, of 1870, shows the sparseness of the numbers of Scandinavians across the state in 1870, but clusters existed. Figure 67, of 1900, better reflects the extent to which Scandinavians spread out across the state. It also shows continued support for the first settlements.

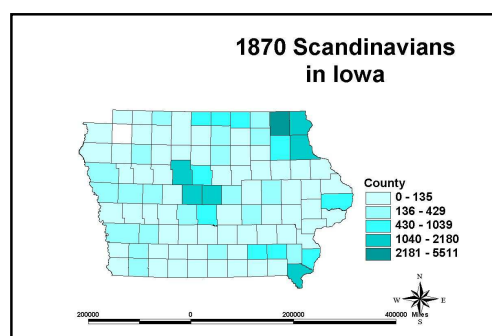


Figure 66. Map of 1870 Federal Census showing Scandinavians in Iowa.

The first Swedish settlement occurred in Jefferson County in 1845, but the first Danish settler found his way to Muscatine County. The Dano-Prussian War of 1871 created a push factor for Danes living in that area when Jutland was added to Prussia. Many immigrated to America. Later Danes and Swedes came

to Iowa by rail to settle communities, rather than by covered wagon, because Iowa had a vast railroad network by then.⁶⁰

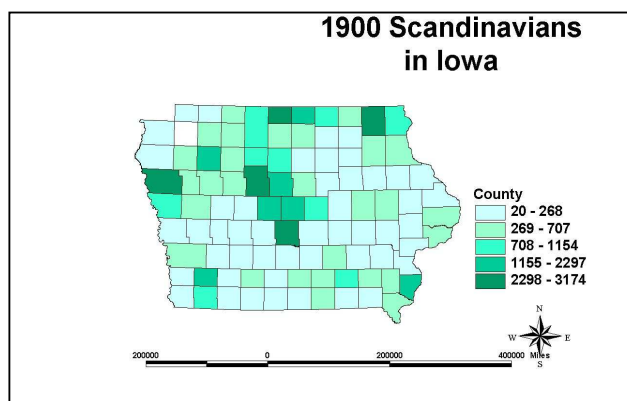


Figure 67. Map of 1900 Federal Census showing Scandinavians in Iowa.

The Dutch will be the last group of Iowa immigrants to be examined.

They did not comprise one of the largest immigrant groups in Iowa, but they had an interesting method of settlement. While the Dutch had been early explorers of the New World, establishing colonies along the Hudson River before the English began establishing their colonies, it was a group of Dutch Separatists in 1846 that made their way from Holland up the Mississippi River and eventually to Marion County, situated along the Des Moines River, to found a settlement at Pella. Located on one of the main roads to the West, Pella survived a rough start.⁶¹ In 1849, 250 more settlers from Holland arrived. The 1850 census showed 1,108 Iowans born in Holland; by 1860 the number reached 2,615; the 1870 census showed 4,513 Iowans born in Holland. The Pella colony became so large by 1870, a group left to begin a new colony at Orange City in Sioux County, located along the western border on the Missouri River. Each of these locations is located

⁶⁰ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 42.

⁶¹ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 43.

in a different geological region of the state and reflects different voting patterns. Additional Dutch settlers continued to arrive from other Dutch communities in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

Another immigrant group that did not have large numbers in Iowa but settled in clusters was the general classification of Bohemians, as titled in the original census data. America had few Bohemians until after 1848, when political conditions created a push out of the area for some of the groups in that region. The first Czechs to come to Iowa belonged to the peasant class.⁶² They bought land in Linn and Johnson Counties to farm. By 1870, Iowa had many Czechs, 1,780 of whom lived in Linn County. The 1890 census showed 10,928 Czechs living in Iowa, 3,327 of them in Linn County. Prior to World War I the Czechs in Linn County belonged to mostly Catholic or Presbyterian churches. Czechs also started many settlements in eastern Iowa. One of the more famous ones, Spillville, became a temporary home to composer Anton Dvorak in the summer of 1893 when an Iowa Czech resident went to Europe to become a pupil of the composer and invited him back to Iowa for a visit. Dvorak came, bringing his family, and put the finishing touches on his “New World Symphony.” When the composer left Spillville, he went to Chicago to the Columbian Exposition to conduct an orchestra at the World’s Fair.⁶³

The last immigrant group in Iowa to be examined came from one of the smallest countries in Europe, Luxemburg. In spite of its small size, 8,000 of its citizens immigrated to the United States between 1870 and 1880 as a result of the

⁶² Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 50.

⁶³ Moeller, *They Came to Iowa*, 51.

consequences of the German-Franco war. The 1880 census showed 3,104 Iowa residents coming from Luxemburg. The Iowa 1885 census showed 285 families living in Jackson County and over 450 families living in Dubuque County, both along the eastern border. Most were either Catholic or Lutheran.⁶⁴

Summary

The settlement of Iowa began with various Native American tribes moving into and out of the area, interacting with the resources according to their own beliefs. What had taken thousands of years to develop became history in about a hundred years. The Native Americans encountered by the first white settlers to Iowa in 1832 had already been significantly changed by encounters with trappers and traders. The rate at which they were expected to change to accommodate new beliefs was too rapid for most. Perceived as hopelessly backward, they yielded to the onslaught of white settlers into the state.

Once Iowa white settlement officially began in 1832, the population increased at the rate of about half a million people a decade for the first four decades. It then slowed to a rate of about two hundred thousand for two of the next three decades before trailing off by 1930. In 1910 it lost population. The native-born migrants came from New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana. The largest groups of foreign-born immigrants came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Significant additional countries of origin included the Bohemian region of Europe, Holland, and Luxemburg. They came by boat, on foot, and by train,

⁶⁴ 1885 Iowa Census, online at <http://www.censusfinder.com/iowa.htm>.

depending on the development of infrastructure and circumstances. All settlers brought with them their beliefs, as had the Indians, and adapted to the circumstances they found.

The mix of native-born to foreign-born varied with the area and the times. Some counties had percentages multiple times higher than the state average; other counties had less. While the timing of the inflow of immigrants tended to lag the urban areas to the east, Iowa census data does not show the corresponding big influx of eastern and southern Europeans. Some did settle in Iowa, but not in the proportions seen in larger urban areas of the country. This seems to support the conclusions of Oscar Handlin that the eastern and southern Europeans did not have the capital to go into farming when they immigrated. Iowa was a farm state, so many likely stayed in more urban areas to find work. Iowa did witness some clustering of ethnic groups, as experienced in larger urban areas, some more than others, but mostly immigrants dispersed throughout the ninety-nine counties as the counties developed.

Chapter 4: The religious lay of the land

Susan Curtis, in *A Consuming Faith* (1991), noted that Protestants worried about losing their faith and their government to Catholics and Jews.⁶⁵ Essays in *Immigration and the American* (1976), edited by Moses Rischin, noted that Americans identified liberty with Protestantism (part of their historical experience since the colonization phase), making them hostile to pre-Reformation Europe and its representatives.⁶⁶ Papism seemed to threaten the assumptions of the new republic because the Enlightenment thoughts brought to the New World had a basis in English Protestant ideas to which the Catholic Church in Rome had staunchly objected. Fractured Protestant sects ranging from liberal to conservative sometimes reveal voting preferences in Iowa for the time of this study, but Catholicism – treated as one monolithic bloc – reflected no uniform support from any location in Iowa during the twenty-five years of this study.

Figures 68-72 GIS maps reflect religious affiliations distributed by county, using church census data. Some denominations are shown separately while others are grouped by regression analysis results of political influence, indicating which denominations leaned toward certain candidates. While the numbers might change during the time of this study, the locations remained rather constant. These can be compared to the county maps of Iowa House representation in the Iowa Legislature in Chapter 7 for any possible patterns of parties elected. Catholics tended to locate in the three regional zones of Western livestock, North

⁶⁵ Susan Curtis, in *A Consuming Faith* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

⁶⁶ Moses Rischin, *Immigration and the American* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1976).

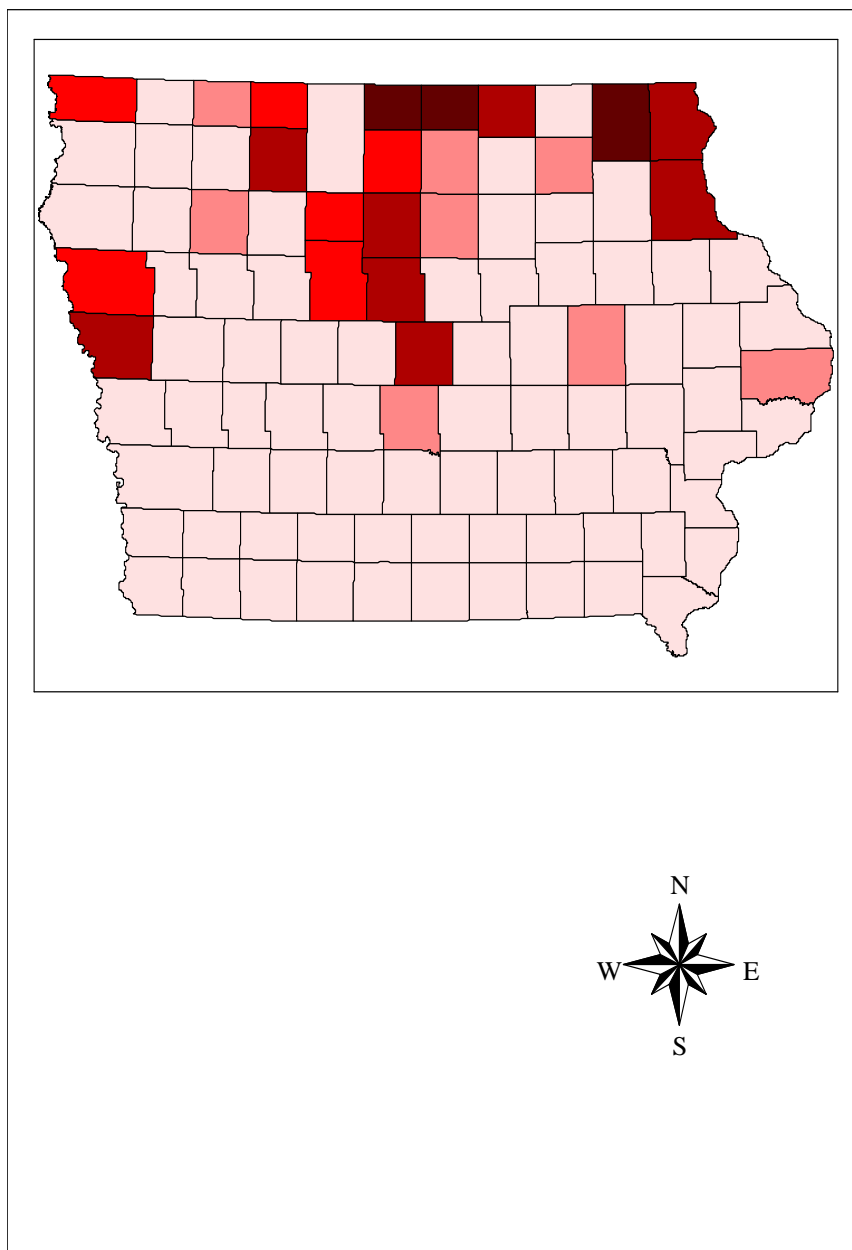


Figure 70. Map of Lutheran General, Synodical, United Norwegian in Iowa 1906.

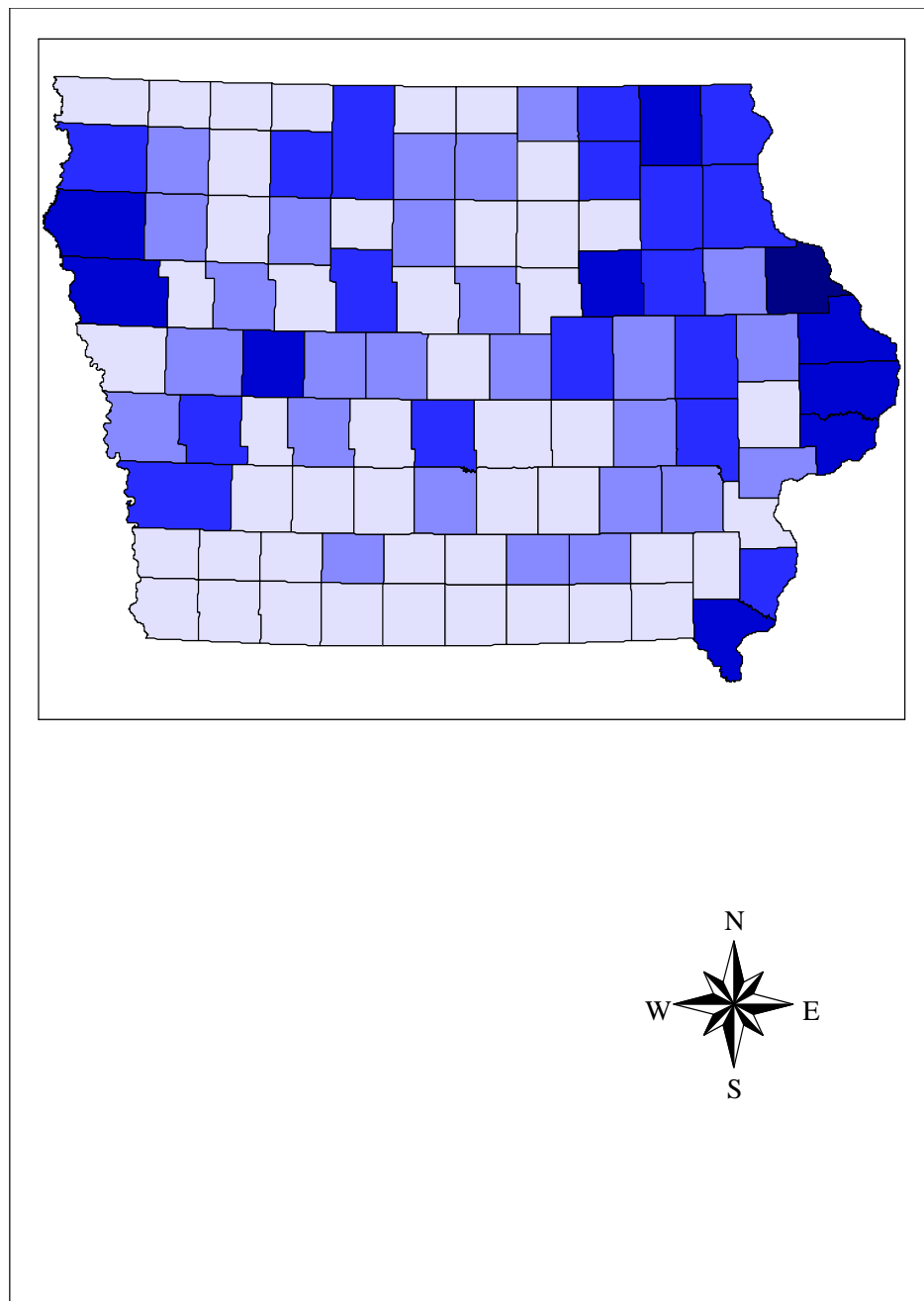


Figure 72. Map of Lutheran Hauge, Norwegian Free, Iowa, Joint synod of Ohio 1906.

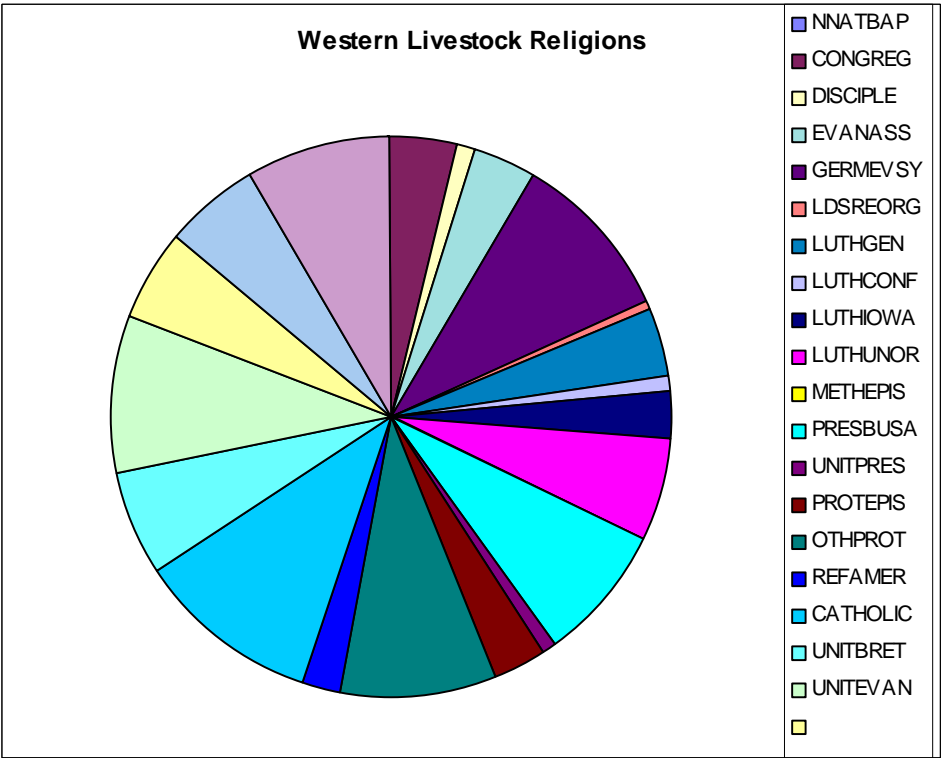


Figure 73. Pie chart of Western Livestock region religions.

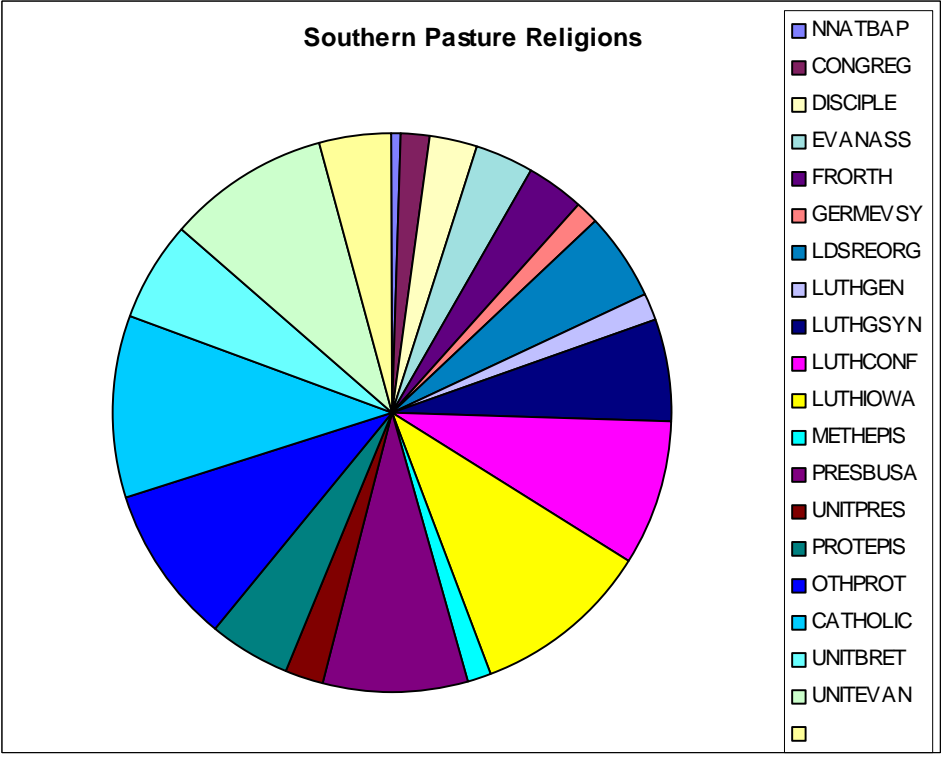


Figure 74. Pie chart of Southern Pasture region religions.

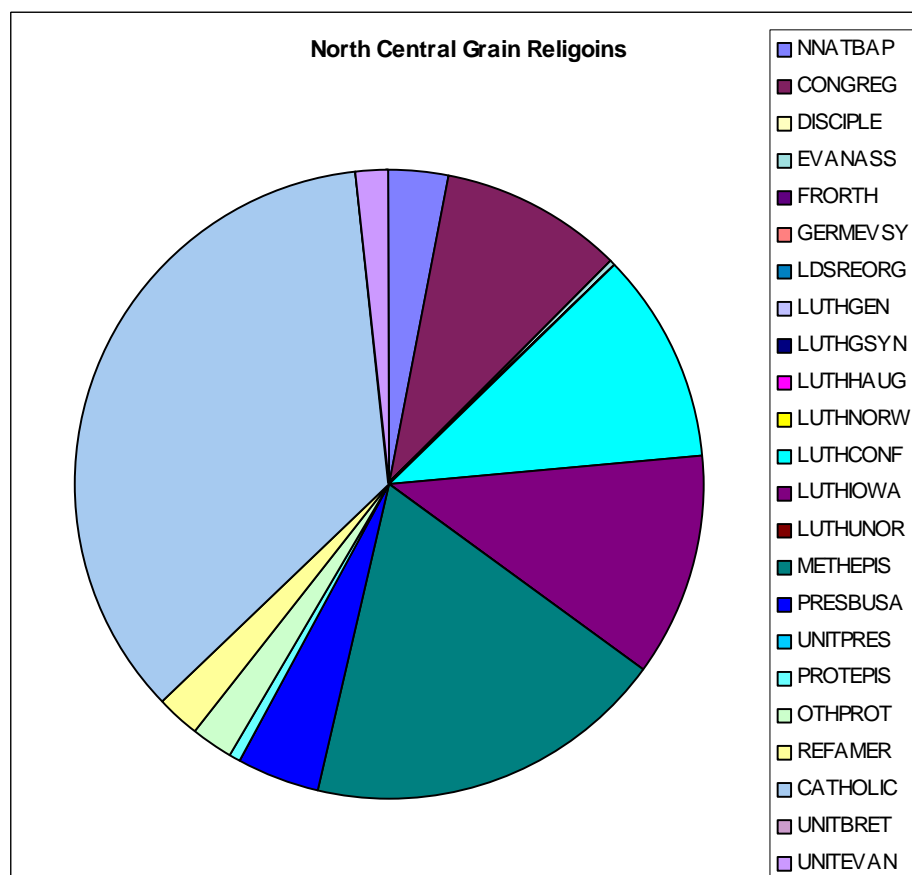


Figure 75. Pie chart of North Central Grain religions.

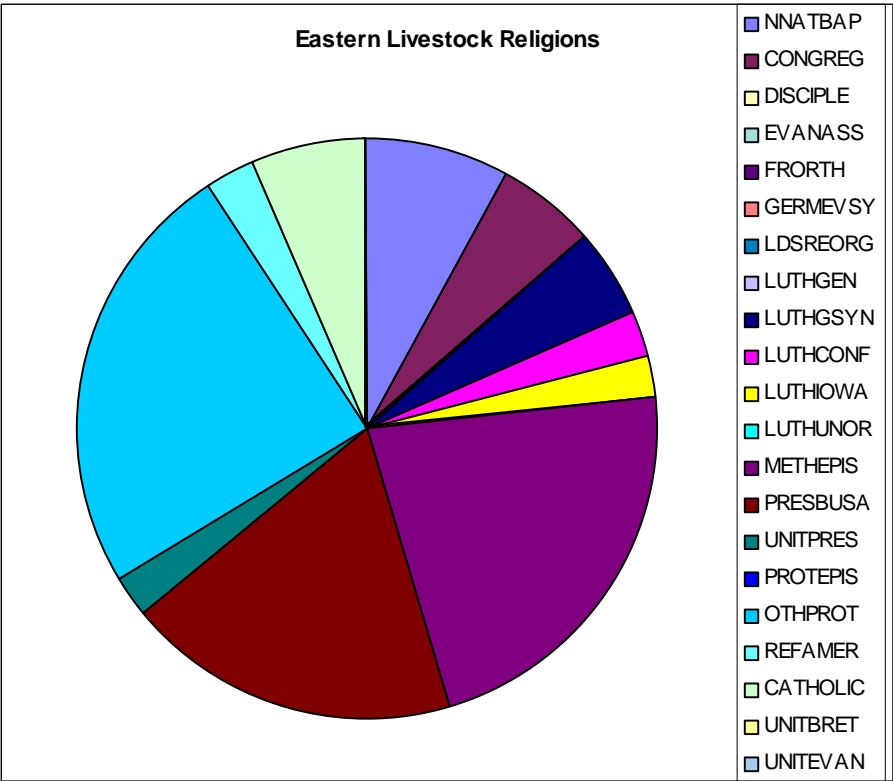


Figure 76. Pie chart of Eastern Livestock region religions.

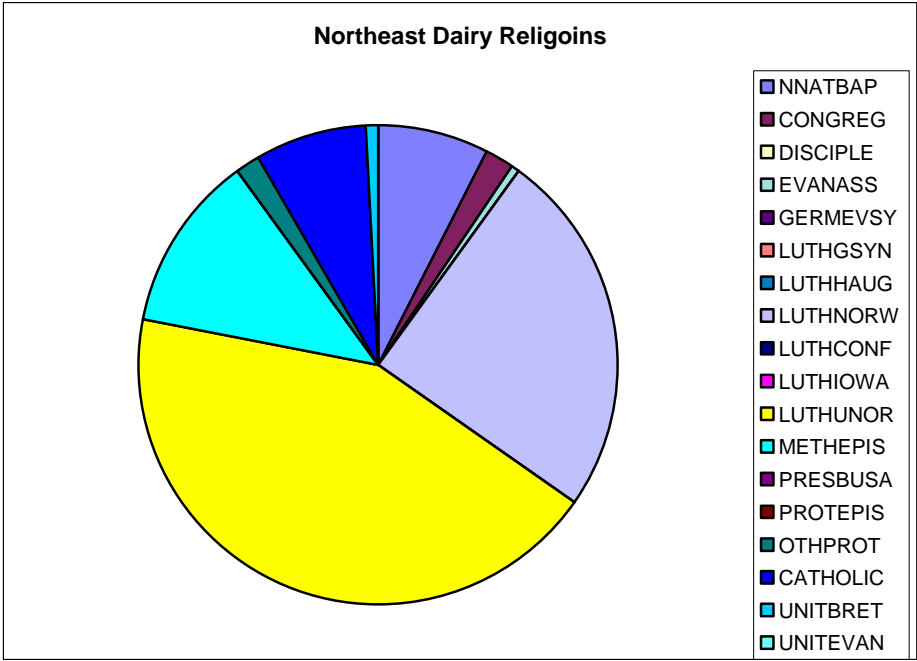


Figure 77. Pie chart of Northeast Dairy region religions.

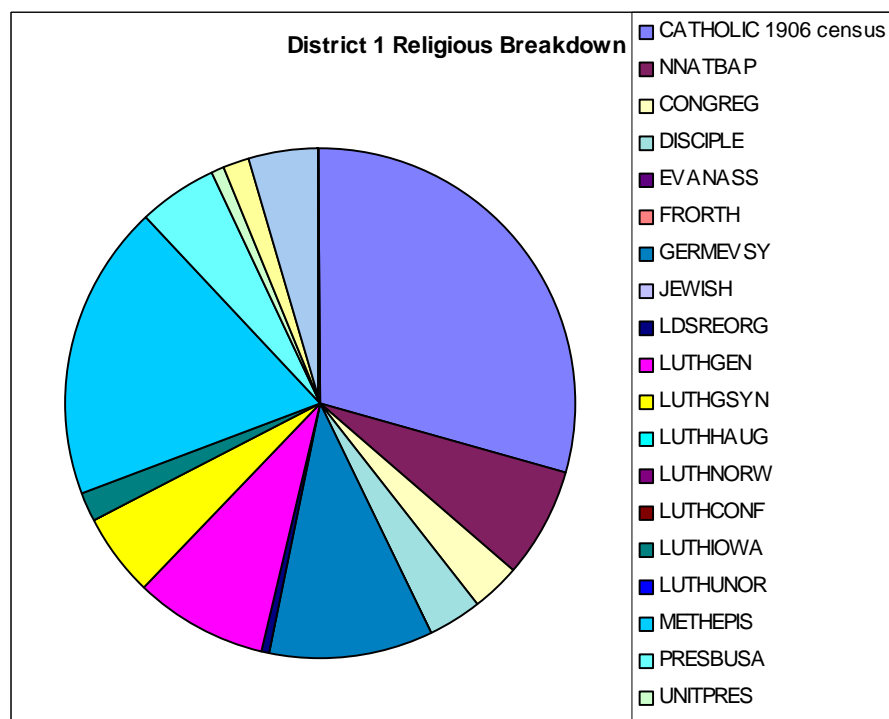


Figure 78. Pie chart of District 1 religions 1906.

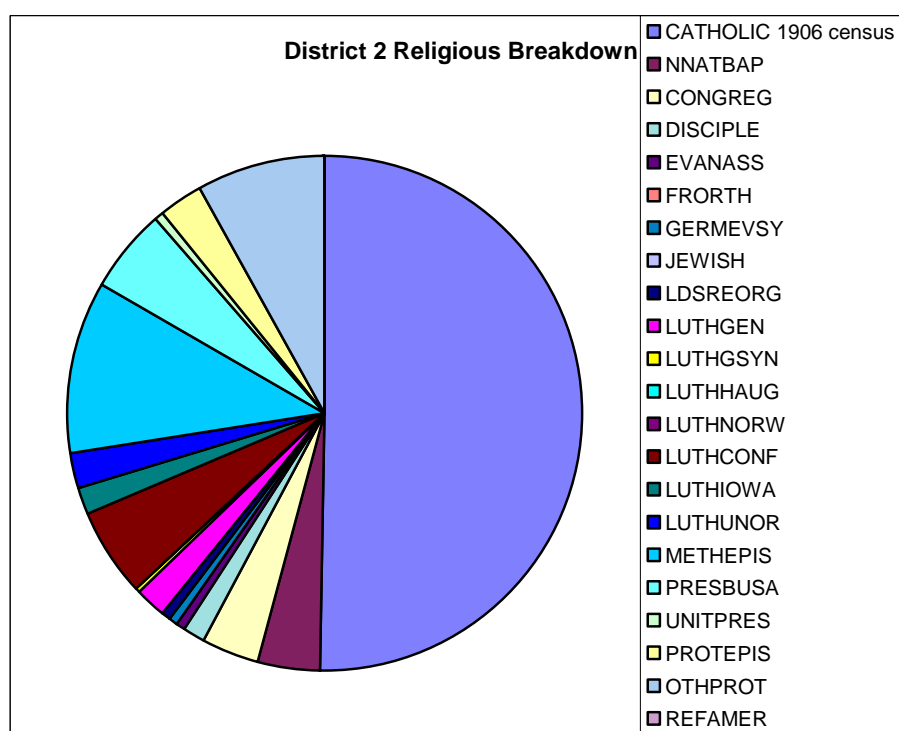


Figure 79. Pie chart of District 2 religions 1906.

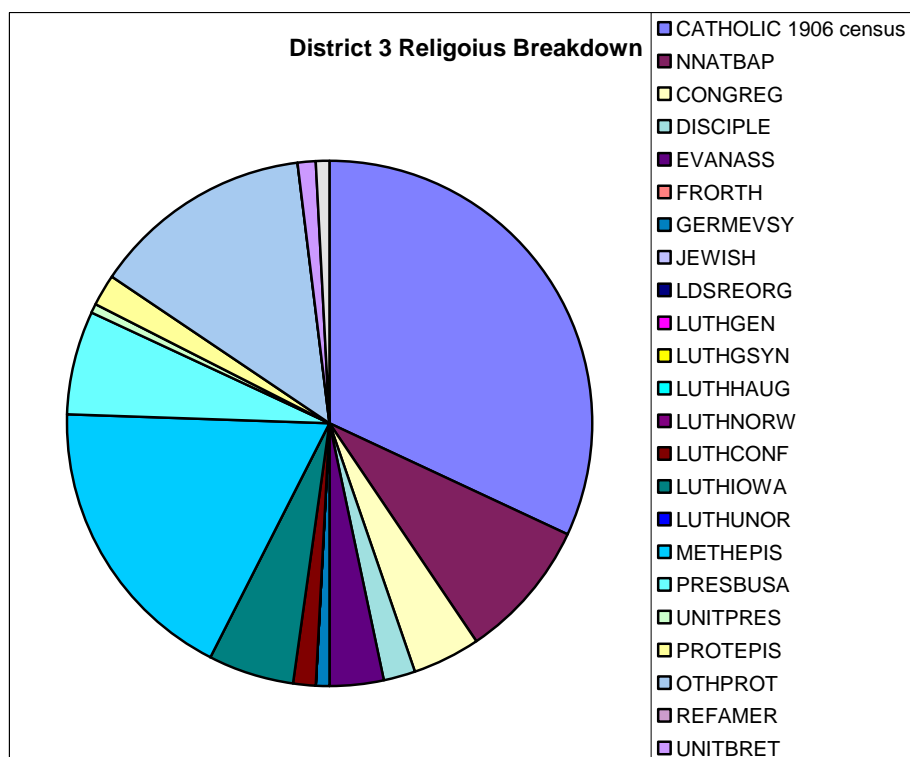


Figure 80. Pie chart of District 3 religions 1906.

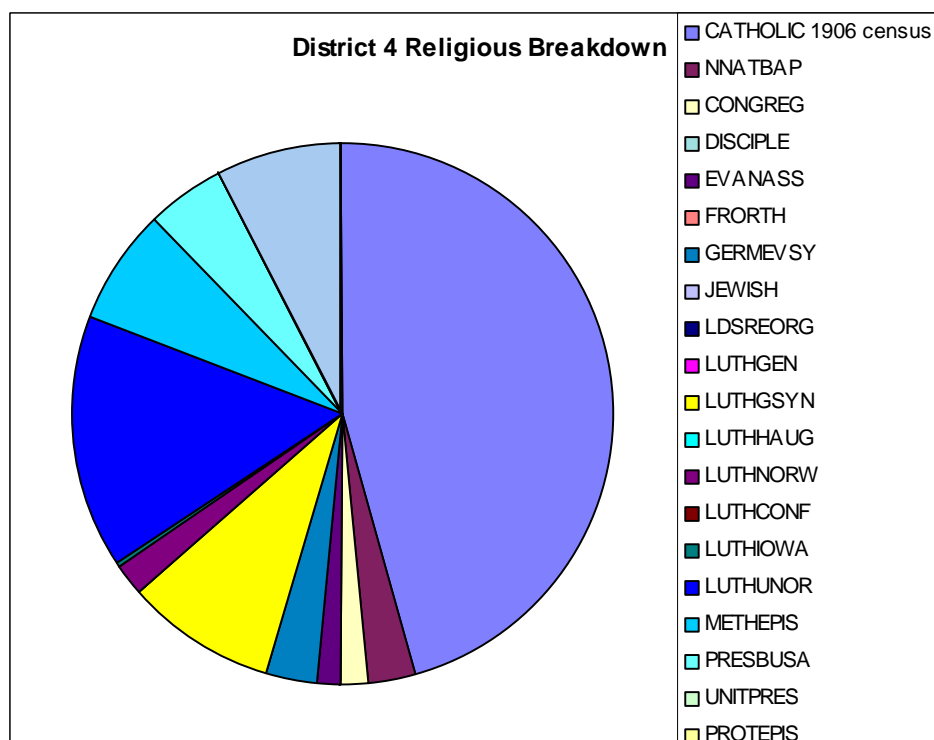


Figure 81. Pie chart of District 4 religions 1906.

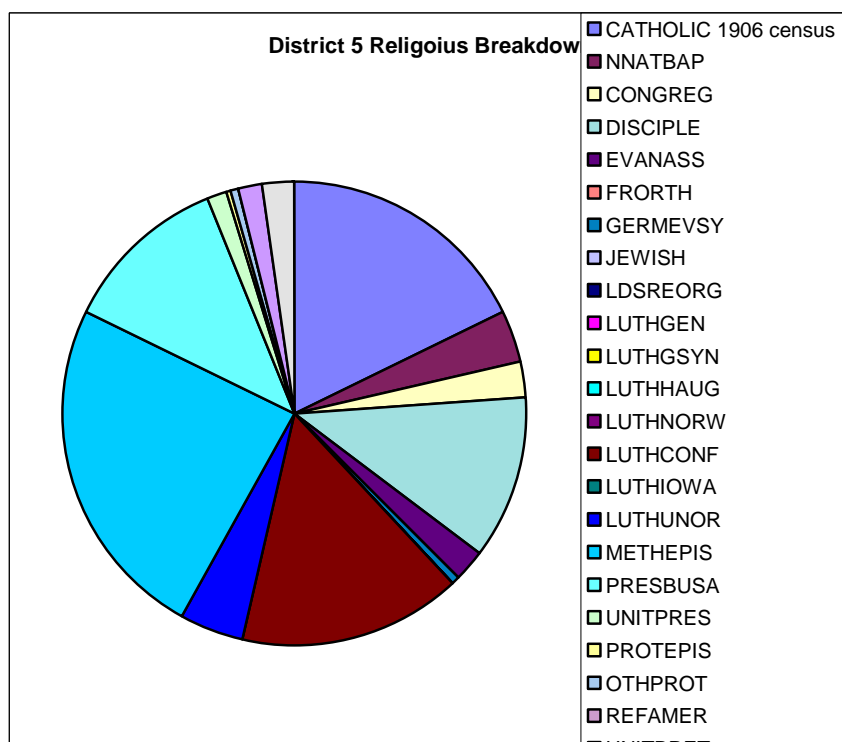


Figure 82. Pie chart of District 5 religions 1906.

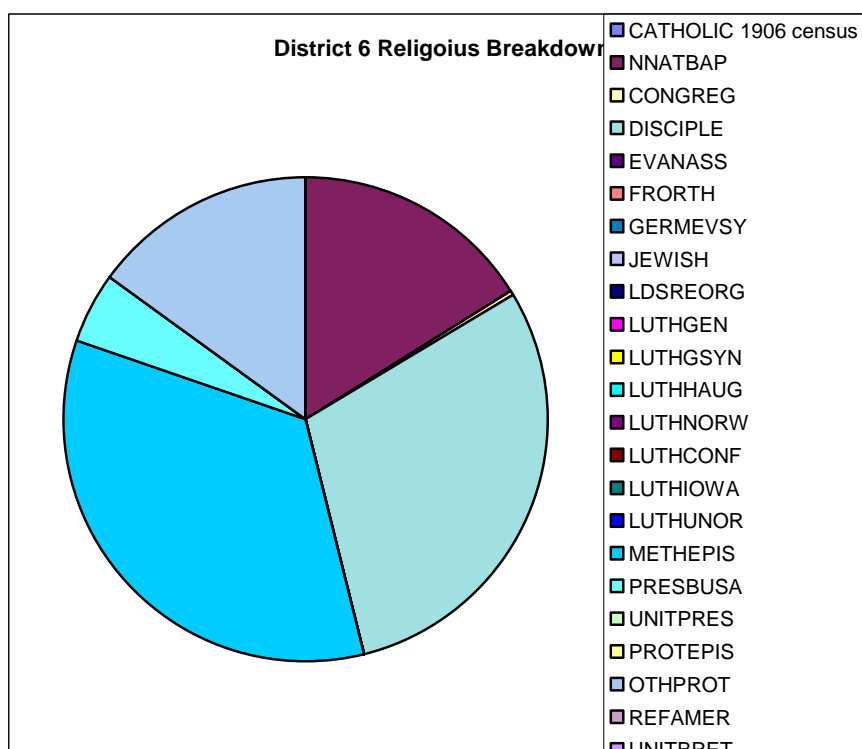


Figure 83. Pie chart of District 6 religions 1906.

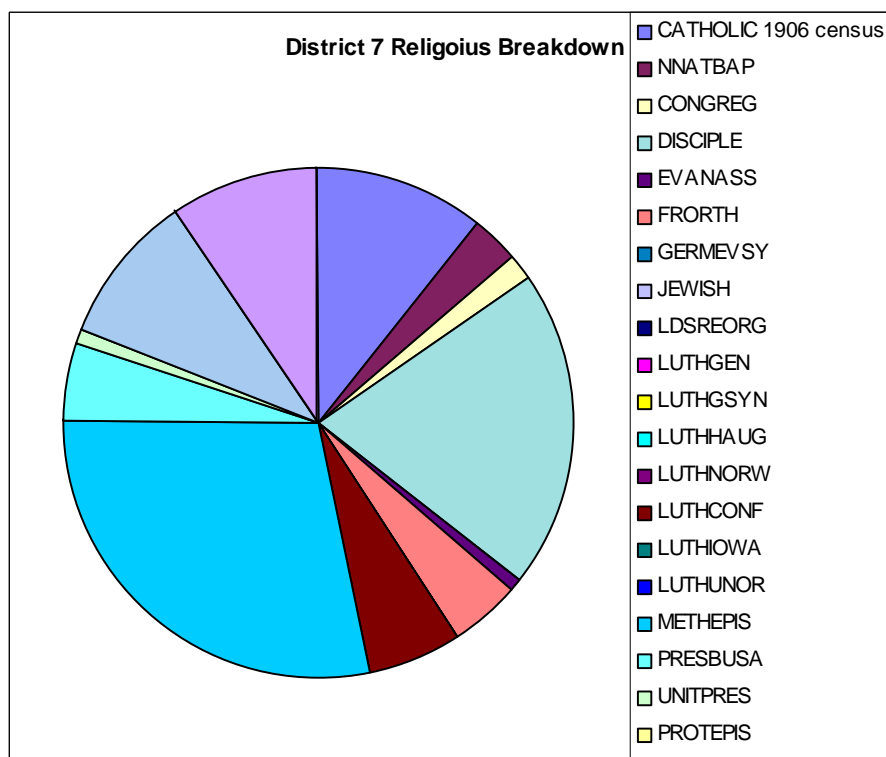


Figure 84. Pie chart of District 7 religions 1906.

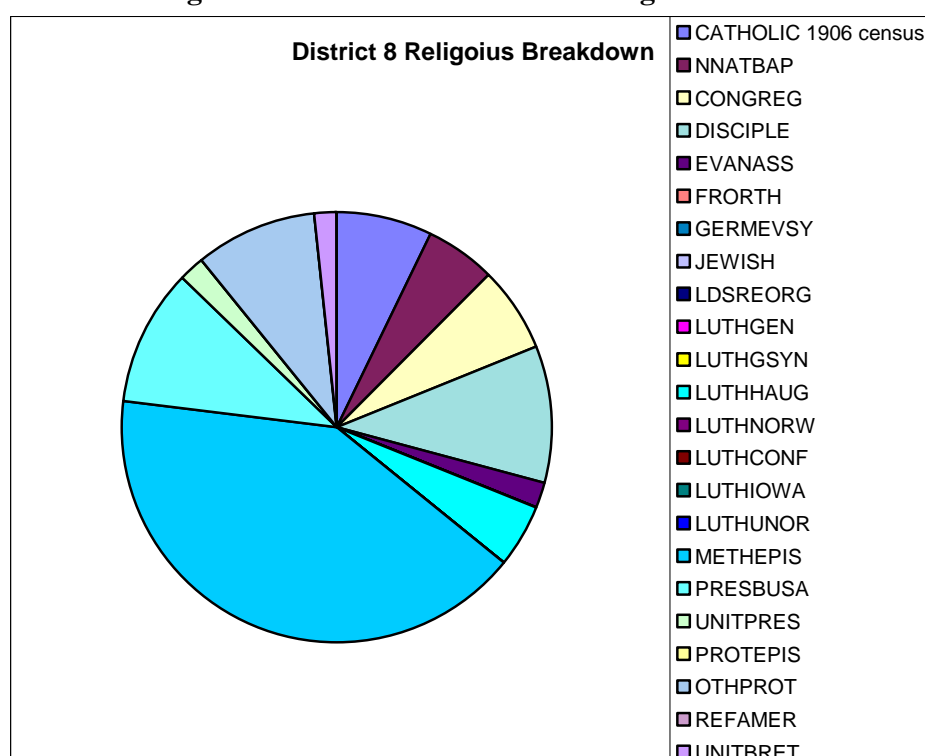


Figure 85. Pie chart of District 8 religions 1906.

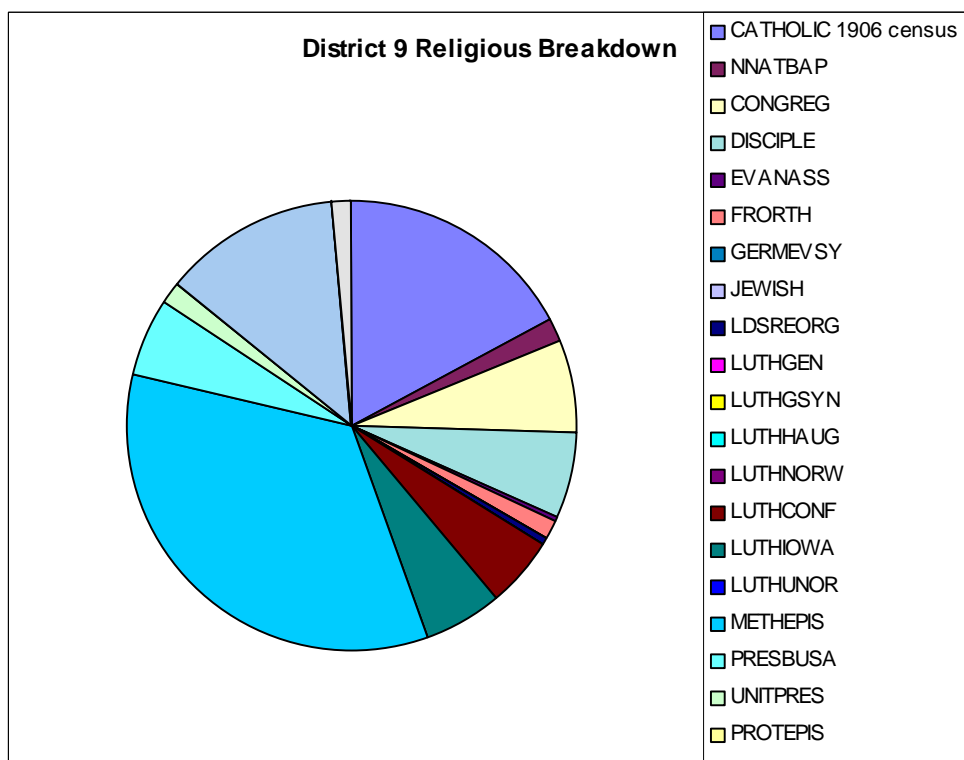


Figure 86. Pie chart of district 9 religions 1906.

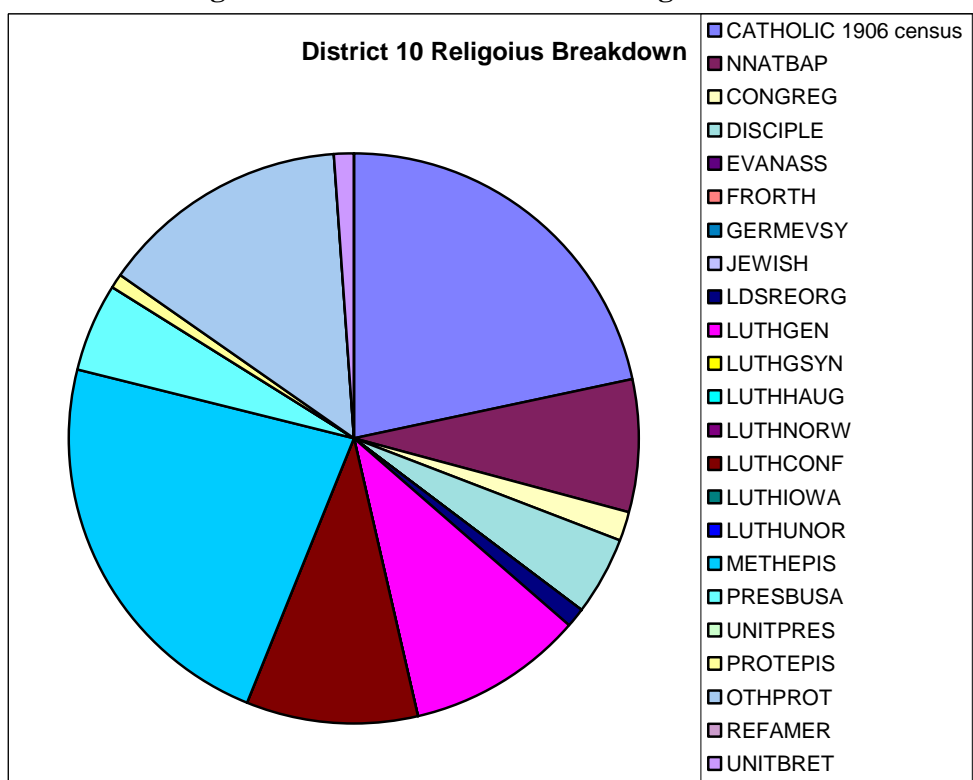


Figure 87. Pie chart of District 10 religions 1906.

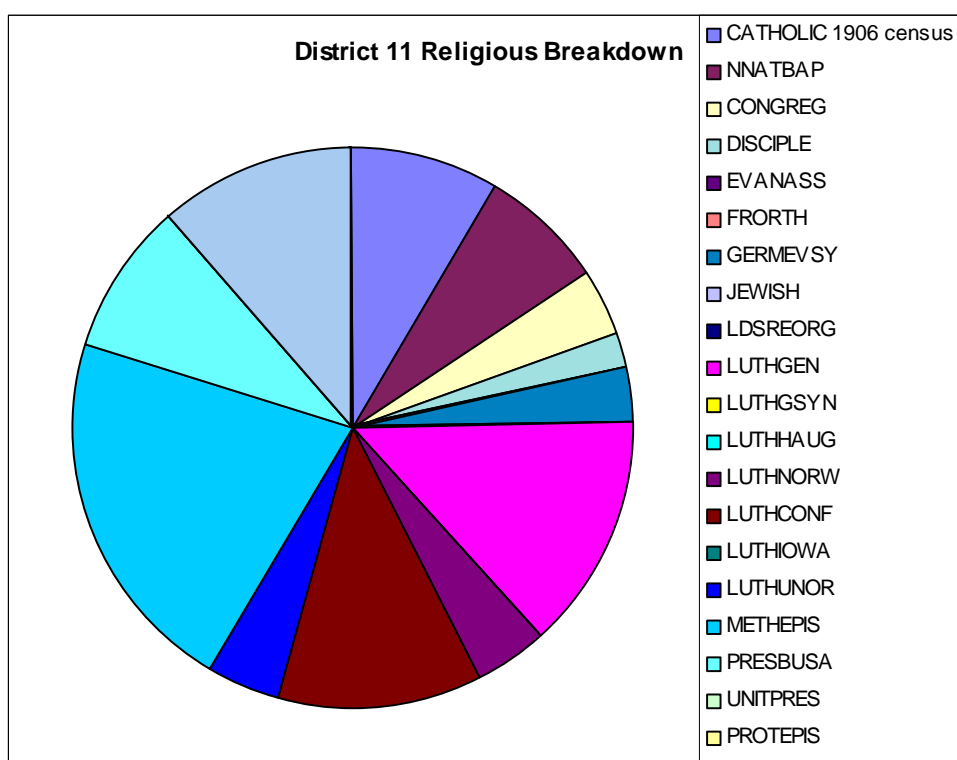


Figure 88. Pie chart of District 11 religions 1906.

The regional charts are provided for examination of state voting results, while the Congressional District charts are provided for national voting. Chapter 6 contains GIS maps of representatives to the Iowa Legislature by political party. The legislative body at this time had either one or two representatives from each county, based on the population of the county. This provides a visual comparison of the influence of religion and location, depending on voting participation in the election. As counties were divided into congressional districts based on population, splits also occurred to religious count and geological location, improving the power of some while marginalizing others.

Regression analysis shows Catholic support divided among candidates for the elections studied for this project. They did not vote as a bloc in multi-issue

elections. Unlike the division of Protestantism into numerous blocs, Catholicism is presented as a monolithic bloc that does not lend itself well to analysis of liberal versus conservative. An examination of the only diocesan newspaper in Iowa for this time showed articles strongly urging positions on specific issues but not on specific candidates, which would be consistent with the Catholic approach to politics in this country, discussed in Chapter 5. The Catholic Social Justice Movement, begun in Europe 1891, did not organize nationally in the U.S. until 1926, so political activities around the country remained spotty. Urban studies show some very active Catholic priests, but no organized political activity can be noted in Iowa for the time period of this project.

From the colonization of this country up to the present day, Protestant religions have not worked together as a uniform or united group. Iowa politics reflect this continued this tradition. In her book, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, Dorothy Schwieder inserted a good explanation of the differences between liturgicals and pietists. According to this, liturgicals (Roman Catholics, German Lutherans, and Episcopalians) rejected prohibition and governmental attempts to regulate lives for proper behavior. That left the pietists as those favoring prohibition.⁶⁷ But this analysis only examined the issue of prohibition by analyzing a 1917 single-issue vote. If that was not the priority issue for each voter participating in a general election, then the church position becomes immaterial. Seven forms of Lutheranism appear in the Iowa church census. Of these, Lutheran General Synod, Lutheran Synodical, and Lutheran United Norwegian tended to support

⁶⁷ *Iowa: The Middle Land*, by Dorothy Schwieder (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996) 215.

Republicans (those favoring prohibition) but not strongly, so they may have had other priorities at the time of voting; Lutheran Hauge, Lutheran Norwegian Free, Lutheran Iowa, and Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio tended to support Democrats (those favoring local options for liquor licensing), but not exclusively, also indicating a priority of other issues.

This project gathered demographic data by township for male voters twenty-one years of age or older, thus eligible to vote, in the elections closest to the decennial censuses used (1890, 1900, 1910) – the entire population, not just a sampling. Generation in the country, ethnicity, and church membership comprised the demographic elements examined against the voting results. The results of this examination and analysis show such diverse activity that any attempts to study a small area and extrapolate the results to the entire state must be declared invalid.⁶⁸ Mapping shows participation rates to vary considerably by location, thus interfering with proper analysis unless it is known specifically who voted. Regression analysis shows ethnic and religious activity to also vary considerably. For this reason, examination of a specific area can only report results for that area, not for the state as a whole.

For the gubernatorial election of 1901, where prohibition continued as a big issue, regression analysis showed the following for Germans and Irish, two ethnic groups Schwieder said supported local option for liquor. The p-value for Republican Cummins shows the Germans at .44 (no support), for Democrat Phillips it shows .009 (support), and for third party Candidate Coates it shows

⁶⁸ See the Appendix for an explanation of regression analysis that arrives at this conclusion.

.0001 (support). The Irish, in the same election, show a p-value of .03 (support) for Republican Cummins, .0003 (support) for Democrat Phillips, and .98 (no support) for third party candidate Coates. The Democrats included local option in their party platform while Republicans wanted to continue prohibition. A p-value is defined in statistics as the probability of getting a sample statistic skewed by an outlier that would cause a conclusion away from the correct one. By setting parameters of, say, 95% (which I did), the statistician is asking the program to determine if the averages of the various data sets fall within these parameters, indicating a possible relationship. If a p-value is lower than the remaining .05 (since data must total to 100%), then there is a low error possibility. If the p-value is higher than the .05 then the possibility of an error exists. Interpretation of the 1901 vote means Germans voted either Democrat or third party (whether or not their decision was based on the prohibition plank in the party platform). The Irish vote shows possible support for both major party candidates for Governor and those party planks, showing their voted was based on something other than prohibition.

Religious support for this same 1901 gubernatorial election shows the following in regression analysis (Figure 89). Lutheran General Synod supported Republican Cummins.

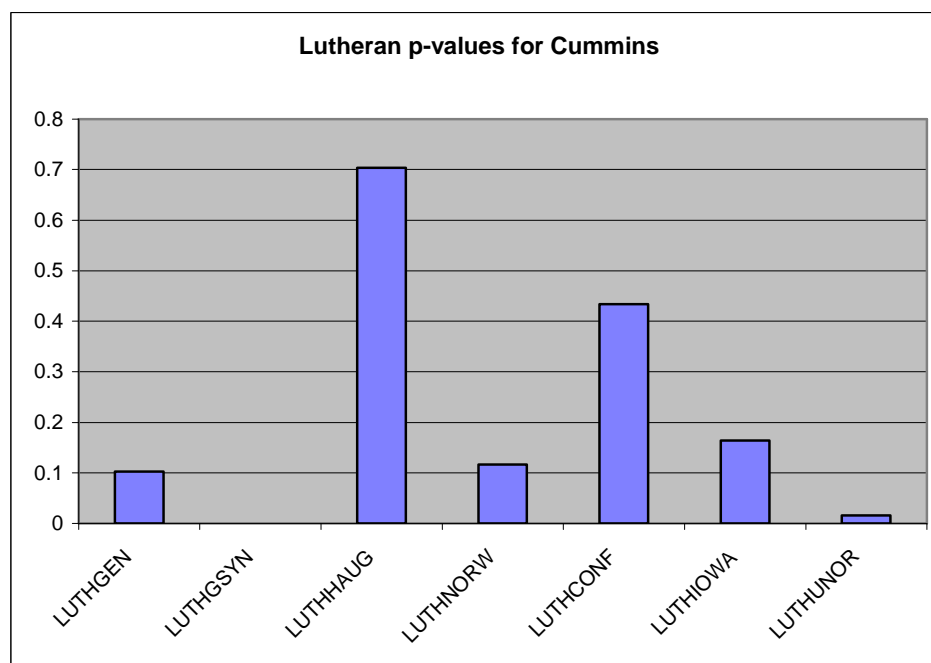


Figure 89. Bar chart of Lutheran p-value support for Cummins 1901.

Methodist Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian showed non-support for Republican Cummins at .92, .33, .97 p-value, respectively (Figure 90).

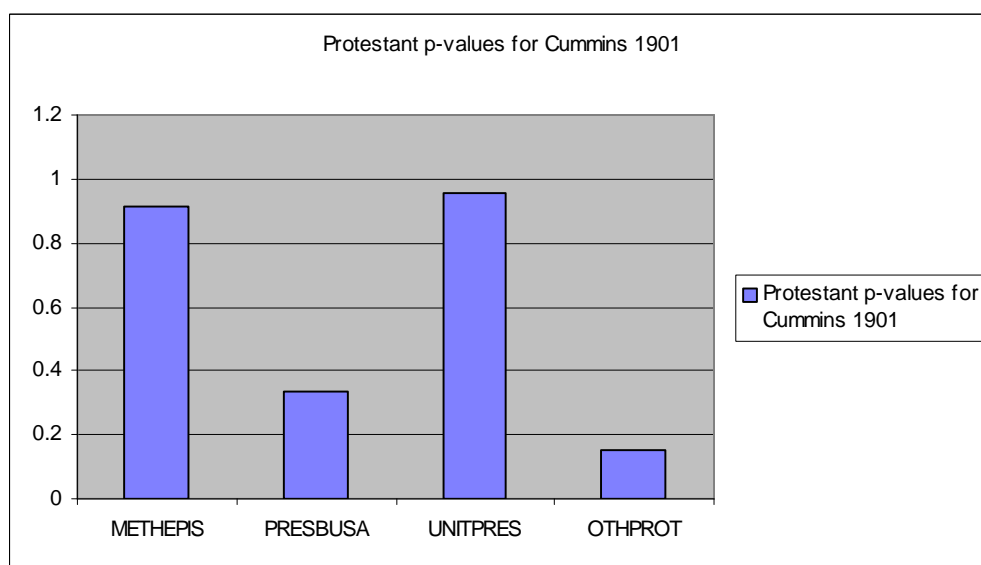


Figure 90. Bar chart of remaining Protestant support for Cummins 1901.

In the vote for Democrat Phillips, Lutheran support shows p-values of .73 (no support) for Lutheran General Synod, .25 (no support) Lutheran Hauge, and .25 (no support) Lutheran Conference. Lutheran United Norway showed some support (Figure 91). Catholics showed support for both Republican Cummins or Democrat Phillips, with low p-values. What this means is that their priority issues in the election did not lie with the issue of prohibition, although it was a platform plank for all political parties in Iowa. In other words, they split their votes.

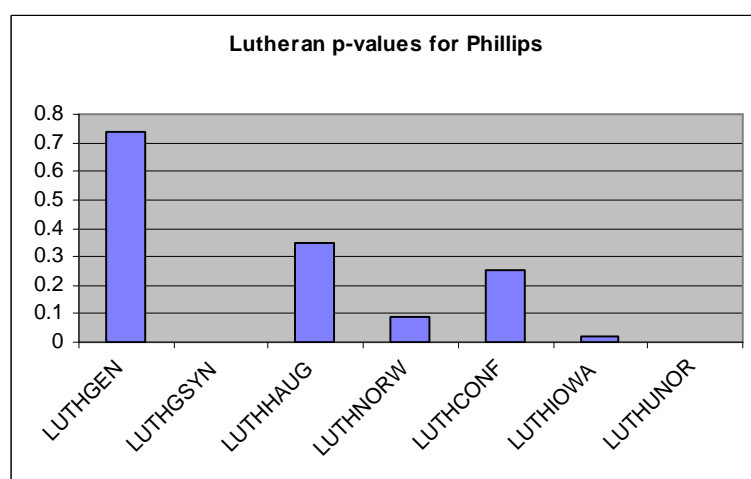


Figure 91: Bar chart of Lutheran p-value support for Phillips 1901.

In Figure 92, of other Protestant religious support in Iowa for Democrat Phillips, note the support by lumped small Protestant churches, but rejection by the mainline Protestant churches. This demonstrates that multi-issue-oriented elections attract voters for a variety of reasons.

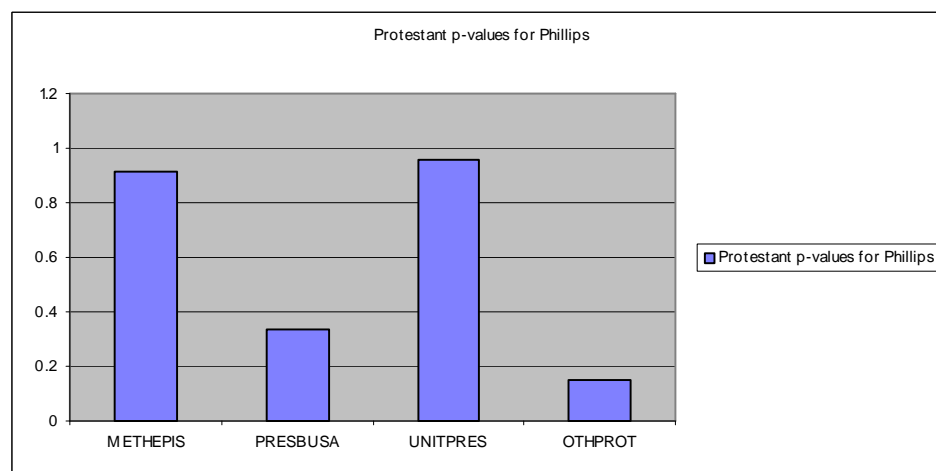


Figure 92. Bar chart of remaining Protestant support for Phillips 1901.

According to Figures 89-92, support varied by church affiliation and sometimes split for an election in Iowa for the time period of this project. As the pie charts of congressional districts show, sometimes religious support could be reconfigured for those elections, based on how the district boundaries were drawn.

Summary

The Federal Church Census revealed a vast number of Protestant sects located in Iowa for the time period of this study, as well as a large number of Catholics (as a single bloc). While it is possible to demonstrate a distribution of conservative to liberal positions on single issues, multiple-issue elections require voters to prioritize. Regional geologic analysis of religions based on location show different groupings than those of the congressional political boundaries that cut across geologies because they were based on population count. Regression analysis for the state as a whole identified sketchy relationships and often no relationships of religious preferences for a particular political party. If

relationships existed, representation to the Iowa Legislature would be more likely to reveal these because those representatives represented counties or parts of counties for the time of this project.

Chapter 5: Catholics and the lay of the land

Given the history of Protestant settlement in this country, its adoption of Protestant Enlightenment ideas for self-government, and the connection between Catholicism and Old World ways, nativist thinking contained a bias against Catholics and their ability to be proper Americans involved in self-government. This attitude continued into the 1920s (after the time of this study) with the passage of the immigration act severely limiting immigrants from countries with large Catholic populations. I believe the way our dominant two-party political system functions in this country mutes all the arguments used against Catholics for the past two hundred years. To understand this statement it is necessary to understand how our political system functions, by selecting issues for an election that will attract voters sufficient to translate into political power. Catholics run the gamut of liberal to conservative (just as Protestants do), so they do not vote as a bloc, but are attracted to political issues that affect them in their location at the time of an election. If this country had a political system that used proportional representation, as some other countries do, then Catholics might unite as a bloc for an election.

Census data show large numbers of Catholics living in the United States and in Iowa during the time of this study. Some native-born migrated to the state when it was opened for settlement; some came directly from Europe in response to recruiting efforts for settlers. Of the largest ethnic groups settling Iowa, Census data shows the Scots and Germans included large percentages of Catholics, some native-born and some foreign-born, while the Scandinavians included large

numbers of Lutheran denominations (some sects of which had some commonalities with Catholics on certain issues).⁶⁹

The history of Catholicism in the United States began including Iowa once the territory opened for settlement in 1832. While several Catholic newspapers published regularly in the state, only one diocesan newspaper existed until around 1926. We know Protestant denominations splintered on issues, both nationally as well as locally, rather than voting as a bloc. Instead of presuming Catholics voted as a bloc (the prevalent opinion historically), Marvin L. Krier discussed in his *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements* that Catholics also splintered, particularly in response to industrialization.⁷⁰

Since the founding of English colonies in North America, forms of Protestantism have dominated as part of a socialized bias against Catholicism, the state church of Europe for a thousand years after the fall of Rome. Al Smith's presidential campaign of the 1920s aside, it took until John Kennedy's presidential campaign of 1960 for a Catholic to find serious consideration for that highest office, representing one of the three branches of government. Part of the argument behind the immigration restrictions included the desire to keep out the increasing numbers of Catholics, using the excuse they would destroy the "experiment in self-government". Statistical samplings can find little evidence of Catholic voters taking a drastically different political stance outside the

⁶⁹ Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

⁷⁰ Marvin L. Krier "Catholic Social Teaching and Movements" (Michigan: Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1998). See also Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

parameters of the central dominant culture in this country, although they have worked with other groups on specific issues.⁷¹ Part of the reason may be due to the nature of the political system itself. This study statistically examines the circumstances in Iowa for the time period of this project to see if the roughly 50% (Catholic and Lutherans combined) of the represented religions in Iowa congregated in a way to influence election outcomes.⁷² When Lutherans can be identified and named by their separate groupings and set of beliefs (seven sects for Iowa), their fractured voting becomes apparent in Iowa politics for the time of this study. The problem with Catholics is a lack of specific identified groupings by name (as with Lutherans and other Protestant groups) – other than location. The voting outcomes, however, make it apparent they did not vote as a bloc in Iowa for the time of this study.

The Catholic Church insists its records show it to have had a social justice aspect throughout much of its history. Officially calling world attention to the issue of social justice in 1891, during the Industrial Revolution when the downside of Protestant and secular laissez faire economics politicized many. Pope Leo XIII issued his 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, calling for focused political action by Catholics to address what he saw as deteriorating circumstances to parts of the system in industrialized countries. Catholics in European countries organized through Catholic political parties, forming coalitions in government after the elections; Catholics in America chose to work within the dominant two-party system (that forms coalitions prior to the elections

⁷¹ David Noel Doyle, "Catholicism, politics and Irish America since 1890: some critical considerations." *Irish Studies* 1985 4: 191-230.

⁷² 1906 Church Census by the Federal Census Bureau.

through interest groupings), even though alternative parties existed and the Progressive Party later organized to address some of the same issues as the Catholic Social Justice Movement.⁷³ Why would this response occur in the United States? The size of the American territory, frequently cited as the reason for the two-party system, could not have been the sole determinant to the Catholic Church political organizing because many times Catholics settled in groups, forming congregations in their new settlements, thus making them part of the expanding, national, church hierarchy because Catholics are not free to just start a church anywhere on their own.⁷⁴ Organizing structures, deemed necessary to maintain a national political party system, posed no problem for American Catholics since the church had its own operating structure from the national organization of American Bishops, to the archdioceses, to the dioceses, to the deaneries, to the parishes. Catholic churches could not just “pop up” anywhere and remain unaffiliated with the hierarchical system. The bishop of each diocese assigned priests to parish churches; local parish church members did not choose their own priests, as Protestants selected their own ministers. Such a system ensured control through the hierarchy, something that would be useful to political organizing.

The Catholic Church also had its own communication system. In addition to the weekly homilies from the priests, diocesan newspapers existed to explain

⁷³ This statement does not take into account those Catholics who, for various reasons, chose to work with what would be called a radical party for some limited period of time, possibly due to particular circumstances in certain areas. See both Krier and Cross for examples.

⁷⁴ John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). Without the support system, Catholics either joined other churches or quit attending. While such actions made them less conspicuous to anti-Catholic activities, it also took them out of the hierarchical Catholic system.

the Catholic position on political issues. These diocesan newspapers carried the news from around the world, from the national level, from the state level, from the diocesan level, and included local events. The context always included examples of what were considered the proper Catholic responses. In addition to statements from the bishop of the diocese, papal decrees, including the 1891 encyclical, appeared prominently on the front page.⁷⁵ Catholics could stay informed on the issues of the day and of how the church expected them to properly conduct themselves.⁷⁶ Priests supplemented the news articles with their weekly homilies. In addition, about half a million families took Irish-American Catholic newspapers (around 1898) unaffiliated with the diocesan newspapers but with regularly published submissions by priests.⁷⁷

So, the Catholic Church had a hierarchical organizational structure similar to that of the dominant political parties, and it also had a communications system to educate and inform its membership on issues important to the church. These two factors, together, extended beyond what third party organizing had been able to accomplish. If the American church had wanted to follow its European counterparts in starting a Catholic political party, it could have done so. It chose not to. With no primary sources shedding light on the reason for working within

⁷⁵ The content of the diocese newspapers was determined by an examination of the Davenport Diocese newspaper *The Messenger* from the time of its beginning in the 1870s up to 1900. Catholic histories confirm these examples to be typical.

⁷⁶ It should be reminded here that the Catholic Church insisted it alone had the right to interpret Scripture and apply it to circumstances. Individuals without the proper education and Catholic theological background were incapable of properly doing this. Catholics had the individual choice of following this or committing a sin by going in a different direction. Protestants saw individual interpretation and application very desirable and less controlling. This point provided the basis for the Protestant Reformation.

⁷⁷ David Noel Doyle, "Catholicism, politics and Irish America since 1890: some critical considerations." *Irish Studies* 1985 4: 191-230.

the dominant two-party political system, what might have been contributing factors? To answer this question, an examination must be made of the American political system as well as the Catholic Church in America because they were systems within the larger American system that was undergoing tremendous economic, political, and social change through industrialization at the time of the 1891 encyclical. These factors played out in Iowa politics as well because several third parties appeared on the ballots but the two major political parties garnered the votes.

Events leading up to those circumstances influenced the political response to industrialization. The effect of industrialization on the entire system, coupled with what the pope considered an inadequate political response, determined the conditions for parts of the system that caused alarm and led to the 1891 encyclical calling for political action along Catholic lines. Those circumstances led to the formation of a number of alternative political parties, the formation of labor movements, the organizing of the Socialist Movement in America (already well-established in Europe with multiple parties during its earlier industrialization, and brought to America during immigration), the Populist Movement (which almost won the presidential election in 1892), the Progressive Movement and eventually the Progressive Party, and the Social Gospel Movement. These all came about in the period after the Civil War and Reconstruction, a time that saw significant changes to the nature of politics in America; which saw the rapid expansion of industrialization; which saw groups settling the Midwest; and which saw immigrants (many of them Catholic) flocking into the country to either work in

the growing number of factories or establish homesteads in rural areas such as Iowa.

The Irish influence Catholic organizational political response

One of the first major Catholic ethnic groupings in America, prior to the Civil War, was the Irish, the first Catholic group to recognize the political potential of Catholic Church organization in Ireland prior to the 1820s.⁷⁸ The strategies learned in Ireland for the parliamentary elections (to gain total emancipation for Catholics, thus bringing improvement to their circumstances in the British system) came with the immigrants to America⁷⁹. The Irish model also spread to other countries in Europe, accommodating itself to the political practices present in each country. By the 1890s, Catholic parties existed in Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and to a lesser degree in France.⁸⁰ The United States, with its already-established dominant two-party system from the days of the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists, had cities, and sections of cities, where Catholics dominated politics because of their clustering and effective political organizing, but often within ethnic communities clustered in these areas.

As immigrants arrived in America, they were organized to work within the developing dominant two-party political system of the time because they needed

⁷⁸ P. J. Jupp, "Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1801-1820." *Historical Journal*, 10 ,2: 183-196. See also John H. Whyte, "The Catholic Factor in the Politics of Democratic States." *American Behavior Scientist*, 17, 6: 798-812.

⁷⁹ Immigrants brought their beliefs and learned behaviors with them to America, where they were either dropped or adapted to circumstances in America.

⁸⁰ P. J. Jupp, "Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1801-1820." *Historical Journal*, 10 ,2: 183-196. See also John H. Whyte, "The Catholic Factor in the Politics of Democratic States." *American Behavior Scientist*, 17, 6: 798-812.

it for their welfare. Since they tended to settle in groups, both in urban areas as well as in rural areas, coordinated efforts became possible (particularly in urban areas), bringing varying degrees of success. Although a church control structure existed, and was generally staffed by American priests of Irish descent (having taken control early in American history), they had to learn to deal with the non-Irish ethnicities increasing their presence in the country and in the Church. The multitude of various European ethnicities streaming into America, from the end of the Civil War to the severely-limiting immigration legislation of 1924, created Catholic ethnic groupings within the Catholic Church system as well as within the American general population.

Depending on circumstances in each local area, such groupings could, and often did, coalesce with non-Catholic groupings on specific issues, as Catholics had learned to do from the beginning of the country when they had generally been a minority in most areas up to around 1870. Of note in such actions was the large number of Irish Catholics immigrating to America prior to the Civil War. The English-speaking world of former British colonies, interestingly, lacked Catholic political parties, even though Catholics became an increasing political force as immigration raised their numbers in proportion to the population. The usual political pattern, instead, became one of joining a coalition within the party that supported specific issues deemed important to Catholics. For the time period of this paper, that political party in America tended to be the Democratic Party; in Britain it was the liberal party; in Australia it was first the liberal and then the

labor parties.⁸¹ It should be noted that in these English-speaking countries Catholics usually, but not always, belonged to the poorer strata of the societal system.

Regardless of their place in society, they were increasing in numbers. In 1866, as immigration began to increase, American Catholics numbered about 3,842,000 according to their own census of membership. Four years later, the 1870 U.S. census showed the American population at 38,558,371, with Catholics making up about ten per cent of the population at that time. The 1880 U. S. census showed a total general population of about 50,189,209. The Catholic census showed the number of Catholics four years later, in 1884, at about 8,000,000, making them roughly sixteen per cent of the population by that time. The rate of increase had been about thirty per cent for the total population, but one hundred eight per cent for Catholics during this similar time period. The 1890 U.S. census reported that “the [Catholic] church is represented in every state and territory in the country, including Alaska and the District of Columbia. It has organizations in every county but one in the six New England states; also in every county in New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and other states and territories.”⁸² Between 1852 and 1900, fifty-five new dioceses (encompassing several parishes each) were established: twenty-four in the Midwest, sixteen in the East, eight in the West, four in the South, and three in the Southwest.⁸³ There were calls to

⁸¹ P. J. Jupp, “Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1801-1820.” *Historical Journal*, 10, 2: 183-196. See also John H. Whyte, “The Catholic Factor in the Politics of Democratic States.” *American Behavior Scientist*, 17, 6: 798-812.

⁸² U.S. Census (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 235. Church Census.

⁸³ John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

limit immigration. By the 1920 census, when there was heavier agitation to further limit immigration from eastern and southern Europe, the U.S. census showed a total population of about 106,021,537, an increase of one hundred eleven per cent from the 1880 census figures. The number of Catholics in 1920 totaled about 17,735,553.⁸⁴ This figure represented a rate of increase of one hundred twenty two per cent from the 1884 figure. Catholics were seventeen percent of the population by then and were growing at a rate faster than the total population. Several attempts had been made to limit immigration from countries that were sending large numbers of Catholics, with the first success in 1921. Following this was a greater success in 1924, when quotas were set back to pre 1900 ratios to the rest of the population. This limitation denied the American Catholic Church its largest source of membership.

Catholics settle in Iowa

Opened to settlement officially in 1832, the territory of Iowa soon began receiving Catholic immigrants. Figure 93, of 1850 census data, shows the distribution of Catholic churches in Iowa. These began as Irish settlers to Iowa, many forced westward by problems in the East. The next dominant immigrant group to join them in Iowa were Germans, about a quarter of whom of whom were Catholic. Figure 93 shows the distribution of churches in Iowa by 1850, eighteen years after the opening for settlement.

⁸⁴ *Pastoral Letters of the United States Bishops*, National Conference of Bishops (United States Catholic Conference, 1984).

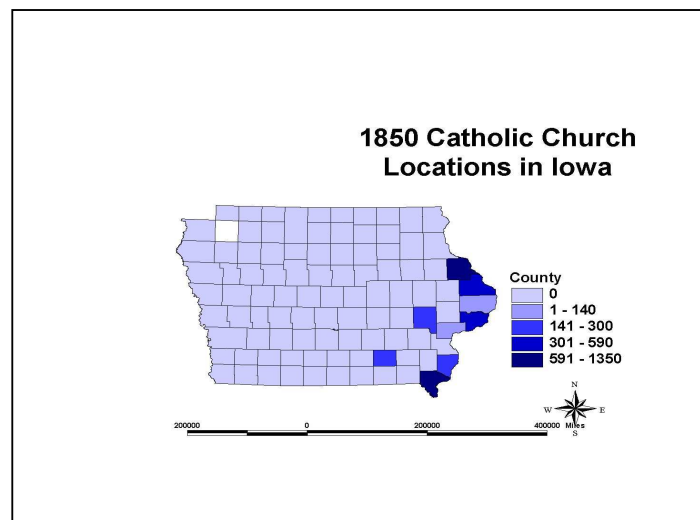


Figure 93. Map of 1850 Catholic Churches in Iowa.

By 1900 the Distribution of Catholic churches in Iowa appeared as follows

(Figure 94):

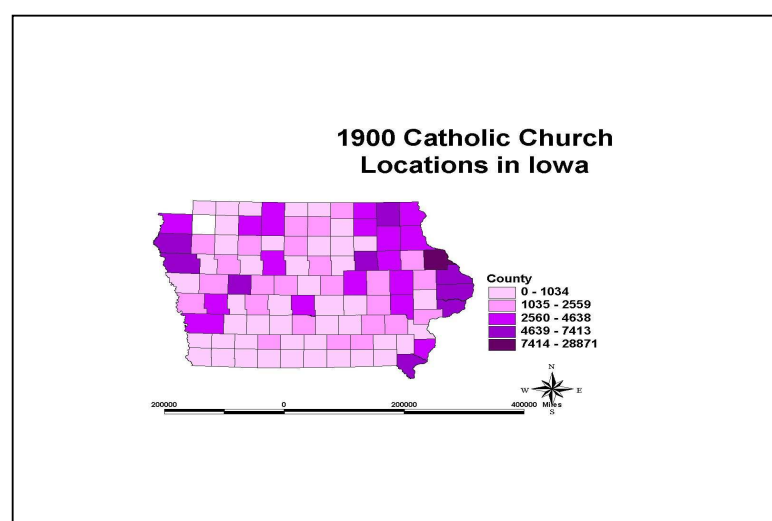


Figure 94. Map of 1900 Catholic churches in Iowa.

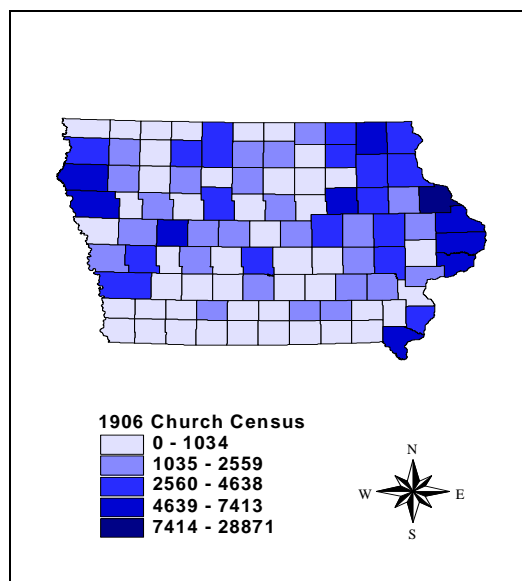


Figure 95. Map of 1906 Church Census for Iowa.

The 1906 map, Figure 95, reflects numbers of Catholics in Iowa by county, with larger numbers in certain geographic regions: Western Livestock Region, Northeast Dairy Region, and Eastern Livestock Region. North Central Grain and Southern Pasture saw sparser numbers of Catholics, particularly Southern Pasture. The manner in which Iowa drew congressional boundary lines, based on population numbers, worked to cluster some Catholic votes by geological region and marginalize them in others, as will be shown in upcoming chapters of voting analysis. A comparison of regions with sufficient Catholic votes to potentially influence election outcomes shows little conformity. This circumstance mirrors national voting. Clusters could influence locally when they worked together but increasing the area and different circumstances fractured unity.

The Catholic Church social response

Because the increasing numbers of Catholics tended to be in the poorer strata of society, by the mid-1800s, the American Catholic Church decided to form its own schools and its own charitable organizations to offset what it saw as the damaging effects of industrialization and laissez faire policy. Church organizations and publications increased to accommodate the increasing numbers of Catholics and ethnicities. By 1900, over 4,000 Catholic schools had been started because the church objected to the Protestant-based public school curriculum; by 1910, they would number over 5,000 with 1.4 million students. Also by 1910, Catholic hospitals, orphanages and asylums (over 300 with more than 50,000 children), and homes for the elderly numbered more than 827.⁸⁵ Catholics may have been a minority of the total population, but they were a growing and organizing minority, including active participation in the organizing labor movements. In 1908, due to its growth, the mother church in Rome declared the American church no longer a mission territory.⁸⁶ The national hierarchy then had the same status as other national hierarchies in Europe.

During this time of Catholic growth and increased organizing within the Catholic community and the American system, the American political parties also underwent changes. The turmoil of the Civil War and Reconstruction disrupted and rearranged the dominant political parties. The period of 1876 to 1896 marked

⁸⁵P. J. Jupp, "Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1801-1820." *Historical Journal*, 10 ,2: 183-196. See also John H. Whyte, "The Catholic Factor in the Politics of Democratic States." *American Behavior Scientist*, 17, 6: 798-812. See also David Doyle, "Catholics, Politics, and Irish America." 205.

⁸⁶ P. J. Jupp, "Irish parliamentary elections and the influence of the Catholic vote, 1801-1820." *Historical Journal*, 10 ,2: 183-196. See also John H. Whyte, "The Catholic Factor in the Politics of Democratic States." *American Behavior Scientist*, 17, 6: 798-812.

a distinct period in American political party history as the topics that dominated prior to the Civil War and during Reconstruction largely disappeared.⁸⁷ “Machine politics became highly developed, and bosses and rings rose to a flourishing state. Convention contests emphasized men rather than principles.”⁸⁸ This was a distinct departure from the Federalist and Anti-Federalist political vision of moral competent men serving in the best interests of society.

Party issues were not as clearly defined, but party tendencies were clearly marked. James Albert Woodburn, professor of American history and politics at Indiana University, noted in his 1906 book about American political parties, that by the 1890s the dominant two political parties were starting to divide horizontally, similar to the divisions seen in European political parties: “The millionaire managers of great trusts, the presidents of great banking concerns, the presidents of the great railways, men who had large industrial and business interests at stake, disregarded party ties and traditions and united naturally with the conservative elements under Republican leadership.”⁸⁹ It should be noted here that, with the exception of Grover Cleveland’s elections in 1884 and 1892, Republican presidents served from 1860 (Lincoln) to 1912 (when Wilson was elected as a Democrat). Meanwhile, the agricultural and laboring masses unable to effectively work together in a manner similar to those they felt controlled their destiny, tended to go either with the Democrats (which eventually subsumed the

⁸⁷ James Albert Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906).

⁸⁸ James Albert Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906), 95.

⁸⁹ James Albert Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906), 99.

Populist Party – that had attracted Catholic farmers in parts of the Midwest -- under the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan in 1896) or with Socialist parties (who tended to attract Catholics in urban areas, despite church warnings, until the formation of the Progressive party).⁹⁰ When the land grant colleges began forming the Farm Bureaus under the Extension Service outreach just after 1900, those farmers leaned toward the Republican Party and served as a counter political weight to the other various farmer movements.⁹¹ Iowa voters during this earlier time showed little support for the Populist People's Party nor for the Progressive Party candidates later, according to voting outcomes. But this statement must be couched within the nature of voting by party ballot during this time. By the 1912 election when all candidates appeared on the same ballot, Iowans showed a tendency to vote one way nationally and another within the state, indicating their grasp of the closeness of Iowa political control between the two major parties. The tendency to do this varied by region.

Along with the changes within the political parties came the rise of the professional party managers to the dominant political parties in America. Paralleling the rise of combinations and trusts, the political ring of men stood by one another (under the direction of a leader, called a boss) to carry out their common political projects. The men of the ring supported each other for political nominations and other political rewards. The circumstances of *laissez faire* at the

⁹⁰ Scott Cummings, "A Critical Examination of the Portrayal of Catholic Immigrants in American Political Life." *Ethnicity* 1979 6,3: 197-214.

⁹¹ Grant McConnel, *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1954). See also the Congressional Record for a 1916 Senate hearing on this issue. Farm Bureaus date their official organization from a national meeting in 1918, after the congressional hearings.

time provided the rationale for this cooperation of minority interests: trusts and combinations. Organized Catholics learned to work with this system in urban areas to get the things they needed.⁹² Rural areas in Iowa do not appear to have had this organization.

With each election, a number of public offices became available for a few years, paying salaries, rewarding patronage and contracts, and providing other pecuniary opportunities. A political ring passed the available offices around among the members in order to perpetuate their political power. The boss of the ring did not concern himself with public opinion, as a political leader or statesman had to do. The business of the boss: deliver the election to the party in order to control the power and the available places. Bosses of rival parties supported each other on occasion, if that became necessary, to prevent a reform movement from winning the election. Such cooperation worked to keep the two-party system dominant. Those who supported the boss got their reward: “the laborer gets his job; the placeman his office; the policeman his promotion; the contractor a chance at the public works; the banker the use of the public money; the gambler and the criminal immunity from prosecution; the honest merchant certain sidewalk privileges; the rich corporations lowered assessments and immunity from equitable taxation.”⁹³

Andrew Jackson may have introduced the spoils system to American politics in the 1830s, but it rose to new levels during the latter half of the

⁹² Marvin L. Krier, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*. (Michigan: Mystic: Twenty-third Publications, 1998).

⁹³ Woodburn, *Political Parties*, 246-7. See also William L Riordan, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1901, reissued 1994).

nineteenth century with political rings and bossism, and with the increased needs of those trying to survive and get along within the circumstances of industrialization and no safety net. The spoils system used public office to reward party favors because the party worker had the best chance for appointment and other perks. It involved: “Tenure at the pleasure of the appointing power; the bestowal of office to a party man as reward for party service; and no office retention longer than party power.”⁹⁴ Gradually the merit system replaced it, and with that replacement, organized political power changed once again. Another change came with the change to the Australian ballot, where all candidates for all parties appeared, thus making it impossible to verify which party a person voted for by the ballot he requested at the poll.

A New York ward boss of this era, George Washington Plunkitt, had a lot to say on this topic of reform. In his opinion, civil service reform was the curse of the nation because it would destroy patriotism. How? To interest young men in politics, they had to see what was in it for them. If jobs or other monetary rewards could not be offered in return for political work, what was the point in doing it? “When parties can’t get offices, they’ll bust....I have studied politics and men for forty-five years, and I see how things are drifting. Sad indeed is the change that has come over young men, even in my district, where I try to keep up the fire of patriotism by getting a lot of jobs for my constituents, whether Tammany is in or out.”⁹⁵ Plunkitt did not believe political organization could be kept together without patronage – boss patronage. “I placed a lot more on public

⁹⁴ James Albert Woodburn, *Political Parties*, 254.

⁹⁵ *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, 56.

works done by contractors, and no Tammany man goes hungry in my district. Plunkitt's ok on an application for a job is never turned down."⁹⁶ With such a political mechanism in place, immigrant organizing (Catholic or non-Catholic) could have meant survival, particularly for those in the poorer classes of society. Urban areas found bossism easier to organize, compared to the rural areas comprising much of Iowa.

Brief history of United States political parties

American political parties did not start out working this way. While political parties could be said to exist during the colonial era, the American political parties of today generally trace their beginnings to around 1790, when ideological differences existed between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. Within one hundred years of that starting point, the new political system arising with industrialism and laissez faire capitalism had turned to graft and special interests as the party machinery maintained power through the spoils system, rings, and bossism. The interests of the many became sacrifices to the special interest power of the few, according to the view of the progressives, the Catholics, the socialists, the populists, and others who organized to wrest control in order to spread the power around. It was this type of political organization and situation the American

⁹⁶ *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, 69.

bishops had to consider in their response to the 1891 encyclical and its request for greater political involvement with a Catholic focus.⁹⁷

In spite of the workings of the political system, elections during the latter 1800s and early 1900s turned into spectacles that featured widespread participation and celebration. They were crucial forms of entertainment and education needed by many at the time. Party speakers became centers of attraction at community gatherings. Urban dwellers distributed literature, marched in parades, and listened to the local ward captains. Rural residents had picnics and rallies, often with some traveling a day to attend. Ministers included political injunctions in their church services. Postmasters distributed campaign pamphlets with the mail. Election data showed that almost three-quarters of the nation's adult male citizens voted in the presidential elections, and nearly two-thirds participated in the off-year elections. The largest share of these participants cast straight tickets, furnished to them by the party organizations.⁹⁸

This type of political activity fit well with the immigrant group social activities and the Catholic community organizing, particularly in the urban areas where there was greater population density. "Through a diversity of organizations and activities, they discovered their group's identity and expressed its distinctive beliefs. Political parties filled these purposes well, while campaigns and elections offered

⁹⁷ Marvin L. Krier, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*. (Michigan: Mystic: Twenty-third Publications, 1998).

⁹⁸ Richard L. McCormick, *the Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 219.

the means to show commitment to the community and its values.”⁹⁹ By the 1890s, immigrants and Catholics began making demands through their organized interest groups for tolerance. Discrimination against them at times turned violent.

Increased discrimination against immigrants and minorities during times of stress has been documented throughout history. During the 1890s, business failures, unemployment, a series of violent labor disputes, and sharply depressed agricultural prices increased tensions and frustrations already present due to the rapid changes in economic and social circumstances stemming from industrialization. The impact of the industrial revolution could be felt even in previously isolated communities, causing increasing numbers of inhabitants to become painfully aware of new complex issues they did not control. According to Paul Murphy:

Local farmers were dependent on the fluctuations of world markets, laborers and white-collar workers were at the mercy of distant corporation executives, bankers relied on credit from New York, and the fortunes of local businessmen rested on the fate of these farmers, workers, and bankers. Their inability to control their own fortune and to understand the complex relationships involved in a national economy bred frustration and tension. Amplified by the severe depression of the mid-1890s, this

⁹⁹ Richard L. McCormick, *the Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 219.

frustration and tension provided the impulse which shattered the traditional voting patterns and led to a new partisan alignment.¹⁰⁰

The social and economic changes of the American industrial revolution resulted in increased demands for policy changes to augment the lopsided distributive decisions.¹⁰¹ Catholic economist and ethicist, John A. Ryan, was not the only one writing about the problems of distribution during the 1890s and early 1900s. It was a recognized problem at a time with limited local means the only safety net. The rewards handed out through the spoils system of the party machinery eventually became insufficient to meet the increasing needs for larger numbers of people and families. With the realization that “politics as usual” actually left out large numbers of people, electoral turnout fell and party loyalists became weaker. In the presidential election of 1904, voter turnout fell below seventy per cent; eight years later it dropped to below sixty per cent.¹⁰²

A transition had occurred from political patronage distribution to government regulation and administration as progressive ideas enacted limited regulations. Agencies and bureaucracies rose, with their civil service jobs, to fulfill the new obligations. The power of the party bosses and rings changed along with the decline in party loyalty. To cope with the new agencies and bureaucracies, the formal hearings of regulatory agencies, and other new kinds of government contacts, money and special skills replaced electioneering. Party

¹⁰⁰ *Political Parties in American History: 1890-Present*, edited by Paul L. Murphy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), 947.

¹⁰¹ Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism: 1885-1914*, (Chicago: University Press, 1957).

¹⁰² *Political Parties in American History: 1890-Present*, edited by Paul L. Murphy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974), 223.

organization became one of access to policy formation in order to address perceived needs. Organized Catholics had the potential to be good at this type of activity, but they would have to work with others to mute their catholicity, due to the discrimination and the plurality of interests.¹⁰³

Progressives became one group, composed of numerous subgroups, with some ideas similar to Catholics. Both groups embodied several subgroups with which they had to learn to deal. Progressivism was one of the major political forces during this time, encompassing members of both major parties leaning toward center, but attracted to different issues and sometimes the same issues for different reasons. In 1915, progressive historian Benjamin Parke DeWitt published his interpretation of the history of the Progressive Movement, explaining its sources and its general belief system. His explanation of the shifts within the two dominant political parties formed an interesting expansion of the brief note by James Albert Woodburn nine years earlier in his 1906 history of American political parties. According to DeWitt, the progressive elements of the Democratic Party began as attempts to blunt the power of the special interests they saw controlling the government for their own purposes. He saw the progressive elements in that party as laborers against capitalists, employed against employers, the poor against the rich. He viewed the efforts of reform as class warfare (a conclusion the socialists would have supported but the pope would have rejected), with the specific focus on the issue of silver and how its de-

¹⁰³ Marvin L. Krier, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*. (Michigan: Mystic: Twenty-third Publications, 1998).

monetization would result in the advantage of capitalists and bankers over laborers and farmers.¹⁰⁴

DeWitt saw the progressive elements of the Republican Party in agreement with the progressive elements of the Democratic Party in regard to freeing government from control by special interests, but the fight in that party manifested itself in the form of a struggle against corporations. This becomes an interesting conclusion, given the tendency for the large corporate interests to be a part of the conservative element of the Republican Party, but it demonstrates the divisions of interest groupings. The phases to this fight for control of corporations included: adequate control and regulation of corporate activities, resistance to corporate exploitation of natural resources, and the 1909 tariff revision in the interest of trusts and monopolies.¹⁰⁵ DeWitt's explanation of the progressive plan showed how each recommendation for change related to the circumstances at the national level of government, the state level, and the municipal level, in regard to regaining control of the governments for use by the majority to relieve the economic and social distress being experienced by the process of industrialization. Similarly, as the pope had indicated in his 1891 encyclical, Catholics recognized that parts of the system were in distress, even if they did not agree with all of the progressive recommendations. Even with only

¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Parke DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1915, reissued 1968).

¹⁰⁵ Benjamin Parke DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1915, reissued 1968).

selective support for progressive ideas, it was possible to work together on some issues.¹⁰⁶

DeWitt's explanation also included the rationale behind the eventual formation of the Progressive party in opposition to the Democrats and the Republicans. This has bearing for a similar explanation of why the Catholics chose to not form their own party. Progressives within each of the two major political parties did not see a possibility of changing the parties from within – an interesting conclusion and one the Catholics either did not reach, or decided they had no choice but to try. Providing specific examples, DeWitt showed how progressive elements within each of the parties discovered they could unite on some issues of joint concern to override the efforts of the other factions within each of the two major parties, even when other elements used the tactic of working together to defeat rival reform efforts.¹⁰⁷ With the realization that progressive elements within each party were increasing in number (particularly with the election of Wilson in 1912 who espoused some progressive ideas of national planning), Progressives chose to start their own party, explaining the reason behind the 1915 book by DeWitt. With a rival party to the dominant two political parties, and progressives increasing in numbers, the Democratic party eventually subsumed the Progressive party ideas (as it had done with the Populist party and its similar ideas in 1896), thus rendering the Progressive party moot and maintaining the dominance of the two-party system in America. This action

¹⁰⁶ Cummings, Scott. "A Critical Examination of the Portrayal of Catholic Immigrants in American Political Life." *Ethnicity* 1979 6(3): 197-214.

¹⁰⁷ Scott Cummings, "A Critical Examination of the Portrayal of Catholic Immigrants in American Political Life." *Ethnicity* 1979 6(3): 197-214.

illustrated one of the principles of American politics: if an issue will not go away on its own, and organizing increases, then one of the two major parties will adopt it. The Catholic Church hierarchy had to be aware of this tendency in American politics as it wrestled with whether or not to form its own party, to work with the Progressive party, or to remain as an active group within the coalitions of the dominant two parties. It also had to consider how best to carry out the charge to them by the pope of reestablishing Christian morals in the realm of policymaking to meet the needs of those who could not meet their own, and to better distribute the income and power of the system. While both Republicans and Democrats had progressive credentials (Republicans more conservative and Democrats more liberal), the party platforms highlighted different issues to attract voters.

The American church decision of how to carry out the Pope's charge to them involved more than a large geographic area; it also involved dealing with diverse ethnicities, interests, and needs, as well as conveying an overarching ideology to address these, something the U. S. Catholic Church had been doing for some time. To have each diverse group forming its own political party for the purpose of promoting its policies might work in a limited area where it dominated, and clusters of immigrant groups (Catholics included) had proven this over time, but it did not work for larger areas. In the 1890s, there were thirty Catholic congressmen, senators, and statehouse counterparts; the Wilson era saw fifty; in the 1930s, there were one hundred. Most were elected from preponderantly Catholic districts.¹⁰⁸ However, generally as the level of

¹⁰⁸ David Noel Doyle, "Catholicism, politics, and Irish America since 1890: some critical considerations." *Irish Studies* 1985 4: 191-230.

government rose to encompass additional areas and additional groups, it became increasingly more difficult to extend the political organization in a manner to maintain the power. That had been the problem with third parties in American politics, although there were times when their influence became sufficiently large to cause one of the two major parties to adopt the issue as its own (if it failed to go away due to changing circumstances).

The Catholic Church hierarchy had already had to deal with not only the dominant two political parties throughout its American history, but with the increasing number of ethnicities within its control. It learned lessons from this. In translating those lessons to political organization, compromises were required between diverse groups in larger areas. Politically, in the English-speaking countries, such compromises at the party level had tended to marginalize or eliminate parties based on narrower ideologies that existed in other countries with compromise at the government level after elections. This comes from the basic difference between the American winner-take-all elections and proportional distribution of elected officials based on voters by party utilized in other countries. Coalitions at the party level involved an assembly of agreed-upon issues, especially with the elimination of the political machines, rings, and bossism. The result to American politics was reduced political participation. “In contrast to many European systems, American parties have not enrolled large numbers of dues-paying members.”¹⁰⁹ Catholics were looking for a way to increase their participation.

¹⁰⁹ David H. Everson, *American Political Parties* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1980), 100.

If American Catholics had chosen to start their own political party, support might have been a different issue. Catholics learned to support their church and their community as a part of their religious practice, thus maintaining a base for education on issues along ideological lines. Catholics were taught not to view their faith as just another aspect of their lives; its assumptions needed to form the whole basis of the system in which they lived. Because the Catholic Church hierarchy instructed the laity about the “correct” natural laws of the system, religion permeated everything and influenced decisions as a socializing influence. Such was the vision of the church and what the pope had in mind when he wrote the 1891 encyclical. The idea was to translate this vision to reality in policymaking through political activity by Catholics. Just as tithing to the church was not an option, it was an obligation, funding a political party might have worked similarly.

On the other hand, a Catholic political party in the United States would have called additional attention to Catholics generally and groups of Catholics in particular (already experiencing discrimination in many areas), possibly resulting in a situation described by political scientist V. O. Key:

Sectionalism, or conflict along territorial lines, may threaten national unity as sectional cohesion tightens and the lines of cleavage between sections sharpen. The way of life of a region may lead its citizens to look upon the ‘outsider’ as an ‘alien’ – a feeling not unlike that of the people of one nation toward those of another. Territorial differentiation and conflict in extreme form

may pose for the politician the problem of manufacturing a formula for the maintenance of national unity. Only once did American politicians fail in this endeavor....¹¹⁰

If it is possible today to find areas in the world experiencing sectional stress due to ethnic identity and religious rivalry, then it probably existed during the late 1800s and early 1900s, when immigrants were flocking to the United States, bringing their cultural, political, and religious beliefs with them. As the Catholic Church hierarchy was deciding how to politically organize in response to the papal encyclical of 1891, this context had to be considered. This set the context for this study of Iowa politics.

The Catholic Church and politics

Catholic assumptions for policymaking and decision-making would become part of the big debates that were taking place in the country between intellectuals, between farmers, between laborers, between employers, and between these various groupings, over the nature of the capitalist system, but these did not always appear as purely Catholic ideas. Whether the country stayed on the laissez faire approach, or transitioned to some type of welfare approach was a very hot topic. The hands-off laissez-faire versus the welfare approach (parts of which were favored by the pope and Catholic Church hierarchy) meant the difference between the status quo and amelioration of the more extreme consequences of industrialization – particularly for those who were suffering and

¹¹⁰ V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), 233.

for those who had to deal with them. To have the Catholic Church become even more active in this debate, as the pope appeared to be requesting with his political admonition, would have to be handled carefully.

The church did have a thought out approach for politics. The encyclical had restated the position of the Catholic Church in regard to political power, to human liberty, to the Christian constitution of state, and to the condition of the workers in the new industrial era. Political power was a necessity to maintain property rights for the individual, the family, and the community. Consistent with the Enlightenment treatises on the subject of property, the pope declared mankind's right to property as necessary for both physical survival and cultural enjoyment. As increased private ownership limited the availability of private property, labor became the comparable commodity by which man provided for his needs, the needs of his family, and for the needs of those in the community who could not meet their own needs. This made labor a property right in the eyes of church doctrine. Therefore, labor struggles for a living wage and employment conditions needed to be carried on from the perspective of a property right rather than a class struggle, as the socialists and progressives saw. Such a concept would have to go up against the concept of physical property envisioned by those who owned physical property and viewed labor as merely one of the inputs to production, something to be kept down in order to increase profits.¹¹¹ In Iowa this encyclical was published on the front page of the only diocesan newspaper at the time, *The Catholic Messenger*.

¹¹¹ Proclaiming Justice and Peace: Papal Documents from Rerum Novarum through Centesimus Annus. Edited by Michael Walsh and Brian Davies. Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1991.

The Catholic Church, through the pope, saw inequalities between individuals, resulting from talent, skill, health, or strength, as a symbiotic relationship between the classes that created a societal equilibrium between the different parts of the system: there could be no capital without labor, and no labor without capital. Because of this symbiotic relationship between classes, one of the duties of the employer was to give to the laborer his due because it amounted to a natural law property right. To increase profits by squeezing the poor amounted to immorality by denying a natural law right to property, thus infringing on survival of the individual, the family, and hurting the community.¹¹²

To prevent this harm, and in order to counter the power of the employer, the land owner, and the capitalist – who all shared in the profits from the work of the laborer -- laborers had the right to organize to promote their interests. When these organizing actions failed, the state needed to step in because it had the duty of representing all classes within the system. Politics and policymaking entered at this point. Individuals needed to express their political preference for civil laws that helped the system to function along the lines of the natural laws of creation in order for all parts of the system to benefit. This formed the crux of the difference in approaches to capitalism for Catholics. While the Catholic Church did not want the state to arbitrarily intervene to impinge on property rights (which appeared to support laissez faire capitalism), it did want the state to support all

¹¹² *Proclaiming Justice and Peace: Papal Documents from Rerum Novarum through Centesimus Annus*. Edited by Michael Walsh and Brian Davies. Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1991.

property rights by including labor as property (which appeared to support welfare capitalism from a different perspective).¹¹³

Due to the dominance of political interests supporting extreme laissez faire capitalism during the massive industrialization process beginning around 1870, the pope saw the need in 1891 for the state to be renewed (to be redefined along Christian lines) because it had failed to come to the aid of those in the system that were in need. The perceived failure was the result of the debate over laissez faire capitalism versus welfare capitalism, with the political power of laissez faire capitalism maintaining control of the decision-making process. The pope believed some laissez faire principles violated natural law by keeping government intervention away from helping those most in need of help because of an unequal ability to negotiate more equitable laboring arrangements. Unlike the laissez faire doctrine of government staying out of all business decisions, Catholicism maintained that the state had a right to intercede to assist those who were being harmed because it existed for the common good of all.

Those who govern the state must make use of its laws and institutions; wealthy owners of the means of production and employers must be mindful of their duties; the unpropertied workers [meaning physical property] must exert themselves in legitimate ways in what is primarily their affair; and since...religion alone is able totally to eradicate the evil [of false natural laws underlying policy assumptions], all men must be

¹¹³ *Proclaiming Justice and Peace: Papal Documents from Rerum Novarum through Centesimus Annus*. Edited by Michael Walsh and Brian Davies. Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1991.

persuaded that the first thing they must do is to renew Christian morals.¹¹⁴

The pope told Catholics in industrialized countries they needed to be politically active to change the existing circumstances by changing the underlying assumptions of the decision-making process. The political details of how this was carried out, as well as the legislation, would vary by country, due to the varying circumstances. It also varied between rural and urban areas, as regression analysis in Iowa showed.

The American Catholic Church needed a capable individual to add substance to the papal encyclical with specific recommendations to the circumstances in America. John A. Ryan, professor of economics and ethics at St. Paul Seminary and Catholic University, and the principal expounder of papal ideas in America for this era, published several articles and books expanding on the papal ideas and church doctrine. His various writings on Catholic principles of politics and the state (begun after 1891 and continued throughout his life) were eventually gathered together and published in 1922, reissued (with additional writings) in 1940. According to Ryan, Pope Leo XIII had declared governing authority to be designated rather than delegated because human action merely involved the determination of a ruler. While not expanding on this thought, Ryan had expressed a fundamental difference between Catholic theology and the Protestant Enlightenment-based idea that all political power came from individuals through the ceding of some of their power to a selected ruler, whose

¹¹⁴ Pope Leo XIII, “*Rerum Novarum*” *Proclaiming Justice and Peace: Papal Documents from Rerum Novarum through Centesimus Annus*, edited by Michael Walsh and Brian Davies (Mystic: Twenty-third Publications, 1991), 39.

own power would then be greater than the group.¹¹⁵ Through the Catholic terminology of designating a ruler, the people became the proximate cause of the conjunction of power with a person. The political authority did not come from the people because all they did was determine the form in which it became actualized.¹¹⁶ Such an assertion went to the heart of Catholic theology: the community of people each of whom is equal in the eyes of God (the only true authority). According to Pope Leo XIII's *Christian Constitution of States*, the authority of the state, once formed by the members of the community to make laws, actually derived from God. And, because all were believed equal in the eyes of God, it was for this reason the state needed to represent the interests of all classes equally.

Because the general purpose of the state was to promote the human welfare of all classes: "Individuals are not mere means or instruments to the glorification of the State, but are persons having intrinsic worth or sacredness. They are endowed with rights which may not be violated for the sake of the State....The State is a mere abstraction."¹¹⁷ No right existed in the state to disregard the claims of any group of its members because each was of equal worth and importance, and was part of the symbiotic system of community. Because class differences resulted from different talents, skills, health, and strength, not from an inherent inequality of worth, the true end of the state was harmony with

¹¹⁵ This idea can be traced back to the history of the concept of kingship, something that was very much on the minds of the Enlightenment philosophes as they wrote their treatises on politics because that was their own history.

¹¹⁶ John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* The National Catholic Welfare Council, 1922, reissued New York: MacMillan Company, 1940), 67-8.

¹¹⁷ John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* The National Catholic Welfare Council, 1922, reissued New York: MacMillan Company, 1940), 103.

the moral law, a natural law of creation (with God as the authority). As a result, such a conceived state had a two-fold function: 1) to safeguard the juridical order by protecting the rights of individuals, families, private associations, and the church; and 2) to promote the general welfare by positive means.¹¹⁸ Through this two-fold function, the state would avoid clashes between groups because power differences would be ameliorated before they could cause problems, thus seeing to it that there was not only a survival level but a quality of life commensurate with the technological development of the society.

In addition to state obligations, citizens had obligations in this relationship as well. Civil laws bound them in conscience. There should be respect for public authority and obedience to the laws. The necessity of this point went beyond being a good member of the community, which was important; it addressed the accusations of anti-Catholic groups that the pope considered himself above the law (thus Catholics should not be trusted in public office because they would not follow the law, including the oath of office). Because of the Catholic regard for community, citizens were obliged to render to the community for the common good, including both political and social actions. This meant following the civil law. If a civil law violated moral and religious beliefs, citizens still had to obey it. This idea was the reason Catholics were told they needed to be involved in politics, regardless of how dirty it might be. Only through political involvement could policy change be achieved.

¹¹⁸ John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (The National Catholic Welfare Council, 1922, reissued New York: MacMillan Company, 1940), 129.

In a republic, legislation and administration depend finally upon the intelligence and morality of the voters. They have it in their power to make government a good one or a bad one. Whether the common good will be promoted or injured, depends upon the kind of laws enacted and the manner in which they are administered; the character of the laws and the administration is primarily determined by the way in which the citizens discharge their function of choosing legislators and administrators.¹¹⁹

Catholics had a duty to take part in elections as an obligation of legal justice to the community, to the families within the community, and to the individuals within the community because citizens were bound to promote the common good in all reasonable ways. As part of their involvement, citizens were morally bound to cast their votes for the common good rather than the interests of individuals, a mandate to Catholics that went to the heart of American politics at the time. To be a good voter in this process of moral justice, Catholic citizens had an obligation to be informed. It would do no good for the church to publish its newspapers and other publications if the laity did not read them and put the information to proper use. Iowa Catholic papers published the 1891 encyclical as well as other articles of a political nature, and priests urged congregations to read these, just as they do today, with similar mixed results.¹²⁰ Political systems dominated by two major parties carefully select issues and positions on those

¹¹⁹ John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* (The National Catholic Welfare Council, 1922, reissued New York: MacMillan Company, 1940), 203.

¹²⁰ This conclusion came from a reading of issues of *The Catholic Messenger* the only official diocesan newspaper in Iowa until 1926.

issues for each election with an eye to how they will attract voters. Catholics may find themselves in an election with either no issues pertinent to them or multiple issues split by the two major parties. Fractured Catholic voting likely results from the selection of issues.

Beyond being an informed voter who voted for the best interests of the community, included among the electoral duties of a citizen was becoming a candidate. When there were no candidates representing moral ideas, Catholics had an obligation to offer themselves as a candidate. As Ryan interpreted Pope Leo XIII in regard to citizens, as a general class they possessed two rights: 1) they had the natural rights that came from being human and created in the image of God; and 2) they had the civil rights that came from being a member of the state (a community), which they constituted, and in which they existed as equal members.¹²¹ For these reasons, Catholics needed to be involved in politics. The form these actions took in America – becoming part of the dominant two-party system – become interesting, given the dominance of Protestant and secular values of individualism in America (contrary to the Catholic sense of community and their dislike of these “treasured” American values). As Catholics were being reminded that they had a duty to be involved in politics, and involved for a specific purpose, American Catholics faced some strengths and some weaknesses in deciding how to respond.

At the time of the pope’s 1891 encyclical, immigrant Catholics were already part of the dominant political party machine politics, particularly in urban

¹²¹ John A. Ryan and Francis J. Boland, *Catholic Principles of Politics* The National Catholic Welfare Council, 1922, reissued New York: MacMillan Company, 1940), 204-210.

areas, because they needed the favors they could gain from those activities to offset the circumstances of their industrialized poverty. Irish Catholics had gained control of the American church hierarchy, bringing with it their knowledge of organized Catholic political activities from the early 1800s in Ireland and the two-party political system that tended to dominate English-speaking countries. The church had an organizational structure and a communications system that could be used to access its membership. An ideology was clearly laid out and under the control of the church hierarchy. Many of the priests had been actively involved in the labor activities and other Catholic social institutions long enough to recognize the problems that needed to be addressed politically. In spite of these pluses, and activist priests, the hierarchy waited until 1919 to publish an official social justice platform containing ideas pertinent to the American circumstances. Why did it take them so long to organize an official political response to the papal encyclical?

While it was true that Catholic groups were already active in machine politics, many were non-Irish ethnic groups of immigrants coming to the country in increasing numbers, particularly around the turn of the century after the publication of the encyclical. The Irish hierarchy needed time to deal with this increasing plurality, each of which was demanding a newspaper and church services in their own language. The hierarchy was also expanding its social work to provide services for the increasing numbers of those in need. Resources, including money, time and energy, can only be stretched so far. It should be

noted that some of the Catholics from eastern and southern Europe were bringing their socialist ideas with them, using those in their political activities, contrary to the restrictions of the church. There was discrimination against Catholics, sometimes violent, due to both a prejudice against Catholicism generally as well as particular ethnicities, many of whom also happened to be Catholic. With the rise of groups such as the American Protective Association (based in Iowa) and other nativist activities, the Catholic newspapers and weekly homilies spent some time countering the charges to help Catholics better defend themselves. The hierarchy was busy countering socialism on a number of fronts as another defensive action. The Iowa ballot for this time shows candidates from the Populist People's Party, various socialist parties, and the Progressive Party, all of which likely attracted some Catholic voters on some issues.¹²²

For proactive action to take place, a priest with the skills of John A. Ryan in ethics and economics had to effectually apply the Catholic doctrine to the circumstances in America to help form the platform. These ideas had to be disseminated through the communications system of the Catholic community. Effective education of members took time, even when new ones were not continually showing up in the numbers reflected by immigration figures. As the American Catholic Church was trying to get organized to respond to the 1891 encyclical, the nature of American politics was changing away from the machine style already familiar to church activists. Being active in machine politics was different than politics under an expanding civil service, although organization was still essential.

¹²² Iowa Official Register, (State of Iowa, 1902).

The American Catholic hierarchy already knew it was not going to work with the socialists through that party, although some urban studies have shown Catholics joining socialist movements surreptitiously. Eliminating the socialist option left formation of a Catholic party, working with the Progressives, or working with the dominant two political parties. Forming a Catholic party would not have been a viable option, given the nature of politics in English-speaking countries and the discriminatory acts against Catholics during this time. With the Progressive Party not forming until the election of Wilson in 1912, the American Catholic hierarchy, in the interim, most likely put its learned skills of dealing with ethnic pluralities to work learning the new ins and outs of the two major political parties. The Progressives had originated from the major two parties and could return to them once the issues went away, as history showed they had a tendency to do in American politics. If one of the major parties subsumed the Progressive party, then the Catholics would be in a position to welcome them back to the coalition and work on joint issues from that perspective.

The 1891 papal encyclical had charged Catholics to renew the state by infusing it with the natural law assumptions of the Catholic faith. To do that from a minority perspective – which Catholics were in America – would mean working to influence coalitions. The hierarchy had learned to work with the coalitions within its Catholic organization – not without incident, but eventually with more effectiveness over time. The Irish Catholics had learned how to politically work coalitions one hundred years before, and had brought those skills to America, where Irish Catholics controlled the American Catholic hierarchy. Activist priests

had already been working in coalitions on labor issues, on other social issues, and with progressives prior to the formation of the Progressive party. There was experience from which to draw.

With the issuing of the Catholic platform in 1919, authored by John A. Ryan, and the stabilizing of ethnic minorities after the restrictive immigration acts of 1921 and 1924, the Catholic hierarchy was in a better position to actively work with the returning Progressives once the Democratic Party subsumed their issues in the 1920s, after the timeframe of this Iowa study. From such a political position, it would be possible to promote the concepts of state and welfare basic to Catholicism. In fact, many of these issues became part of the New Deal in the 1930s. How individual Catholics voted during this time – whether or not they followed the church guidelines – would be reflected in analysis of voting patterns for specific areas, cross checked to demographic information (including religious affiliation, which was maintained by the Census Bureau during this time).

Summary

Twelve of the English settlements in North America were dominated by some form of Protestantism. Enlightenment thoughts dominating discussions in English colonies tended to be Protestant approaches, although Catholic Enlightenment ideas circulated in Europe due to the dominance of the Catholic Church for over 1000 years after the fall of Rome. With Protestant Enlightenment theories forming the basis of government in the English colonies and ultimate

U.S. government under the Constitution, the question becomes one of how Catholics and the American Catholic Church chose to deal with this situation? While Catholic parties formed in other countries, particularly after the industrial revolution, third parties have not done well in the U.S., where a dominant two-party system prevails.

A two-party system functions differently than a multi-party system in that less ideology dominates and issues determine which groups support which political parties. This approach puts Catholics and the Catholic Church in the position of selecting which issues to work on and leaving it up to individuals to work with their party of choice on the issues. Given the discrimination against Catholics in the U.S., calling attention by forming a third party would not have been wise. This left it “free” to work with factions within each political party on specific issues.

In Iowa, the closeness of support for the two major political parties (although numerous political parties fielded candidates) limited maneuvering ability for either party. This likely accounted for the inability of a third party to dominate, as Catholics of conservative to liberal views chose political parties based on specific issues. The location of Catholics within the state showed the potential for some influence in some locations if they agreed on the issues, but marginalization in other areas where they were sparse. Just as Protestants fractured within a range from conservative to liberal, so did Catholics, but their one church prevents a good analysis of this fracturing except maybe on individual issues put to a vote by location. In the plural-issue form of U.S. politics and its

winner-take-all elections, some interests become marginalized. In Iowa the closeness of major political party control worked to marginalize some issues and voters. Ethnic groups may have fought within their churches for influence, but when it came to politics at the state level, their votes indicate they voted on issues important to them and the parties that represented those issues in their party platforms.

Chapter 6: Iowa Election Outcomes

History of participation and its importance

Voter participation in elections has been an issue since the beginning of this experiment in self-government. Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz wrote a two-volume examination of *American Political Writing during the Founding Era 1760-1805* (1983) clearly showing concern about the extent to which people would participate in self-government, who should be allowed to participate, and participants' ability to participate meaningfully.¹²³ The question for this project becomes one of where Iowa stood with regard to participation rates, given the diversity of its citizenry, their geographic location, and set of circumstances within the state, an entity with Constitutionally-guaranteed rights to a republican form of government in a federalist system. Because of the dominant two-party system in this country, diverse ethnic and ideological groupings must find some common agreement among those participating in the election to translate to political influence in policymaking. Party selection of issues for an election works with an eye toward attracting interest groupings that will participate by voting. Unlike countries with multi-party systems based on ideologies that translate votes proportionally into seats at the government table of decision-making, a two-party system tends to centralize positions and marginalize those outside these parameters at the grassroots level. Participation becomes a factor for influence only if significant numbers of participants agree on selected issues. Low participation rates influence outcome through its absence of input.

¹²³ Hyneman, Charles S. and Lutz, Donald S., *American Political Writing During the Founding Era* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1983).

The following data (Table 2), for 1824 to 1928, shows rising rates of political participation for the U.S. up to 1900, followed by a drop-off after that (Figure 96):

Year	% Voter participation
1824	26.9%
1828	57.6
1832	55.4
1836	57.8
1840	80.2
1844	78.9
1848	72.7
1852	69.6
1856	78.9
1860	81.2
1864 ¹	73.8
1868	78.1
1872 ²	71.3
1876	81.8
1880	79.4
1884	77.5
1888	79.3
1892	74.7
1896	79.3
1900	73.2
1904	65.2
1908	65.4
1912	58.8
1916	61.6
1920	49.2
1924	48.9
1928	56.9

Table 2: Table of national election participation.

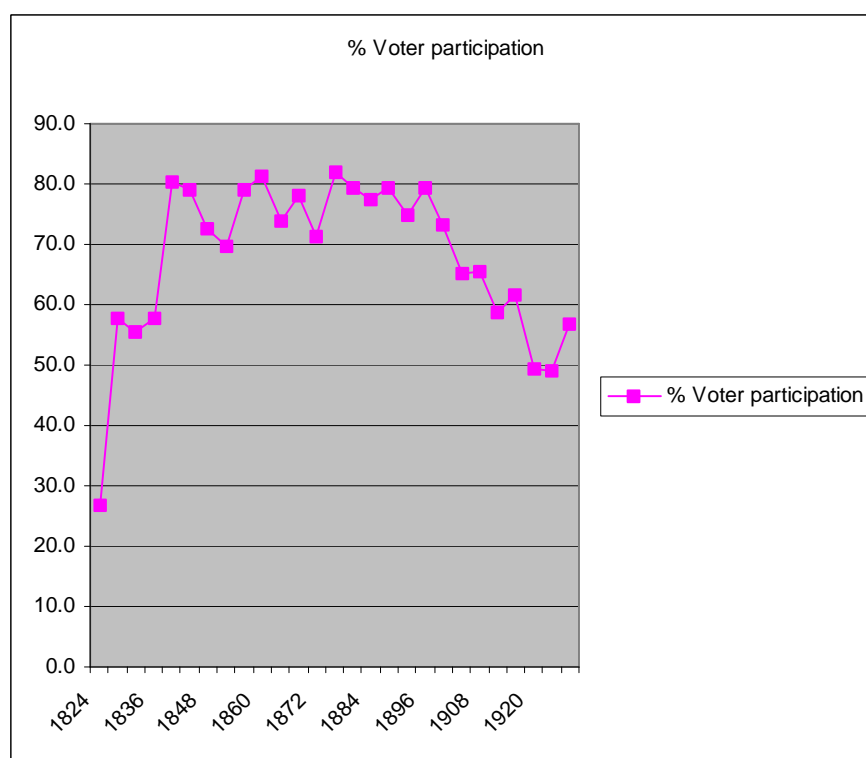


Figure 96: Chart of national election participation 1824-1928.

A well-known example of participation and influence occurred in southern states following the Civil War, when the military occupation ended. In spite of a constitutional amendment specifically granting voting rights to freed slaves and making them citizens, former Confederate states used their states' rights to write election rules to deny participation by freed slaves and their descendents – thus denying a voice into policymaking. In this case, potential voters were denied access, which meant they were not in a position to change a policy negatively affecting them. Voluntary nonparticipation can work in a similar manner by placing influence into the hands of those who vote, even if those are not the majority of potential voters.

A breakdown of Iowa participation rates

Iowa was being settled up to the 1920s, so participation rates varied with ability and inclination to vote. This project begins with the 1890s, a time of industrialization and intense settlement. Iowa's 1891 election for governor saw about a 41% state average participation rate, ranging from a high of just over 50% in Taylor County (in the south with a low ratio of immigrants to native-born) to a low of 30% in Woodbury County (in the northwest with a high ratio of immigrants to native-born). The 1892 presidential election saw about a 75% participation rate nationally, but a 43% participation rate by Iowans statewide, ranging from a high of almost 57% in Dickinson County to a low of 31% in Woodbury County (Figure 97). According to the 1890 census, Sioux County (close to Dickinson and Woodbury counties) had the highest percentage of foreign-born male voters to total voters, at 36%; Wayne County (in the south) had the lowest percent at 3%. Winnebago County had the highest, at 50%, of native-born male voters of foreign parents; Davis County (in the south) had the lowest at 7.6%. For this election, the counties with the highest participation rates were those with the largest percentage of native-born and second-generation immigrants, who would have been more comfortable participating in self-government because of their socialization into the system.

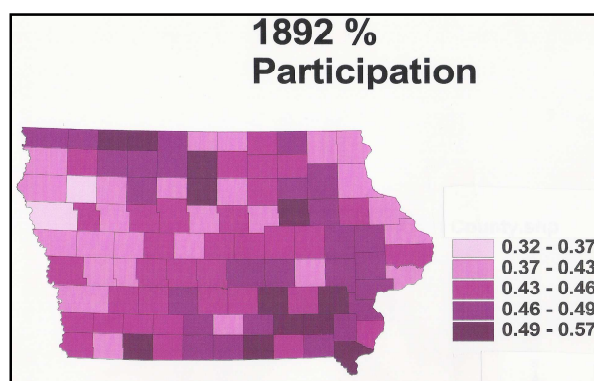


Figure 97. Map of 1892 election participation.

The presidential election of 1900 saw a statewide voter participation rate of 84%, higher than the national average for that election, followed by voter participation in the 1901 governor election of 61%. Both reflect higher participation rates than ten years earlier (of 75% and 41% respectively). A breakdown by county shows a range of 125% in Hardin County (leading to the conclusion of either vote fraud, or a mix-up with the official publication records), to a low of 69% in Dubuque County (both in the northern part of the state) for the 1900 presidential election. The 1901 voter participation in the gubernatorial election ranged from a high of 82% in Bremer County to a low of 33% in Cerro Gordo County (both in the northern part of the state). According to the 1900 census, percent of foreign-born eligible voters to total voters ranged from a high of 61% in Sioux County (in the northwest) to a low of 5% in Decatur County (in the south). That same census showed the percent of native-born eligible male voters (of foreign parents) to total eligible voters ranging from a high of 50% in Worth County (in the north) to a low of just under 8% in Wayne County (in the south). Figure 98 shows voter participation in the 1900 presidential election.

Hardin County is the one county with the darkest color. The next-darkest color shows a higher participation in the southern half of the state, where immigration rates were lower.

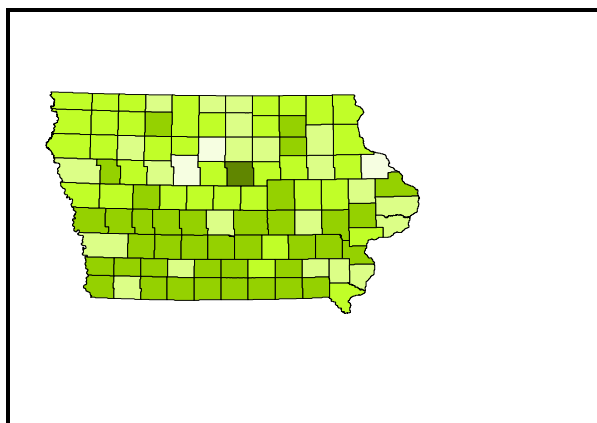


Figure 98. Map of 1900 voter participation rates.

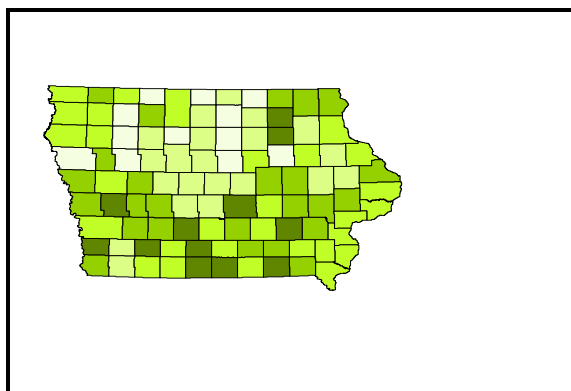


Figure 99. Map of 1901 voter participation rates.

Figure 99 shows voter participation rates in the 1901 gubernatorial election. The darker counties tended to have the lowest immigration rates, and their location reflects the Southern Iowa Drift Plain location, where the soil is poorer. Figure 100 shows the 1900 census demographics of immigration

percentages to native-born. The darker colors reflect the highest immigration rates to native-born.

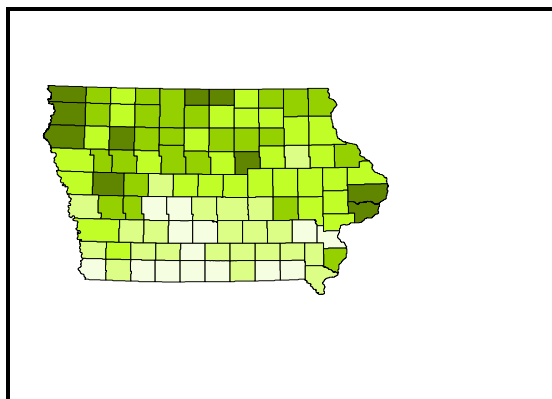


Figure 100. Map of 1900 immigrants as percent of native-born.

The election of 1912, when both gubernatorial and presidential elections appeared on the same ballot, saw Iowa voter participation at 74% in the presidential vote, ranging from a high of 88% in southern Adams County to a low of 58% in northwestern Woodbury County (Figure 101). This election shows a more evenly distributed participation rate.

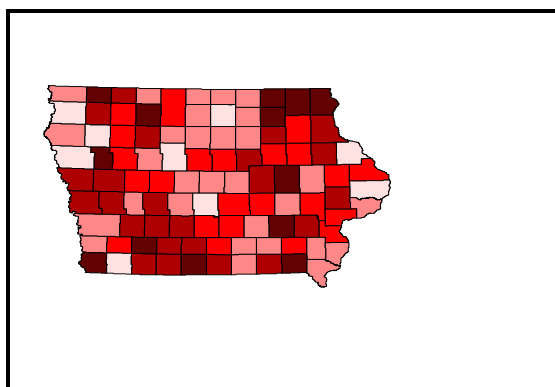


Figure 101. Map of 1912 election participation rates.

The governor votes showed a participation rate of 69%, ranging from a high of 86% in southern Decatur County to a low of 48% in Monroe County (also southern). This indicates not all voters voted for all offices on the ballot.

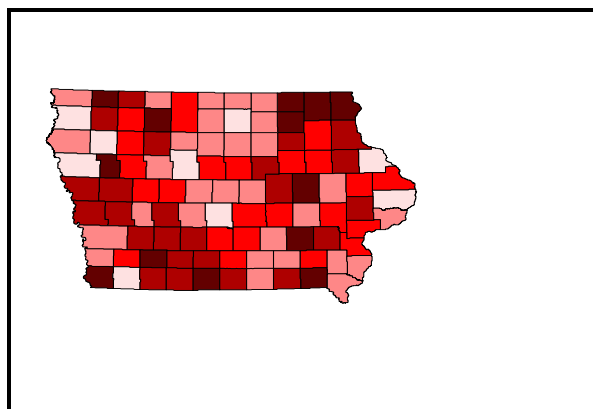


Figure 102. Map of 1910 foreign-born voters.

According to the 1910 census, the percent of foreign-born eligible male voters to total eligible voters ranged from a high of 50% in northwestern Sioux County to a low of 4% in southern Ringgold, Davis, and Van Buren Counties (Figure 102). The percentage of eligible voters native-born to foreign parents ranged from a high of 59% in northern Allamakee County to a low of 8% in southern Wayne County (Figure 103).

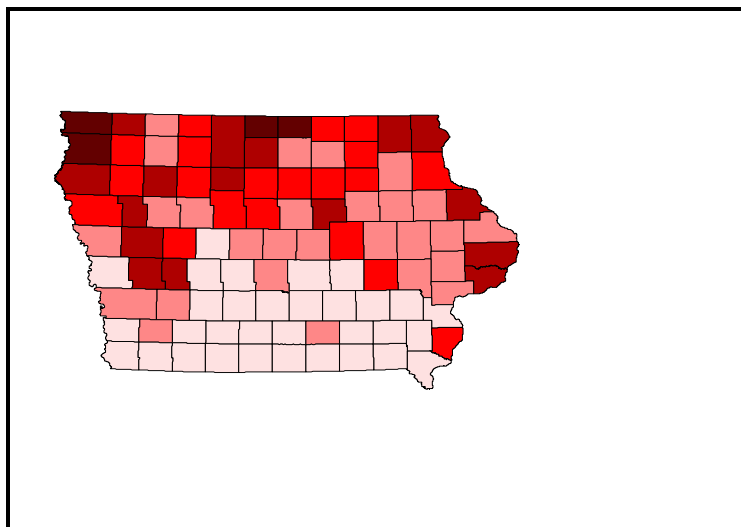


Figure 103. Map of 1910 foreign-born to native-born.

Influence of economic circumstances on participation rates

Beyond immigration status as an influence on participation rates, economic circumstances can motivate participation by those who might otherwise remain complacent (if they are not feeling pain). Up until the 1970s, Iowa often topped the country in production of cattle, hogs, corn, and soybeans. That equates with diversified farming operations. Diversified farming usually means income from some products when the market is bad for others, thus mediating some of the potential economic pain. Comparing the means for diversified farming to the topology of Iowa reflects the inability of some areas to excel at all four major areas of farming operations in Iowa. Leland Sage acknowledged, in his 1972 work, the adaptation of different types of farming operations to their topological locations in the state, mediating the circumstances that led farmers in other states into the Populist Movement.¹²⁴ Sage's work identified five geographic areas of Iowa by dominant type of farming activity, with these geographic areas

¹²⁴ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa*.

overlaying the identified topological areas of the state. Jeffrey Ostler's 1993 work on prairie populism claimed throughout his work that low Iowa farmer participation rates in the Populist Movement occurred because the Iowa Legislature bowed to their wishes.¹²⁵ This over-simplifies the situation in Iowa by underestimating the circumstances of location and demographic composition (that often influenced voter participation). Iowa's two major political parties, very closely tied in political support, worked within these circumstances to keep third parties at bay in controlling the political processes. Radicalism had little chance in state politics because of the possibility of tipping control to the other major party.

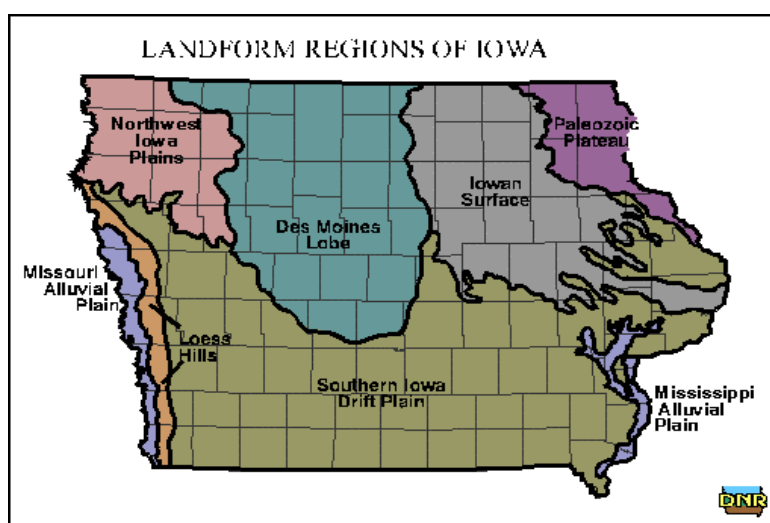


Figure 104. Map of landform regions of Iowa.

Analysis of the election outcomes reflects a relationship of certain demographic data to voter participation and preferences, already beginning to appear Figures 97-103. As the layers of information are mapped, using the Geographic Information System, certain patterns show themselves more clearly

¹²⁵ Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa 1880-1892* (University of Kansas, 1993).

where they intersect. Issues and circumstances combined to determine voter action, just as they do today. Nationally, the economic growth of the 1800s, as a sustained process during the time of migration and settlement westward, saw interruptions for not only the Civil War, but also for depressions in 1819, 1839, 1857, 1873, and 1893. While the National Banking Act stabilized the currency for a time, its economic effects were ambiguous. Between 1869 and 1899 the national population trebled (largely through immigration) and farm production more than doubled, although not equally in all locations.¹²⁶

Iowa political parties respond

According to Merle Curti, when new concepts appear, older ideas linger and do not always vanish; sometimes they change form.¹²⁷ This applies both to immigrants in new locations as well as to significant changes such as industrialization. After the end of Reconstruction in 1877, tensions appeared socially, economically, and politically as the country transitioned from a world of personal relationships to one of contractual relationships. Samuel Hays, in his 1957 work, noted the period from 1885 to 1914 saw wrenching social changes accompanying the rise of large-scale economic organization that worked through the fabric of society: the rise of the big city, the increase in the pace of internal migration, the energizing of variety and choice in personal and family life, nationwide competition rendered making a living less secure, a new urban culture

¹²⁶ U.S. Census data, (Washington: Government Printing Office). See also historical farm production records dating from 1790, available through the USDA.

¹²⁷ Merle Curti, *Human Nature in American Thought: A History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin).

expanded into the countryside, and immigrants flocked in. The social, economic, and political events reveal something more fundamental and more varied taking place than group warfare: new innovations, varying responses to the innovations, changing values, changing cities, changing industry. Industrialization altered the environment of the system.¹²⁸ Public opinion tended to reflect property rights over labor, with the court system applying the Fourteenth Amendment to corporations by defining them as individuals with property rights. Iowa proved no different than the rest of the country in its attempts to deal with these changing circumstances, reflected in its politics.

Iowa's gubernatorial election in 1891, two years before the 1893 depression, found four political party candidates on the ballot, representing: Republican, Democrat, Peoples (Populist), and Prohibition Parties. The published party platforms provide a glimpse of important issues for that state election. One "hot button" became the issue of currency backing; both the state and national party platforms of all parties contained positions on this issue because of the influence to many economic factors. The Australian ballot issue advocated more secrecy in voting, so all parties took positions on this. Consumption of alcohol hit a "hot button" with Iowa voters for this election.

The Iowa Republican Party platform, with its focus on capital, approved of the Silver Coinage Act, calling for silver, gold and paper currency to be used together to control inflation. Republicans wanted to expand exports for beef and pork, since Iowa produced more of these products than other states in the country.

¹²⁸ Samuel P. Hays, *The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

They supported what they termed a “fair” ballot, but did not specify the Australian ballot as their choice, an interesting strategy in an election when the other parties clearly supported the Australian ballot as their specific choice. Republicans desired to limit immigration to control what they saw as incoming criminals and contract laborers. They talked about equalizing the burden of taxation without getting specific. They favored enlarging the power of the Dairy Commission and other farmer institutions. Having enacted temperance legislation in the previous Iowa legislative session, which they controlled, they denounced the Democrats for proposing a local option and licensing arrangement.¹²⁹ Hiram Wheeler became the Republican Party candidate for governor.

Iowa Democrats appear to have picked up on the Populist issues prior to the fusion movement of 1896, having already absorbed the Greenback Party (the forerunner of the Populist Party). They wanted regulation of the railroads and of corporations, from the state level (because their roots lay in states’ rights over national government); they denounced trusts, pools, and combinations. While Congress created the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887 to regulate railroads (after the Supreme Court ruled in 1877 that government could regulate private business), much unrest continued on this issue, as reflected in the issues in the various party platforms calling for increased regulation. Iowa Democrats supported the Australian ballot. They termed themselves devoted to the interests of labor over capital, true to their Jeffersonian roots. They favored the direct election of U.S. Senators (then being chosen by state legislatures, as provided by the U.S. Constitution of 1787), a position previously held by the Greenback Party

¹²⁹ Iowa Official Register of 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, (Des Moines: State of Iowa).

and the Populist Party. They wanted free coinage of silver. They opposed tariffs as corporate welfare. They believed local communities should choose to regulate alcohol using state licensing. They vehemently opposed foreign ownership of land.¹³⁰ Candidate-for-governor, Horace Boies (a former Republican), represented their platform.

The Peoples Party represented official Populist issues in Iowa. The Iowa Peoples Party platform opposed trusts, monopolies, and combinations, believing a moneyed oligarchy protected the interests of that class in their control of capital, just as the Democrat Party believed. They considered private corporations for pecuniary profit a violation of moral law. They stood with the mineworkers in their fight for an eight-hour working day and repeal of the contract clause. They supported the Australian ballot, just as the Democrat Party did. They condemned the two major parties for reopening the temperance question, although the Democrats appear to be the only ones reopening the issue. They believed the state should furnish a uniform system of textbooks for every school – the only Iowa political party to mention this – in an attempt to equalize access to education. They supported the free coinage of silver and increased assessments of the railroads, as the Democrat Party did.¹³¹ A. J. Westfall represented them as candidate for governor.

The Iowa Prohibition Party took on more than the prohibition issue. Prohibitionists believed the manufacturing, importing, exporting, and transporting of alcohol should be banned, stating that the licensing and regulation of alcohol

¹³⁰ Iowa Official Register of 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, (Des Moines: State of Iowa).

¹³¹ Iowa Official Register of 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, (Des Moines: State of Iowa).

was immoral, requiring amendments to both state and national constitutions. All other political parties were condemned for their positions on the issue of alcohol. Prohibitionists opposed the Internal Revenue System. They favored voting rights for women, with an educational qualification. They opposed futures trading (the only party to mention this issue for this election). They favored a triune currency of silver, gold, and paper floating at par value in the market, as the Republican Party did. They demanded an abolition of national banks. They wanted the popular election of president and vice president, eliminating the Electoral College, the popular election of U.S. Senators, as the Peoples' Party did, and a reapportionment change for the U.S. House of Representatives. (Membership in the House was capped at 435 in 1913, twenty years after this election, increasing the number of constituents represented by each member as the population increased, a change from the previous method of increasing membership while capping the number of constituents represented by each member.) They supported the Australian ballot, as all the other parties did except the Republicans. They wanted immigration limited and opposed foreign ownership of land. They favored a just income tax. They wanted arbitration between labor and capital, and believed workers should be paid in cash and not required to buy at the company store.¹³² Candidate-for-governor, Isaac Gibson, represented their issues.

All of the political parties combined the underlying ideologies of their beliefs with application to specific issues. The two major parties had to select issues to accommodate factions within them, as they worked to gain (or maintain) control of the state political process. More than the legislature and governor

¹³² Iowa Official Register of 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, (Des Moines: State of Iowa).

office were at stake; state legislatures selected U.S. senators at the time, representing the state position in Congress. Minor parties could allow their ideologies to dominate more than the major parties could.

1891 and 1892 elections in Iowa

The Iowa Official Register for 1891, 1892, 1893, and 1894 shows three candidates for Iowa governor: Herman C. Wheeler, Horace Boies, and Westfall, because Gibson (the Prohibition Party candidate) garnered too few votes to be mentioned separately in the publication. While Wheeler and Boies, as Republican and Democratic candidates respectively, split the votes almost evenly for the state as a whole – 48% to 50% -- Westfall, representing the Peoples Party, carried sufficient votes – 36% -- in only one county to influence the outcome in that county (Monona), and garnered almost 18% of the vote in Fremont County (to possibly influence the outcome in the direction it went). Monona and Fremont Counties are located in the Western Livestock Region and in loess hill circumstances. One county, Fremont (in the southwest corner), represented Westfall's home; the other county, Monona, represented the home of a judge running for the state court on the Peoples Party ticket.

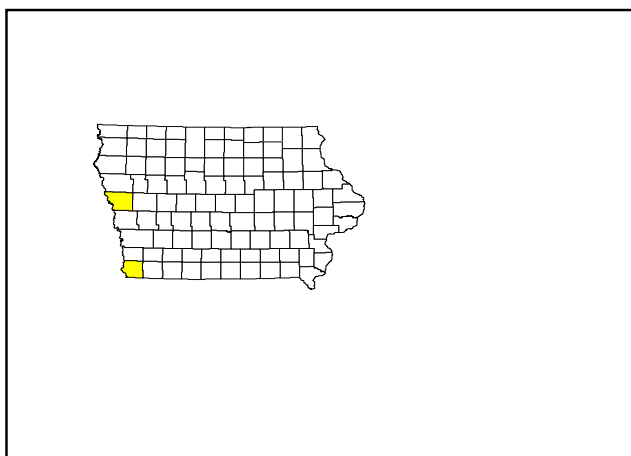


Figure 105. Map of Iowa showing Fremont and Monona Counties.

Figure 105 shows the two counties with significant votes for Westfall in the 1891 gubernatorial election (Western livestock region). The issue of type of ballot, combined with the practice of electing judges at the time, might have influenced this anomaly, if it hadn't been repeated in the 1892 election. At this time, each political party published their own ballots with their slate of candidates, and voters had to request a ballot for a specific party to vote. Possibly a sufficient number of voters wanted their "hometown boy" to gain access to the state court system through this election. However, this does not explain a similar phenomenon occurring in the 1892 election for these same two counties. Circumstances in those locations could have been the deciding factor.

The following two maps show which counties cast at least 45% of their votes for each of the two major party candidates for governor. The contest came down to Republican Wheeler and Democrat Boies. As Dorothy Schwieder acknowledged in her work, temperance became the main issue in Iowa politics.¹³³

¹³³ Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: the Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996).

Debate on this issue took on new intensity with the influx of immigrants accustomed to alcohol as a way of life. The 1891 election revealed how closely the debate divided the state. Seventy-three of ninety-nine counties cast at least 45% of their votes for Republican Wheeler. That number becomes significant in an election Democrat Boies won. Boies received at least 45% of the vote in fifty-four of the ninety-nine counties, showing the closeness of the election. The number of male voters in the counties won by Wheeler totaled 630,461. The number of male voters in counties won by Boies totaled 651,706. The number of male voters in counties where each major party candidate garnered at least 45% of the vote totaled 310,123. Boies carried the more populous counties to win the election. See Figures 106 and 107.

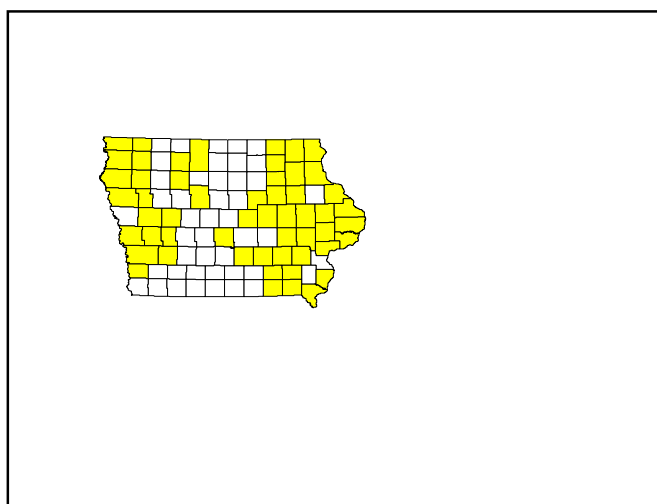


Figure 106. Map of counties won by Boies in 1891.

Counties carried by Wheeler included more rural areas that were sparsely populated, and particularly the Southern pasture region with its higher participation rates but low population.

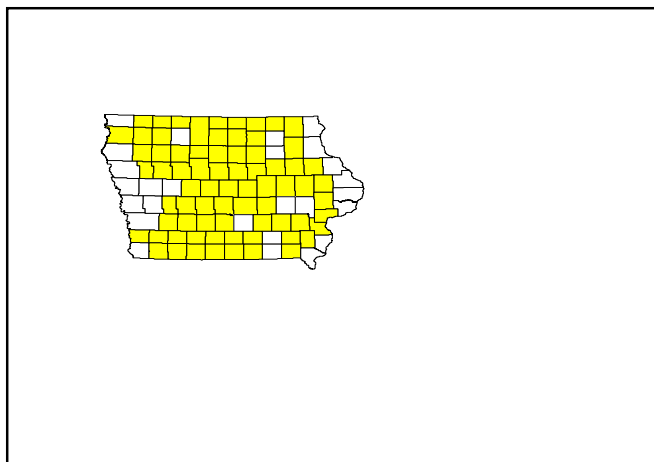


Figure 107. Map showing counties splitting votes 45%-45% 1891 election.

Figure 108 shows 49 of the 99 counties with foreign-born white males at least 45% of the population or more. Note the similarity of this map to the previous one showing 45% split for the two major party candidates.

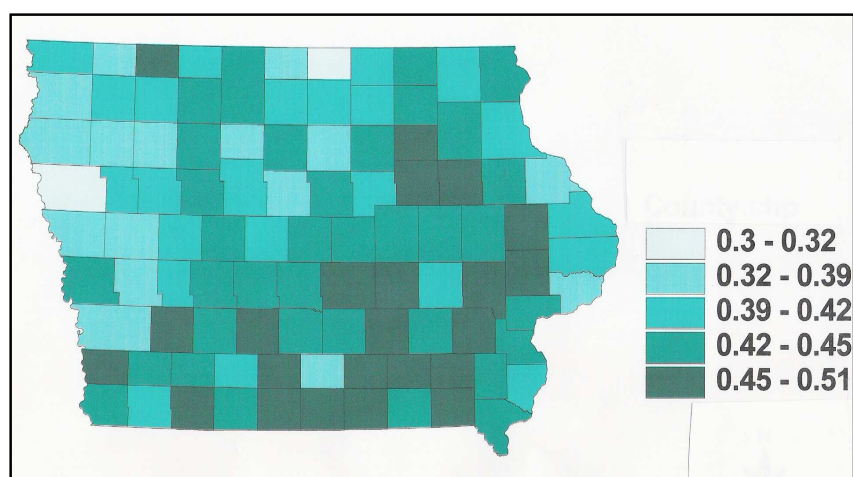


Figure 108. Map showing foreign-born at least 45% of population in 1891.

Republican candidate Wheeler received 199,374 votes statewide to Democrat Boies' 207,743 – a close race. The difference came to 8,369 votes.

Peoples Party candidate Westfall garnered 12,314 votes statewide, most of which came in Monona County and Fremont County, where he posted 36% and 18% of the vote respectively. This decided the election. Regression analysis shows Wheeler and Boies split the support of first- and second-generation voters while Westfall (of the Peoples' Party) drew almost exclusively from native-born male voters of native parents. The Republican Party decided it had to soften its stance on prohibition if it intended to remain in control of the state political system.¹³⁴

Figure 109 below shows the voter participation rates by county for the 1891 governor election. Note the trend of highest participation mostly in the southern tiers of counties, which were the more sparsely populated and were dominated by native-born voters of Southern Democrat descent who tended to vote the Democrat ticket.

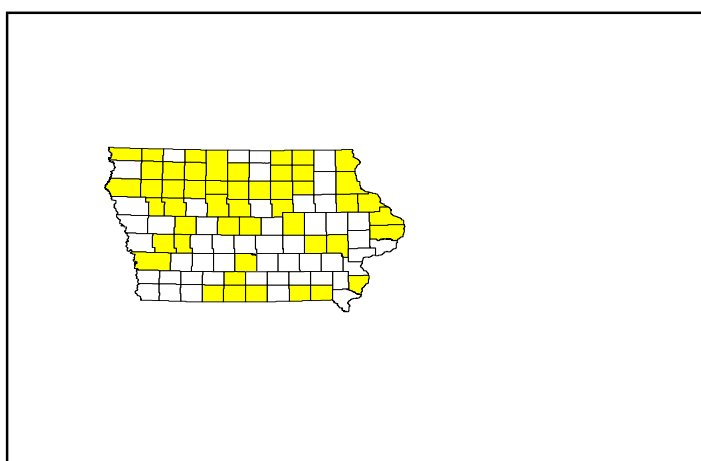


Figure 109. Map showing 1891 participation rates.

¹³⁴ Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: the Middle Land* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996).

Iowans narrowly elected a Democratic governor in the 1891 election, due to the anomalies of the Peoples Party candidate Westfall, but in 1892 they cast their presidential electoral ballots for Republican Benjamin Harrison (50% to 44%) rather than Democrat Grover Cleveland, once again showing how evenly split the two major parties were in Iowa politics.¹³⁵ Similarities appear between the state party platforms of 1891 and the national party platforms of 1892. The issue of prohibition does not appear in the national party platforms, although some Third parties supported a constitutional amendment, or at least some congressional action on the issue. Added to the list for the national election was the Nicaraguan Canal.¹³⁶

Fifty-five counties cast at least 50% of their votes for Harrison while twenty counties cast at least 50% of their votes for Cleveland. Total eligible voters in the fifty-five counties supporting Harrison came to 481,342. Of this number, 16.6% were foreign-born, 24.3% were native-born of foreign parents, and 59.1% were native-born of native parents. Total eligible voters in the twenty counties supporting Cleveland came to 254,787. Of these 24.5% were foreign-born, 35.7% were native-born of foreign parents, and 39.8% were native-born of native parents. Cleveland appears to have pulled his votes mainly from the first and second-generations in Iowa, while Harrison pulled votes largely from the native-born of native parents. Chapter 2 provides the regional analysis, indicating the population densities reflected in Figure 110.

¹³⁵ See the work of Leland Sage and Dorothy Schweider for a discussion of early Iowa politics.

¹³⁶ Location for what ultimately became the Panama Canal shifted from time to time, but at this time it was Nicaragua.

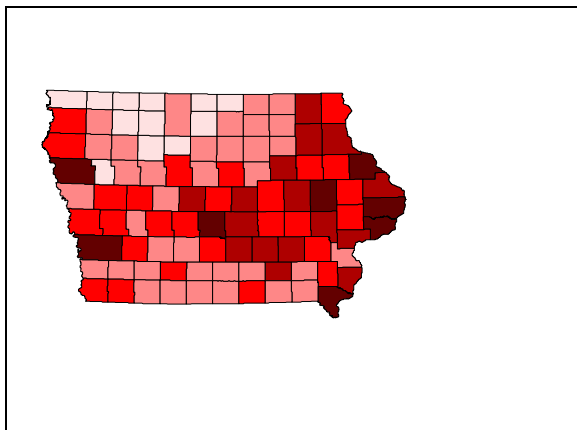


Figure 110. Map showing 1890 population density by county.

Of the 442,938 votes Iowans cast for president in the 1892 election, 219,702 went to Harrison while 196,312 went to Cleveland – a difference of only 23,390 votes. The other two candidates running for president were Weaver, a native Iowa Populist running on the Peoples Party ticket, and Bidwell, a Prohibitionist. Weaver garnered 20,584 votes, while Bidwell received 6,340, for a combined total of 26,924 votes not cast for either the Republican candidate Harrison, nor the Democratic candidate Cleveland, showing the closeness of this election and how Third parties can influence the outcome. The platform of the People Party resembled the Democrat Party platform. The platform of the Prohibition Party resembled the Republican Party platform. Each of these third parties drew votes from the major party on their side of the political distribution from center. This proved sufficient to decide the election in Iowa. In Monona County, Weaver garnered 35% of the vote, dropping off to less than 20% in the counties of Davis, Monroe, Mahaska, Union, Fremont, Madison, Decatur, and

Harrison. These counties had the highest percentage of population in the category of native-born of native parents, echoing the voting results for Westfall in the 1891 gubernatorial election. Total votes for Weaver in those counties came to 5,892 for the nine counties. Weaver's remaining 14,692 were scattered among the other ninety counties, for a per-county average of 163 votes. Of those counties with larger vote numbers for Weaver, 77% of voters were native-born of native parents, 14% were native-born of foreign parents, and 9% were foreign-born, reflecting Weaver's source of support as native-born of native parents. With the Democratic Party platform picking up many of the Peoples Party platform planks, the voters appear to have chosen to vote for the Democratic candidate. For a native son, Weaver probably expected to do better in his home state, especially since he garnered twenty-two electoral votes nationwide in this election.

Weaver has an interesting story that demonstrates the political turmoil of the times and the factionalism within Iowa's two major parties. He had become increasingly disenchanted with the Republican Party and the presidential administration of Ulysses Grant (whose presidency transitioned the U.S. into its industrialization period after he ended Reconstruction following the Civil War), viewing it as under the control of big business at the expense of farmers and small businessmen; he had company in these beliefs. He joined the Greenback Party, when it formed in 1878 to promote agricultural as well as labor interests through currency reform, a hot issue of the day. The Greenback Party advocated an expanded and flexible national currency based on the use of silver alongside gold,

as well as an eight-hour work day, the taxation of interest from government bonds, and a graduated income tax. All of these appear as planks of the Peoples' Party in the 1891 and 1892 elections. Weaver's home area thought enough of him to elect him to the United States House of Representatives from Iowa in 1878 on the Greenback ticket, where he served in the Forty-Sixth Congress from 1879 to 1881. He did not seek renomination in 1880, because he became the presidential candidate of the Greenback Party at its national convention.¹³⁷

According to the Electoral College voting, much of Weaver's national support came from the Great Plains and rural West, stronghold of the Farmers' Alliance. He ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1882, but in 1884 he was elected to Congress once again by his home area and served two terms. He was defeated in the 1888 election and left office in 1889.

The Greenback Party eventually fused with the Democrat Party in most states, a move Weaver opposed, but one that likely explains the planks of the Democrat Party in the 1891 and 1892 elections. In 1891 Weaver helped found the Populist Party (Peoples' Party). In 1892 he became the presidential nominee of that party and chose a strategy of forming alliances with African-Americans in the South, who had gained the right to vote with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution but who were subject to Jim Crow laws in the South (sanctified eventually by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1896 Plessy Vs. Ferguson decision). His policy was not well received by whites in the South, which split the

¹³⁷ Several sources show Weaver as the presidential candidate for the Greenback Party in 1880: the national party platform for the Greenback Party at both the state and national level. Electoral College results also show presidential candidates, including Weaver.

effectiveness of the Populist movement in that region and led to violence and intimidation against black voters.¹³⁸

In one of the better showings by a third-party candidate in U.S. history, Weaver received over a million popular votes in the 1892 presidential election, and won twenty-two electoral votes from four states (Colorado, Kansas, Idaho, and Nevada) – but not Iowa.¹³⁹ In the 1896 election, he threw his support behind Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who supported many of the Populist Party causes and who subsequently captured the Democratic Party nomination. Weaver believed he had struck a deal with Bryan to make Tom Watson (his co-founder of the Populist Party) Bryan's running mate. Instead Bryan chose Arthur Sewall, a conservative opponent of trade unions from Maine (which would not have served the interests of former Greenbackers or Populists). As a consequence, many in the Populist Party turned against Bryan and refused to support him in the general election. Bryan was defeated by Republican nominee William McKinley (who ran for reelection in 1900). The Populist Party went into decline after 1896 and soon disappeared, as Third parties often do when their causes have been picked up by one of the major parties; however, many of its core ideas, such as the direct election of United States Senators, a graduated income tax, and the relaxation of the gold standard, were implemented later by Progressives (who, similarly, created a party from factions of both the Republican Party and the Democratic

¹³⁸ Lawrence Goodwyn, *Populist Movement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

¹³⁹ Electoral College voting results for 1892.

Party for the 1912 election), the first two by means of the necessary constitutional amendments.¹⁴⁰

1900 and 1901 elections in Iowa

Between the elections, several significant events occurred. The closing of the frontier in the 1890s caused Americans to think about overseas markets as an outlet to their increasing production. Some began to think in terms of overseas possessions, as Social Darwinism boosted notions of Manifest Destiny. The Spanish American War “freed” Cuba from Europe and brought the acquisition of the Philippines. With the ratification of the Treaty of Paris in 1899, the U.S. became more deeply involved in the Caribbean area. The Open Door Policy of 1899, rooted in business interests, prompted the U.S. to proclaim, unilaterally, a hands-off policy with China. All countries could trade on an equal basis; those foreign powers exercising spheres of influence were told not to interfere with any treaty, port, or vested interest. In 1900 the Boxer Rebellion to expel foreign interests caused several countries to send forces, including the U.S. All of these events show up in the national political platforms of 1900 and the Iowa state platforms of 1901.

In the national election of 1900, the Republican Party platform reflected their position that their leadership since the 1896 election returned the U.S. economy to prosperous times (after the depression of 1893), putting the dollar on the gold standard. For a party favoring business interests, they staked out the

¹⁴⁰ Lawrence Goodwyn, *Populist Movement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

interesting position of opposing trusts, monopolies, and combinations, in an effort to attract votes. They avowed their support of protective tariffs (which Democrats claimed reflected a business interest). They favored restricted immigrant labor, increased educational opportunities for working children, and increasing the age at which children could be employed. Noting that nine-tenths of U.S. shipping was being handled by foreign ships, Republicans supported legislation for a merchant marine. They also wanted to increase trade in the Asian region. They commended themselves for “freeing” Cuba from imperialist Europe. Apparently commenting on the 1896 *Plessey vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision approving Jim Crow laws and a separate but equal policy in those areas desiring it, the Republican Party took a position in opposition to that decision. Given their history of governing southern states with a military occupation during Reconstruction, they may have seen some possible political support in taking such a position (and reminding voters that the Democrat Party was the “party of the South”). Referring now to an Isthmian Canal, rather than to a Nicaraguan one, Republicans expressed support for this issue. William McKinley was re-nominated as the Republican presidential candidate.¹⁴¹

The Democratic Party began its platform with a declaration of opposition to what they termed the imperialism of the U.S. in the late 1800s, in total contrast to the Republican position on the Spanish-American War. As the Republicans had done, the Democrats denounced trusts, combinations, and monopolies, as part of their ideological basis favoring labor over capital. They once again asserted

¹⁴¹ Republican Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

support for a gold and silver-supported currency, in lieu of just a gold-supported currency, a Populist position. The Democrat Party reasserted its support for the direct election of U.S. Senators, continuing the tradition of the Greenback Party and the Populist Party, both of which it subsumed. They called for the immediate construction of a Nicaraguan Canal. Democrats stated their support of the continuance of the Chinese exclusion law, begun in 1882. William Jennings Bryan represented their platform in the campaign for president.¹⁴²

The Prohibition Party declared both the Republican and Democrat parties to be insincere in their opposition to trusts, monopolies and combinations. They attacked President McKinley for drinking in public, and issued a call to moral and Christian citizenship. John Woolley represented their platform as presidential candidate.¹⁴³

The Peoples' Party called for the initiative, the referendum, and the recall of elected officials, which Progressives finally enacted several years later. They demanded the public ownership and operation of the means of communication, transportation, and other business considered vital. They wanted a scientific and absolute paper currency based on the entire wealth and population of the nation, not one or two commodities. They called for direct election of all offices. They declared their opposition to trusts, monopolies, and combinations. Wharton Barker was their presidential candidate.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Democratic Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

¹⁴³ Prohibition Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

¹⁴⁴ People's Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

The Socialist Labor Party declared its belief that the means of production should be held in common by all the people for their benefit, not by a few for the benefit of a few. Their platform consisted of an ideological statement in support of this position. Joseph Malloney was their presidential candidate.¹⁴⁵

The United Christian Party ran a slate of candidates, with Iowan J.F.R. Leonard as their presidential candidate. Their platform was an ideological statement of their religious beliefs as the underlying source of political power. Given the strength of the Social Gospel Movement at this time, a party based on these principles should not be surprising.¹⁴⁶ Notably absent is a Catholic Party based on their social justice movement, begun in 1891 and spawning political parties in other countries around the world.

The Social Democratic Party ran Eugene Debs as their presidential candidate. This party declared capitalism as the source of inequality, creating class warfare. It declared itself to be the organization of labor. As such it called for public control of trusts and monopolies, public ownership of utilities, public ownership of mines, and national insurance for workers. It also called for the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall.¹⁴⁷

Figure 111 shows Iowa support for Democrat candidate Bryan. Note his primary support in the counties with the highest percentage of native-born to

¹⁴⁵ Socialist Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

¹⁴⁶ United Christian Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

¹⁴⁷ Social democratic Party Platform of 1900, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1902).

foreign-born. The counties in white were counties with the highest rates of immigrants to native-born at the time.

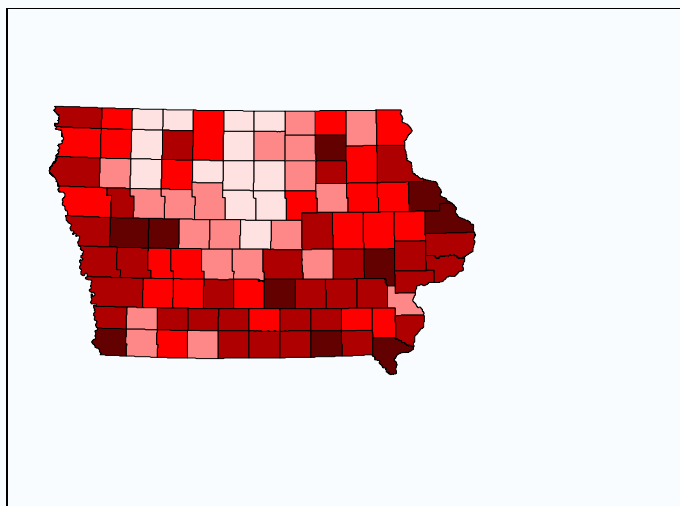


Figure 111: Map showing votes for Bryan in 1900.

Figure 112 shows the votes for Republican candidate McKinley, who won the election and carried Iowa electoral votes. Note the heaviest support in the counties that appear in the lightest color on the previous map.

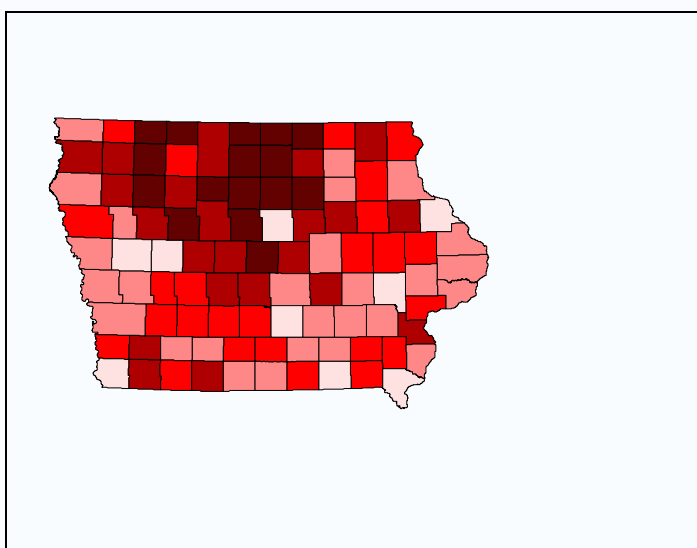


Figure 112. Map showing votes for McKinley in 1900.

The Iowa state gubernatorial election was held the next year, in 1901 (Figures 113 and 114). The Republican Party platform for that election began by expressing its gratification for the reelection of President McKinley to a second term. It supported the gold standard and the “success” of the Spanish American War. No issues for Iowa appeared in the state platform. Albert Cummins ran for governor on their ticket. He won with 226,973 votes. The Democrat Party endorsed the national platform and ran T. J. Phillips as their candidate for governor. He received 143,253 votes. The Prohibition Party platform began by acknowledging God as the source of civil government and Jesus Christ as the true ruler of the world. They supported the national platform and ran A. U. Coates as their candidate for governor. The Socialist Party declared their allegiance to the international socialist movement and ran James Baxter as their candidate for governor. The Peoples Party endorsed the national platform and ran L. H. Weller as their candidate for governor.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Iowa Official Register (State of Iowa, 1902).

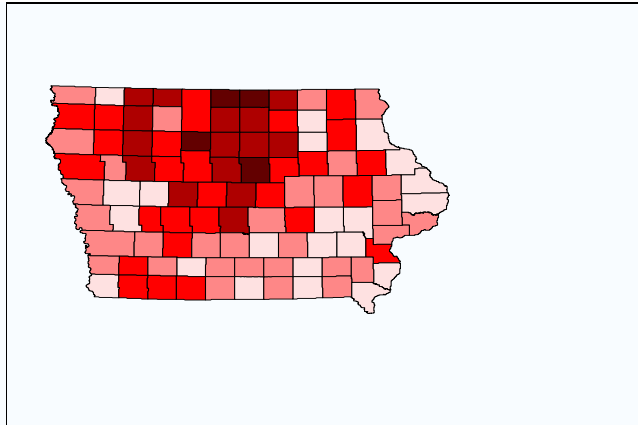


Figure 113. Map showing 1901 votes for Cummins.

Note the opposite shading of counties from the map for Cummins.

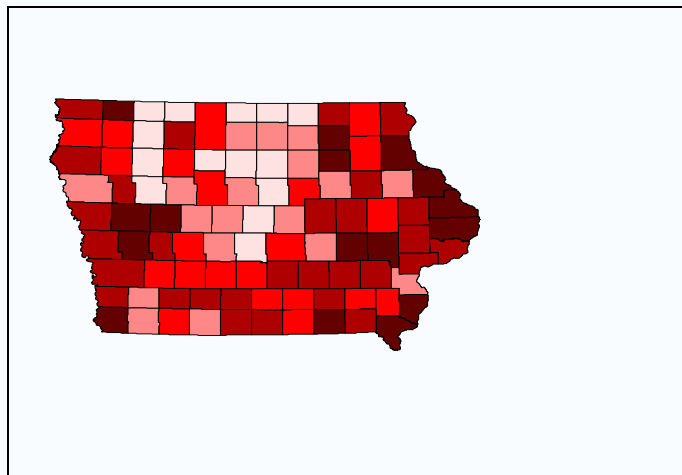


Figure 114. Map showing 1901 votes for Phillips.

Votes for the other parties totaled 19,788, not enough to decide the election this time, with a difference of 83,720 between Republican and Democratic candidates.

Figure 115 shows voting participation rates for the gubernatorial election. Notice the higher participation in the southern counties with the highest rates of native-born, but with the sparsest population. Phillips carried those counties but lost the election.

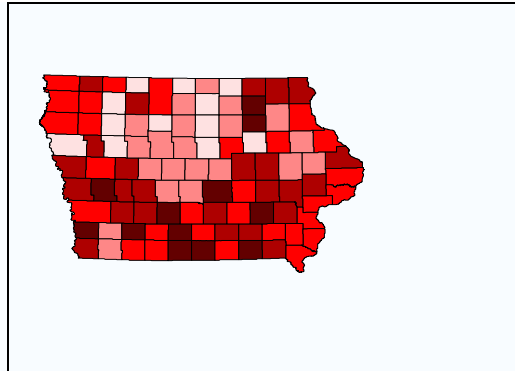


Figure 115. Map showing 1901 voting participation rates.

Population density is shown below (Figure 116).

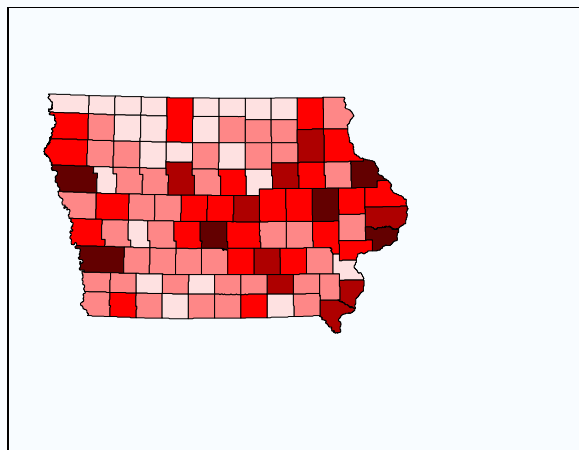


Figure 116. Map showing 1900 population density by county.

Between the 1900/1901 elections in Iowa and the election of 1912, Progressives expanded their efforts to reform the country from what they perceived as abuses of the Gilded Age, with its bosses and robber barons. Their goals included greater democracy, good government, business regulation, social justice, and public service. Urban business and professional leaders brought to

progressivism a certain respectability that populist farmers had lacked. They also brought a more businesslike and efficient approach to reform.¹⁴⁹ With the turn of the century had come exposure of the social evils existing at the time. Increased publications spread the information to a broader group of the public. Enterprises to address social concerns multiplied. Just as we see today, movements include followers who are single-issue individuals, or multiple-issue individuals, or those who completely embrace all aspects of the movement. This is the reason political parties carefully select issues for a campaign to attract individuals who might vote to the party candidates so support can be translated into political power.

Showing its basis in Greenbackism and Populism, features of progressivism included direct primaries by each party; the initiative, referendum, and recall to give more power to the people; the direct election of U.S. senators; efficiency in government; increased government regulation; social justice through labor legislation and prohibition; and an active government with public service functions. Largely an organized middleclass movement, the poor and unorganized had little influence. Theodore Roosevelt promoted these policies during his tenure as President, succeeding to the office initially with the assassination of McKinley in 1901. Several features of progressivism show themselves in the selection of party platform planks in the 1912 election. By the time of the 1912 election, Iowa had changed the timing of its gubernatorial election so it was held the same year as the presidential election. The 1910 census

¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Parke Dewitt, *The Progressive Movement: A Non-partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1915).

showed Iowa to be the only state in the nation to lose population during the previous decade.

The Republican Party met in Chicago and agreed on the following national party platform planks. Expressing their belief in a limited government in order to secure individual rights (which included the rights of capital because that was a historical basis of the party), Republicans then asserted their nonsupport of recall procedures for sitting judges – an issue being promoted by Progressive factions of both major parties – possibly because the court system had declared corporations to be individuals with the property rights of individuals and defended that position with laissez-faire policies. Republicans took credit for the passage of the 1887 Interstate Commerce Act and the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act, citing those as evidence they abhorred monopoly. A federal trade commission was proposed to reduce the burden of cases being handled by the court system. They urged an investigation into agricultural societies and credit institutions, as well as banking practices, possibly an outgrowth of the Country Life Commission organized by Roosevelt (while he was President) to address the rural social issues being recognized at that time. In 1913 (after the election) the Federal Reserve legislation was enacted, the IRS reformed, and the Farm Credit System would have been set up, but work on the legislation was interrupted by World War I. Republicans once again asserted their belief in the need for a merchant marine for American shipping. They wanted to control immigration. William Taft represented the Republican Party.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Republican Party Platform of 1912, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa 1913).

The Democrat Party asserted the federal government had no right to collect tariffs except to raise revenue (contrary to the Republican Party's assertion the purpose was to equalize the standard of living between countries), citing the Constitution. They pointed out that the Sherman Antitrust Act had been severely hampered in its operation by the judicial system (with its laissez-faire policy). While decrying the usurpation of states' rights by the national government (a position basic to Democrats and their Antifederalist roots), they called upon both state and national governments to protect the people against monopolies, combinations, and trusts – showing recognition of a situation growing beyond the ability of states to handle effectively. They urged states to quickly approve the Constitutional amendment for direct election of U.S. senators (showing some success at getting the amendment enacted and presented to the states for ratification). Democrats called for regulation of railroads, telephone and telegraph companies in the public interest. They opposed the establishment of what became the Federal Reserve (calling it simply a national bank). They maintained their support for the right of labor to organize into unions. They opposed what we would recognize today as a commodity exchange, calling it gambling; insisting necessary foodstuffs should not be gambled with. They supported what became the Food and Drug Administration to protect the public health. Woodrow Wilson represented them as their nominee for president.¹⁵¹

The Progressive Party officially formed and decided on the following platform planks. They demanded restrictions on the power of courts to determine

¹⁵¹ Democratic Party Platform of 1912, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa 1913).

social or public policy. Picking up on labor demands, they supported a minimum wage, an eight-hour workday, and improved working conditions. Since Theodore Roosevelt was their presidential candidate, and he had established the Country Life Commission during his tenure as President, the Progressive Party supported the findings of this commission to improve country living. They demanded strong regulation of interstate commerce. They believed in a protective tariff to maintain standard of living for workers, apparently supporting the position of Republicans on this issue rather than Democrats. Progressives could be found in both major parties, utilizing this fact to enact national legislation, so it should come as no surprise to find elements of both major parties in their platform. Progressivism is a Hamiltonian strong central government working for Jeffersonian goals. As the voting results will show, this is not the way progressivism worked in Iowa politics.¹⁵²

The Social Democrat Party platform began with a long explanation of the principles of socialism and why it was appropriate for the U.S. at that time. They supported union demands for labor. Consistent with this position was their call for the abolition of the Senate and the veto power of the President, leaving control with the elected representatives of the people, proposing a definite change to the checks and balances created by the Constitution. The Supreme Court was

¹⁵² Progressive Party Platform of 1912, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa 1913). Theodore Roosevelt formed the Bull Moose Party when he was denied the republican nomination in 1912, but that officially became the Progressive Party by election time and appeared on ballots as the Progressive Party.

condemned for ruling on the constitutionality of people-approved legislation.

Eugene Debs represented them as their candidate for president.¹⁵³

The Prohibition Party opposed consumption of alcohol and supported women's suffrage. They also supported the initiative, referendum and recall, planks of the Progressive Party.¹⁵⁴

The Iowa vote for president broke down in the following manner. Of the 492,595 votes cast for that office, (Figure 117) Republican Taft received 119,940 votes (24%), (Figure 118) Democrat Wilson received 185,340 votes (38%), and (Figure 119) Progressive Roosevelt received 161,890 votes (33%), beating Republican Taft; the other two candidates received a total of 25,425 votes (5%). With the Progressive Party picking up the issues of the former Greenback Party and the Populist Party, neither one of which received strong support in Iowa, the strength of their showing in this election is startling, unless consideration is made of interest groupings and their preferences and numbers. This lends support to the assertion of researchers, including Benjamin Parke DeWitt, the Progressive Party pulled voters from factions of both major parties, and beyond rural farmer movements.¹⁵⁵ That being the case, the question becomes one of how this played out in various areas.

Statistical regression is a generic term for all methods attempting to fit a model to observed data in order to *quantify the relationship* between two groups

¹⁵³ Social Democratic Party platform of 1912, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa 1913).

¹⁵⁴ Prohibition Party platform of 1912, found in *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa 1913).

¹⁵⁵ Benjamin Parke DeWitt, *The Progressive Movement*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968, reprinted from 1915). See also Samuel P. Hays, *Response to Industrialism*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995 [1955]).

of variables. The fitted model may then be used either to merely *describe* the relationship between the two groups of variables, or to *predict* new values. Regression analysis shows the most likely Republican Taft voters to be native-born Iowans of native-born parents, the group with decreased numbers in Iowa at the time of the election. Figure 117 reflects this because its darkest values occur in areas already shown to be dominated by native-born of native-born parents and native-born of foreign-born parents. These areas also tended to be strongest in English, Scots, and Irish settlers along with the original native-born from southern states (likely Scots-Irish). A breakdown by ethnicity, using regression analysis, shows the strongest support (of the four dominant groups to settle in Iowa) to be English and Swedish.

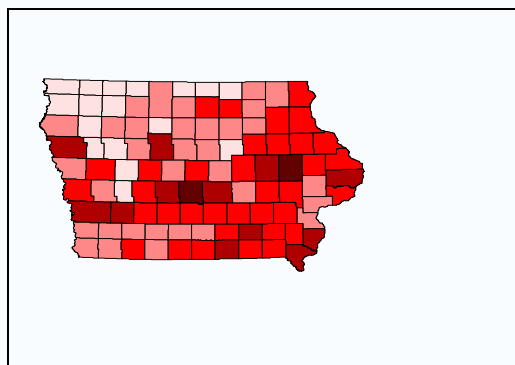


Figure 117. Map showing 1912 votes for Taft.

Regression analysis shows the most likely Democrat Wilson voters to be native-born Iowans of foreign-born parents. A breakdown by ethnicity of the four dominant groups to settle Iowa shows the strongest support to be Canadians (both French and other), Dutch, and Danish (Figure 118).

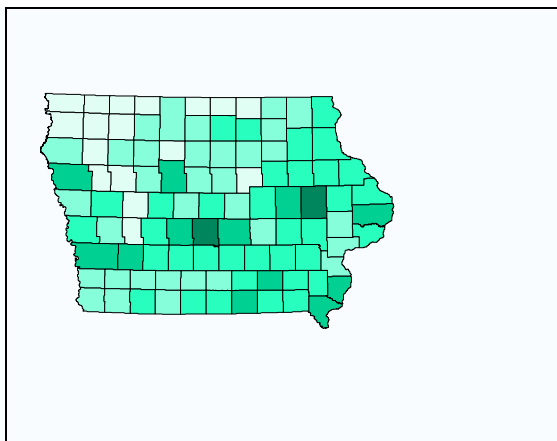


Figure 118. Map showing 1912 votes for Wilson.

Regression analysis shows the most likely voters for Roosevelt to be both native-born Iowans of native-born parents and native-born Iowans of foreign-born parents. A breakdown by ethnicity shows the strongest support (of the four dominant groups to settle in Iowa) to be the Irish; other ethnicities taper off significantly (Figure 119).

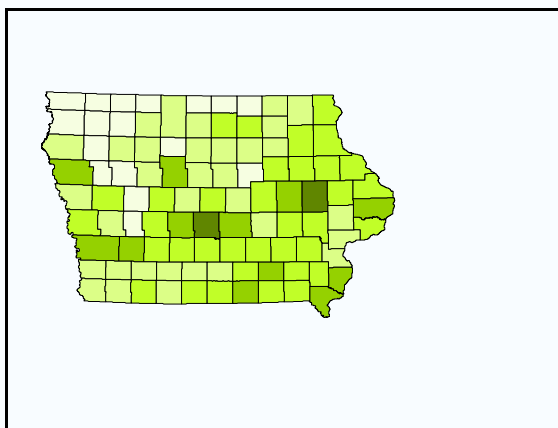


Figure 119. Map showing 1912 votes for Roosevelt.

Germans were the second largest group to settle Iowa (after the British Isles – English, Scots and Irish), but they split their support among the five presidential candidates, with the Prohibition candidate taking away the largest

share of their votes. Figure 120 shows this support, small though it was with 8,488 votes.

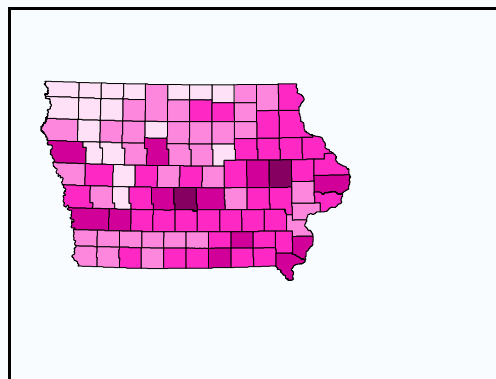


Figure 120. Map showing 1912 votes for Prohibition candidate.

Figure 121 shows German immigrants at the time of the 1910 census. Comparing the two maps shows the extent to which Germans did not vote as a united ethnicity, but chose to either disperse their support among the candidates or not vote at all, although support is highest in the Western livestock and North central grain regions, where participation tended to be lower.

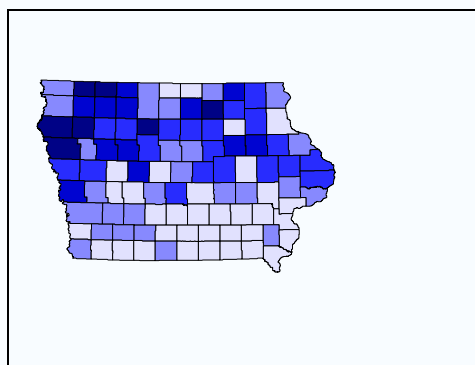


Figure 121. Map showing German settlement in Iowa 1910.

For governor the Iowa Republicans nominated George Clarke. They supported both the initiative and referendum but only the referendum was ever enacted in Iowa. They supported the national Republicans on tariffs and opposed contract labor. The Democrat Party nominated Edward Dunn as their candidate

for governor. They opposed contracted prison labor and supported employers' liability and workmen's compensation. John Stevens represented the Progressive Party of Iowa for governor. The state party adopted the national platform and expressed their support for its principles. I. S. McCrillis represented the Socialist Party of Iowa. They supported labor union demands, and the ability of the state to establish businesses in order to employ those who otherwise were unemployed. They demanded home rule for municipalities and the abolition of capital punishment. C. Durant Jones represented the Prohibition Party for governor. They opposed the consumption of alcoholic drink, supported women's suffrage, and the abolition of child labor. They supported the initiative, referendum and recall.¹⁵⁶

Of the 459,403 votes cast in the Iowa gubernatorial election of 1912, 184,111 votes (40%) went to Republican Clarke, 180,812 votes (39%) went to Democrat Dunn, Progressive Stevens received 71,838 votes (16%), and the other two candidates garnered 22,642 votes (5%). With only 3,299 votes separating the two major party candidates for governor, clearly the other candidates influenced the outcome of the election. While Progressive Roosevelt received 33% of the votes in the presidential election, that did not translate to votes for Progressive Stevens in the gubernatorial election. Iowans supported Democrat Wilson with 38% of their votes in the presidential election and showed similar support (with 39%) for Democrat Dunn in the governor election. However, 24% of Iowa votes went to Republican Taft in the presidential election while 40% of their votes went to Republican Clarke in the governor election. The difference between 40% and

¹⁵⁶ Party platforms for 1912 from the. *Iowa Official Register* (State of Iowa, 1913).

24% is 16%; the difference between 33% (for Roosevelt) and 15% (for Stevens) is 17% (close to 16% when rounding is considered), showing that Iowa voters supported Progressives nationally but not locally (possibly due to the nature of the hotly-contested political situation in Iowa).

Leland Sage blamed poor leadership in Stevens for the failure of the Progressive Party in this Iowa election for governor.¹⁵⁷ Dorothy Schwieder explained the situation as one of the Iowa Republican Party enacting Progressive legislation, focusing on the railroad issue (dearest to farmers) in the early years of progressivism. Between 1902 and 1907, Iowa's General Assembly passed numerous railroad laws. Changes in election procedures also took place, with direct primaries beginning. The insurance industry was addressed, with a department of insurance created in 1913. In 1909 a State Board of Education was created.¹⁵⁸ For the 1912 election, Iowa voters appeared to have remembered the source of their progressive legislation in the state. This also likely indicated which interest groupings were the most numerous and most active at the time. It could also indicate voters' grasp of the differences between national government and state government.

Regression analysis, according to p-value, shows Republican Clarke's support coming from foreign-born immigrants. It also shows Republican Clarke's ethnic support coming predominantly from Scandinavian immigrants, who tended to stay in farming, and who settled the parts of the state with the best soils. Broken down by region, this would be the North central grain and Northeast dairy

¹⁵⁷ Leland Sage, *A History of Iowa*.

¹⁵⁸ Dorothy Schwieder, *Iowa: The Middle Land*, (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1996).

regions, according to Census data and shown in previous maps. Regression analysis, according to p-value shows Democrat Dunn's source of votes coming primarily from native-born of foreign-born parents, or second generation. It also shows Democrat Dunn's ethnic support coming predominantly from Canadians (both French and other) and English immigrants.

Regression analysis, according to p-value, shows Progressive Stevens' source of votes coming from native-born of native parents. It also shows Stevens' ethnic support coming predominantly from Belgian immigrants, followed closely by Scandinavians.

Summary

Iowa voter participation varied, as it did for the country as a whole, but showed a tendency for native-born to have higher rates for the time period of this project. During the time of intense settlement by immigrants, native-born participated at higher rates but reflected smaller numbers, thus reducing their influence as immigrants became more politically active with succeeding generations. Voting outcomes show variances by region more than by ethnicity or religious affiliation. Mapping of ethnicities show dispersion over time across the three regions not initially settled by a majority of southern native-born (who demonstrated the highest participation rates during the time of this project). The nature of the political system worked to marginalize localized clustered voting over larger areas. The division of interest groupings and their prioritized issues

shows in the voting outcomes broken down by candidate and location at each election in response to the circumstances at the time.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusion

Iowa settlement and politics can be situated within a broad process of migration (bringing along socialized values, historical experiences, and expectations) and position within a federalist system of government (defined by the Constitution as an arrangement between states and the national government). Just as no thought was involved with geological circumstances existing within the different states when the Constitution was written, neither did states consider these in subdividing their defined political boundaries into counties, townships, and towns (over which each would govern within our federalist system) – and congressional districts. An examination of the influences into particular circumstances and their geographical location is necessary to provide expanded contextual understanding to the political outcomes. Iowa existed (and exists) as a state within this new federalist system whose Constitution (in Article IV Section 4 guarantees a republican form of government to the states by the national government as part of the division of power). States, then, become unitary powers to the levels of government below them, as part of their own power sharing arrangement. Differences between groups desiring a stronger state government versus groups desiring a stronger national government, for a variety of reasons, continued to define the broad parameters for these debates, with political parties selecting platform planks of issues based on which groupings could be attracted to vote for that party and translate sufficient votes to political power for policymaking.

The immigrant view of the New World led to conservatism, tradition, and acceptance of authority, initially. Young America, in its growing pains, seemed unstable and lacking in the orderly elements of existence, in the view of many immigrants. Naturalization did not create voters; voting came with needs, with experience, and with a comfort level within the system. Coupled with conservatism, a sense of tradition, respect for authority, and reluctance for change, immigrants did not tend to go along with progressive ideas, although second and third generations might be comfortable doing so. The Iowa locations with the highest number of immigrants had the lowest number of participating voters in the elections studied for this project. Succeeding generations improved voter participation.

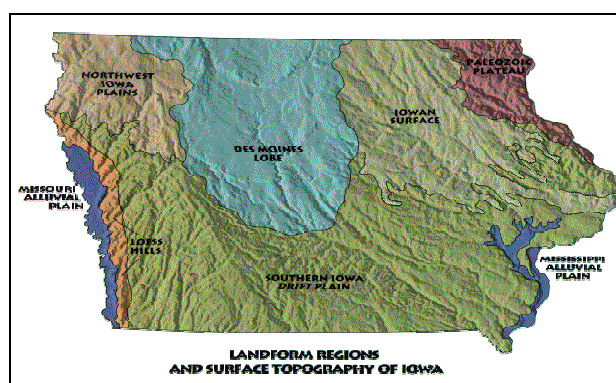


Figure 122. Map of Iowa land form regions.

Many have attempted to analyze voting results in various ways in different locations in Iowa but not for the entire state, which forms a political boundary within a federalist system. This project used population data rather than sampling data because of the timeframe of intense settlement by native-born from other states, in other regions, as well as immigrants from various countries (with their

own environmental circumstances) – see Figure 122 for Iowa’s environmental circumstances. Sampling could miss the dynamics of cultural matrices as they interacted with circumstances and issues in Iowa within the broader debate begun by Federalists and Antifederalists. Also occurring at the time of this project, the industrial revolution created intense pressure on rural areas due to the power of the meat trust, composed of four companies but dominated by one: Armour. The meat trust wanted contracted production by livestock producers, and possessed sufficient power to force some policies with railroads, including rates.¹⁵⁹ Rural areas, aware of this, incorporated actions regarding corporations, monopolies and trusts into their politics (see Chapter 6 for party platforms).

Part of the response to industrialization, as it factored into political activity, concerned interpretation of the Constitution and the system of federalism negotiated in this country. Political parties are not mentioned in the Constitution, but they developed and have evolved over time as collections of interest groups that work to prioritize issues and attract voters for political power, based on prevailing issues, and anticipated participation rates. Antifederalist/Democratic-Republicans/Democrats (as an evolving political party representing the interests of certain factions within the population) believed in the strict interpretation of Amendment X (part of the Bill of Rights enacted by the first Congress and ratified in 1791): “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the

¹⁵⁹ Grant McConnel, *The Decline of Agrarian Democracy*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1954).

people.”¹⁶⁰ Those attracted to this group believed states retained the power to address broad categories of issues, including the regulation of businesses operating within state borders. The industrial revolution presented the situation of businesses growing to monopolies and trusts, becoming too large for individual states to regulate effectively within their borders. The timeframe for this project (around 1890 to 1912) showed political party platforms reacting to the situation by using language in their platforms attempting to show their historical position but decrying the current situation that forced a reprioritization of position on this issue. Democrats first focused on the rights of states to address the needs of their citizens, and then demanded the national government take the type of effective action they could not take at the state level. This demonstrates an application of Merle Curti’s theory of reprioritization. While political scientists have a tendency to write that the political parties flip-flopped their positions after industrialization, this broad approach misses the underlying political dynamics and historical interest groupings within the dominant political parties in this country during turbulent times that saw lives disrupted, survival strategies upset, and redefined circumstances within which interest groups worked with political parties for power into policymaking.

Federalists/Whigs/Republicans (as an evolving political party representing the interests of certain factions within the population) relied on the decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall regarding the interpretation of implied powers and the supremacy clause in Article VI of the Constitution to address business issues. Federalists were the initial political grouping that maneuvered the Constitutional

¹⁶⁰ U. S. Constitution.

Convention to replace the Articles of Confederation (a confederal system) with the Constitution (a federal system) for the purpose of creating a better business circumstance for their vision of industrial capitalism. Political party platforms during the time of this project show a defense of business interests, even equating them with individual property rights, a strong basis of the relationship between individuals and government in Enlightenment theories. The Supreme Court, during the timeframe of this project, showed a tendency to side with this interpretation, continuing this approach of laissez-faire until confronted with strong Progressive reaction during the Great Depression of the 1930s (after the time of this project).

The question of politics becomes: who possesses the power to make policy decisions? Enlightenment theory says individuals have political power, and have certain tools at their disposal to access the government, voting being one of these tools, but petitioning and freedom of association (to form groups for petitioning the government) also shows up in the Bill of Rights. Previous studies of Iowa politics examined individuals and their leadership power to organize voters for political influence into policymaking, and some leaders. I found no studies examining data from the township level for the state as a whole entity with its own rights in a federalist system to see how the free association to organize (or the decision to participate in an election) played out. I noted almost no references to participation levels, which could skew statistical analysis unless participation levels were high. I found no analysis of voting by regional locations in the state.

I obtained rainfall records (in electronic form) from the state climatologist that covered 1900 to 1928 through recording stations in most counties. With the exception of 1910, I found the rainfall amounts to be around the average, so drought was not an issue for crops during the time of this study. The extent to which farming diversification was successful depended entirely on the specific commodity and its location in the state, given the vast geological differences (discussed in Chapter 2). For example, the poor soils of the Southern Pasture region produce lower yields for crops than the North Central Grain region. The closeness of Democrat versus Republican politics in the state, plus the geography, created a different circumstance than in the states supporting the Populist Movement.

Leadership in politics is important, but what were the voters doing in response to it and to the selection of issues in the party platforms, which either compelled eligible voters to go to the polls or failed to attract them so they stayed home? For an example of this, let's look at the Dutch. In the 1892 election, the Sioux County Dutch (an outgrowth of the Pella Dutch settlement when it was deemed to be too large for efficiency) – located in the Western Livestock Region - - voted for Republican Harrison (51.5%) while the Marion County Dutch – located in the Southern Pasture Region -- voted for Democrat Cleveland (48%) and split the remainder of their votes among the other candidates. In the 1900 election, the Sioux County Dutch voted for Republican McKinley (62%) while the Marion County Dutch split their votes between Republican McKinley (48%) and Democrat Bryan (48%). In the 1912 election, Sioux County, with its large

segment of Dutch at Orange City, voted for Progressive candidate Roosevelt (48%) while the Dutch at Pella, in Marion County, voted for Democratic candidate Wilson (43%), both splitting the remainder of their votes among the other candidates. Here were two groupings of individuals with the same religious outlook, the same leader, but located in different geographic areas of Iowa, and voting differently in multiple elections. As admitted in more than one of these previous studies, often leadership did not always translate to voter action in the direction promised by leadership. I checked individual township demographics and votes for matches around the state in each of the elections of this project and found none.

The Australian (secret) ballot, an issue for the first two elections of this project (1891/1892 and 1900/1901), won approval and showed its influence by the 1912 election (when both national and state offices held elections at the same time and on the same ballot), as Iowa voters from all parts of the state showed their continued support for Theodore Roosevelt (running as a Progressive for President in that election) at the national level but for state offices turned to the two major parties (illustrating their grasp of the closeness of political power in the state between these two parties).

Tables 3 and 4 first show a summary of regional voting for President and then for Governor for the elections covered in this project. These are followed by regional voting results and analysis. The same information for congressional districts will follow.

Region	1892 % presidential vote participation by region	1892 Presidential Regional Winner	1900 % voter participation in presidential election by region	1900 Presidential Regional Winner	1912 % voter participati on in presidenti al election by region	1912 Presiden tial Regional winner
Western Livestock	40.60%	R	83.14%	R	72.25%	P
North Central Grain	45.02%	R	82.70%	R	71.38%	P
Southern Pasture	47.40%	R	88.10%	R	78.22%	D
Eastern Livestock	46.26%	D	83.25%	R	74.52%	D
Northeast Dairy	44.66%	R	79.54%	R	75.44%	D

Table 3. Regional Presidential voting participation & outcomes 1892, 1900, 1912.

Region	1891 Gubernat orial voting participati on by region	1891 Gubernat orial winner	1901 Gubernatori al voting participatio n by region	1901 Gubernat orial winner	1912 Gubernatorial voting participation by region	1912 Gubern atorial regiona l winner
NW Livestock	38.73%	D	61.82%	R	66.82%	D
North Central Grain	42.24%	R	52.31%	R	65.98%	R
Southern Pasture	45.81%	R	70.52%	R	73.05%	R
Eastern Livestock	43.49%	D	64.28%	R	70.19%	D
Northeast Dairy	41.98%	D	57.64%	R	70.54%	D

Table 4. Regional Gubernatorial voting participation & outcomes 1891, 1901, 1912.

The Eastern Livestock Region and the Southern Pasture Region composed the initial settlement areas for Iowa with a dominant share of migrants coming from the northern tier of southern states (likely of Scots-Irish descent, because

that was the largest immigrant group settling the Southern Pasture Region and part of the Eastern livestock Region). Groups of these individuals and their descendants tended to vote the Democrat ticket during the early settlement years, writing the state constitution, and maintaining the highest participation percentage for the time of this study, but the Southern Pasture began splitting votes Republican/Democrat while Eastern Livestock tended to stay Democrat (see Figures 123-126). In the area of national elections, Southern Pasture voted Republican in the 1892 and 1900 elections, then Democrat in the 1912 elections (likely because Republican Taft and Progressive Roosevelt split the Republican votes). Eastern Livestock during this time voted Democrat, Republican, and Democrat. The state elections for this same time period show that Southern Pasture voted Republican all three times, while Eastern Livestock voted Democrat, Republican, and Democrat.

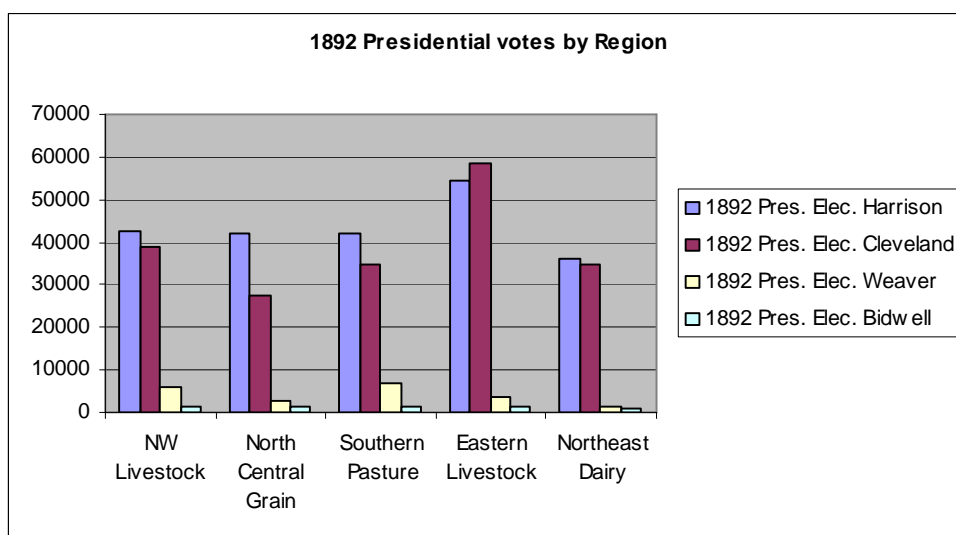


Figure 123. Chart of 1892 Presidential voting by region.

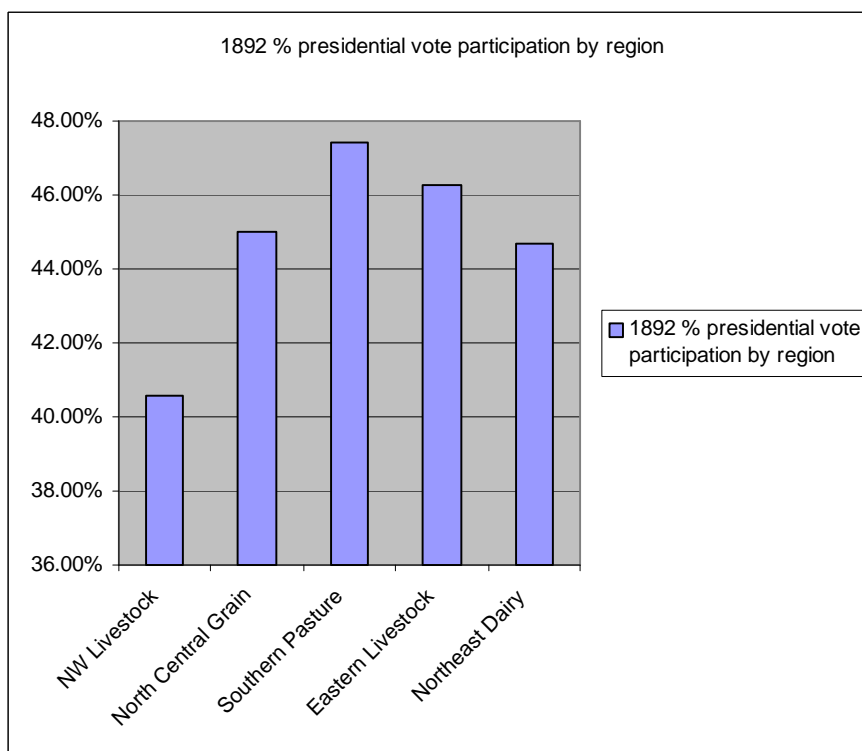


Figure 124. Chart of 1892 Presidential voting participation by region.

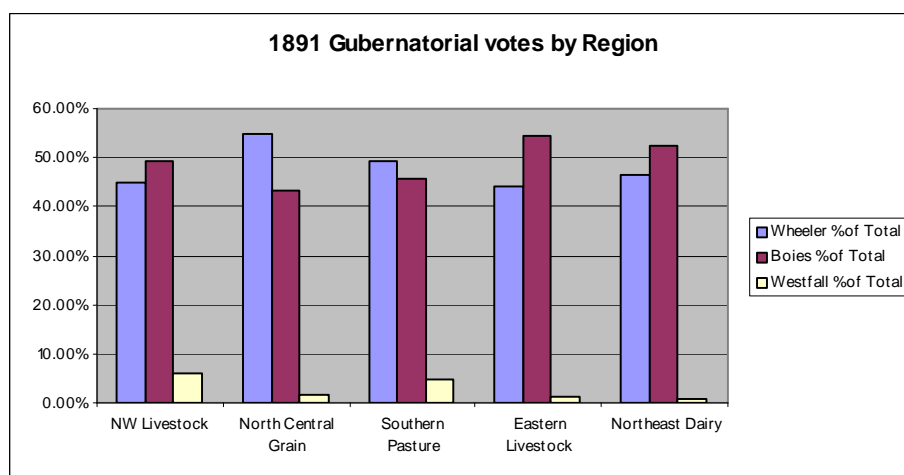


Figure 125. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial voting by region.

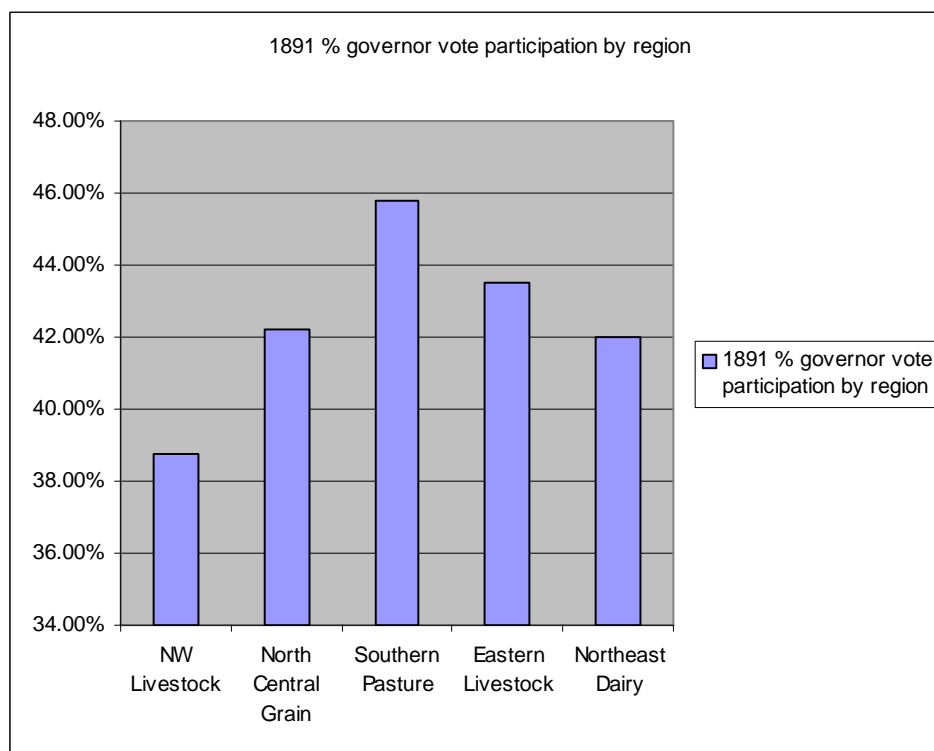


Figure 126. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial voting participation by region.

P-value graphs from regression analysis are not shown for either the presidential election or the gubernatorial election because the values for both were mostly around or below .05 when sorted regionally. This shows that support was split between liberals and conservatives, likely composed of centrist parameters for the time of the elections, rather than by any other demographic grouping within the regions.

Figures 127 and 128 provide charts for the 1900 presidential election and Figures 131 to 133 provide charts for the 1901 gubernatorial election, a time when Iowans showed stronger support for the Republican Party than the Democrat Party across the entire state. Figures 134 to 141 provide charts for the 1912 election.

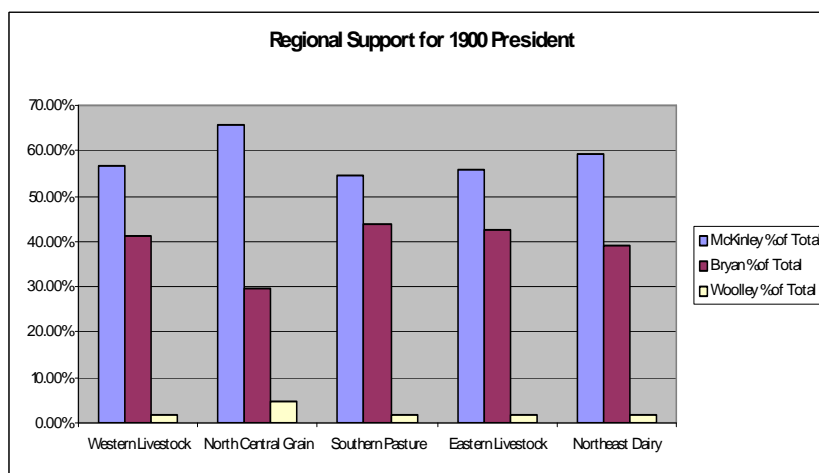


Figure 127. Chart of 1900 Presidential voting by region.

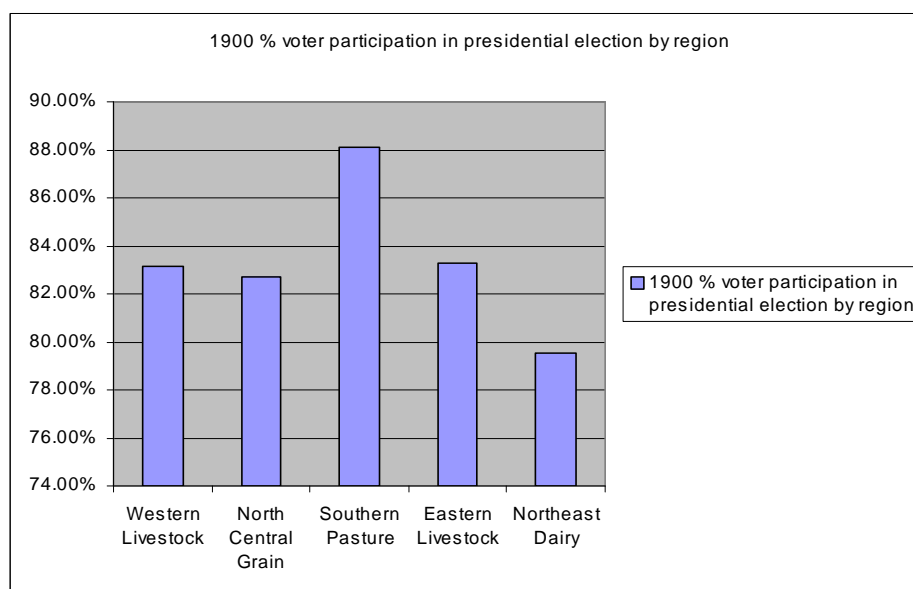


Figure 128. Chart of 1900 Presidential voting participation by region.

Figures 129 and 130 present, p -values for Republican McKinley, by region in 1900. There was second-generation support in two of the five regions. P -values for Democrat Bryan are not shown here because only Southern Pasture showed support.

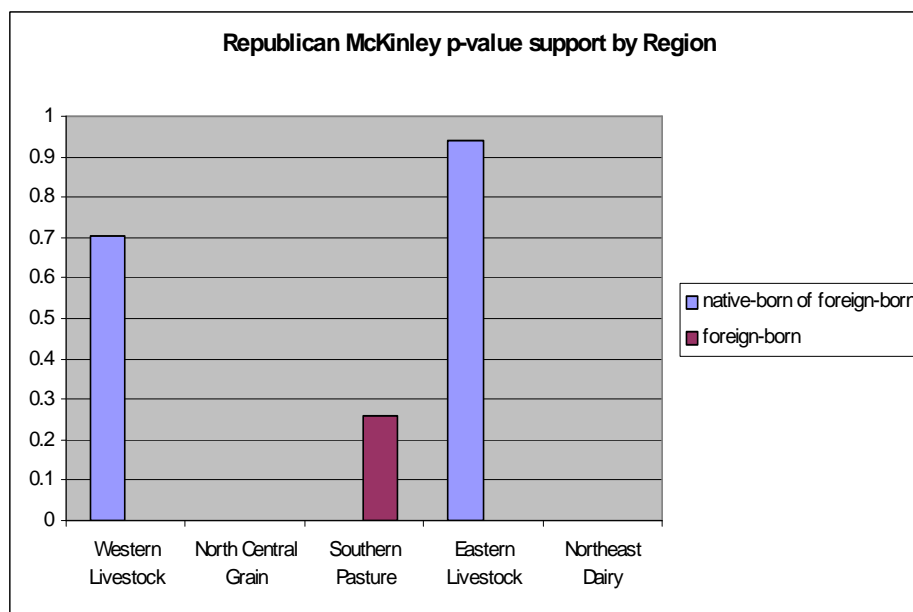


Figure 129. Chart of 1900 Presidential p-value support for McKinley.

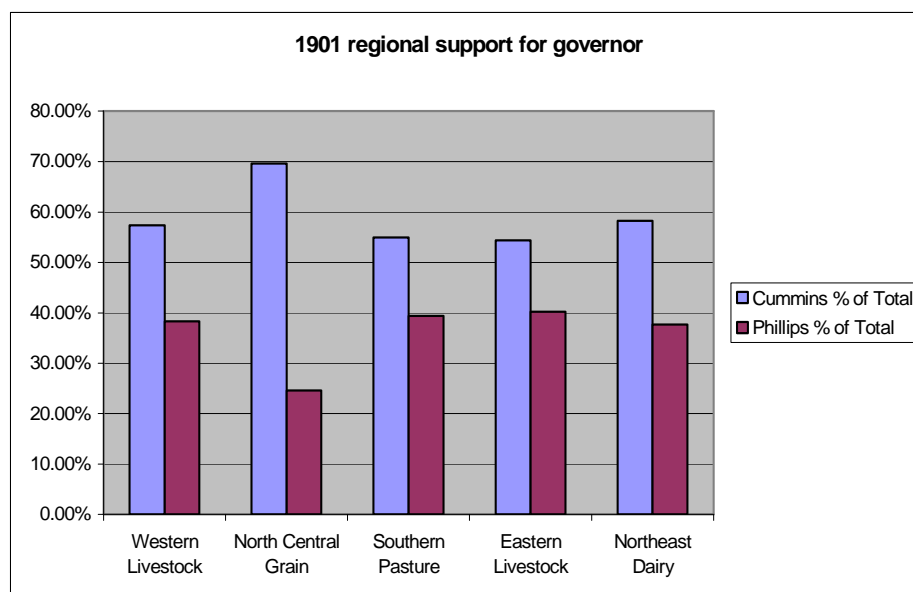


Figure 130. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial voting by region.

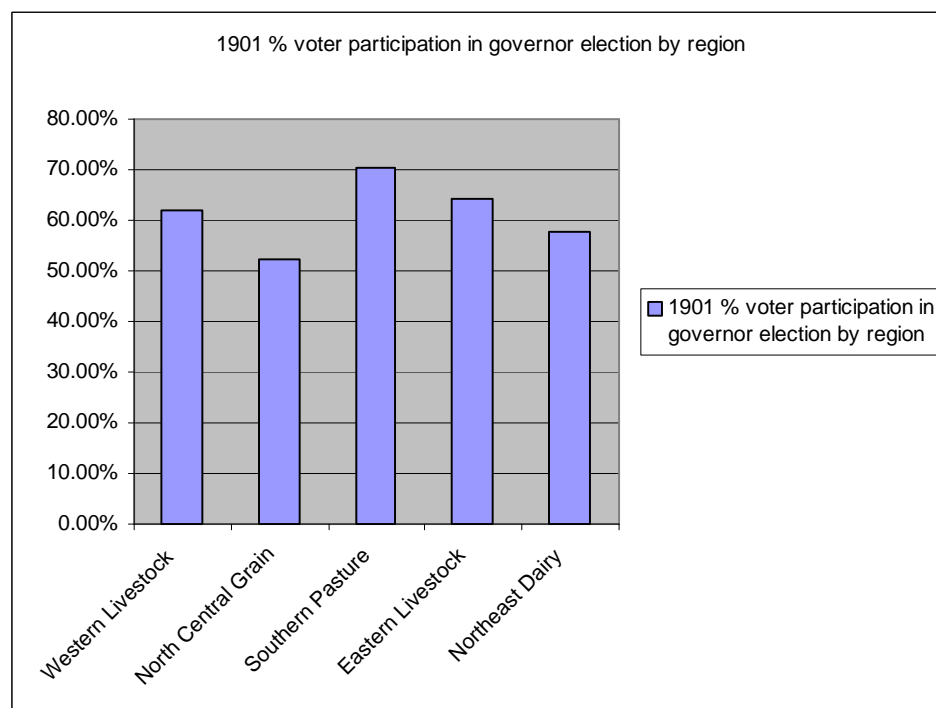


Figure 131. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial voting participation by region.

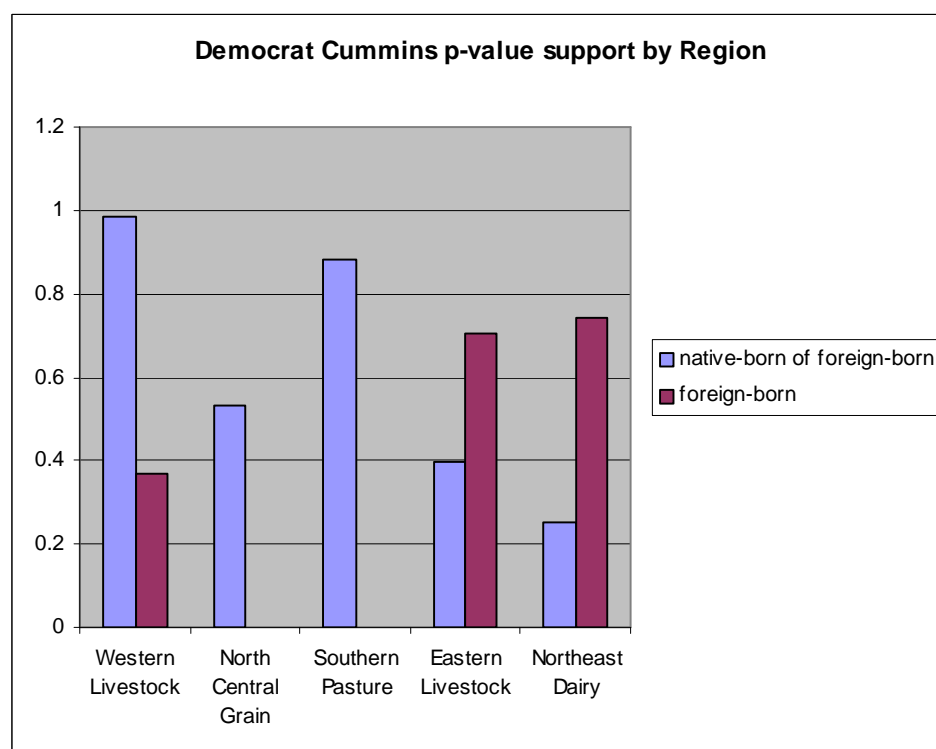


Figure 132. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial p-value support for Cummins.

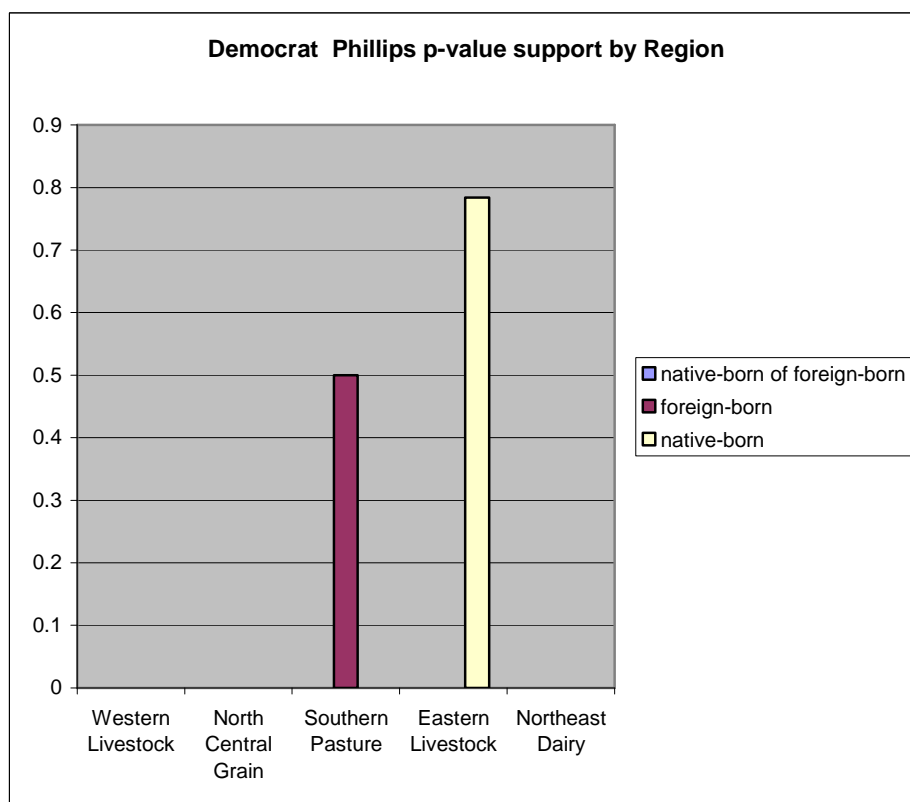


Figure 133. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial p-value support for Phillips.

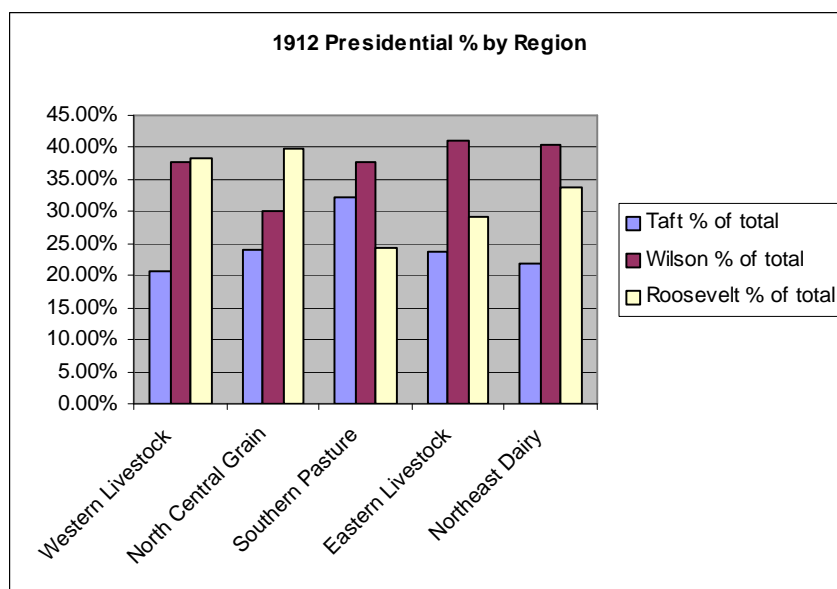


Figure 134. Chart of 1912 Presidential voting by region.

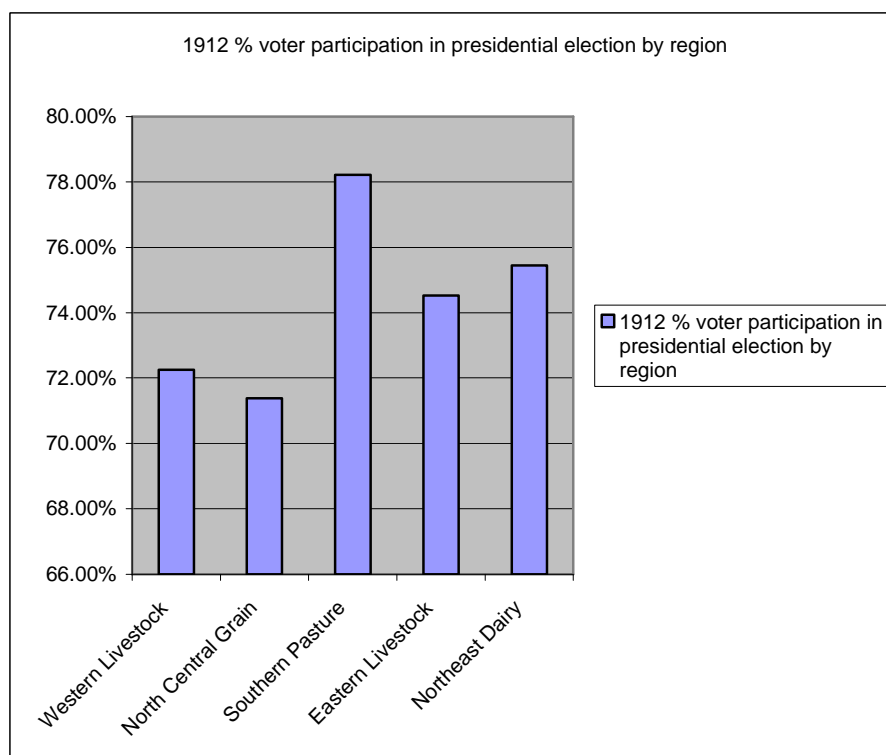


Figure 135. Chart of 1912 Presidential voting participation by region.

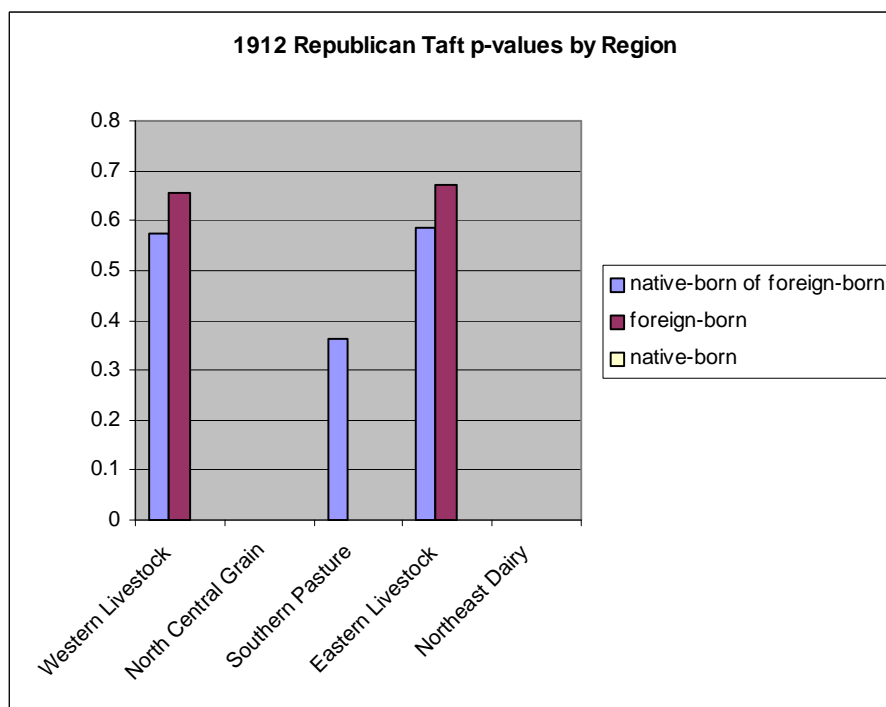


Figure 136. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Taft by region.

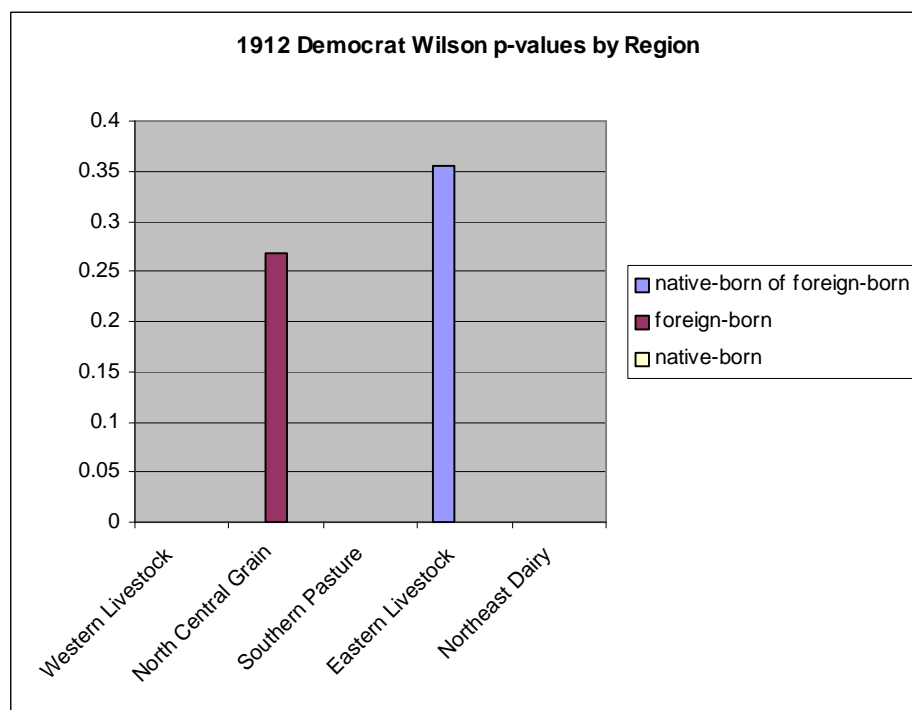


Figure 137. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Wilson by region.

P-values not shown on the charts are below .05, indicating support.

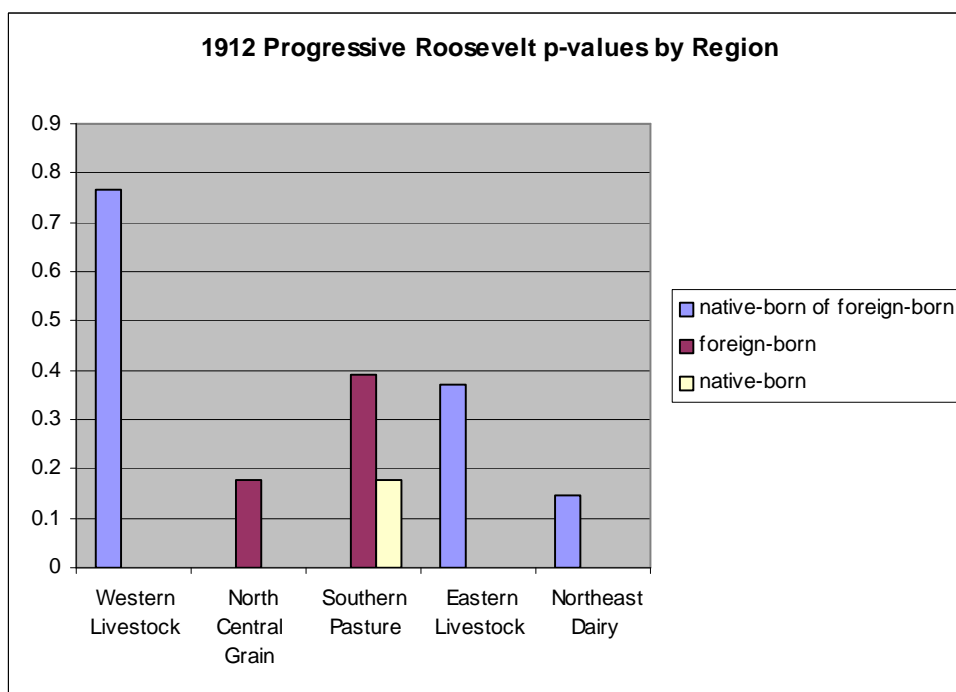


Figure 138. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Roosevelt by region.

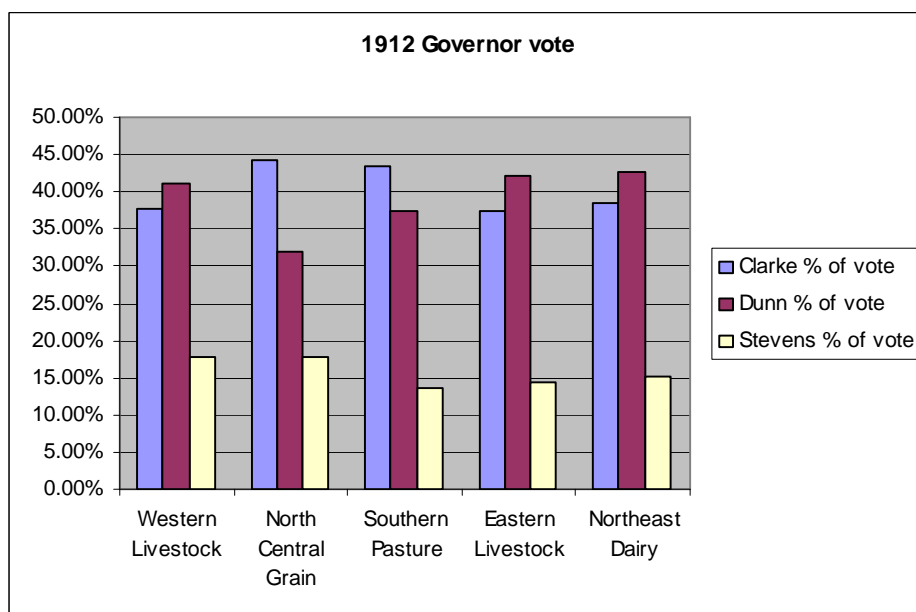


Figure 139. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial voting by region.

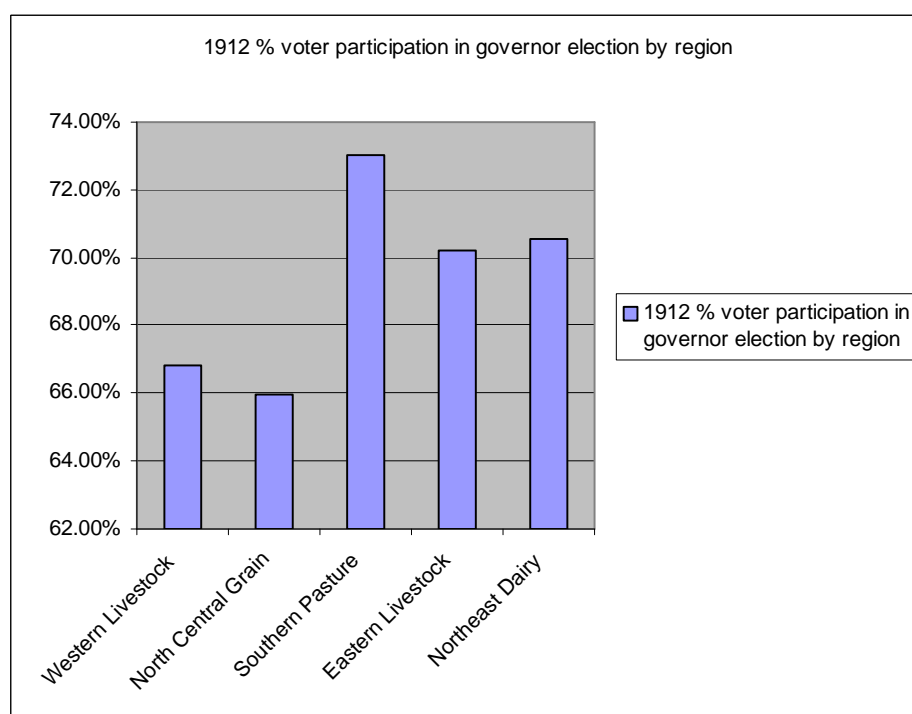


Figure 140. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial voting participation by region.

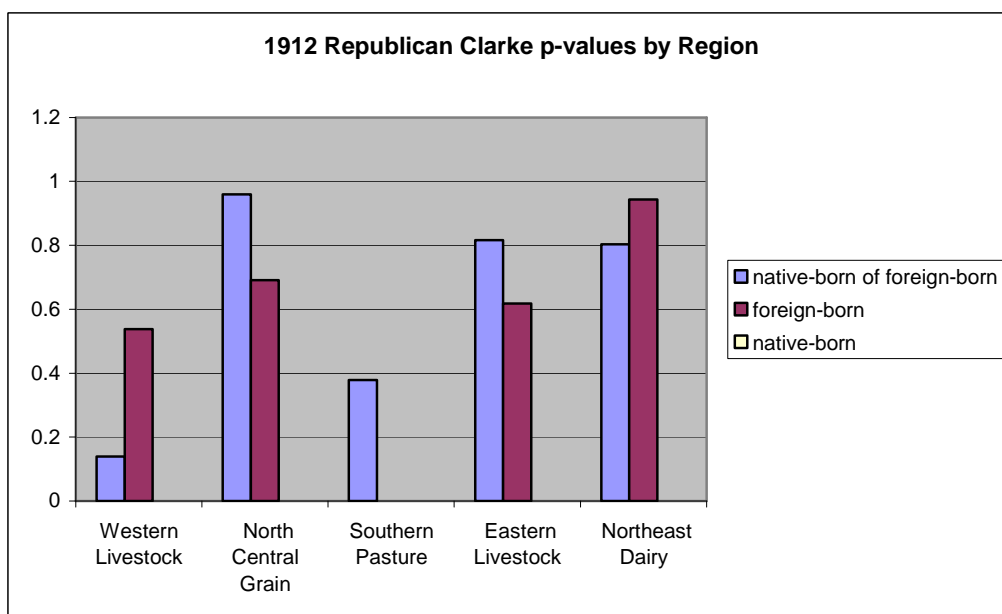


Figure 141. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial p-value support for Clarke by region.

Congressional Districts broke up the regions irrespective of the geology, reconfiguring the voting influence in a state that already had close elections. While it was still possible to elect a specific choice at the local level or to the state legislature from a county, national voting influence changed with the redistributions. A summary of district votes for the three presidential elections (Table 5) and the three gubernatorial elections (Table 6) analyzed in this study can be found in the tables on the following pages. These are then followed by summary tables of the outcomes for the specific five elections to better illustrate the voting within congressional district boundaries. Charts of *p*-value support are provided as well.

District	1892 % presidenti al vote participati on by district	1892 President ial District Winner	1900 % voter participatio n in presidential election by District	1900 Presidential District Winner	1912 % voter participatio n in presidential election by District	1912 Presiden tial District winner
District 1	48.73%	R	83.02%	R	75.46%	D
District 2	44.79%	D	80.90%	R	72.03%	D
District 3	45.51%	R	84.41%	R	73.05%	D
District 4	44.0%	R	81.41%	R	77.95%	D
District 5	46.28%	R	82.92%	R	76.19%	D
District 6	47.80%	R	87.09%	R	76.45%	D
District 7	45.11%	R	83.25%	R	69.65%	P
District 8	46.0%	R	88.01%	R	78.45%	D
District 9	43.24%	R	85.65%	R	76.21%	D
District 10	44.46%	R	81.82%	R	74.47%	P
District 11	39.36%	R	81.29%	R	70.0%	P

Table 5. District Presidential voting participation & outcomes 1892, 1900, 1912.

Farmers with more collective interests based on circumstances of location could find their national votes marginalized as they mixed with votes from other geological locations but still within one congressional district. Congressional districts reflect national issues in our federalist system with the election of members to the House of Representatives. State issues could still be handled from the county level of voting because those were the boundaries determining representation to the state legislature.

Dist rict	1891 Gubernator ial voting participatio n by District	1891 Gubernator ial District winner	1901 Gubernator ial voting participation by District	1901 Gubernat or ial District winner	1912 Gubernator ial voting participation by District	1912 Gubernat or ial District winner
Dist rict 1	45.22%	D	63.96%	R	71.75%	D
Dist rict 2	40.77	D	65.36%	R	68.62%	D
Dist rict 3	42.58%	D	51.85%	R	68.25%	D
Dist rict 4	41.61%	D	59.38%	R	72.95%	R
Dist rict 5	44.84%	D	59.08%	R	70.62%	R
Dist rict 6	46.39%	R	72.17%	R	69.56%	R
Dist rict 7	43.83%	R	57.91%	R	64.45%	R
Dist rict 8	44.72%	R	68.21%	R	74.38%	R
Dist rict 9	41.71%	D	68.76%	R	71.64%	R
Dist rict 10	41.07%	R	56.44%	R	69.46%	R
Dist rict 11	36.65	D	55.52%	R	63.62%	D

Table 6. District Gubernatorial voting participation & outcomes 1891, 1901, 1912.

Iowa had eleven congressional districts for the entire time of this project.

The voting at the state level (divided according to congressional districts for

comparison) reveals differences in state preferences versus national. When Democrat Horace Boies (a crossover candidate from the Republican Party, so a centrist) won the 1891 election for Governor, Iowans elected six Democrats and five Republicans to Congress in 1892 from these eleven districts, indicating sufficient electoral participation for a national election to elect more Democrats than Republicans for the issues considered at the time. In 1901, when Republican Albert Cummins was elected Governor, all eleven of Iowa's representatives to Congress were Republican. For the 1912 election, when Republican George Clarke was elected Governor, three of Iowa's representatives to Congress were Democrats while the remaining eight were Republicans, continuing to reflect the split in voter preferences likely based on individual prioritization of the issues for that election.

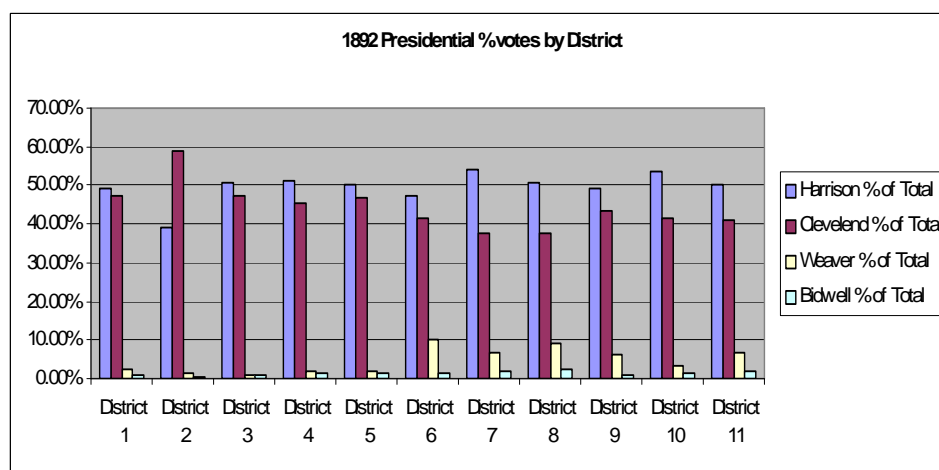


Figure 142. Chart of 1892 Presidential votes by district.

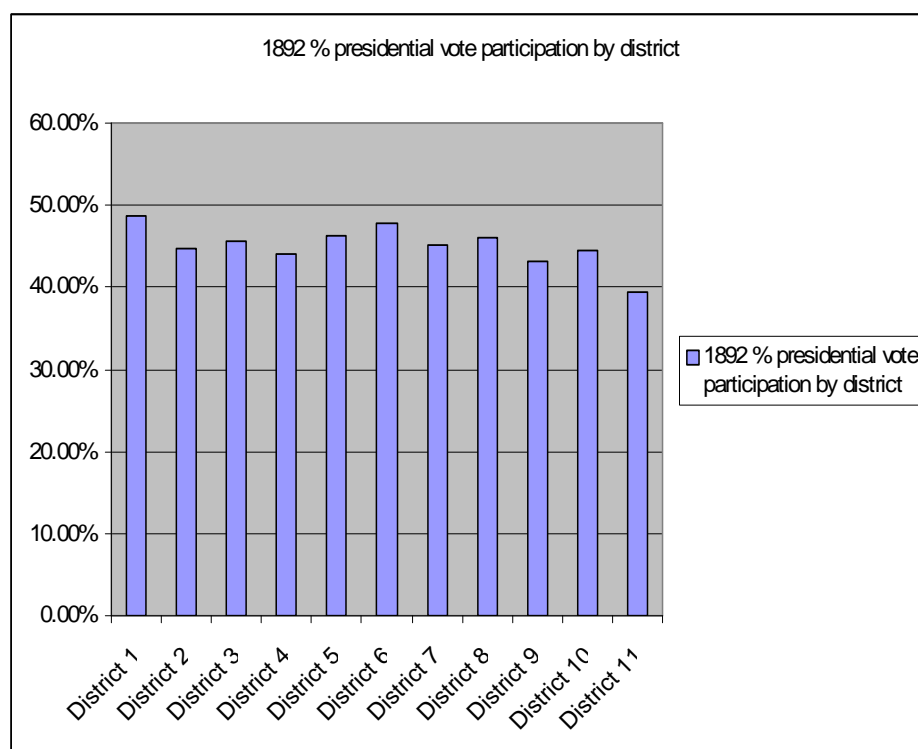


Figure 143. Chart of 1892 Presidential voting participation by district.

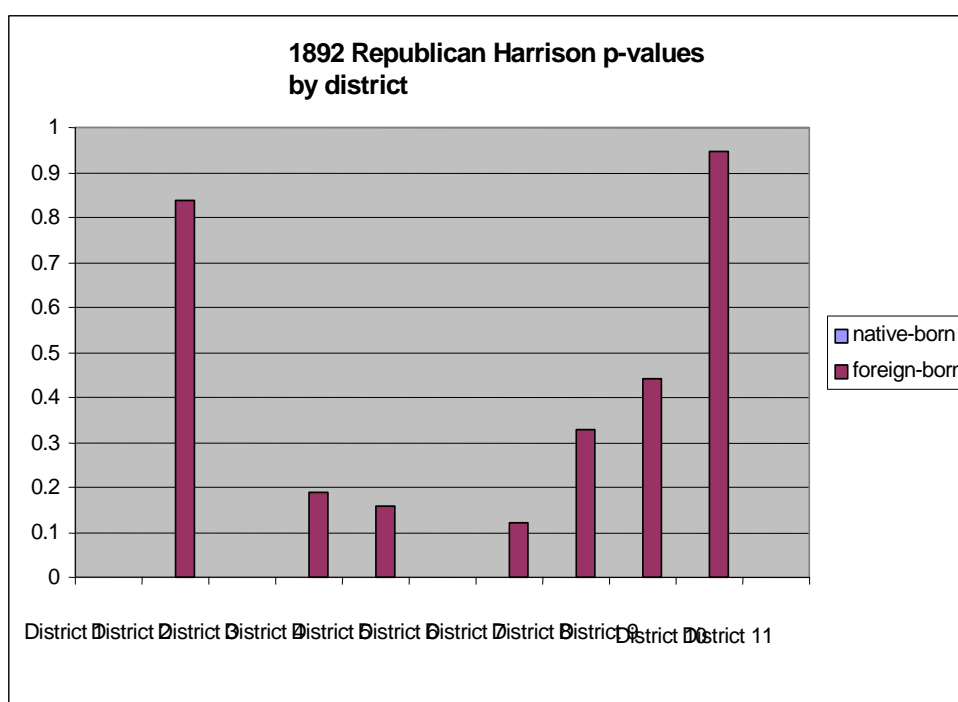


Figure 144. Chart of 1892 Presidential p-value support for Harrison by district.

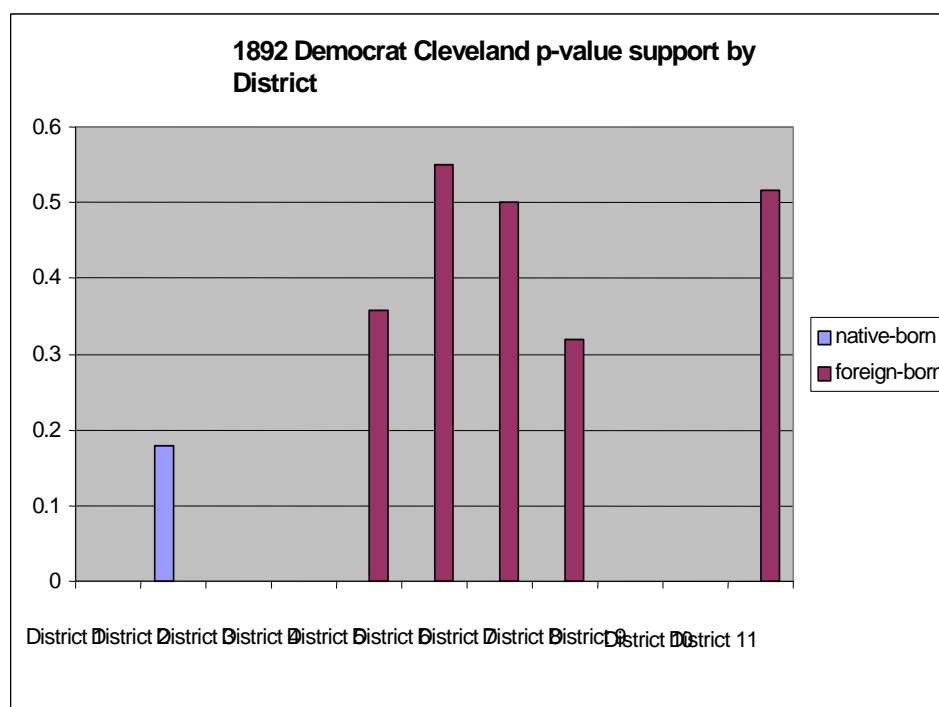


Figure 145. Chart of Presidential p-value support for Cleveland by district.

Figures 142-145 show the presidential election participation in 1892 by District. Participation rates within each of the Districts fail to show the wide variances by county within the Districts. This becomes significant in measuring influence. The *p*-value numbers are low for most, but not all, Districts. This can be attributed to one of two causes: 1) low participation rates made regression analysis problematic in some locations because regression works from averages; and/or 2) support divided between conservative and liberal, indicating divisions among the participating groups.

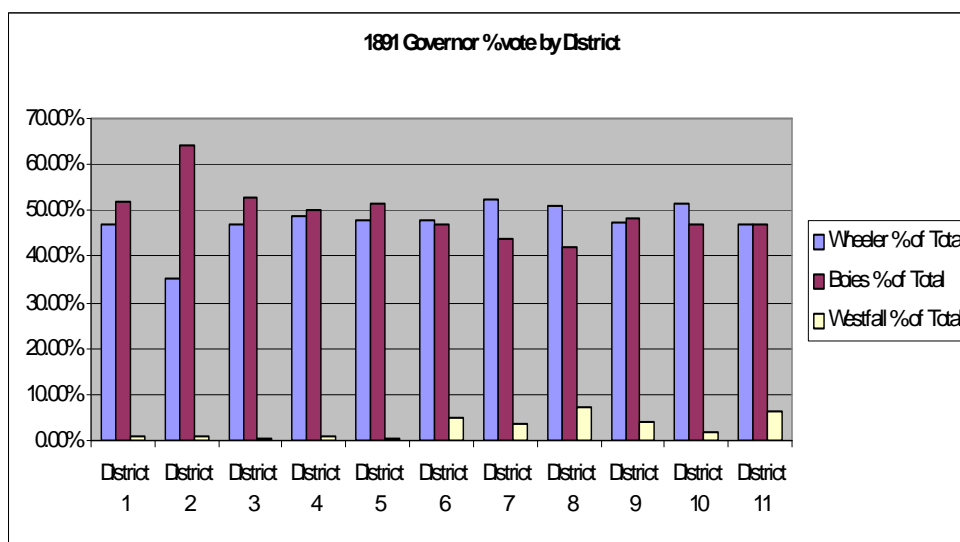


Figure 146. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial voting by district.

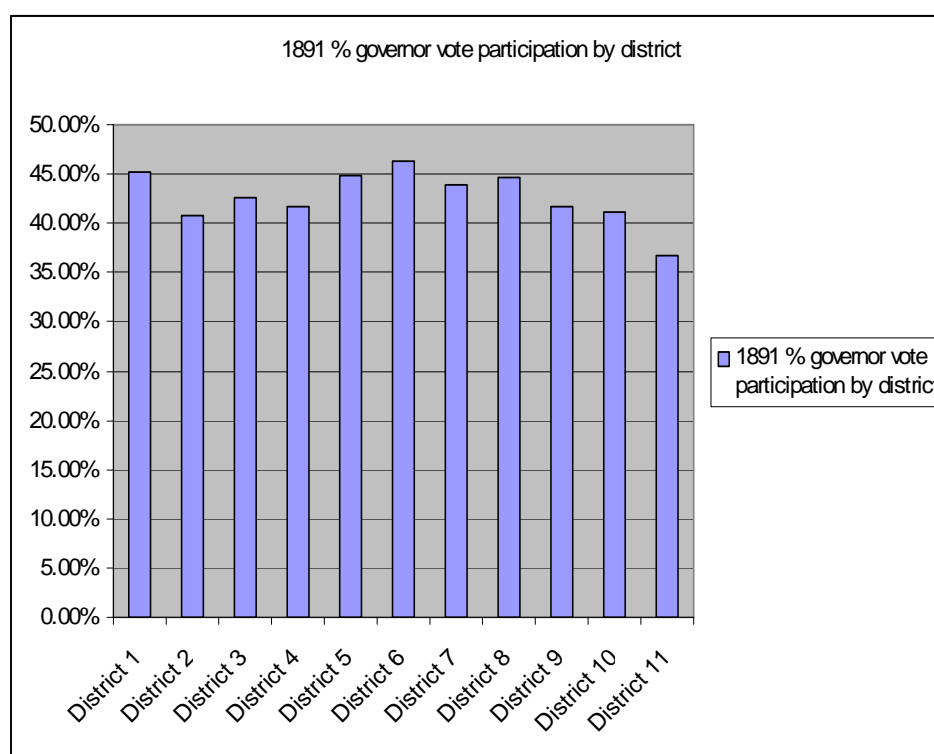


Figure 147. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial voting participation by district.

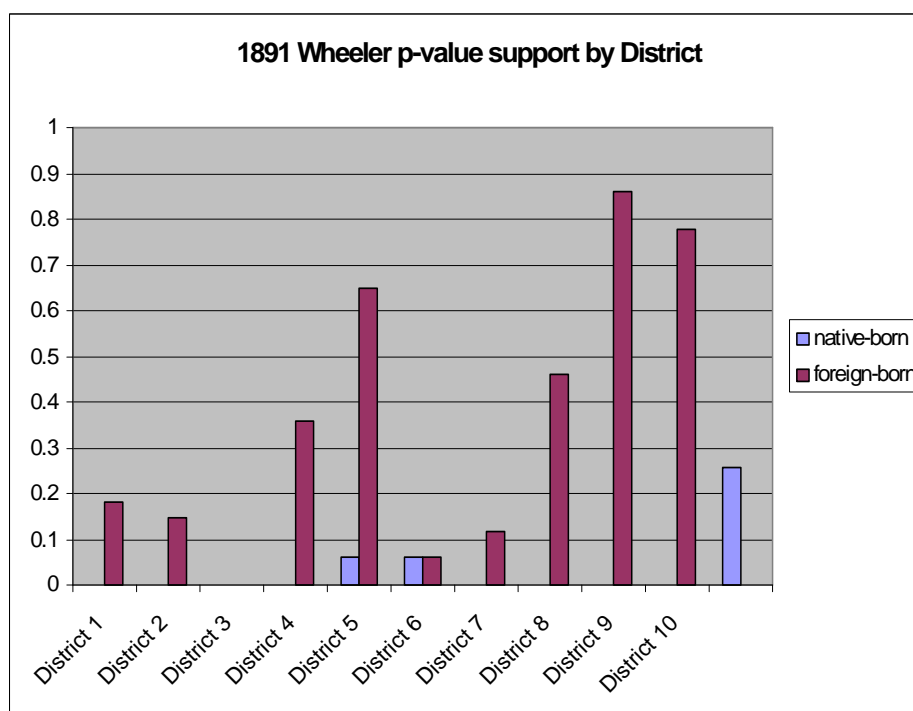


Figure 148. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial p-value support for Wheeler by district.

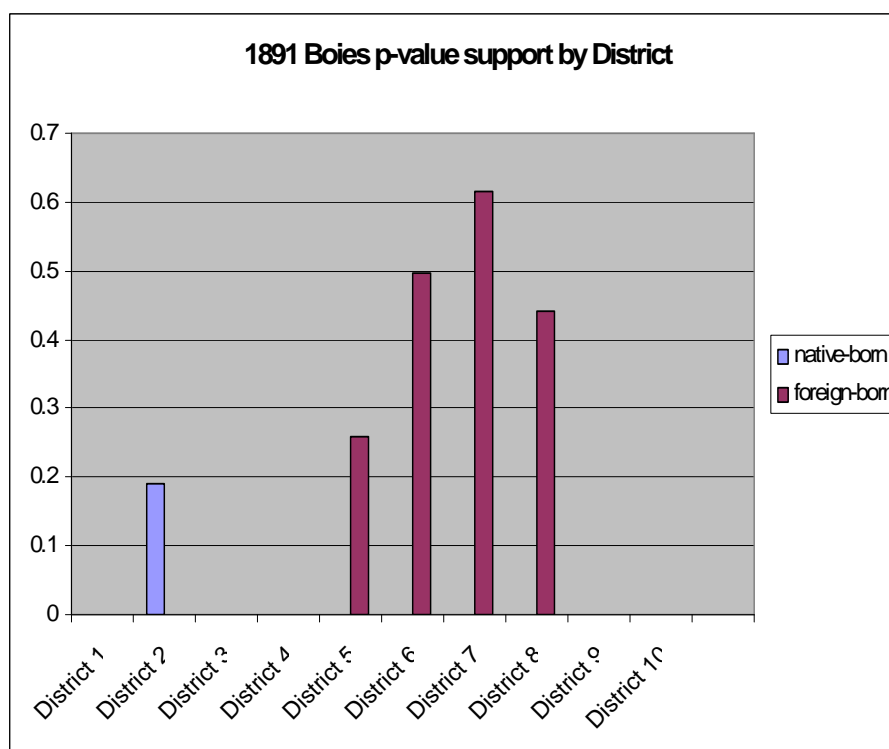


Figure 149. Chart of 1891 Gubernatorial p-value support for Boies by district.

Figures 146-149 show the 1891 gubernatorial voting by District. With the exception of District 2, the voting participation and outcomes were close among the Districts. *P*-value support varied by the configuration of the districts as to how they crosscut the native-born and foreign-born. Notice the apparent lack of support by native-born for any of the two gubernatorial candidates as well as the two presidential candidates when analyzed by District. Some support is shown by foreign-born, but only in areas where they out-number the native-born. Voting splits between liberals and conservatives could account for these outcomes, as well as participation levels. As analyzed in Chapter 6, this election was extremely close.

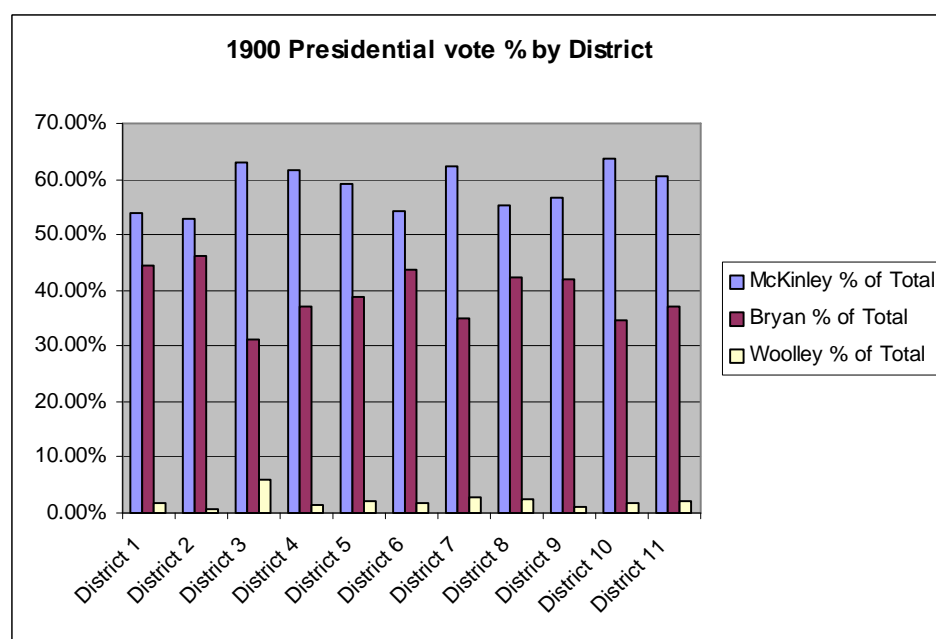


Figure 150. Chart of 1900 Presidential voting by district.

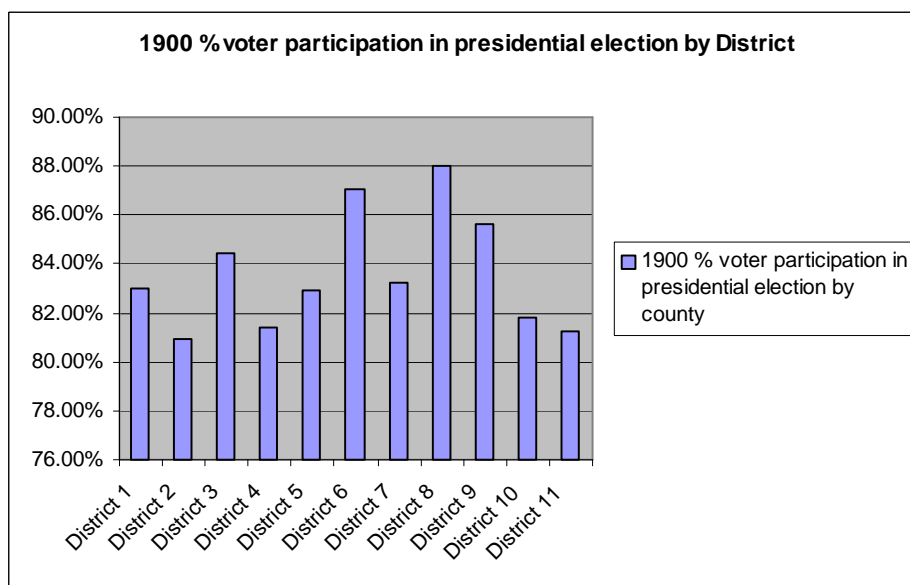


Figure 151. Chart of 1900 Presidential voting participation by district.

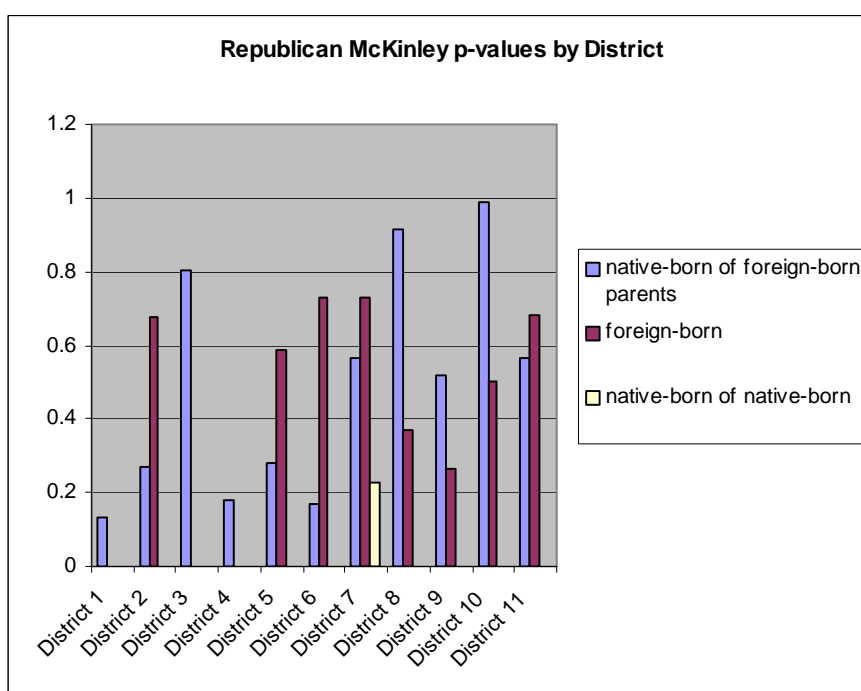


Figure 152. Chart of 1900 Presidential p-value support for McKinley by district.

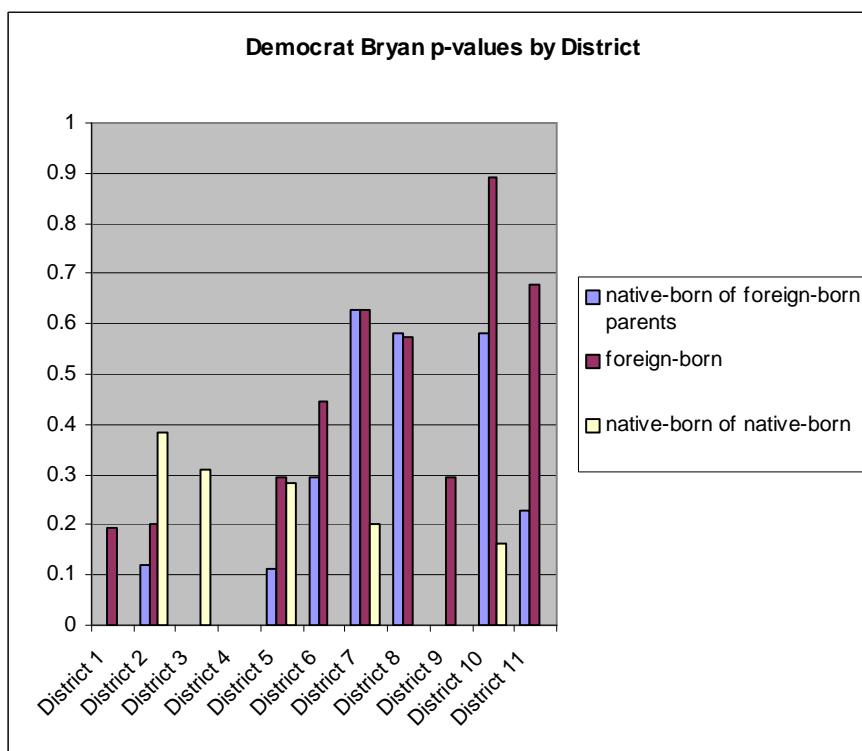


Figure 153. Chart of 1900 Presidential p-value support for Bryan by district.

Analysis of the 1900 Presidential election by district (Figures 150-153) shows more support for Republican McKinley by district. Voter participation varied considerably by district because of the distribution of generational immigrants among the districts. *P*-value support among native-born of native-born, native-born of foreign-born, and foreign-born, by district, reveals vast differences in support. Some of this could be splits among liberals and conservatives, but given the overwhelming election of Republicans to state level offices as well as national offices in this election, it appears to have been a Republican year in Iowa. The 1900 election also sent eleven Republican congressmen to Washington.

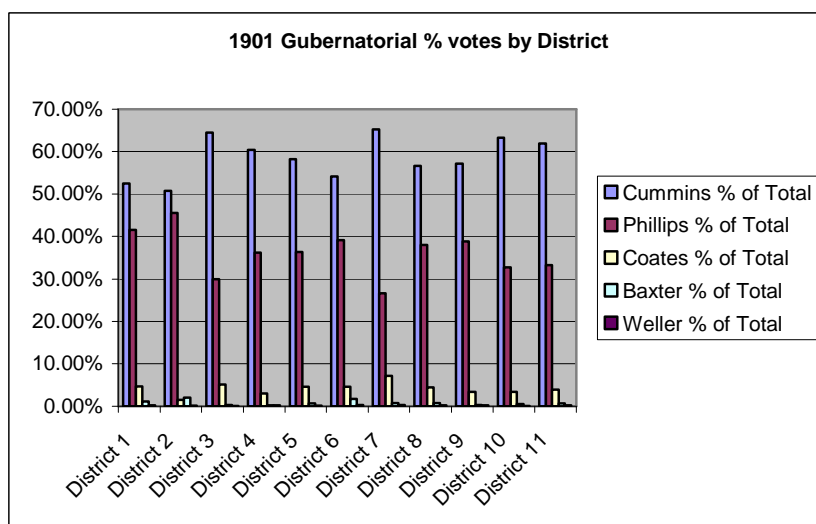


Figure 154. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial voting by district.

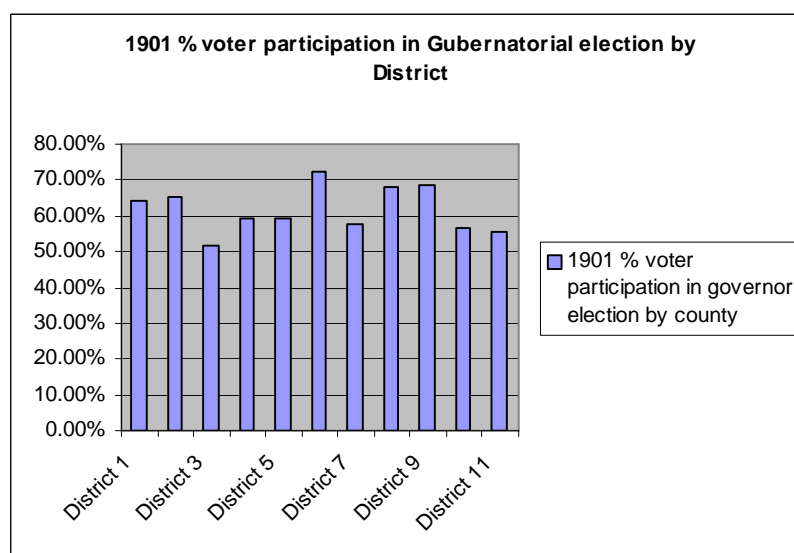


Figure 155. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial voting participation by district.

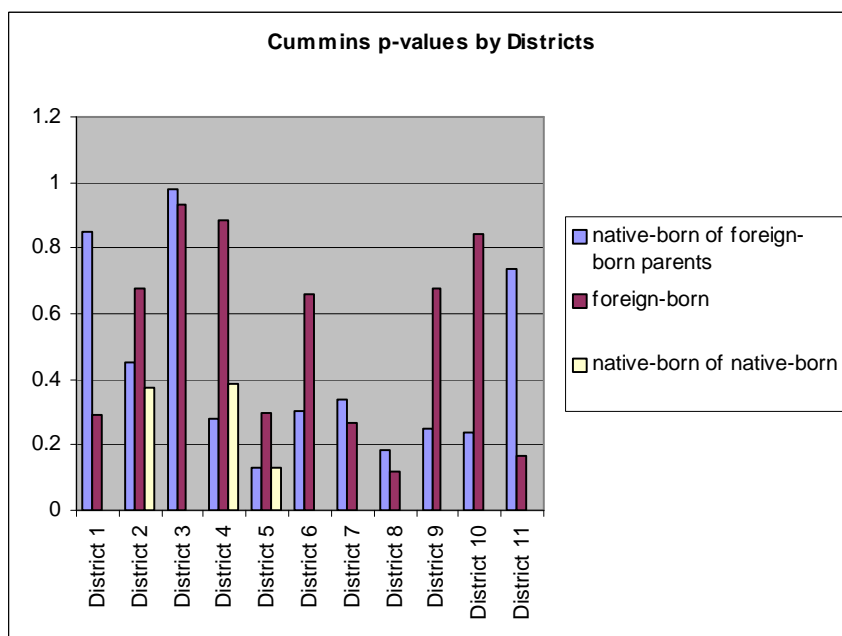


Figure 156. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial p-value support for Cummins by district.

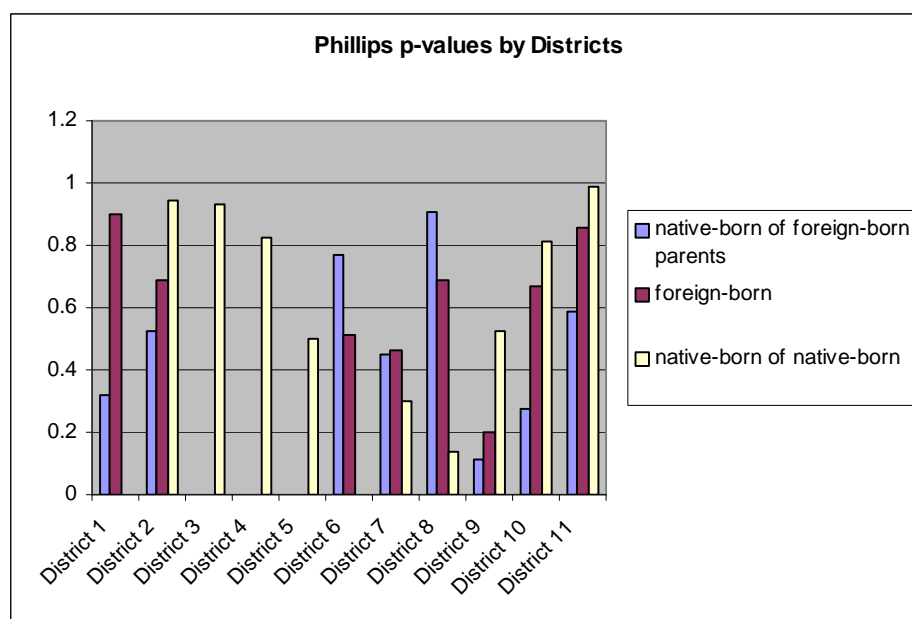


Figure 157. Chart of 1901 Gubernatorial p-value support for Phillips by district.

The 1901 election elected Republican Cummins as Governor (see Figures 154-157). Participation increased dramatically from the rates of 1891 and 1892.

Native-born voters of foreign-born parents (second generation immigrants) showed increased participation rates.

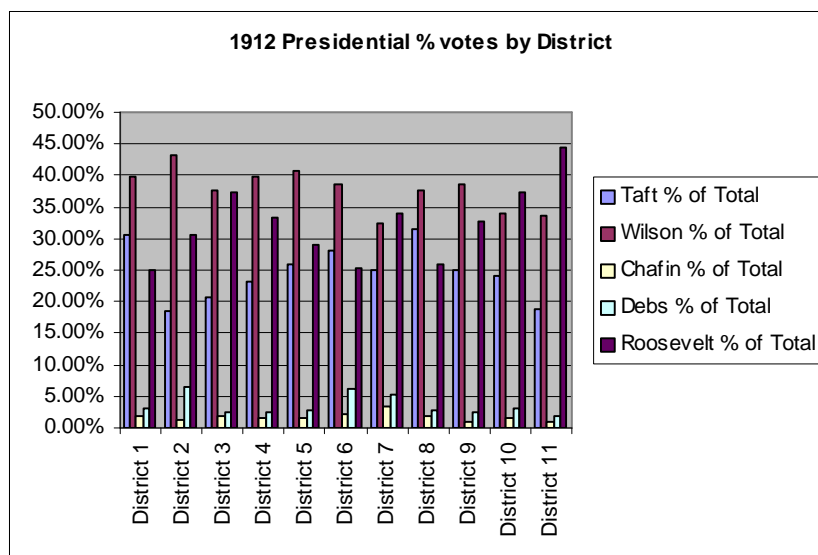


Figure 158. Chart of 1912 Presidential voting by district.

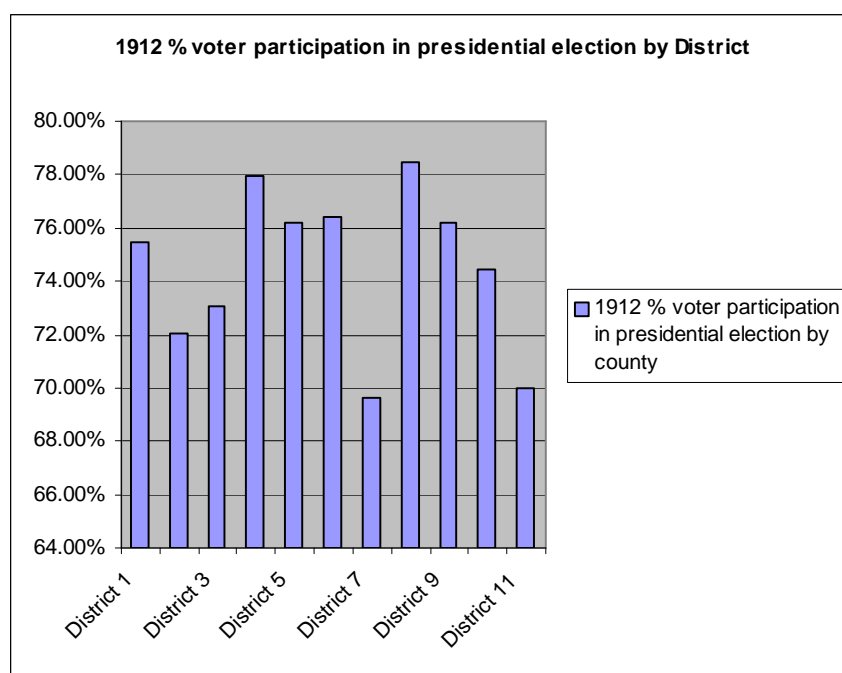


Figure 159. Chart of 1912 Presidential voting by district.

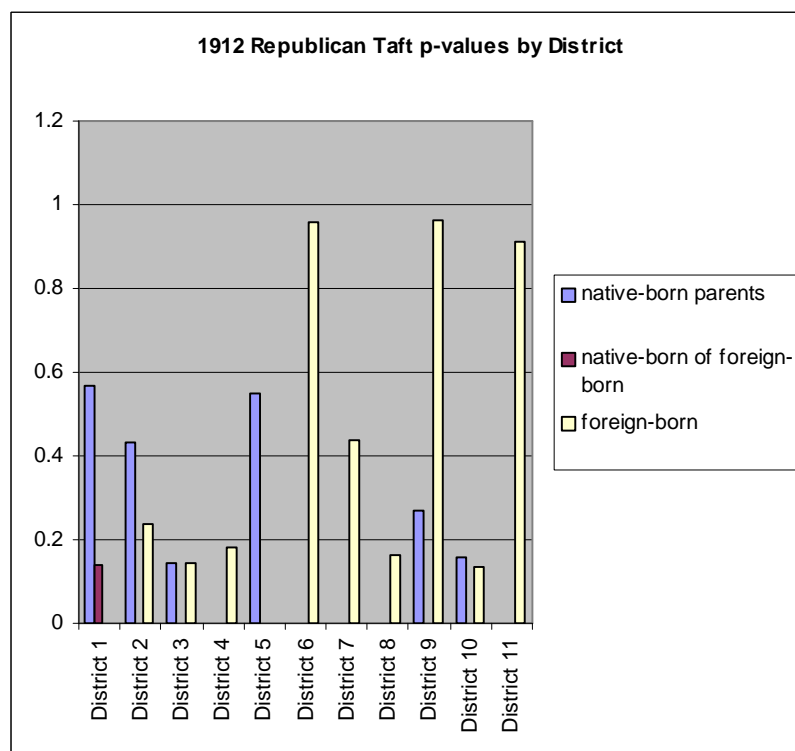


Figure 160. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Taft by district.

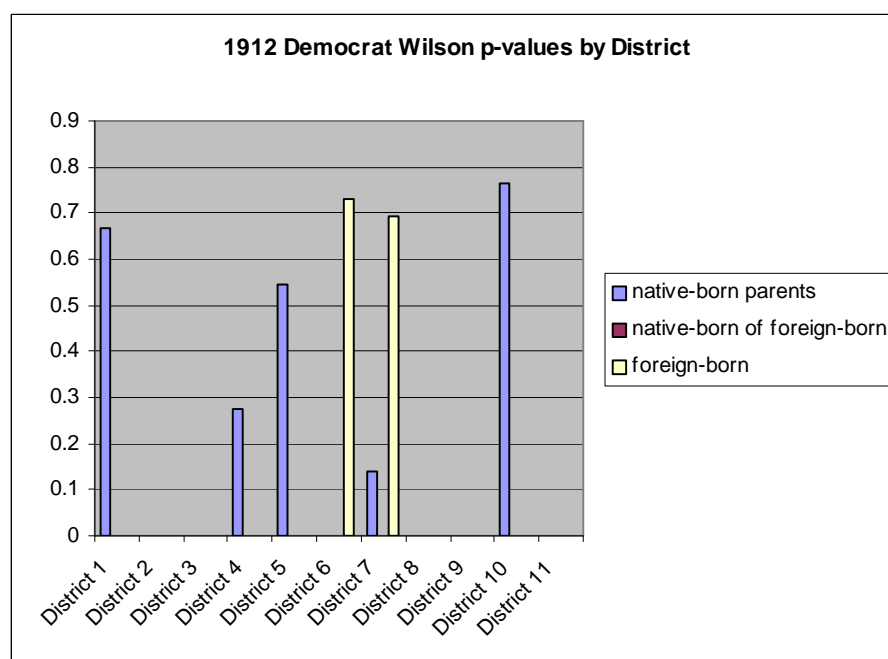


Figure 161. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Wilson by district.

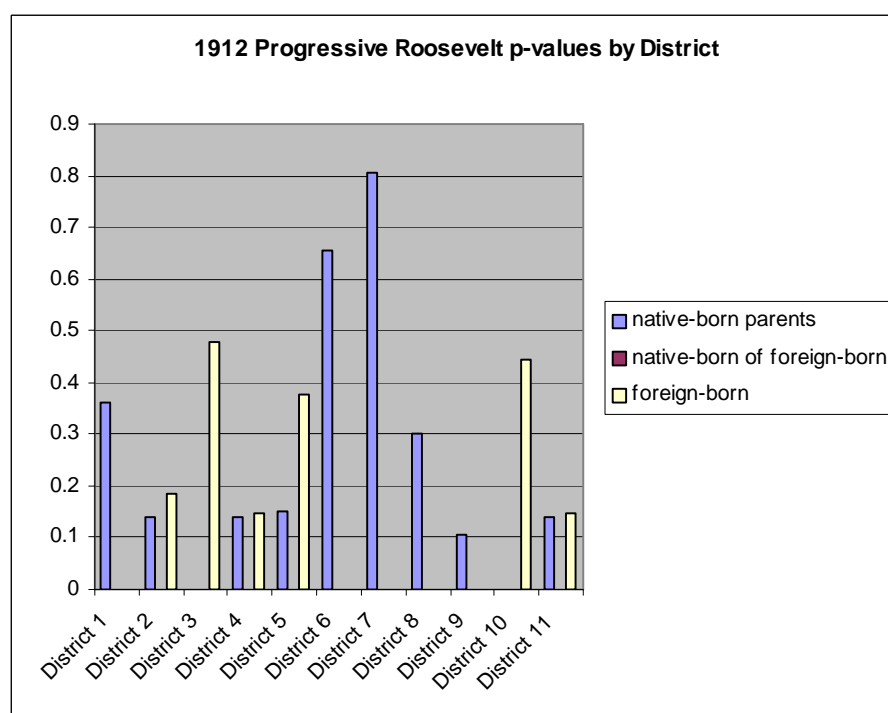


Figure 162. Chart of 1912 Presidential p-value support for Roosevelt by district.

Analysis of the 1912 presidential voting by Congressional District shows some wide variances in participation across the districts. Given the conservative voting in the 1900 presidential election, it appears Progressive Roosevelt (a former Republican) took votes away from Republican Taft in sufficient numbers to give Democrat Wilson the win in Iowa, when analyzed across districts. *P*-value analysis shows gaps because the numbers were below .05 for many of the groupings, indicating splits between liberal and conservative due to the mix within the districts. Notice the higher indication of support among the native-born of foreign-born in the 1912 election compared to the 1900 election. Given the increased immigration between 1900 and 1910, and the fewer numbers of native-born according to census data, this indicator is likely due to splits within the distribution of the districts.

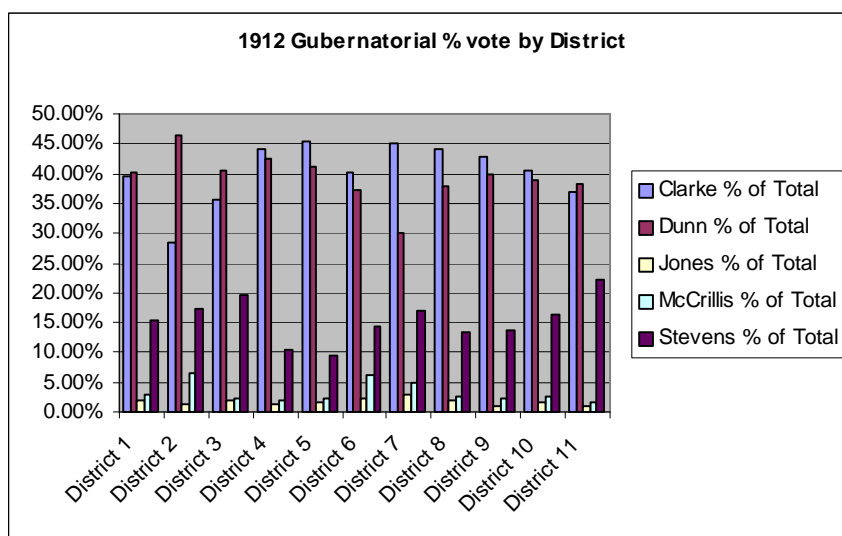


Figure 163. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial voting by district.

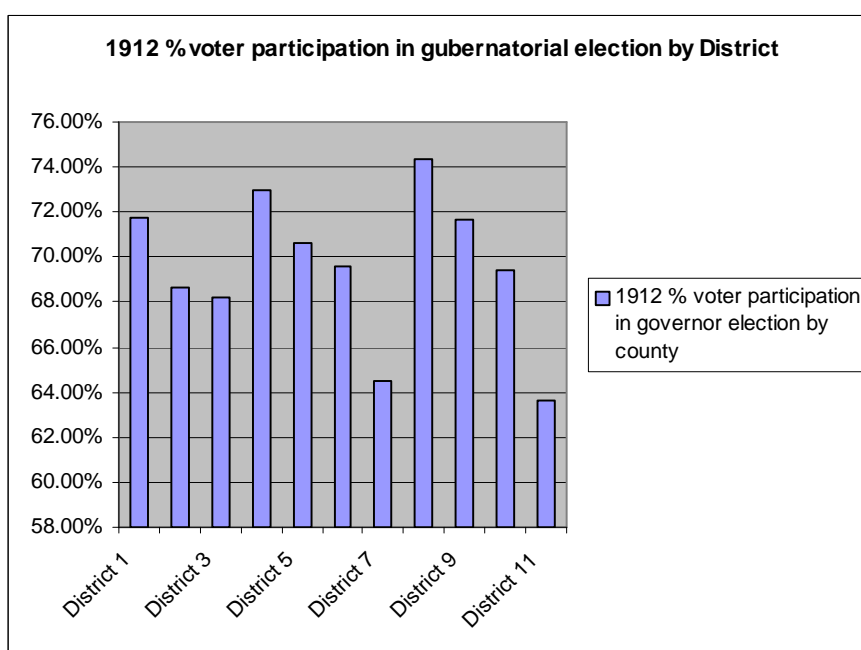


Figure 164. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial voting participation by district.

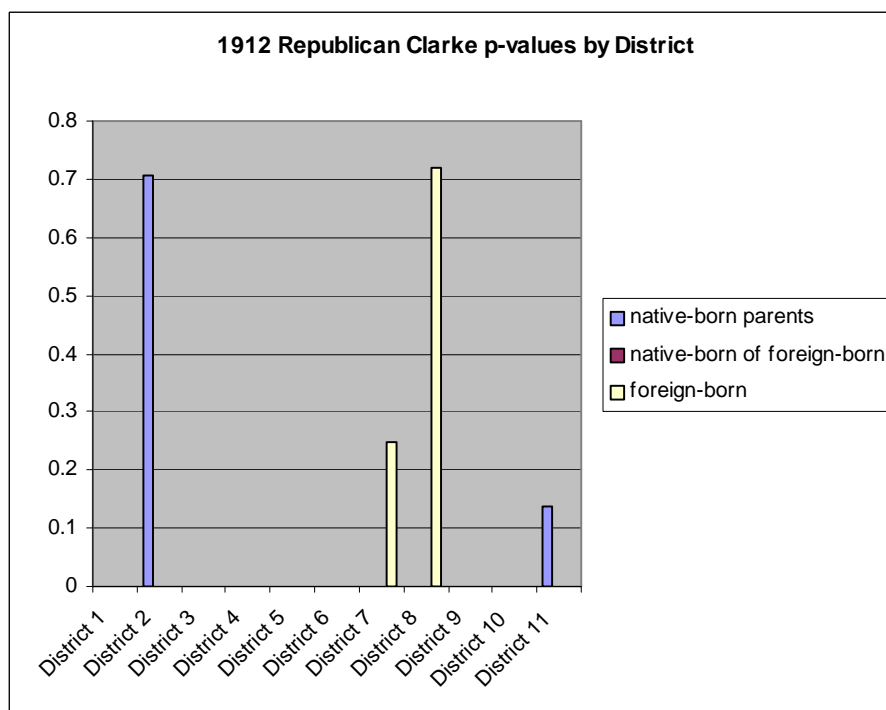


Figure 165. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial p-value support for Clarke by district.

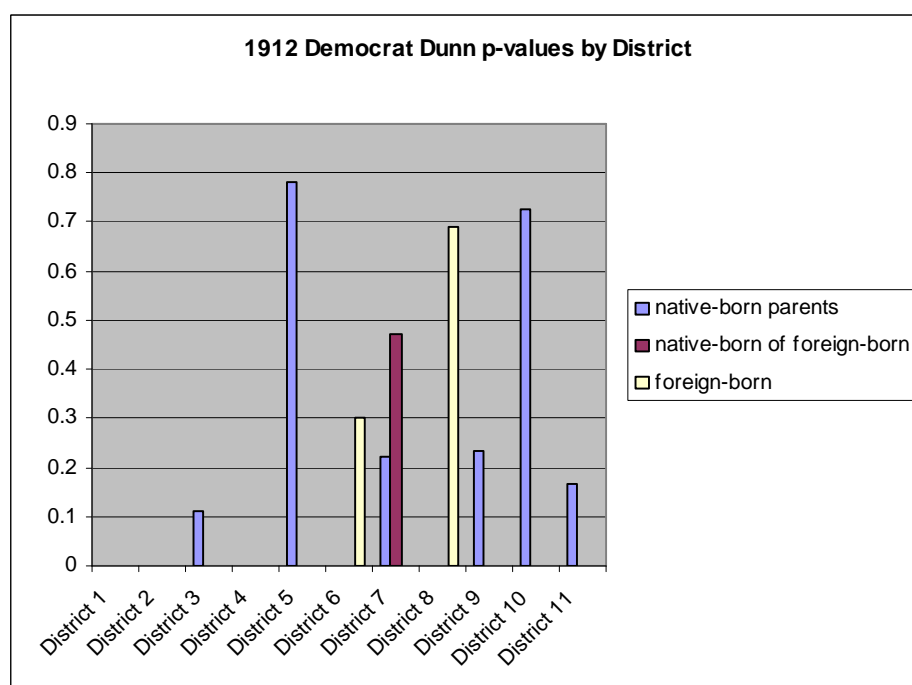


Figure 166. Chart of 1912 Gubernatorial p-value support for Dunn by district.

The gubernatorial election of 1912 shows no real influence by Progressive Stevens at the state level, unlike the presidential voting (see figures 163-166). Republican Clarke won the election, but the splits across district boundaries reveal similar splits in voting to the presidential votes. The only difference was the change in Progressive balloting.

The tables plus all the charts show voting participation and party outcome by region and by congressional district for three presidential elections, plus the same for Iowa Gubernatorial elections around the same time. Western Livestock Region and North Central Grain Region voted consistently Republican, Republican, and Progressive for President. The Southern Pasture Region, composed of several counties with Southern Democrat roots and high participation rates (decreasing in number), but also some counties with a different settlement history, had a voting outcome by region of Republican, Republican, Democrat for the three presidential elections of this project. The Eastern Livestock Region, with its early settlement history of Southern Democrat and a participation rate just below Southern Pasture, had a voting outcome of Democrat, Republican, Democrat for the three presidential elections of this project. The Northeast Dairy Region, settled heavily by immigrants, had a voting outcome of Republican, Republican, Democrat (likely indicating a split between Taft and Roosevelt) for the three presidential elections of this study.

Analysis by congressional district reveals a consistency for this time period for presidential voting until the 1912 election, which split the major parties when the Progressive Party formed. Actual vote count shows Iowa Republicans

tended to support conservative Progressive issues for the national level, translating to fewer votes for the Republican candidate, giving the election to the Democrat candidate, as analyzed in Chapter 6.

For the gubernatorial voting, note the shift regionally between national voting outcomes and state outcomes, as the issues change between these two levels of our federalist system. Because this project began with the election of 1891, when Democrat Horace Boies was elected Governor, what can be missed in the voting analysis is the prior string of Republican governors (see Appendix) plus the fact Boies used to be a Republican. The outcome of congressional district voting appears rather consistent for the time period of this study. A Republican governor was elected in 1912 because voters did not cast their state votes for the Progressive candidate for Governor as they did the Progressive candidate for President (giving Democrat Wilson the win in Iowa). The state maps in upcoming pages show the dominant political parties by county for these three time periods, according to the outcome of the state legislative elections.

Figures 167 and 168 show Iowa divided by congressional districts and by regions. If the maps could be overlaid, the division of the regions would be pronounced.



Figure 167. Map of Iowa's 11 House Districts. The odd county to the west is Clay County, which appears to be juxtaposed on the official state listing of which counties lie in which Congressional district, but the official list was used for this map.

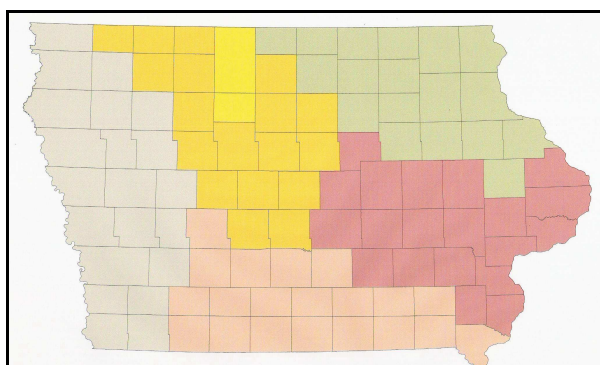


Figure 168. GIS map of Iowa's five regions.

The five regional zones were divided to form the congressional boundaries. Table 7 shows the counties within each congressional district. Tables 8-12 list each region by county and show which congressional district each county was in for the time of this study.

District1	District2	District 3	District 4	District 5	District 6	District 7	District 8	District 9	District 10	District 11
Des Moines	Clinton	Black Hawk	Allamakee Cerro	Benton	Davis	Dallas	Adams Appanoose	Adair	Boone	Buena Vista
Henry	Iowa	Bremer Buchanan	Gordon Chickasaw	Cedar	Jasper	Madison		Audubon	Calhoun	Cherokee
Jefferson	Jackson	Butler	Clayton	Grundy	Keokuk	Marion	Clarke	Cass	Carroll	Clayton
Lee	Johnson Muscatine			Jones	Mahaska	Polk	Decatur	Guthrie	Crawford	Dickinson
Louisa		Delaware	Fayette	Linn	Monroe	Story	Fremont	Harrison	Emmett	Ida
Van Buren	Scott	Dubuque	Floyd	Marshall	Poweshiek	Warren	Lucas	Mills Montgomery	Greene	Lyon
Washington		Franklin	Howard	Tama	Wapello		Page	Pottawattamie	Hamilton	Monona
		Hardin	Mitchell Winnebago				Ringgold		Hancock	O'Brien
		Wright	Worth				Taylor	Shelby	Humboldt	Osceola
							Union		Kossuth	Plymouth
							Wayne		Palo Alto	Sac
									Pocahontas	Sioux Woodbury
									Webster Winnebago	

Table 7. Table of counties in Iowa's 11 Congressional Districts.

Eastern Livestock	Benton	5	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Cedar	5	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Clinton	2	D	D	D
Eastern Livestock	Des Moines	1	D	D	D
Eastern Livestock	Grundy	5	RD	R	R
Eastern Livestock	Henry	1	R	D	R
Eastern Livestock	Iowa	2	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Jackson	2	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Jasper	6	R	R	R
Eastern Livestock	Johnson	2	D	D	D
Eastern Livestock	Jones	5	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Keokuk	6	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Linn	5	RD	R	RD
Eastern Livestock	Louisa	1	R	R	R
Eastern Livestock	Mahaska	6	R	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Marshall	5	R	R	R
Eastern Livestock	Muscatine	2	D	D	D
Eastern Livestock	Poweshiek	6	R	R	R
Eastern Livestock	Scott	2	D	RD	D
Eastern Livestock	Tama	5	D	R	D
Eastern Livestock	Washington	1	R	R	R

Table 8: Table of congressional districts within Eastern Livestock region.

North Central Grain	Boone	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Calhoun	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Clay	11	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Dallas	7	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Dickinson	11	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Emmett	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Franklin	3	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Greene	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Hamilton	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Hancock	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Hardin	3	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Humboldt	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Kossuth	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Osceola	11	R	R	D
North Central Grain	Palo Alto	10	RD	R	R
North Central Grain	Pocahontas	10	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Polk	7	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Story	7	R	R	R
North Central Grain	Webster	10	RD	R	R
North Central Grain	Wright	3	R	R	R

Table 9. Table of congressional districts within North Central Grain region.

Northeast Dairy	Allamakee	4	D	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Blackhawk	3	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Bremer	3	D	R	D
Northeast Dairy	Buchanan	3	R	R	D
Northeast Dairy	Butler	3	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Cerro Gordo	4	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Chickasaw	4	D	R	D
Northeast Dairy	Clayton	4	D	D	D
Northeast Dairy	Delaware	3	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Dubuque	3	D	R	D
Northeast Dairy	Fayette	4	RD	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Floyd	4	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Howard	4	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Mitchell	4	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Winnebago	10	R	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Winneshiek	4	RD	R	R
Northeast Dairy	Worth	4	R	R	R

Table 10. Table of congressional districts within Northeast Dairy region.

Southern Pasture	Adair	9	R	R	D
Southern Pasture	Adams	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Appanoose	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Clarke	8	R	R	D
Southern Pasture	Davis	6	D	D	R
Southern Pasture	Decatur	8	R	R	D
Southern Pasture	Guthrie	9	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Jefferson	1	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Lee	1	D	D	D
Southern Pasture	Lucas	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Madison	7	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Marion	7	D	R	D
Southern Pasture	Monroe	6	R	R	D
Southern Pasture	Ringgold	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Taylor	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Union	8	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Van Buren	1	R	R	D
Southern Pasture	Wapello	6	RD	R	D
Southern Pasture	Warren	7	R	R	R
Southern Pasture	Wayne	8	R	R	D

Table 11. Table of congressional districts within Southern Pasture region.

Western Livestock Audubon	9	D	R	R
Western Livestock Buena Vista	11	R	R	R
Western Livestock Carroll	10	D	R	D
Western Livestock Cass	9	R	R	R
Western Livestock Cherokee	11	R	R	R
Western Livestock Crawford	10	D	D	D
Western Livestock Fremont	8	D	D	D
Western Livestock Harrison	9	RD	R	D
Western Livestock Ida	11	RD	R	D
Western Livestock Lyon	11	D	D	R
Western Livestock Mills	9	R	R	D
Western Livestock Monona	11	R	R	R
Western Livestock Montgomery	9	R	R	R
Western Livestock O'Brien	11	R	D	D
Western Livestock Page	8	R	R	R
Western Livestock Plymouth	11	D	D	D
Western Livestock Pottawattamie	9	D	R	D
Western Livestock Sac	11	R	R	R
Western Livestock Shelby	9	D	R	D
Western Livestock Sioux	11	R	R	R
Western Livestock Woodbury	11	RD	R	R

Table 12. Table of congressional districts within Western Livestock region.

Table 13 summarizes the voting outcomes for the congressional districts, according to political party outcomes. As the above tables show, the regions were divided to accommodate population counts within congressional district boundaries, realigning the voting outcomes for congressional house representation.

District	1892 Congressional election	1900 Congressional election	1912 Congressional election
1	D	R	R
2	D	R	D
3	R	R	D
4	D	R	R
5	D	R	R
6	D	R	D
7	R	R	R
8	R	R	R
9	D	R	R
10	R	R	R
11	R	R	R

Table 13. Table of Congressional district elections 1892, 1900, 1912.

In 1892, when six Democrats won congressional seats, they represented districts 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 9, located in the Eastern Livestock Region, Northeast

Dairy Region, and Central Grain Region. In 1900 all Republicans won congressional elections, including the parts of the state usually Democrat strongholds in Iowa politics. In 1912 Democrats won congressional seats in districts 2, 3, and 6, located in the Eastern Livestock Region, Northeast Dairy Region, and North Central Grain Region. Because Republicans controlled the state legislature, the senators selected continued to be Republicans. The Eastern livestock region, plus the Southern pasture region reflected the highest participation rates in elections and the lowest immigration rates during the time of this study. Some counties in the Southern Pasture region showed a tendency to vote the Democrat ticket, except in the 1900 election, but the region became split when congressional districts were created, based on population count, since their population continued among the lowest in the state. Some of the Southern pasture counties voted with North Central grain counties and some voted with Western livestock counties. The outcome resulted in Republican candidates winning election, demonstrating the principle of diluting and marginalizing political influence.

The county votes sent representatives to the state legislature (See Figures 169-171 for county political party preference).

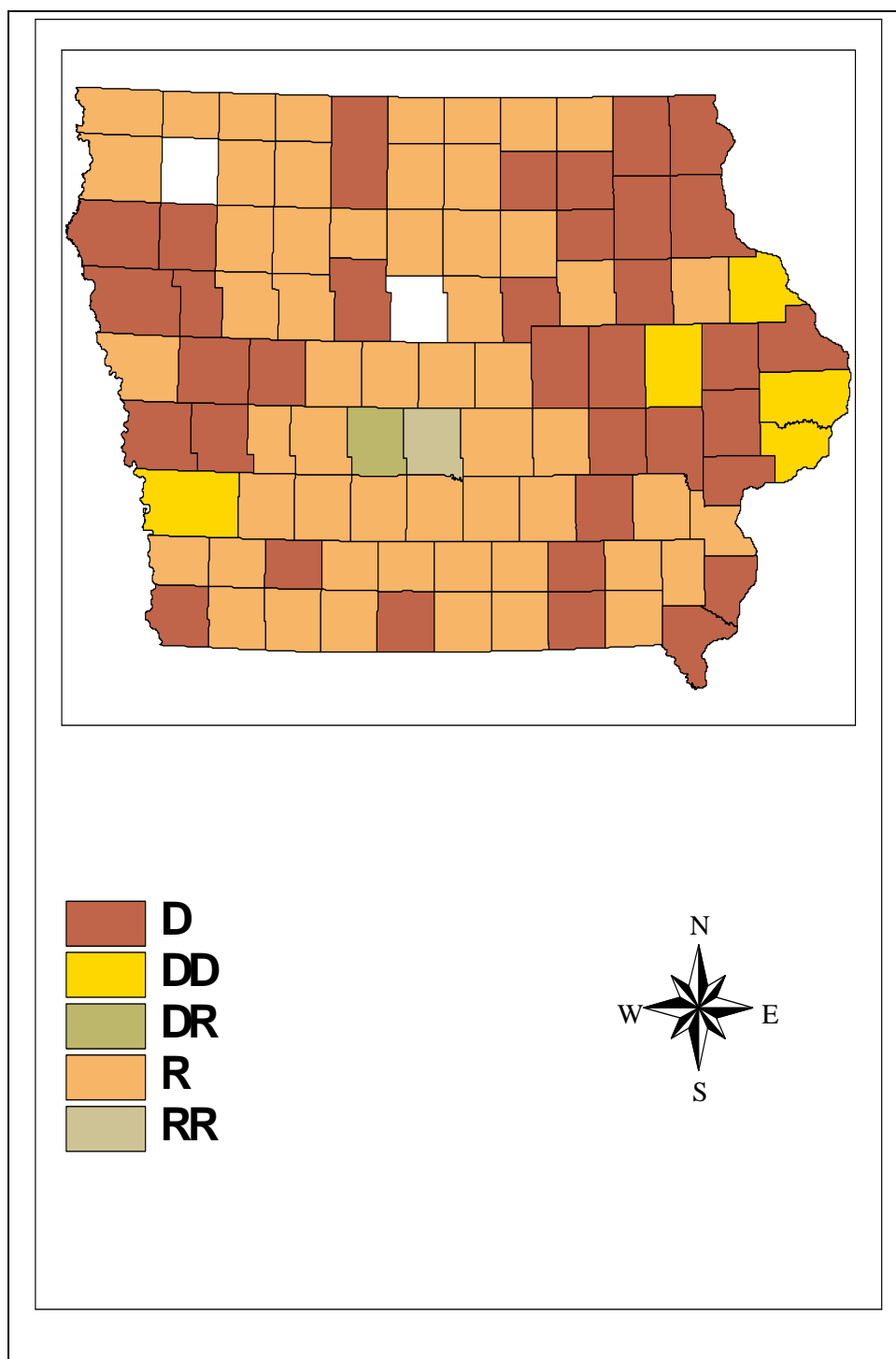


Figure 169. GIS map of political party representation to Iowa Legislature 1890.

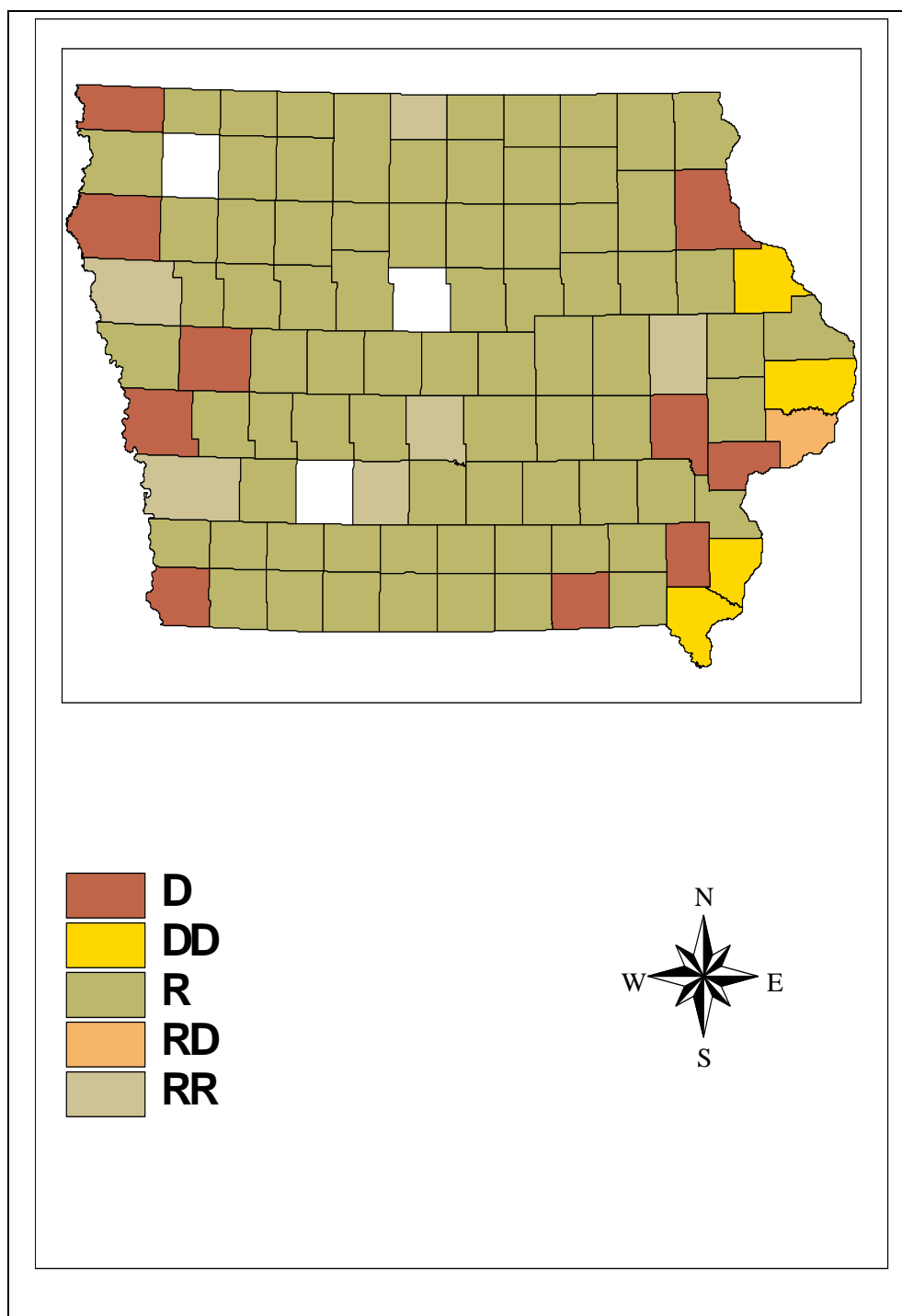


Figure 170. GIS map of political party representation to Iowa Legislature 1900.

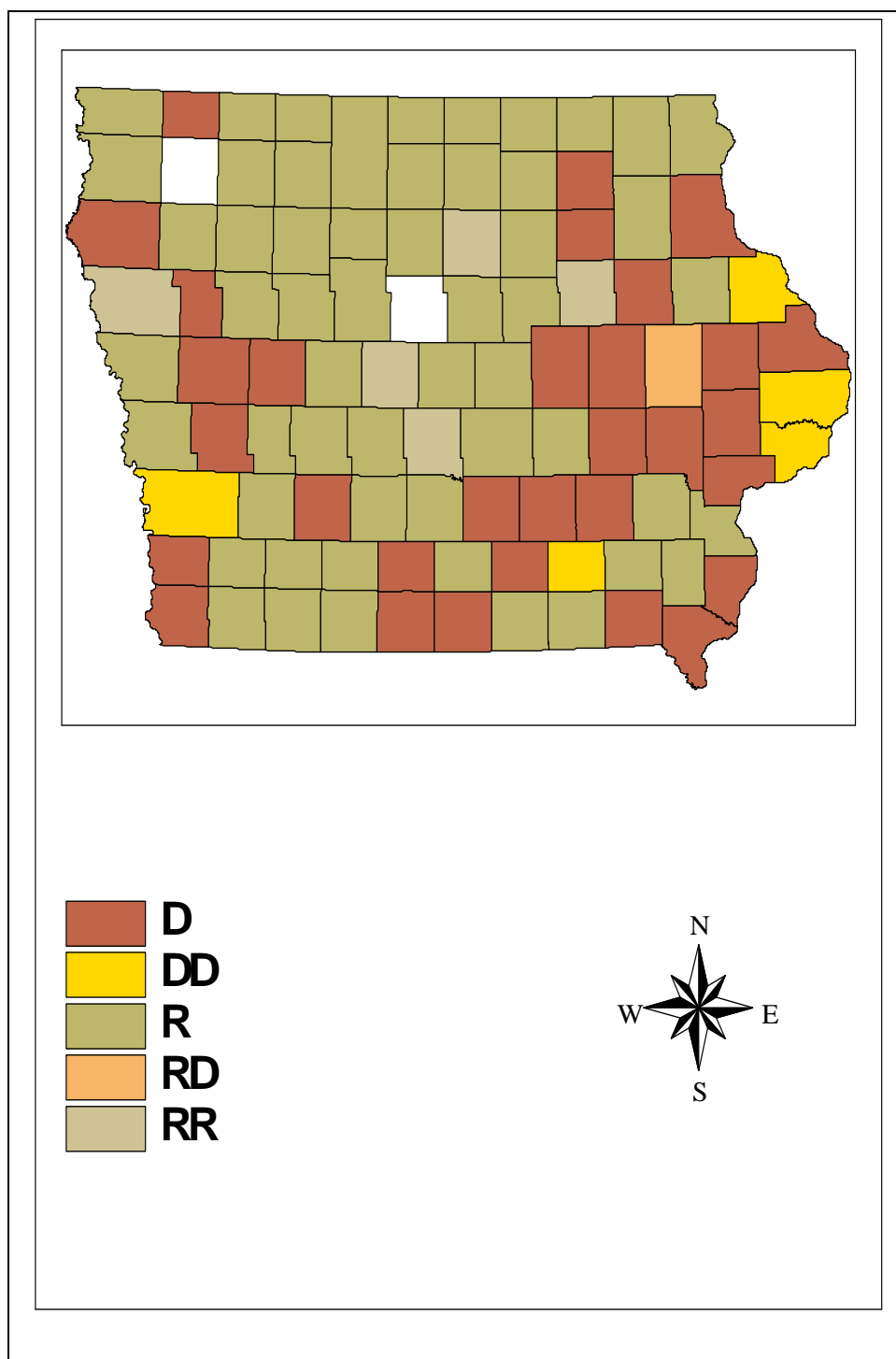


Figure 171. GIS map of political party representation to Iowa Legislature 1910.

Forming a political party means selecting issues as platform planks for specific elections that will attract voters and translate to political power and/or influence into policymaking. Third parties formed around specific interests, which accounted for their rise and fall over time as issues rose or fell. If an issue did not go away in time but continued to garner support, then one of the two major political parties adopted the issue to neutralize the effects of another party by attracting voters. This continues to happen today. Iowa election results for this project show several political parties existing in the state at each election during the time of this project. The Democrat Party had previously absorbed the Greenback Party and the Peoples Party of the Populist Movement, thus gaining back some of the strength it lost after the Civil War (as the Republican Party effectively associated it with Southern states and slavery), but adding more factions that made consensus problematic. This formed the closeness of the political contests in Iowa. Not all Progressive interest groups had the same priority of interests, creating splits between political party alignments of conservative versus liberal, just as we see in politics today. The 1912 election clearly demonstrated the extent to which Iowa voters grasped the closeness of Iowa political party influence at the state level, as well as their difference in preferences between the state and national levels, when they voted at the national level for a Progressive candidate for President that represented their priorities, but chose not to vote for the Progressive candidate for Governor that did not represent their priorities at the state level. Representation at the state level shows in the GIS maps of county outcomes determining representation at the state level.

Comparing the statewide visual of party outcome for the elections of this project to the participation levels and population demographics helps explain the outcomes for the regions and for the districts.

In addition to state politics, the other important aspect to this issue of political power concerns representation in Congress. According to Article I of the 1787 Constitution, congressional districts within each state needed to be drawn so one representative (as closely as possible) represented 30,000 people. The decennial census (begun in 1790) determined the population of each state (and the location of citizens) for purposes of representation, and the drawing of congressional boundaries within each state. As population grew, so did the number of representatives in the House. Article I of the Constitution established 65 House seats for the first Congress, but Rhode Island chose not to participate until the Bill of Rights had been ratified in 1791 and added to the Constitution. Each increase in population of 30,000 added seats to the membership in the House, both increasing the need for space as well as adding complexity to the matter of conducting business. This situation only changed when the number of representatives in the House was capped at 435 in 1913 (after the time of this study) and that figure divided into the total decennial population to determine how many individuals each representative would represent. Each state then had to reapportion its districts, by moving the boundary lines, to meet the population criteria. This method continues today. The possibility existed for majorities within each of these districts to elect their representatives to the House and

marginalize some groups of voters because of numbers (depending on participation in elections and the total numbers).

Article I of the Constitution initially set up state legislatures as the vehicle for selection of senators, giving each state two. The compromise creating this not only broke a deadlock for the Convention but reflected part of the system of federalism in the division of power between states and the national government. Control of the state legislature meant control of the selection of senators, thus potentially more political power or influence (depending on the broader representation at the national level) and part of the checks and balance system over the Executive Branch. Individuals interested in this position had to lobby the state legislature and curry political favors and influence with that group. Popular election of senators shows up as a party platform plank during the time of this project, because the 17th Amendment was not ratified until 1913. Iowa's senators during the time of this project were all members of the Republican Party, indicating control of the state legislature in a closely-divided state.

Data showing the locations with the highest percentages of foreign-born to native-born confirm low participation rates in all elections considered in this project. In the Eastern Livestock Region, with the second-highest number of participating voters and the second-lowest number of immigrants in the population, election results tended to side with the Democrats, but not consistently. In the Southern Pasture Region, with the highest number of voter participants and the lowest number of immigrants, election results tended to side with Democrats except for 1900, but not consistently, as the previous GIS maps

indicate. Circumstances existing at the time of elections, coupled with the selection of party platform planks, and personal priorities at election time, combined to produce voting results. While it might be possible to make a strong case of ethnic and/or religious influence in an election at a specific location, this does not hold for the state as a whole for the time period of this study: 1890 to 1912.

These results and conclusions, based on an entire voting population of Iowa for five elections covering just over twenty years, show that socialized values fracture in priorities according to location and issues for an election, just as Merle Curti previously showed. Future studies on this issue cannot rely on sampling with a diversified population, and must take election participation into account in order to avoid skewing the results. If only a localized area is examined, then the results will only hold for that area; they cannot be extrapolated statewide. Unless a single-issue vote is examined, it is not possible to know which party platform plank influenced each voter decision.

Iowa is, generally, a rural state dotted with a handful of urban areas, so the numerous small town economies depended on the agricultural economy during the time of this study, thus providing a vested interest in some issues affecting agriculture, but only up to a point where other issues became a priority. Previous studies of agricultural movements have shown no uniform agricultural response to issues affecting agriculture. "Agriculture" is not monolithic; many products mean diversified interests that often conflict in positions and policy preferences. When this is coupled with different locations and different ideological sets of values

ranging from conservative to liberal, political uniformity should not be expected. Agricultural interest groups have been as diversified (fractured) as Protestant sects. This splits political influence by not speaking with a coherent single voice for policy.

The time period of this project covers the highest immigration rate not seen again for 100 years, so this factor added another dimension to the mix of policy preferences, as explained by the research on attitudes toward immigrants and the Catholic religion. Studies attempting to project a uniform political response through ethnicity or religion should be a concern because I believe this reflects a cultural bias construct in expectations on the part of the researchers, continuing the bias of the time period that ultimately led to the severe immigration restrictions of 1924.

Marginalization of voting outside central dominant group parameters happens all the time and has since approval of the Constitution and the beginnings of the dominant two-party system in this country. This project began with population demographics for an entire state, showed little ethnic nor religious preferences in voting outcome at general elections with multiple issues, showed that voting participation must be considered for a valid analysis, and that voting preferences in smaller areas become marginalized as they move outward to larger areas, but location accounts for more uniformity than other criteria.

Appendix

The main dataset for this project consists of election returns for all townships in Iowa for the years 1891, 1892, 1900, 1901, and 1912, plus selected demographic traits of eligible male voters from the closest decennial census to each of these election years. These all had to be gathered manually for the township level (because they are not available in electronic format) and placed into spreadsheets for analysis. A computer program was set to gather the desired categories of data from scanned pdf copies of the original census reports for the desired years. This information was then sorted to be sure only qualified voters for the time were used. Decisions had to be made regarding individuals in prison or mental health facilities. For the three decennial censuses used, this meant over one million individuals per census. Once this data was gathered, which took months, Excel pivot tables were applied to get a count by category for the purpose of setting up the spreadsheets and balancing them as closely as possible to the official totals in state reports. All townships within each county for the time period of the census had to be gathered. These years represent elections for governor (state level) and president (national level), broken down by township for the entire state of Iowa. Only statewide candidates were considered to be a constant for analysis of voting preferences. Analyses consisted of both statistical regression, grouped frequency by region, and Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping. Extensive research (by myself and research librarians) failed to find any previous study of this magnitude for analysis of possible effects of ethnicity, immigration status, and/or religion on voter preference for a rural area.

Some urban studies outside Iowa exist of voting analysis by cluster groupings; statewide figures have been used in other studies, which would only pick up possible relationships in large numbers; and some localized township studies have been done without consideration of the effects of location (but the results were applied as if they would be the same for the entire state). Iowa is, generally, a rural state dotted with a handful of urban areas, so the numerous small town economies depended on the agricultural economy, thus providing a vested interest in issues affecting agriculture. Previous studies of agricultural movements have shown no uniform agricultural response to issues affecting agriculture. “Agriculture” is not monolithic; many products mean diversified interests that often conflict in positions and policy preferences. When this is coupled with different locations and different ideological sets of values ranging from conservative to liberal, political uniformity should not be expected.

The time period of this project covers the highest immigration rate not seen again for 100 years, so this factor adds another dimension to the mix of policy preferences, as explained in the introduction covering research on attitudes toward immigrants. Studies attempting to project a uniform political response through ethnicity or religion concern me because I believe this reflects a bias of expectations on the part of the researchers, continuing the bias of the time period that ultimately led to the severe immigration restrictions of 1924. I had no expectations of outcomes; I wanted to see for myself what statewide data by township would show.

Historical studies of the American political system have often demonstrated to me an idealized bias in how the system really functions. Marginalization of voting outside central dominant group parameters happens all the time and has since approval of the Constitution and the beginnings of the dominant two-party system in this country. Outcomes of voting that fail to consider participation rates within this system of marginalization lead to invalid conclusions. While urban areas had support systems for getting immigrants to vote, rural areas had no such systems. Attempts to link voting outcomes and demographic data without considering participation rates makes no sense to me, just as failure to include the circumstances of location makes little sense to me.

Explanation of statistics

Most individuals understand an average to be the summation of all numbers in a dataset, divided by the number of individual numbers in the dataset. In statistics this is called the “mean.” Numbers that vary a lot either too high or too low from the central block of numbers clustered around the mean are called outliers. They skew the mean in their direction. If all of the numbers in the dataset are arranged in numerical sequence the number falling exactly in the middle – with the same number of numbers on either side of it -- would be the “median.” Sometimes the median must be calculated, when an even number of numbers exist in the dataset so no one number falls exactly in the middle. Such a calculation occurs by adding the two middle numbers of the dataset and dividing the result by two in order to arrive at the midpoint. The number that occurs most frequently is called the “mode.” When the mean, median, and mode are all the

same number in the dataset, the distribution of all the numbers about the mean is called “normal.” “Normal” means the majority of the dataset occurs in the middle and tapers off in either direction.

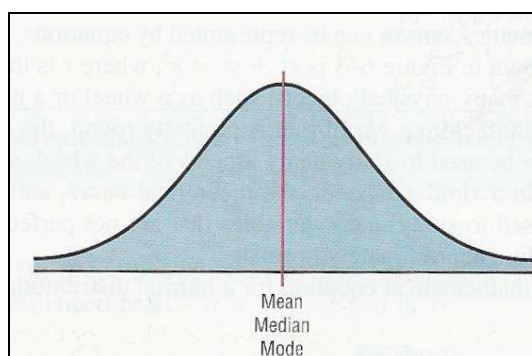


Figure 172. Normal distribution.

It would be rare for all numbers in the dataset to be the same distance from the mean, so variance and standard deviation are used to determine the average distance of each number in the dataset from the mean. If the mean is subtracted from each number in the dataset and the sum of the differences is found, the answer would be zero, because half of the numbers lie above the mean and half below it (meaning half the differences would be positive numbers and half would be negative numbers). To avoid this and arrive at the average distance each number in the dataset is from the mean, the differences between each number and the mean are squared before totaling them. Once totaled, they are divided by the number of numbers in the dataset, minus 1, to arrive at the variance. Since this calculation involves squared numbers, the square root of the answer provides the standard deviation, or the average distance each number in the dataset is from the

mean. A small standard deviation means the numbers are clustered about the mean; a larger standard deviation means the numbers are more dispersed.

Assumptions for a valid prediction in regression analysis (that show whether or not relationships between variables exist, and the possible strength of those relationships) include the following:

1. For any specific value of the independent variable, the value of the dependent variable must be normally distributed about the regression line (the line of best fit, where the sum of the squares of the vertical distances from each point to the line is at a minimum because the values of the dependent variable will be predicted from the values of the independent variable – the closer the points are to the line the better the fit);
2. the standard deviation of each of the dependent variables must be the same for each value of the independent variable.
3. The observations are independent of each other, which is assumed by random sampling. The dependent variable is the variable in regression that cannot be controlled or manipulated. The independent variable in this study is either ethnicity, generation in the country, or religion (depending on which analysis is being run) because this cannot be changed. The dependent variable is voting outcome because it can be manipulated by participation.

To put this into algebraic terms, a line of regression (or line of best fit) is a linear line whose equation can be expressed as: $y=mx+b$, where m is the slope of the line and b is the y -intercept (where the line crosses the y -axis when x equals zero). This means that if we were plotting the points on graph paper, we could

choose a variable for x and put it in the equation to solve for y in order to arrive at a point. For each value of x there is a value for y . This will only work in regression analysis when there is a strong relationship between x and y such that the insertion of one value will lead you to the expected (or predicted) value of the other variable. For purposes of the type of study in this project, voting outcome should be predictable by the given ethnicities or religious affiliation, if that truly forms the basis for a voting selection.

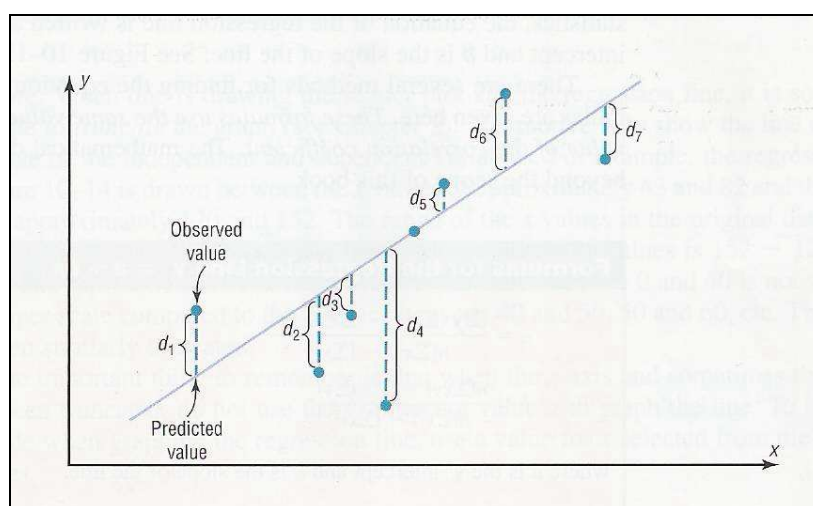


Figure 173. Diagram of regression analysis.

Total variation in a regression model is the sum of the squares of the vertical distances each point in the dataset is from the mean – the same definition as “variance.” The total variation can be divided into two parts: that which is attributed to the relationship and that which is due to chance. The variation that is obtained from the relationship is called the “explained variation.” The variation due to chance is called the “unexplained variation.” The two numbers must add to 1, because we are dealing with percents and it is not possible to go above 100%. The ratio of the explained variation to the total variation (explained

variation divided by the total variation) is called the “coefficient of determination” and is denoted by r^2 . When r^2 is large, the relationship is stronger.

In multiple regression there are several independent variables and one dependent variable. This analysis is used to increase the accuracy of predictions for the dependent variable over one independent variable alone. The assumptions for multiple regression include:

1. For any specific value of the independent variable, the values of the dependent variable are normally distributed;
2. the variances (or the standard deviations) for the dependent variables are the same for each value of the independent variable;
3. there is a linear relationship (best line fit) between the dependent variable and the independent variables;
4. the independent variables are not correlated;
5. the values for the dependent variables are independent.

In multiple regression, as in simple regression, the strength of the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable is measured by a multiple correlation coefficient, symbolized by R . The value of R can range from 0 to +1; R can never be negative. The closer to +1, the stronger the relationship; the closer to 0, the weaker the relationship. The value of R takes into account all the independent variables and can be computed by using the values of the individual correlation coefficients. As with simple regression, R^2 is the coefficient of multiple determination, and it is the amount of variation explained by the regression model.

In addition to R^2 , p -values represent the probability of getting a sample statistic (such as the mean) outside the main distribution. For purposes of this analysis, 95% was used as the desired fit for the data. This means 95% plus 5% equals 100% for the dataset. P -values greater than .05 indicate a questionable relationship; p -values less than .05 indicate possible support. P -value is the probability of making an error by rejecting the null. An analogy would be the probability of a jury returning a guilty verdict when the defendant is innocent. The smaller the p -value, the less likely that would be to happen.

Explanation of methodology

For the time period of this study, the Iowa population showed increasing numbers of immigrants, whose ethnicity and generation in the U.S. (first, second, or third) can be determined by census data. Regression analysis of native-born, first, second, or third generation, as well as ethnicity and religious affiliation, reveal mixed support for candidates. Regression is generally used for sampling to draw conclusions about an entire population. In this study, the entire population was used instead of a sample because of the diversity involved. Sampling could lead to an invalid conclusion.

Population demographics can be obtained for males over the age of twenty-one, thus eligible to vote. The problem lies with who actually voted. That information is not known in this study. Comparing the number of votes cast to the number of eligible voters shows a wide range of participation in the voting process. Because it is not known who actually voted, the independent variable (the demographics) is being compared to the dependent variables (the voting outcome), without knowing which demographics actually voted. The regression

analysis results do not hold up for the entire state. Results can vary by location, and they can vary from election to election, likely dependent on the issues that attracted the specific voters. The most consistent areas over time had the lowest number of immigrants and the most constant religious affiliation, but still voted contrary to what regression analysis would indicate on at least one occasion in the elections studied.

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1892 Harrison

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.930054
R Square	0.865001
Adjusted R Square	0.860738
Standard Error	379.3458
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	3	87595244	29198415	202.9031
Residual	95	13670809	143903.3	
Total	98	1.01E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	441.9032	83.68449	5.280587	8.14E-07

NO. NATIVE- BORN WHITE MALES OF NATIVE PA	0.232882	0.012717	18.31244	6.32E-33
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NO. NATIVE- BORN WHITE MALES OF FOREIGN P	0.206621	0.074549	2.771597	0.006712
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NO. FOREIGN- BORN WHITE MALES	-0.02115	0.099691	-0.21214	0.832456
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SUMMARY OUTPUT

1892 Cleveland

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.951169
R Square	0.904723
Adjusted R Square	0.901714
Standard Error	395.4589
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	3	1.41E+08	47025229	300.6964
Residual	95	14856835	156387.7	
Total	98	1.56E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	-187.854	87.23906	-2.15333	0.033825
NO. NATIVE- BORN WHITE MALES OF NATIVE PA	0.150384	0.013257	11.34343	2.31E-19
NO. NATIVE- BORN WHITE MALES OF FOREIGN P	0.684786	0.077716	8.811402	5.72E-14
NO. FOREIGN- BORN WHITE MALES	-0.2477	0.103925	-2.38349	0.019139

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1900 McKinley

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.924719
R Square	0.855106
Adjusted R Square	0.826834
Standard Error	632.7551
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	16	1.94E+08	12109714	30.24562
Residual	82	32831084	400379.1	
Total	98	2.27E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	1387.856	134.5971	10.31118	1.82E-16

NO. PERSONS BORN IN BOHEMIA	0.607102	0.185763	3.268158	0.001583
NO. PERSONS BORN IN CANADA	1.464609	0.821149	1.783609	0.078187
NO. PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	-0.07984	0.265914	-0.30024	0.764757
NO. PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	3.873293	0.904821	4.280726	5.02E-05
NO. PERSONS BORN IN FINLAND	172.7958	72.17921	2.393982	0.018949
NO. PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	6.006965	3.64829	1.646515	0.103485
NO. PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.087829	0.072872	1.205254	0.231572
NO. PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.248702	0.14278	1.741856	0.085283
NO. PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	0.274155	0.456795	0.600172	0.550047
NO. PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	6.356217	3.143322	2.022134	0.046423
NO. PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM & LUXEMBURG	-5.20266	7.056022	-0.73734	0.463022
NO. PERSONS BORN IN LUXEMBURG	-0.77392	7.319494	-0.10573	0.916051
NO. PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	0.149338	0.141926	1.052221	0.295789

NO. PERSONS BORN IN POLAND & HUNGARY	-2.97574	3.723293	-0.79922	0.426471
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	0.896145	1.970391	0.454806	0.650451
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	0.40195	0.178407	2.25299	0.02693

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1900 Bryan

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.894867
R Square	0.800786
Adjusted R Square	0.761915
Standard Error	596.9383
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	16	1.17E+08	7340907	20.60112
Residual	82	29219493	356335.3	
Total	98	1.47E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	883.1916	126.9783	6.955452	7.83E-10

NO. PERSONS BORN IN BOHEMIA	0.478789	0.175248	2.732069	0.007705
NO. PERSONS BORN IN CANADA	-1.44443	0.774668	-1.86458	0.065818

NO. PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	0.219668	0.250862	0.875655	0.383776
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	2.453959	0.853604	2.87482	0.005148
NO. PERSONS BORN IN FINLAND	-22.0174	68.09353	-0.32334	0.747261

NO. PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	8.606558	3.44178	2.500613	0.01439
NO. PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.15503	0.068747	2.255073	0.026794
NO. PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.20721	0.134698	1.53833	0.127818
NO. PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	1.642405	0.430938	3.811231	0.000266
NO. PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	1.782685	2.965395	0.601163	0.54939
NO. PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM & LUXEMBURG	-8.94333	6.656619	-1.34352	0.182808
NO. PERSONS BORN IN LUXEMBURG	8.543623	6.905176	1.237278	0.219515
NO. PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	-0.30538	0.133892	-2.2808	0.025155
NO. PERSONS BORN IN POLAND & HUNGARY	-0.88612	3.512537	-0.25227	0.801461
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	1.454238	1.858858	0.782329	0.436275
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	0.088534	0.168309	0.526021	0.600293

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1912 Taft

Regression Statistics

Multiple R	0.803919
R Square	0.646286
Adjusted R Square	0.587334
Standard Error	431.168
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	14	28532839	2038060	10.96286
Residual	84	15616094	185905.9	
Total	98	44148933		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	895.9092	95.02886	9.427758	8.18E-15
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM	-4.23035	3.021954	-1.39987	0.165234
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (FRENCH	-2.38593	3.161506	-0.75468	0.452551
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (OTHER)	1.526287	1.196792	1.275315	0.205713
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	-0.16485	0.155184	-1.06226	0.29116
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	0.266433	0.868853	0.306649	0.759869
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	4.79293	2.90213	1.651521	0.102366
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	-0.19853	0.062682	-3.16723	0.002146
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	-0.10859	0.083163	-1.30571	0.195217
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HUNGARY	1.801911	2.112969	0.852786	0.396203
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	1.582953	0.483363	3.274874	0.001537
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	0.290574	0.608079	0.477856	0.633994

NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	-0.33565	0.123017	-2.72845	0.007748
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	1.740273	1.735975	1.002476	0.318993
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	-0.03034	0.140903	-0.21534	0.830021
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SUMMARY OUTPUT

1912 Wilson

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.900527
R Square	0.810948
Adjusted R Square	0.77944
Standard Error	578.5668
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	14	1.21E+08	8615313	25.73736
Residual	84	28118120	334739.5	
Total	98	1.49E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	757.462	127.5154	5.940163	6.23E-08

NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM	-6.65126	4.055037	-1.64025	0.104694
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (FRENCH	-0.73366	4.242295	-0.17294	0.863116
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (OTHER)	0.408928	1.605926	0.254637	0.799626
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	0.058235	0.208234	0.27966	0.780426
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	0.579601	1.165878	0.497137	0.620391
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NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	11.13345	3.89425	2.858946	0.005359
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.223325	0.084111	2.655123	0.009483
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.040831	0.111593	0.365894	0.715364
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HUNGARY	-2.97525	2.835307	-1.04936	0.297023
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	3.267798	0.648605	5.038194	2.66E-06
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	0.141669	0.815956	0.173623	0.86258
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	-0.33747	0.165072	-2.04437	0.044049
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	3.808456	2.329434	1.634928	0.105806
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	-0.22591	0.189073	-1.19481	0.235522

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1912 Roosevelt

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.933628
R Square	0.871662
Adjusted R Square	0.850272
Standard Error	442.7071
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	14	1.12E+08	7986858	40.75145
Residual	84	16463121	195989.5	

Total	98	1.28E+08		
	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	168.8691	97.57205	1.730711	0.087175
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM	-0.28605	3.102829	-0.09219	0.926767
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (FRENCH	-7.56218	3.246115	-2.32961	0.022227
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN CANADA (OTHER)	5.180375	1.22882	4.21573	6.24E-05
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	0.240269	0.159337	1.507931	0.135324
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	1.958672	0.892105	2.195562	0.030881
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	6.75652	2.979798	2.267442	0.025931
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.291187	0.06436	4.52435	1.98E-05
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.26666	0.085389	3.122896	0.002457
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN HUNGARY	-5.23722	2.169517	-2.414	0.017951
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	-0.34142	0.496299	-0.68793	0.493391
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	-0.89981	0.624353	-1.44119	0.153249
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	0.392884	0.12631	3.110484	0.002551
NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	2.651948	1.782433	1.487824	0.140542

NO. WHITE PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	0.473867	0.144674	3.275406	0.001534
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SUMMARY OUTPUT

1901 Cummins

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.90422
R Square	0.817614
Adjusted R Square	0.782027
Standard Error	520.022
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	16	99406534	6212908	22.97479
Residual	82	22174678	270422.9	
Total	98	1.22E+08		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	1171.027	110.617	10.58632	5.24E-17

NO. PERSONS BORN IN BOHEMIA	0.351692	0.152667	2.303656	0.023773
NO. PERSONS BORN IN CANADA	-0.65579	0.674851	-0.97176	0.33403

NO. PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	0.014922	0.218538	0.068282	0.945727
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	2.550204	0.743616	3.429462	0.000949
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN FINLAND	128.3013	59.3196	2.162882	0.033463
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	3.98029	2.998302	1.327515	0.188023
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.045973	0.059889	0.767638	0.444907
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.283891	0.117342	2.419344	0.017761
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	0.799212	0.375411	2.128898	0.036263
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NO. PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	6.756337	2.5833	2.61539	0.010606
NO. PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM & LUXEMBURG	-4.00852	5.798905	-0.69125	0.491358
NO. PERSONS BORN IN LUXEMBURG	2.437533	6.015436	0.405213	0.686376
NO. PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	0.03294	0.11664	0.282408	0.778342
NO. PERSONS BORN IN POLAND & HUNGARY	-1.14842	3.059943	-0.37531	0.708401
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	1.437244	1.619342	0.887548	0.37738
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	0.162216	0.146622	1.106355	0.271808

SUMMARY OUTPUT

1901 Phillips

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.826063
R Square	0.682381
Adjusted R Square	0.620406
Standard Error	549.8522
Observations	99

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	16	53263050	3328941	11.01068
Residual	82	24791670	302337.4	
Total	98	78054720		

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>
Intercept	777.5906	116.9624	6.648213	3.06E-09
NO. PERSONS BORN IN BOHEMIA	0.300979	0.161424	1.864522	0.065826
NO. PERSONS BORN IN	-2.36045	0.713563	-3.30797	0.001397

CANADA

NO. PERSONS BORN IN DENMARK	0.265084	0.231074	1.147184	0.254642
NO. PERSONS BORN IN ENGLAND	1.238843	0.786273	1.57559	0.118971
NO. PERSONS BORN IN FINLAND	-32.8372	62.72236	-0.52353	0.602016
NO. PERSONS BORN IN FRANCE	4.786887	3.170295	1.509919	0.134908
NO. PERSONS BORN IN GERMANY	0.16958	0.063324	2.677962	0.008946
NO. PERSONS BORN IN HOLLAND	0.128069	0.124073	1.032207	0.30501
NO. PERSONS BORN IN IRELAND	1.478244	0.396946	3.724043	0.000359
NO. PERSONS BORN IN ITALY	-1.24288	2.731487	-0.45502	0.650297
NO. PERSONS BORN IN BELGIUM & LUXEMBURG	-1.49361	6.131549	-0.24359	0.808153
NO. PERSONS BORN IN LUXEMBURG	2.164679	6.360501	0.340332	0.734477
NO. PERSONS BORN IN NORWAY	-0.25249	0.123331	-2.04724	0.043837
NO. PERSONS BORN IN POLAND & HUNGARY	0.392592	3.235471	0.12134	0.903719
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SCOTLAND	1.10299	1.712233	0.644182	0.521255
NO. PERSONS BORN IN SWEDEN	-0.04077	0.155033	-0.26296	0.793238

Note the preponderance of Republicans as Iowa governors.



Ansel Briggs
Democrat
1846-1850



Stephen P. Hempstead
Democrat
1850-1854



James W. Grimes
Whig
1854-1858



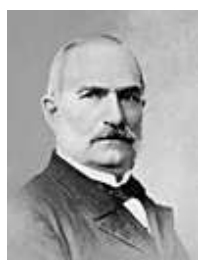
Ralph P. Lowe
Republican
1858-1860



Samuel J. Kirkwood
Republican
1860-1864



William M. Stone
Republican
1864-1868



Samuel Merrill
Republican
1868-1872



Cyrus C. Carpenter
Republican
1872-1876



Samuel J. Kirkwood
Republican
1876-1877



Joshua F. Newbold
Republican
1877-1878



John H. Gear
Republican
1878-1882



Buren R. Sherman
Republican
1882-1886



William Larrabee
Republican
1886-1890



Horace Boies
Democrat
1890-1894



Frank Jackson
Republican
1894-1896



Francis Drake
Republican
1896-1898

1900

Iowa Governors continued



Leslie M. Shaw
Republican
1898-1902



Albert B. Cummins
Republican
1902-1908



Warren Garst
Republican
1902-1908



Beryl F. Carroll
Republican
1909-1913



George W. Clarke
Republican
1913-1917



William L. Harding
Republican
1917-1921



Nathan E. Kendall
Republican
1921-1925



John Hammill
Republican
1925-1931



Daniel Turner
Republican
1931-1933



Clyde L. Herring
Democrat
1933-1937



Nelson G. Kraschel
Democrat
1937-1939



George A. Wilson
Republican
1939-1943



**Bourke
Hickenlooper**
Republican



Robert D. Blue
Republican
1945-1949



William S. Beardsley
Republican
1949-1954



Leo Elthon
Republican
1954-1955

Iowa Governors
continued:1943-1945



Leo A. Hoegh
Republican
1955-1957



Herschel C. Loveless
Democrat
1957-1961



Norman A. Erbe
Republican
1961-1963



Harold E. Hughes
Democrat
1963-1969



Robert D. Fulton
Democrat
1969



Robert D. Ray
Republican
1969-1983



Terry Branstad
Republican
1983-1999



Tom Vilsack
Democrat
1999-2007



Chet Culver
Democrat
2007-present

Figure 174. Iowa's forty-one governors and pictures.

Explanation of matrices

Another illustration applies itself to a study involving U.S. politics.

Coming directly from the classical education developed by the Greeks, working its way up through the Renaissance, and then losing favor in the United States about one hundred years ago, it provides a visual aid in addition to an

understandable explanation. Below are four shapes that were selected because they maintain two common elements as the matrices change one factor at a time to form a different shape. When I get to the abstract application you will see why I chose these. ANY shapes could have been used. Each shape is defined by the factors in its matrix. The defining shape has certain properties, and working to process information about those properties requires the use of specific formulas.

In the physical world the sciences use this idea. Engineers work with shapes and their properties; the elements in the periodic chart of the elements now have their atomic composition explained by a different geometric shape (thus explaining their properties and processing information about them). Each of these elements, thrown into a different situation, reacts differently, depending on its properties, just as do different shapes and elements.

In a similar manner, abstract ideas can be thought of as a matrix of factors with certain properties, and information about them can be logically processed using formulas specific to those factors. When ideas are transplanted from one location to another they react differently, as they interact with the circumstances of the new location. Languages, for example, all use basic types of words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. (which would be the common factors in their matrices), but they structure sentences to convey thoughts differently, based on the evolved rules of the language during the time of its development. Communication between languages relies on knowing this. Language is used in books, TV, movies, plays, etc. (as the common factors), but different genres are structured differently as they process information to tell the specific story.

The economic idea of capitalism – defined basically as the private ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods and services for profit – combines with cultural matrices around the world to produce the different forms we see. Each location takes the basic definition and adds its own cultural priorities to produce different shapes that are accompanied with their own formulas for processing information about them and making policy. Canada, for example, has a historical background similar to the U.S. but different enough that it has a different accounting system and, thus, different business policies than the United States.

Cultural matrices developed over time, based on the historical experiences and socialization (including philosophies and religions), and the migration of ideas, just as they do with the development of individuals. When individuals migrate they take their cultural socialization with them and adapt it to the new circumstances in which they find themselves. Sub-cultures within a dominant culture do the same thing, which is not generally understood in the U.S. Understanding cultures (and sub-cultures) can improve communications on all levels.



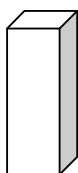
|A| = 4 sides

|B| = top and bottom

|C| = top equals bottom

|D| = top and bottom equal sides

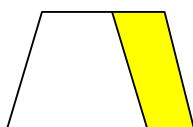
|E| = all angles are 90-degrees



$|A| = 4$ sides
 $|B| =$ top and bottom
 $|C| =$ top equals bottom
 $|E| =$ all angles are 90-degrees
 $|F| =$ top and bottom do not equal sides



$|A| = 4$ sides
 $|B| =$ top and bottom
 $|C| =$ top equals bottom
 $|F| =$ top and bottom do not equal sides
 $|G| =$ angles do not equal 90-degrees



$|A| = 4$ sides
 $|B| =$ top and bottom
 $|F| =$ top and bottom do not equal sides
 $|G| =$ angles do not equal 90-degrees
 $|H| =$ top does not equal bottom

Different formulas process information about these above shapes, based on the factors in each matrix and the properties those produce. Abstract concepts work similarly, as do the collection of interest groups around politics, based on the collection of party platform planks addressing specific issues, and the circumstances faced by voters at the time of an election.

Matrices apply to this study because they indicate the existence of demographic factors making up each individual and expanding to populations of individuals, as they must prioritize values on issues selected for an election. An individual's matrix is composed of such things as ethnic background, socialization, religious or philosophical values, and historical experiences. These

provide form with properties that respond to circumstances and play out in decision-making. Because a dominant two-party political system demands some centrist agreement to translate to influence over policy, individuals must find common factors from their matrix that will lead to agreement on issues. Absence of agreement leads to either division or nonparticipation. Combinations of factors in the matrix of many potential Iowa voters during the timeframe of this study resulted in nonparticipation in elections.

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