

A Place in the Sun:

Iowa Politics at the Turn of the Century

by Loren N. Horton

Historians of the American past have created a whole series of period titles for segments of our history. Most eras have presented them with few difficulties. We can all understand the era of the American Revolution, of the new nation, of the early national period, of the Civil War, and of Reconstruction without much trouble. After 1876 periodization becomes less clear, however. The periods themselves become less capable of offering meaning to people in search of generalizations. For example, the period after 1876 has been called "The Gilded Age" by political historians; it has been subsumed under the title of "The Industrial Revolution" by economic historians; social historians have sometimes referred to it as "The Victorian Period" in American history; and not a few Marxist historians have labeled it "The Age of Imperialism." By the time one reaches the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century the problems of periodization become even more complex. Tags such as populism and progressivism are applied to the years around the turn of the century and the problems of definition are superimposed upon the difficulties created by the lack of distinctness in pointing to the beginnings and endings of the periods.

However difficult the years at the conclusion of the nineteenth century have proven for historians, it must be admitted that the United States was then undergoing some significant changes in both its internal affairs and its rela-

tions with other nations of the world. It was in the process of becoming a highly industrialized nation. Perhaps, as historian Frederick Jackson Turner observed in 1893, an era had ended with the closing of the frontier. In any case, it could not be doubted that for the majority of the citizens of this country life in 1900 was different than it had been at the close of the Civil War.

Material life had been altered by the Industrial Revolution in both the rural and urban sectors of the nation. Mechanization in the countryside meant an increased sophistication and complexity of farm implements and, consequently, a more efficient exploitation of the land. Laborsaving devices such as the windmill, barbed wire, cream separator, corn sheller, and telephone provided leisure time and such new practices as the mail order catalog and rural free delivery allowed urban fads and fashions to penetrate the countryside. The enormous immigration from Europe increased urban populations, created larger pools of labor, and provided for increased production of consumer goods. But one must be careful with such generalizations. Perhaps a look at a few numbers might help create an image of America in 1900 or 1910 indicative of the kind of transitions taking place in society at the turn of the century. Between 1890 and 1910 the population of the country increased from more than 62,000,000 to almost 92,000,000. Even as late as 1910 rural population still exceeded urban population. Immigrants entered the country in great numbers during the period, their num-



President Taft as a breakfast guest of Albert Baird Cummins in 1909, flanked by members of the Iowa delegation. From left to right: John A. T. Hull, Jonathan P. Dolliver, William Howard Taft, Albert Baird Cummins, Beryl F. Carroll, and Gilbert N. Haugen. (SHSI)

bers reaching more than one million in 1910. Between 1900 and 1910, in reaction to conditions in the newly industrialized sector of the economy, labor union membership almost tripled.

Between 1890 and 1910 the number of high school graduates per year in this country quadrupled, the number of bachelor of arts degrees granted by institutions of higher learning increased two-and-a-half times, and faculty members in such institutions increased their numbers by two-and-a-half times. In the same period the farm population in this country increased from 25,000,000 to a bit over 32,000,000 even as the farm population fell from over 40% to less than 35% of the country's total population. Productivity increased in all sorts of areas in the years under study, in corn

production, in petroleum production, in coal production, in iron ore production, and certainly in such new areas as the production of motor cars — from 4,100 in 1900 to 181,000 in 1910. But other things went up as well; fatalities in the coal mines increased from 733 in 1890 to 2,821 in 1910.

The years from 1890 to 1910 were clearly a time of transition in American history: the nation was growing in most areas, booming in some areas, and changing noticeably in many, many ways. By 1900 most physical reminders of the Civil War had faded away. Jefferson Davis had been dead for eleven years, and though the "bloody shirt" was still occasionally waved, the nation faced more important challenges and had to deal with more important issues. Those issues included the organization

of labor, questions of temperance, the consolidation of rural school districts, the creation of a hard-surfaced road system, the regulation of vast portions of American business, and the problems arising from the rapid and unplanned growth of so many of the country's urban areas. The issues were not entirely new to the nation but as sides were taken and solutions were offered it became apparent that the debates about the direction in which this country would go would be heated, and carried on by strongly committed individuals.

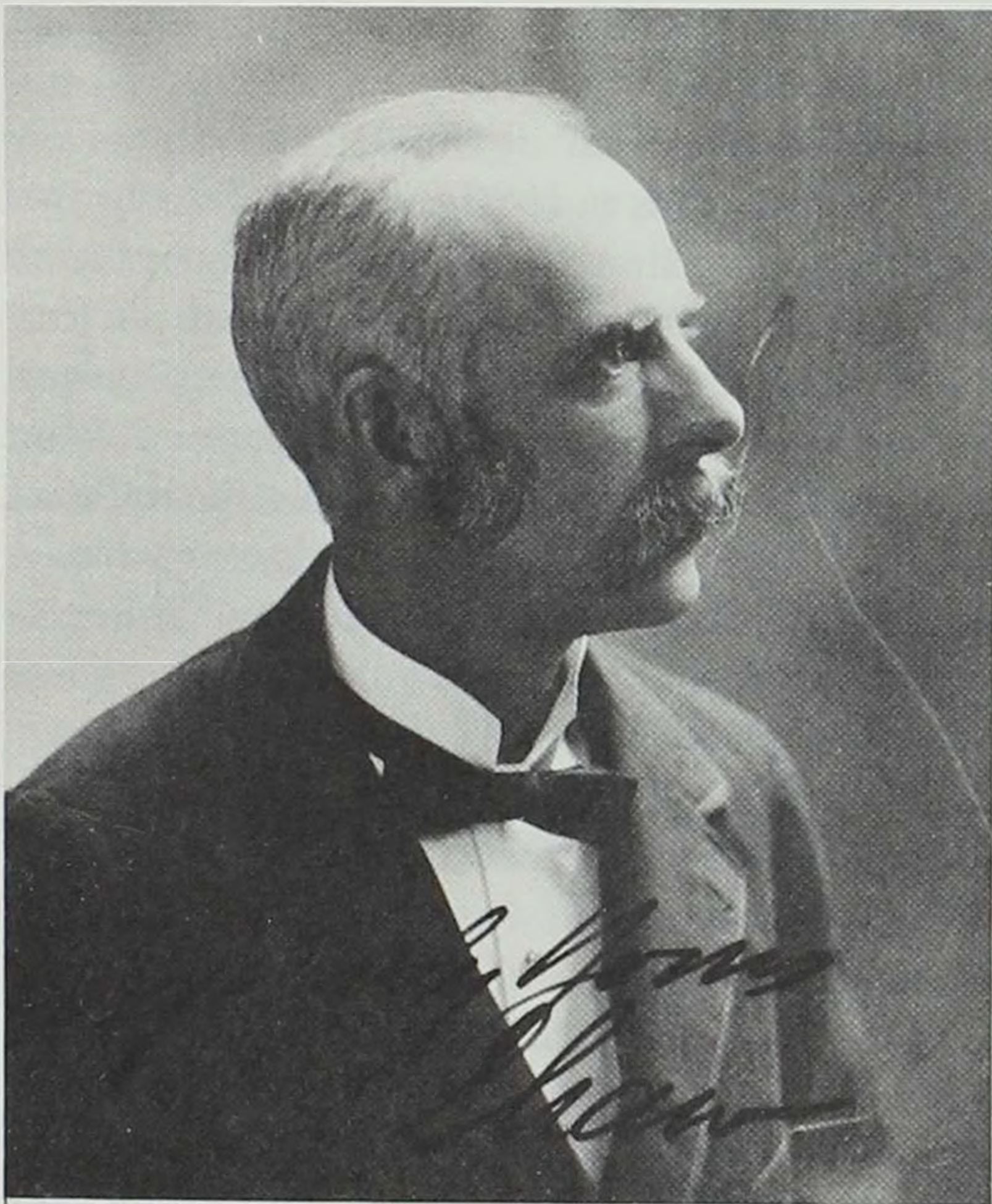
It is a matter of importance to Iowans, therefore, that at this particular moment the power or clout of the state's political leaders reached levels never before achieved in the half-century since statehood. One might well doubt whether Iowa politicians in Washington ever exercised such collective power in any subsequent period of time. In the years between 1890 and 1910 Iowa was represented in the United States Senate by such men as William Boyd Allison, whose tenure in that body lasted from 1873 to 1908, by Jonathan P. Dolliver and Albert Baird Cummins, both of whom gained national attention in much shorter periods of time. In the House of Representatives, David B. Henderson of Dubuque, who was first elected to the House in 1883, became Speaker in 1899. He was the first man from a state west of the Mississippi River and the only Iowan ever to hold that position. Other Iowa figures of importance in the House of Representatives included William Peters Hepburn of Clarinda, a man perhaps most associated with the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Hepburn Act relating to strengthening the Interstate Commerce Commission, Gilbert N. Haugen of Northwood, who was ultimately to have the longest consecutive career in Congress of any Iowan except Allison, and Robert Gordon Cousins of Tipton, who, with Dolliver and Hepburn, is remembered for his oratorical powers.

It was a time, incidentally, when oratorical skills were valued in the highest degree. Cousins' reputation was based largely on two speeches delivered in 1898 and 1904. In the first speech, delivered in the House of Representatives in a debate over aid for those who had lost relatives on the *Maine*, Cousins unleashed a cascade of words and phrases which gave him a moment of fame denied to most congressmen. He said, in part,

No foe had ever challenged them. The world can never know how brave they were. They never knew defeat; they never shall. While at their posts of duty sleep lured them into the abyss; then death unlocked their slumbering eyes but for an instant to behold its dreadful carnival, most of them just when life was full of hope and all its tides were at their highest, grandest flow; just when the early



Robert Gordon Cousins, an orator whose voice could "reach up, and with perfect ease, touch the throne of God." (SHSI)



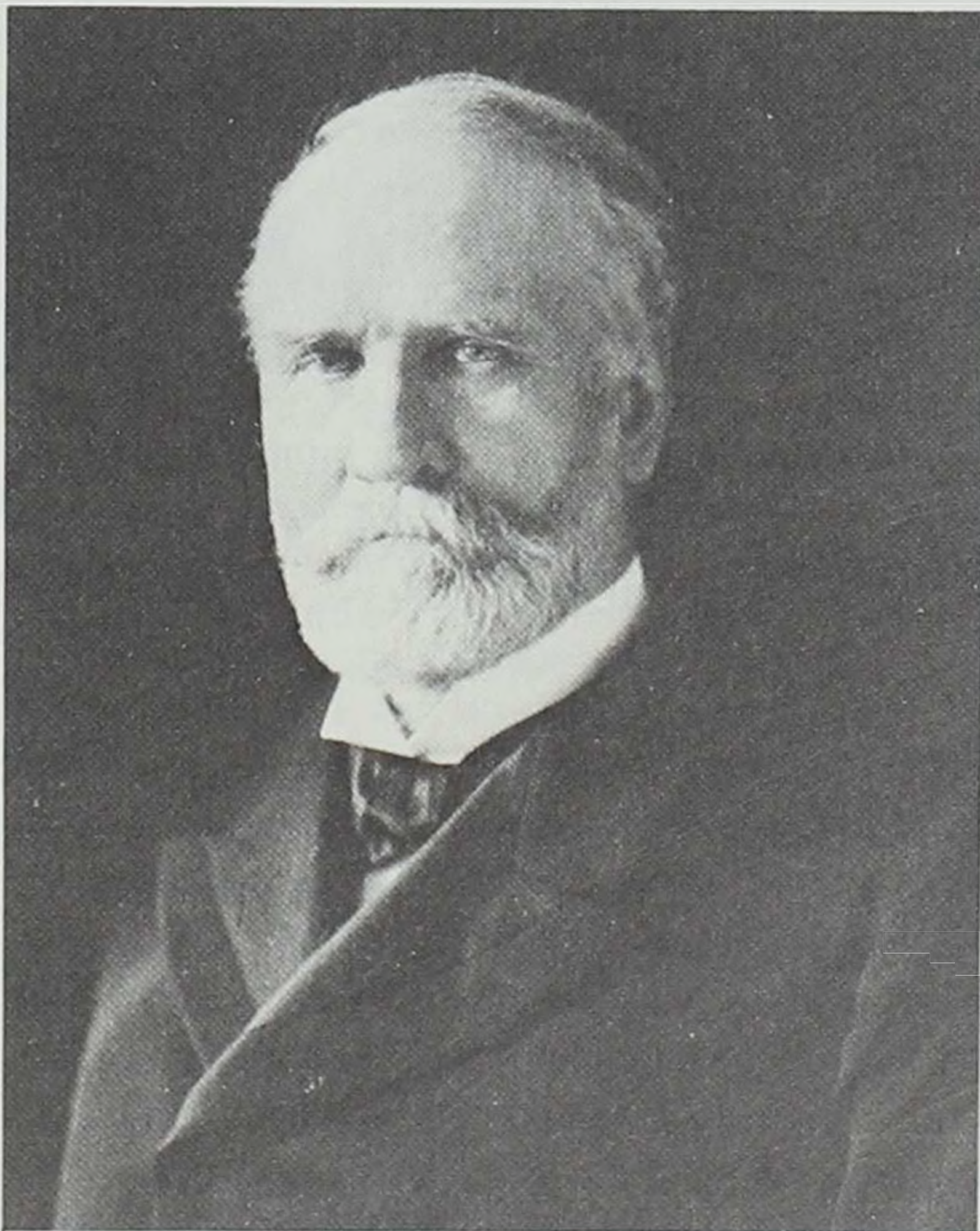
Leslie M. Shaw, who made a vivid impression on Theodore Roosevelt during Roosevelt's 1900 campaign for the vice-presidency: "I stood there for two hours, wedged into a crowd, and listened to [Shaw] make such a speech on fiscal matters as I had never heard before, and I made up my mind right then and there that if I were ever president of the United States, I would have that man as my secretary of the treasury." (SHSI)

sunbeams were falling on the steeps of fame and flooding all life's landscape far out into the dreamy, distant horizon; just at that age when all the nymphs were making diadems and garlands, waving laurel wreaths before the eyes of young and eager nature—just then, when death seemed most unnatural.

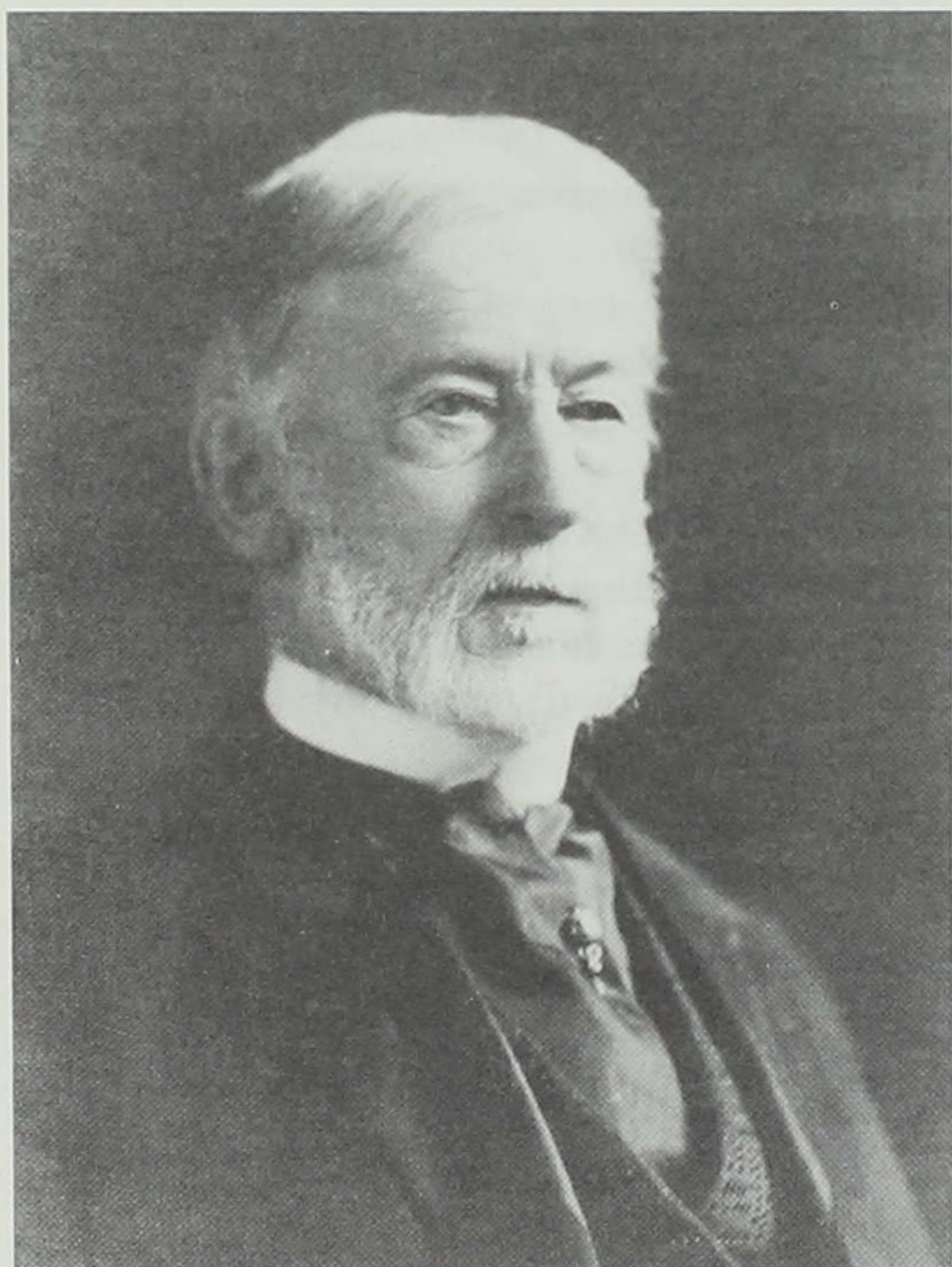
An age which could be swayed by Bryan's flights on the "Cross of Gold" or Beveridge's turns upon the great questions of imperial destiny found Robert G. Cousins a worthy orator indeed. So much so that Cousins was selected as the keynote speaker at the Republican National Convention of 1904.

But Iowans were not only to be found in positions of power in the United States Congress in this period. In two cases they occupied important cabinet positions. Leslie M. Shaw of Denison, former governor of Iowa, was appointed secretary of the treasury by Theodore Roosevelt. It has been said that Shaw's oratory made a tremendous impression on Roosevelt in a speech he delivered in the Dakotas in 1900 while they were on the campaign trail together. Shaw began his oratorical (and political) career with a speech designed as a carefully worked out rebuttal to Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech.

In addition to Shaw as secretary of the treasury, executive appointments included that of



James "Tama Jim" Wilson, who believed that "by increasing the yield of produce per acre, by improving the methods of stock raising, by developing facilities for transportation, and by finding new markets, the farmers' income would be increased and this, in turn, would break the dull routine of the farm life, raise the standard of living, and create a new rural order." (SHSI)



John A. Kasson, perhaps the most conspicuous of Iowa's diplomats. "His work as minister was not the most difficult nor his tenure as head of legations the longest, but he was sent on many special missions, performed his duty with unusual ability, and his efforts were usually crowned with success." (SHSI)

James "Tama Jim" Wilson of Traer, who served as secretary of agriculture under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, setting an unparalleled record of sixteen years in a cabinet post. And finally, the most noted of the diplomatic appointments of Iowans at the time was that of John A. Kasson, a former six-term congressman and ambassador who was still serving in the State Department as a minister plenipotentiary and special commissioner.

There were others on the political scene from Iowa: Carrie Lane Chapman Catt, an Iowa schoolteacher and newspaper editor, who was elected president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1900; James

Baird Weaver of Bloomfield, a Civil War general, a three-term congressman, and twice candidate for president of the United States on third party tickets in 1880 and 1892. Surely one must also mention those figures who played prominent roles in national political parties without holding high public office, men such as James S. "Ret" Clarkson, newspaper editor and member of the Republican National Committee, or Grenville M. Dodge, railroad engineer, entrepreneur, and powerful in a variety of ways.

* * *

Iowa was still very much a stronghold of Republicanism in 1900. It had been Republican since the 1850s, when James Grimes, James Harlan, and Samuel Jordan Kirkwood organized the new party in the state. After the Civil War their party, along with the Grand Army of the Republic and the railroads, marched arm in arm from one political victory to another. But the very dominance of the Republican party in Iowa virtually insured that the leadership would be occasionally challenged from within, that the party would not be without division, and that differences on certain issues would strain and tear at the party's strength. Aberrations appeared such as William Larrabee, who was a Republican but who believed it necessary to have some restrictions on the power of the railroads. He worked for that end even after being elected governor of Iowa as a Republican. Horace Boies went even further in terms of aberrant behavior when he left the Republican party after differing with the majority on the prohibition issue. He became a Democrat, ran successfully for governor as such, negating Jonathan P. Dolliver's witticism that Iowa would go Democrat when Hell went Methodist. But Horace Boies was the only Democrat to serve as governor of the state between 1856 and 1932 and in that same time period there was only one Democratic senator from the

state. Republican domination still describes the period.

The division of Republicans within the framework of the Iowa party was to be increasingly felt in the national scene at the turn of the century. As the issues of the day began to center on the role and size of government in society, the national (as well as the state) party seemed to polarize around leaders who represented a philosophy which one might call "standpattism" and leaders who represented something which one might call "progressivism". It should be noted that Iowa's national leaders in the Republican ranks contained elements of both wings and Iowa's standpatters and progressives equally attained a certain notoriety in Washington.

William Boyd Allison was undoubtedly the most powerful figure from Iowa at the turn of the century and was a prime representative of that school which wanted to hold fast to the world as it had been (or perhaps as it was). He had been in the Senate since 1873. He had served on such major committees as Finance, Appropriations, and the Committee on Committees. By 1896 he had become chairman of the Committee on Finance, and in 1897 he was made chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Additionally, he was chairman of the Republican caucus and chairman of the Republican party steering committee. In the early years of the Roosevelt administration he joined forces with Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, and Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island to form the "Big Four" in the United States Senate. Since there was a much closer tie between powerful senators and representatives from their home states than there is today perhaps, one might suggest that the Big Four were really the controllers of congressional destinies in a major fashion. What they disapproved of had little chance of becoming law; what they jointly favored had every chance of becoming law. A biographer of

Aldrich, Nathaniel Stephenson, once summed up their individual contributions to the united power of the quartet by suggesting that Senator Spooner was a legalist, that Mr. Platt was a shrewd and scrupulously honest New Englander, that Mr. Aldrich had a superb talent for administration and for producing results, and that Senator Allison was a man of practicality. Allison was the man Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas once described as "so pussy-footed he could walk from New York to San Francisco on the keys of a piano and never strike a note." Most contemporaries described him more flatteringly but the image was much the same. He was a hard man to pin down; he was a compromiser; and he was a temporizer.

Consequently he is often credited with exercising a moderating influence on the tariff policy of his party. His attitude toward the monetary policies of the day was one of vacillation: in the early 1890s he had weakly favored bimetallism; by 1900 he was supporting the gold standard. Although he didn't dabble much in matters of foreign policy, he began as an anti-expansionist and opposed the decision to intervene in Cuba. After America's declaration of war on Spain, however, he used his power as chairman of the Appropriations Committee to see that the war was adequately funded.

Allison narrowly missed being nominated for president in 1888, when he was blocked by Chauncey Depew of New York because he came from Iowa, a state out of favor with Depew because it had passed legislation regulating railroad rates. Later, Allison was a candidate for the presidential nomination in 1896, and in 1900 there was a possibility of a nomination as vice-president, but by that time he had come to enjoy his role as an elder statesman in the Senate. He probably wielded as much power at the time as most presidents. He had been offered high cabinet posts at various times in his long political career but always he had turned them down. Through sheer

seniority and ability Allison had gained a position of respect and power in the land. Many men owed their own positions to his support; others he had thwarted. Some men he had ignored. Ultimately there would be ambitious younger men who would covet his position and his power. By 1900 some were even toying with the idea of challenging him for his Senate seat. It was a time when Allison was at the peak of his power and it was equally a time when he was growing visibly old.

David B. Henderson's election as Speaker of the House was a triumph for Allison and his forces in 1899. Colonel Henderson is a very

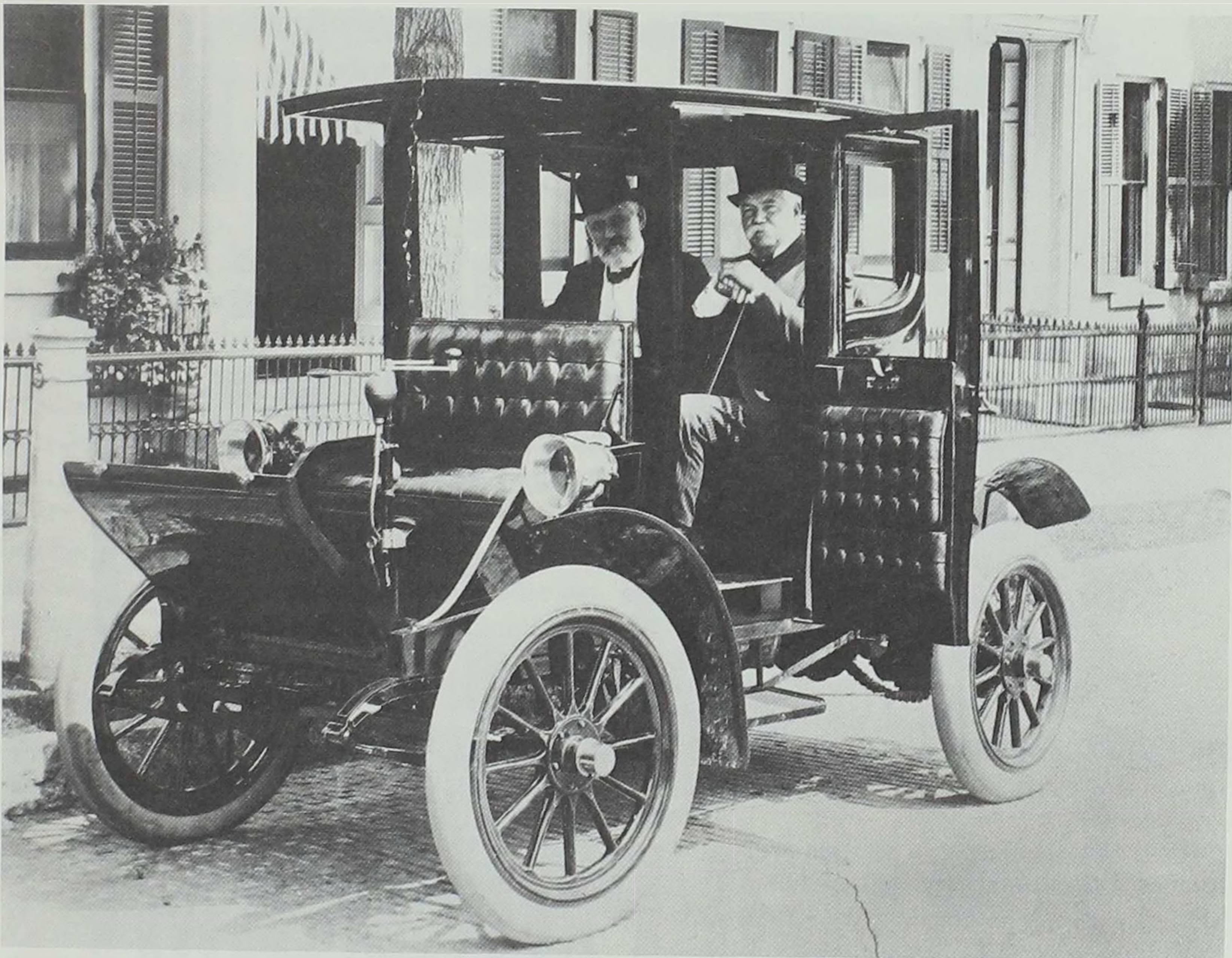


David B. Henderson, Speaker of the House of Representatives from 1899 to 1902. (SHSI)

hard man to assess. First elected to the House in 1882, he was a man of fairly strong beliefs. Having lost a foot in the Civil War, Henderson was a great supporter of military pensions, was opposed to prohibition, favored a high tariff, and was an anti-imperialist. Eventually, he retired from politics in the face of mounting opposition within the Republican party itself to the tariff policies he had so long supported. Henderson was Speaker for only four years and one feels they were not happy years for him.

Allison's supporters were many, including people like Robert G. Cousins in the House and Jonathan P. Dolliver, his colleague in the Senate who was named to the seat after the death of Senator John H. Gear in 1900. It was shortly after this that President McKinley was assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt became president. Almost immediately Roosevelt turned to the Congress to build a support base for himself. Being a sensible man, he turned to Allison and the others of the Big Four. He also utilized Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts and Eugene Hale of Maine in addition to the newly chosen Dolliver of Iowa. In the House he found a coterie of Allison men on whom he could rely. Chief among them was Colonel Henderson, the Speaker, but there was also John A.T. Hull, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, William P. Hepburn, chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, John F. Lacey, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and Robert G. Cousins, chairman of the Expenditures in the Treasury Department Committee. The president seemed to get along with the Iowans in Congress. He retained "Tama Jim" Wilson as secretary of agriculture, and later appointed former Iowa Governor Shaw as his secretary of the treasury. Perhaps this point marked Iowa's greatest moment in terms of national political power.

And it looked as though it might go on for a long time. Consider the case of Jonathan



William Boyd Allison and David B. Henderson. (SHSI)

Prentiss Dolliver. He had first been elected to Congress in 1888, but had previously made a name for himself as a brilliant orator. His services during the campaign of 1884 had made his name known in the East, particularly among Republican party workers. In the House of Representatives he served on the Naval Affairs Committee and the Ways and Means Committee. He was chairman of a subcommittee that drafted part of the Dingley Tariff Bill in 1897 and showed himself to be pro-tariff but an advocate of reciprocity. Dolliver favored a strong navy but was slow to back imperialist policies. He voted for war in 1898, however.

As he came under the influence of Theodore Roosevelt after the turn of the century, Dolliver gradually came to speak in support of

policies of imperialism, eventually speaking up for Roosevelt at the time of U.S. intervention in Panama.

Dolliver was a curious figure in terms of both state and national politics. He is often described by historians as a progressive senator but there are problems with such a description. He supported many of the positions of the standpatters and was loyal to his political mentor, William Boyd Allison. He seemed to have considered the Progressive movement in Iowa as based on personal ambitions and political rivalries rather than on any thoroughgoing commitment to principles. Dolliver did not favor such measures as the initiative, referendum, or recall, but he was a great supporter of education and equal rights for women. The

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1776



1901

GRAND PROGRAM

of Independence Day Events. The Brightest and Best City in Iowa extends an invitation to everybody to spend a Happy National Holiday within her gates. The People will be addressed by the Peerless Orator and Statesman, Senator

J.P. DOLLIVER

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Greatest ever seen in Northern Iowa. Giants of the Diamond on every base and in every position * * * * *

DAYLIGHT FIREWORKS

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Racing Balloons

Monster Flying Machines guided by daring atmospheric navigators in a marvelous race among the clouds * -

Pain's Fireworks in Evening

A grandly Brilliant and Costly Spectacle. The most gorgeous illumination yet seen in Northern Iowa * -

PATRIOTIC MUSIC BY MANY BANDS

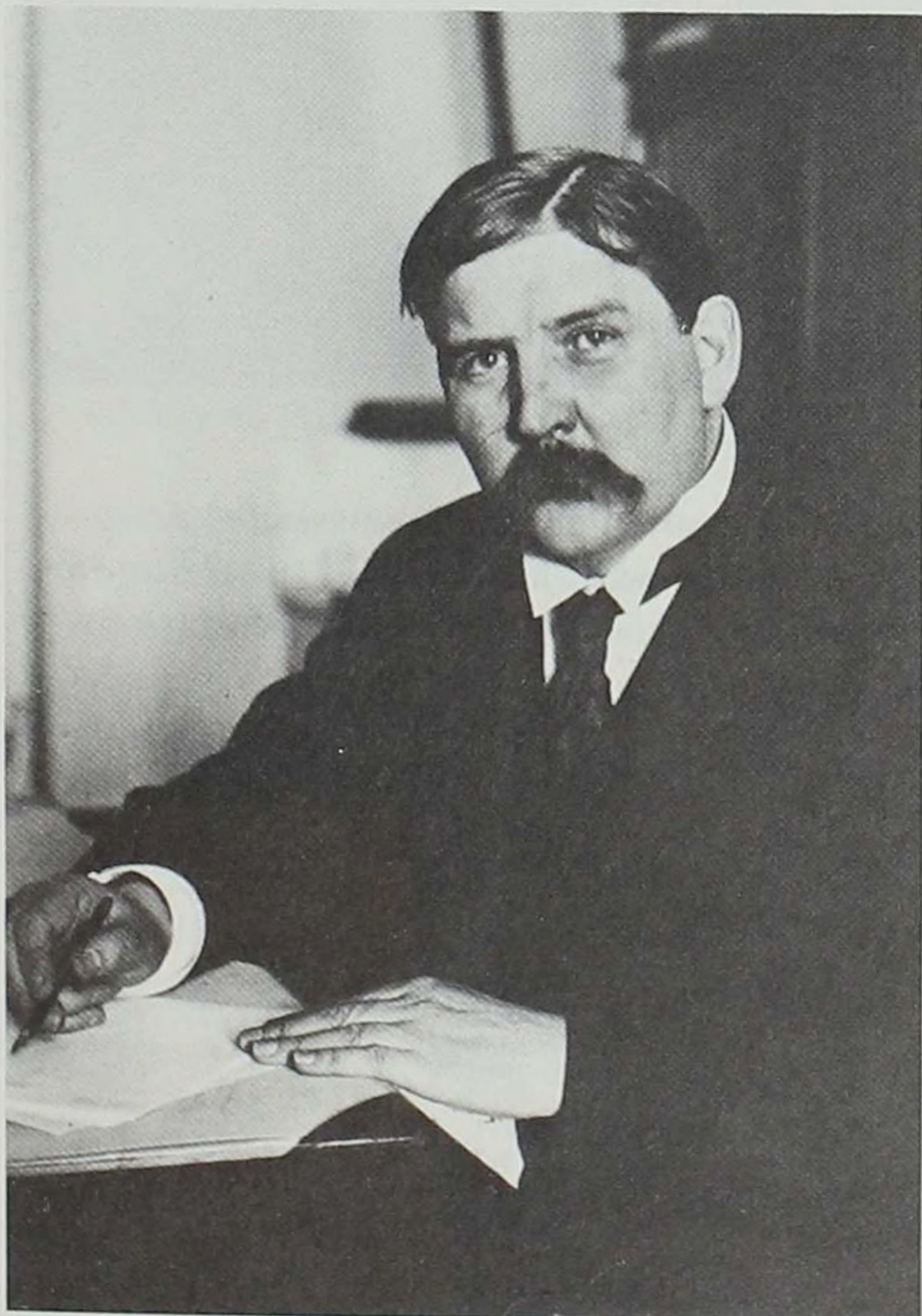
Automobile Races a novelty in Racing annals. Come and see the horseless carriage show its speed

ALL RAILROADS WILL GIVE REDUCED RATES.

EVERYBODY INVITED=COME

most famous issue with which he was involved in the Senate was the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, but he also backed construction of dams and storage reservoirs along the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

Equally difficult to assess in terms of political philosophy as translated into political activity in the Congress was William Peters Hepburn. Hepburn was a believer in bimetallism, he was an imperialist of the most extreme kind, he was opposed to the establishment of a federal civil service system, he favored the Chinese exclusion policy, and called for a wholly American-owned and operated canal in Nicaragua or Costa Rica if not Panama. He was responsible in a major way for the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act, however, and a bill that bore his name, the Hepburn Act, strengthened the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and increased railroad regulation.



Jonathan P. Dolliver in 1906. (SHSI)



Senator Dolliver campaigning at LeMars, Iowa. (SHSI)

But if Dolliver and Hepburn tended toward a freedom of spirit which allowed them to play at both standpattism and progressivism, there were others on the scene who were intent on splitting the Republican party into wings identifiable as conservative and liberal. Positions and beliefs might have been blurred at times, but it is safe to say that Senator Allison was the acknowledged leader of the conservative faction of the party in Iowa and one of the leaders of that faction of the party nationally. His rival in Iowa in the last years of his life was acknowledged to be Albert Baird Cummins. Their rivalry colored the first years of the twentieth century in Iowa politics, and that rivalry had repercussions on the national scene as well. Ranged behind Allison early on in the struggle were such as Dolliver, Grenville M. Dodge, James "Ret" Clarkson, Henderson, Shaw, and most of the congressional delegation from Iowa. Cummins was supported by such as

Frederick M. Hubbell, Fred Maytag, Nathan E. Kendall, and others who favored such things as lower tariff rates, reciprocity in trade, curbs on the trusts, and greater regulation of the railroads, the grain companies, the insurance companies, the meat packers, and the stock exchanges. Such people often wanted to clean up city governments. They tended to favor the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, the recall, and the direct election of United States senators. They seemed to believe the public interest was not served by keeping things as they were, and they tended to equate change with progress. Allison's conservative forces tended to move a bit more slowly. They were basically opposed to change and certainly opposed to radical change.

Albert Cummins was a man of consummate ambition. From a very early moment he had hoped to become a United States senator from Iowa. He was disappointed when he did not make it in 1894, he was doubly disappointed in 1900, and in 1901 he struck for the governorship. The state Republican convention that year was held in Cedar Rapids and Cummins dominated it. He won the nomination for governor and he had a plank written into the platform which indicated the party's hopes for liberalization of trade relations between this country and others. That platform included the following ideas:

We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities.

Or again:

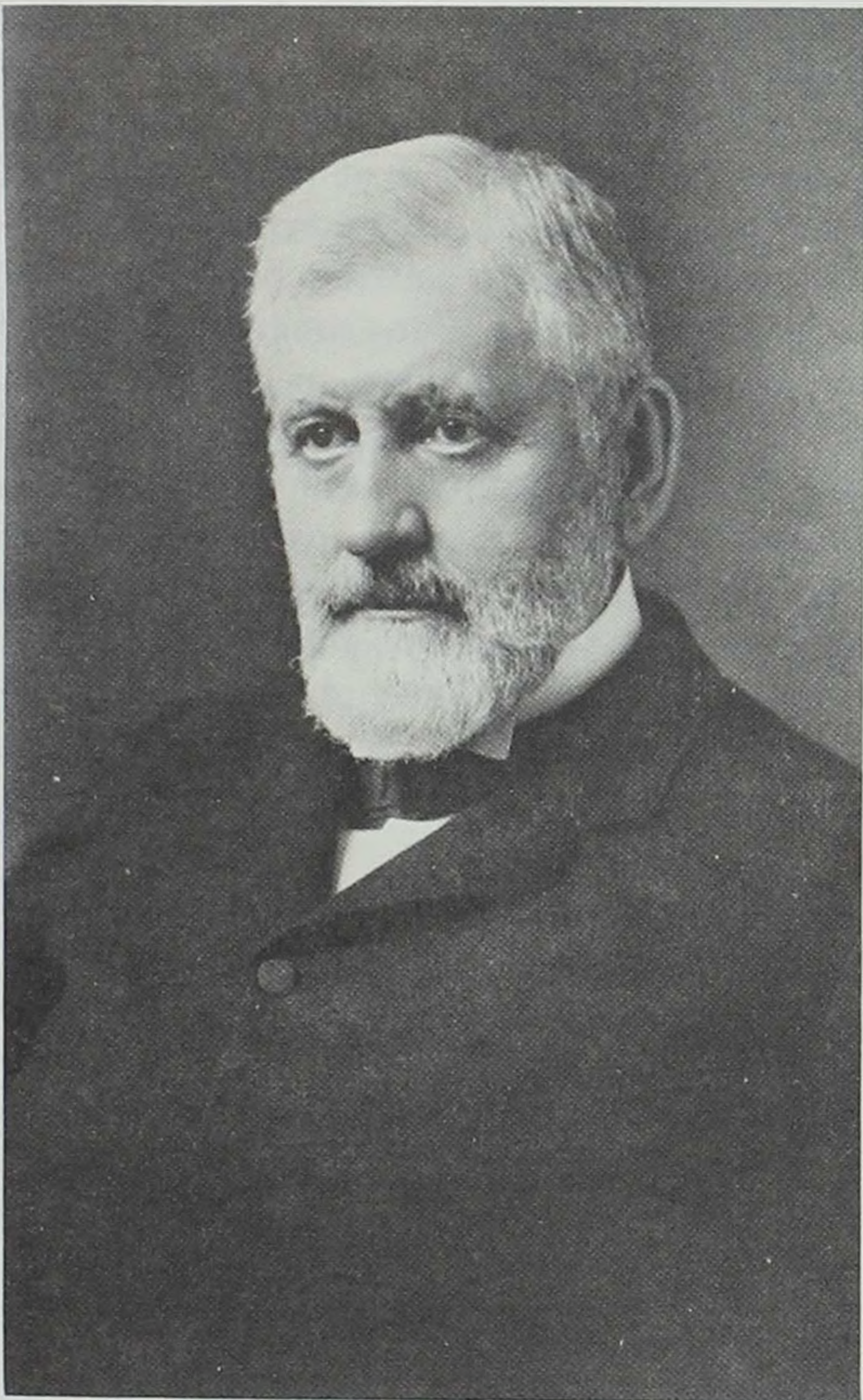
That we assert the sovereignty of the



Albert Baird Cummins. (ISHD, Des Moines)

people over all corporations and aggregations of capital and the right residing in the people to enforce such regulations, restrictions or prohibitions upon corporate management as will protect the individual and society from abuse of the power which great combinations of capital wield.

It was a wedge, a small hint of new directions that the Republican party might be forced into by new and less conservative leaders. Cummins won a smashing victory in the general election. In the ensuing legislative session of 1902 both Allison and Dolliver were re-elected to the Senate. At this time Dolliver endorsed



William Boyd Allison. (ISHD, Des Moines)

the tariff reform ideas as laid down in his party's state platform. Cummins was now prepared to fight major battles. In a speech in 1902 he said:

Protection is the essential principle of republicanism; but competition is the eternal law of industrial life. We should and will enforce both; but if temporarily wealth ignores the latter and erects itself into a monopoly, then the consumer has a better right to competition than the producer has to protection. Competition we must have; that of the Republic if possible; that of the World if necessary.

And by 1902 things were happening that were troublesome to the supporters of the sta-

tus quo. The Clarkson family sold the *Des Moines Register and Leader*. The 1902 Republican party platform repeated the reform clauses of 1901 and the so-called "Iowa Idea" began to be discussed throughout the land. As we have noted, Colonel Henderson decided not to run for re-election. The prominence of Iowans in national politics began to decline, at least in terms of the standpatters.

The breach between progressives and conservatives grew wider and more public. Allison helped to arrange a compromise in the platform of 1903, and congratulated Cummins on his re-election in that year, but the Allison forces suffered a serious setback when the *Des Moines Register and Leader* was purchased by Harvey Ingham and Gardner Cowles who soon made it clear that they were staunch supporters of the governor.

The struggle to move the Hepburn Bill through Congress began in 1904. It was designed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission greater powers to regulate carriers and eliminate rate abuses. The struggle was long and hard, occasioning massive battles between conservative and progressive Republicans. Allison, in the midst of the fight, managed to effect one of his last great compromise amendments which allowed the factions to end the struggle and pass the bill. The fight had gone on for over two years.

Cummins won an unprecedented third consecutive term as governor of Iowa in 1906 and in the two years which followed he pushed for the popular election of U.S. senators. It was a progressive proposal and a slap at the senior senator from Iowa. When Congress adjourned on 4 March 1907 William Boyd Allison was nearing his seventy-eighth birthday. The time was approaching when he would have to decide whether to seek a seventh term. It was a difficult decision for him to make. His health was not good but, finally, on 26 August 1907, he officially announced that he would be a candi-

date for re-election. He would be running in the first direct primary ever to be held in Iowa. His opponent would be Albert Baird Cummins, who announced his intention of running for the Senate seat on 16 December 1907. It was a vicious campaign which Allison basically conducted from Dubuque while Dolliver, the great orator, stumped the state on his behalf.

The haranguing of the politicians went on until the day of the primary, 2 June 1908. On that day Allison won a victory by a vote of 105,891 to 95,256. No doubt the greatness and familiarity of his name helped his cause. There were middle-aged men who could not recall a time when Allison had not been serving Iowa in

Congress. After all, he had first been elected to the House in 1862. But Allison was not alone in his victory. The forces of conservatism brought primary victories for B.F. Carroll, candidate for governor, and for nine conservatives running in Iowa's eleven congressional districts.

Allison did not have long to savor his victory for he died at his home in Dubuque on 4 August 1908, just two months after the primary. Governor Cummins called a special session of the legislature on 25 August to deal with the vacant Senate seat, but there was no majority, so the seat lay vacant until a preferential primary was held in November, which Cummins won by a 42,000 vote majority. The legis-

J.N. "Ding" Darling, editorial cartoonist for the Des Moines Register and Leader, captured the mood of uncertainty about how Iowa's 1907 direct primary law would affect the outcome of the June 1908 senatorial elections. The new law replaced the old system of legislative election of senators. For Allison, it was the only statewide popular election he ever participated in, and the heated Allison-Cummins struggle made the new law's debut of special interest to all Iowans.



lature then reconvened, elected Cummins to fill the unexpired term, and, later, in January 1909, the legislature elected Cummins to fill a full six-year term as senator from Iowa. Cummins thus joined Dolliver in the Senate, and Iowa continued to be represented by two gentlemen with fairly impressive national reputations. Such was not to be the case for long, however, for Jonathan P. Dolliver died suddenly on 10 October 1910. The party fell into disarray but still managed to retain its hold upon the political scene in Iowa thereafter, even without the great leadership or strong candidates which had been so characteristic of the years between 1890 and 1910.

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Iowans have not been quite so prominent nor quite so visible on the national political scene since that glorious time of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Perhaps one might suggest that the power of the Iowans came at a crucial moment in the nation's history, a moment when the new issues of modern America were beginning to shake the dominant party's dominant philosophy. One might further suggest that Iowa's one-party system had created the terms of division and debate which focused on some of those very issues. The great agrarian heartland could well contribute leaders to those factions which would not change

and could equally contribute leaders to those factions which demanded change. After 1910 or thereabouts, however, the changes in America continued in even more rapid fashion. Progressive Iowans, such as Albert Baird Cummins, sank back into a kind of old-style conservatism which may have been heartening to their constituents but was hardly capable of creating much excitement in the country at large. One might almost suggest that the nation, after its moment of crucial transition at the turn of the century, continued to grow, continued to develop new technologies, continued in its "progressive" ways, while Iowa continued to rest on its agrarian heritage and ceased to offer much for those on the cutting-edge of national decision making, at least until the New Deal of the 1930s. □

Note on Sources

Many articles in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, the *Annals of Iowa*, and the *Palimpsest* focus on this time period of our state's history, and the prominent people of this period. These articles were consulted. Useful biographies of William Boyd Allison, Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver, and Robert Gordon Cousins, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, provided detailed information about the political careers of these men and their colleagues. Many newspapers were consulted to gain specific information about campaigns and elections. The *Des Moines Register and Leader* was particularly helpful in this regard. George F. Hoar's article in an 1899 issue of *Scribner's Magazine* contained a superb description of Allison's 1888 presidential bid.