

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MID-
AMERICA: PRESIDENTIAL VOTING
IN MISSOURI, 1928 AND 1960

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As one of the oldest academic disciplines, political science traces its lineage back to such venerable "fathers" as Plato and Aristotle who studied the political life of the Greek City State in the fifth century before the birth of Christ. Like most disciplines, it has been related to, and drawn upon, other fields of inquiry. Traditionally, political science has been closely allied to philosophy, a development epitomized by Plato's inquiry into the "ideal" state (ruled by a "philosopher king"), designed to bring justice and truth into Greek life and society. This concern with normative values, with what the state "ought" to do and be, was carried forward by political philosophers and theorists like St. Augustine in the Middle Ages and statesman-pundit Edmund Burke, who defended conservative traditional values in eighteenth century Britain. At the same time, the standard approach to the study of such masters, namely, a chronological analysis of not only their works, but also of the time in which they lived and wrote, has linked political science to history. Also, a concern for the formal structure of government and of the legal rules of society tended to wed the field to public law, a development reflected in the joint academic departments and chairs which still persist in some universities today, particularly on the European continent.

However, beginning in the late 1920's and early 1930's, a number of younger political scientists became dissatisfied with this traditional orientation of the discipline and began to explore new approaches to the field. One significant change was a move away from a concern with what the state "ought" to do or be, to an analysis of the way the political process actually works, as signified by Professor Lasswell's classic definition of politics as the study of "who gets what, when and how."¹ Implicit in this development was the desire to broaden the horizons of political science beyond the formal structure of government to the entire process, informal as well as formal, by which groups and individuals attempt to influence governmental decisions. Also related to this general approach was a concern with the way the social and economic environment shapes the character of the political system, together with the attitudes of individuals and groups participating in it.

Political scientists interested in this development grew rapidly in numbers in the period following World War II until they constituted a new "school" in the discipline known as "behavioralists," as contrasted to the "traditionalists" in the profession. While, as suggested above, the latter group found its most congenial academic brethren among philosophers, historians and students of public law, the new breed of political scientists sought out sociologists, psychologists, social psychologists and some economists as confreres in the behavioral sciences.² Certainly the two schools are not mutually exclusive, and many scholars span both groups (for example, some "behavioralists" are beginning to place their election analyses within a historical framework),³ but it is fair to say that followers of the two approaches emphasize essentially different aspects of the study of political science.⁴

With the change in subject matter of political science has also come a change in methodology. While the traditionalists have depended for the most part upon intuitive and impressionistic insights in developing their ideas, the behavioralists have insisted that more rigorous methods of inquiry be employed. They have sought to emphasize the "science" part of political science by developing generalizations and hypotheses to be tested by empirical data. Thus the emphasis has shifted from normative or value theory about the way the political process should work to operational or empirical theory about the way it actually does work.

One of the facets of this new trend toward emphasizing the science in political science has been a concern with developing more precision in stating relationships among factors in the political process. Whenever possible, the political scientist of the new school has sought to state matters in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. While much of the data of the field is not subject to this kind of treatment, voting results are numerical in character and thus may be analyzed quantitatively. In fact, it was in the field of voting analysis that the behavioral approach made its earliest impact,⁵ and for a number of years most of the behavioralists worked in that area. Today, however, behavioralism is an approach which is applied in a number of subject matter areas of the discipline.⁶

With this background in mind, this particular paper was developed to acquaint persons in other disciplines with the kind of general questions in which political scientists are interested today and the way they go about finding the answers to such questions. It was felt that a case study would help to illustrate these matters better than a general abstract discussion of them, and would also help to point up the difficulties and limitations, as well as the advantages, involved in a "scientific" approach to the study of political matters.

The general subject of the paper, as the title indicates, is the relationship of religion to Presidential politics. Despite the fact that the national Constitution contains a clause specifically forbidding the use of religion as a condition for the holding of public office,⁷ it is a political fact of life that certain "laws of natural selection" govern the selection of our Chief Executive, and that among the qualifications is that of the "Protestant talent."⁸ Put another way, others have suggested that an "unwritten law" has developed that prevents Catholics and Jews from being selected for our highest political office.⁹

The election of John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, to the Presidency by a razor-thin margin in 1960 calls for a reexamination of the effect of religious preference on Presidential politics.¹⁰ Some persons have concluded that Kennedy's success, as compared with Al Smith's failure in 1928, indicates that the American people have matured considerably in the intervening 32 years, and that the Catholic issue that has troubled the conscience of the nation for the last 170 years has at last been removed as a factor in Presidential elections. However, the research team of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan has come to the opposite conclusion, namely, that religion was the single most important issue in the 1960 campaign, and that "it would be naive to suppose a Catholic candidate no longer suffers any initial disadvantage before the American electorate as a result of his creed."¹¹ Their nation-wide analysis indicates that the religious issue was particularly salient in 1960 among Protestants who attend church regularly, and that such persons tend to be concentrated primarily in the South and to some extent in the Midwest as well.

The specific purpose of this paper is to attempt to determine how much of an influence religion played in the State of Missouri in the Presidential elections of 1928 and 1960 as compared with other factors present in those two campaigns. In many respects Missouri is an ideal state for such an analysis. Located in the Midwest, it is also a border state with ties to both the North and South. The extent of its Catholic population in both those years paralleled rather closely the religious composition of the nation at large. (In 1928 Missouri's population was about 14 per cent Catholic, while 12 per cent of all Americans were of that faith; in 1960 Catholics constituted about 15 per cent of the state's population and slightly under 20 per cent for the entire country.) Moreover, other factors which are reputed to have played a part in the 1928 and 1960 campaigns are reflected in the characteristics of the state. Thus Missouri has a considerable rural population, but also contains large urban centers like St. Louis and Kansas City. Likewise, the native-foreign issue of 1928, developed later in this paper, is also reflected in the diverse ethnic strains of the people of Missouri.

The general approach to determining the relevance of religion and other factors to the state's Presidential results in the two elections is sim-

ilar. The voting behavior of the 115 counties in Missouri is first examined, and is then related to certain characteristics of those counties which reflect some of the major issues of the two campaigns. The two elections, 1928 and 1960, are considered separately in the two sections of the paper that follow. The final portion of the study summarizes the findings with respect to the two elections and attempts to relate them to each other.

II

In determining the effect of the presence of Alfred E. Smith on the ballot in 1928, it is not sufficient merely to compare his vote with that which Hoover received. This would merely indicate how the Democratic party did in Missouri, not how Smith as an individual candidate fared. What is rather needed is a determination of how Smith did vis-à-vis other Democratic standard-bearers.

One measure of this question is how Smith's vote compared to that of Missouri's Democratic Congressional¹² candidates running that same year. The Democratic party carried only 6 of the state's 16 contests for the House of Representatives in 1928, so it is apparent that it was generally a Republican year as far as the Congressional scene was concerned. But a further analysis indicates that 13 of the 16 Democratic candidates for the House that year led Smith in terms of the percentage of the two-party vote received. Moreover, the combined vote for all Democratic House candidates in 1928 was almost 4 percentage points--47.9% to 44.1%--above Smith's proportion of the two-party vote. Thus Smith was not as strong a candidate for the Democrats that year as were most of his Congressional running-mates.

House races, however, often tend to turn upon local considerations, and a comparison of the Presidential and Senatorial contests is probably a better measure of the effect of Smith's candidacy on the fortunes of the Democratic party in Missouri in 1928. This is particularly true since the Democratic Senatorial candidate that year, Charles Hay, differed considerably from Smith on matters that were said to be influential in the Presidential voting. For example, he was a Methodist. Furthermore, as one observer put it, "Hay was so dry he was in danger of suffering from spontaneous combustion," whereas, as developed later in this paper, Smith was widely-known for his "wet" position on the Prohibition question.

A comparison of the Smith-Hay vote revealed a pattern similar to that of the Smith-House candidate elections. In fact, Hay's percentage of the two-party Senatorial vote was exactly the same as the aggregate vote of all the House of Representatives candidates, namely, 47.9%. Thus Smith trailed the Democratic Protestant Senatorial candidates by almost 4%. A county-by-county analysis revealed that Smith led Hay in only 7 of the state's 115 counties. Hay carried 14 counties that Smith lost, while Smith won only

one county that Hay did not. Thus Hay, the Democratic Senatorial candidate, clearly did better than Smith with the Missouri electorate in 1928.

Helpful as these comparisons of Congressional, Senatorial and Presidential voting are, they suffer from certain inadequacies, the major one being the fact that they are dependent upon split-ticket voting. In other words, under this approach, one can only detect a voter's attitude on Smith if he is willing to vote for different party candidates for different offices. As the above analysis indicates, a considerable number of voters were willing to do just that. However, it is possible that many voters were not, and let their Presidential candidate preferences govern their choice of party candidates for other offices as well. (For example, some traditional Democrats, opposed to Smith's candidacy, might well have voted for Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates as well.) This phenomenon, known as "Presidential coat tails," has been considered a matter of considerable consequence by some students of the subject.¹³

With this limitation in mind, another indication of the effect of Smith's presence on the ballot in 1928 was sought. It consists of a comparison of Smith's vote with that of John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate in the previous Presidential election. (Like Hay, Davis possessed certain characteristics, important to politics of the era, that set him off from Smith, namely, his Protestantism and the fact that he was not clearly identified as a wet.) Smith carried only 24 counties, while Davis had won twice that number four years before. However, the Smith vote was up 16% in St. Louis City over 1924, and on a state-wide basis he appears to have been a somewhat stronger candidate than Davis, drawing 44.1% of the total vote as compared with 43.8% for the Democratic Presidential standard-bearer in 1924.

However, a simple comparison of Smith's and Davis' percentages of the total vote in the two Presidential elections is misleading. In 1924, there was an important third party on the ballot, the La Follette Progressives, which drew about 6.5% of the state-wide vote. No minor party of importance appeared in 1928, so both Hoover and Smith stood to pick up votes that had gone to the Progressive candidate in 1924. Thus in comparing Smith's vote with Davis', it is also necessary to see how Hoover's compared to Coolidge's. The Missouri results showed that while Smith's per cent of the state-wide vote rose .3% over Davis', Hoover's exceeded Coolidge's by 6.1%. The net result is a 5.8% gain for Hoover over Smith. Computing a similar statistic for each of the state's 115 counties indicated that Hoover gained more than Smith in 104 of them.

The above analysis shows that whatever approach is used, Smith did not fare well as a candidate in Missouri in 1928. He trailed the Senatorial Democratic standard-bearer that year and most of the party's Congressional candidates. He failed to increase the party's percentage of the total

Presidential vote over 1924 as much as Hoover did the Republican vote of four years before.

It is difficult to determine which of the comparisons used is the best measure of the effect of Smith's presence on the ballot in 1928. Comparing the Smith-Hay vote has the virtue of holding the year, 1928, constant, but, as suggested above, it suffers from the split-ticket problem. It also involves voting for two different kinds of offices (the Presidency, a national one, the Senate, a state-oriented one) which may be based upon separate political alignments and elicit disparate responses from the voters. For these reasons, it is the author's opinion that the comparison of Smith's and Hoover's vote with that for Davis and Coolidge in 1924 better measures the effect of Smith's presence on the ballot in 1928. (Subsequently in this paper, this comparison will merely be referred to as the Smith or Hoover net gain.) This is particularly true since the third-party vote in 1924 appears not to have affected the Smith-Hoover race in 1928 in Missouri to any significant degree. Counties with a sizable vote for La Follette in 1924 do not appear to have given their electoral blessing clearly either to Smith or to Hoover.¹⁴ In other words, the La Follette vote appears to have been split fairly evenly between the two 1928 Presidential candidates. Thus the Smith and Hoover net gains must be attributable to other factors.

Having looked at the effect of the Smith candidacy in 1928, this analysis turns to a consideration of the factors which may have affected the election that year. These factors were gathered from various sources, the most important ones being biographical, historical and statistical analyses of the 1928 Presidential campaign.¹⁵ Although these sources differ somewhat on which of the various "issues" of the Smith-Hoover contest was the most important one,¹⁶ there is substantial agreement among them on the three or four major factors that affected voting patterns that year.

Of course, as the title of this paper implies, the religious issue was considered to be a highly important one. As the first member of the Roman Catholic faith to be considered seriously for the Presidency, Smith was destined to draw fire from opposing forces. A year and a half before the 1928 election, Charles C. Marshall, a New York attorney, challenged Smith's right to the Presidency in light of his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. (The challenge was published as an "open letter" in the April 1927 issue of the Atlantic Monthly with Smith replying in the following number of the magazine.) While there was little frank and open discussion of the religious issue in the campaign itself, neither Smith nor Hoover giving it any attention,¹⁷ the fact remains that many Protestant church leaders came out openly questioning the wisdom of electing a Catholic President. Moreover, Smith's selection of John J. Raskob, a prominent Catholic industrialist, as the Chairman of the Democratic National

Committee did much to focus additional public attention on the religious issue that year. Thus, whether overt, or as part of a general whispering campaign, the religious issue is generally considered to have been a major factor in the 1928 election.

Along with religion, Prohibition is generally thought by most observers to have been a salient issue in the 1928 campaign. As early as the 1920 Democratic convention, Smith locked horns with William Jennings Bryan over the liquor question, and it was one of the major factors dividing the McAdoo-Smith forces in the 1924 convention fight. The Democratic party platform in 1928 contained a plank which supported Prohibition rather weakly, but Smith in his telegram of acceptance to the convention stated that there should be some fundamental changes in the Prohibition laws, thus, in effect, rewriting the platform on that issue. The Anti Saloon League was active in the campaign against Smith, and the notorious Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, an Assistant Attorney General assigned to the Prohibition enforcement division, stumped the country, speaking primarily before Protestant church groups, opposing Smith on the liquor question.

Two other major issues in the campaign turned on geographical and social factors. Smith, a product of the sidewalks of New York City and the Fulton Fish Market, was prominently identified with the evils of big city life, specifically, Tammany Hall. Thus a cleavage developed between the Puritanical rural community led by such famous Americans as Kansan William Allen White and the urban element of America which Smith embodied. Associated with this division was the native-foreign stock dichotomy, with Smith, a first-generation American, being strongly identified with the recent immigrant class in the nation.

The four major factors of the 1928 campaign having been determined, the next process is one of converting these factors into measurable characteristics of the various counties in Missouri for the purpose of relating them to the county-by-county vote. This was accomplished primarily through the use of Census data. Thus the urban-rural factor is reflected in the percentage of each county's 1930 population which resides in urban communities, defined by the Census Bureau as ones with over 2,500 persons. Similarly, the foreign stock composition of the population, that is, the proportion of persons either foreign born, or born in the United States of at least one foreign parent, helps categorize the counties on the native-foreign question. Finally, computing the proportion of each county's population which is composed of Catholics and non-Catholics (for the most part, non-Catholics can be equated with Protestants since less than 5% of the state's population was Jewish) indicates how the counties rank with respect to the religious factor.¹⁸

The only issue that is not reflected in Census data is Prohibition. However, there are data available which give some indication of how

the counties stood on the wet-dry issue at that time. Included on the ballot for the electorate's consideration in the 1926 election was a proposed Constitutional Amendment to repeal the state's prohibition law. A tally of the yes and no votes on that proposition serves as a good measuring stick of wet-dry sentiment in various parts of the state two years before the 1928 election.¹⁹

Thus the stage is set for the final portion of the analysis which relates the characteristics of the counties on these four factors, namely, religion, prohibition, urbanism and "cosmopolitanism"²⁰ (the native-foreign stock factor) with their voting behavior previously analyzed. One would expect that the greater the percentage of Catholics there are in the county, the more favorable the vote would be for Smith, or, put in the terms in which this matter was originally discussed, the greater would be the tendency for a "net Smith gain," that is, for Smith to gain more over Davis than Hoover over Coolidge. The same should occur with respect to the more urban and cosmopolitan counties, as well as those which cast a high vote in favor of repeal of the state Prohibition law. On the other hand, the higher the percentage of non-Catholics in a county, the more it should be disposed to register a net Hoover gain, that is, one resulting from Hoover's gaining more over Coolidge than Smith over Davis.

A general test of whether the above tendencies do in fact occur involves dividing the counties into various categories depending upon the degree to which they possess a certain characteristic, and then comparing their voting behavior. Thus the 115 counties in Missouri can be separated into four major groups depending upon the percentage of Catholics in the total population of each. The average net Smith or Hoover gain for all counties in each group can then be compared with the expectation that the counties containing more Catholics would be more disposed to register a net Smith gain than will those with lesser Catholic populations. Table 1 below contains the data to test that assumption.

Table 1

Relation Between Catholic Composition of Counties and
Net Hoover or Smith Gain

Per Cent Catholic	No. of Counties	Average Percentage Net Hoover or Smith Gain
Less than 1	43	19.0 Hoover
1 - 4	34	19.0 Hoover
5 - 9	22	16.0 Hoover
10 or above	16	4.6 Smith

The table does indicate the general tendency anticipated. Although there is no difference between the net Hoover gain in the counties with 1-4 per cent Catholics, and those with less than 1 per cent Catholics, the Hoover gain declines in the 5-9 per cent Catholic category and turns into a net Smith gain for those counties where Catholics constitute more than 10 per cent of the population.

While the above kind of tabulation is helpful in seeing general relationships, it is rough at best and suffers from placing within a single group counties that may vary to a great degree in the characteristic being analyzed. Thus Ste. Genevieve and Osage Counties, with 71.6 and 59.1 per cent Catholics respectively, are placed in the same category in the above table as Cooper and Lincoln, where Catholics constitute 10.1 and 10.6 per cent of their respective populations. What is needed is some measurement that will take into account the relationships analyzed on a county-by-county basis.

The ideal tool for this more precise measurement is correlation analysis. It enables one to ascertain the relationships between two sets of characteristics, for example, per cent Catholics in counties and the net Smith or Hoover gains as expressed in their voting. Specifically, it expresses the degree of relationship which exists between variances in each of these characteristics. If there is a perfect positive correlation between two variables, as one increases, the other also increases a proportionate amount. For example, if one county has more Catholics than another, it may be expected to show a proportionately more favorable net Smith gain than the other. Contrariwise, if there is a perfect negative correlation between two variables, as one increases, the other decreases proportionately. Thus if the per cent of non-Catholics in one county is more than that in another, the first should show a proportionately less favorable net Smith gain than the second. (Actually, of course, the variances of all 115 counties in the state are taken into account in the correlation analysis.) Numerically, correlation is expressed as a coefficient which runs from 0, which means no correlation, to +1.00 or -1.00 which designate a perfect positive or negative correlation.²¹

Applying correlation analysis to the problem in this paper means computing a simple coefficient of correlation for each of the characteristics examined (Catholicism, non-Catholicism, urbanism, cosmopolitanism, Prohibition) designated as the "independent" variable. The implication is that the independent variable "causes" the "dependent" one, that is, that each county votes as it does because of its degree of Catholicism, urbanism, et cetera. However, the most that can actually be established is that the two variables are "associated" with one another. Theoretically, the dependent variable could be causing the variation in the independent one, although this seems highly improbable in this case. A much more real possibility

is that a third unknown variable is "causing" the behavior of both variables being analyzed.

With the above information and qualifications in mind, the following simple coefficients of correlation indicate the relationships which exist between the various characteristics of counties in Missouri examined in this paper, and how they voted as concerns a net Smith gain:

Catholic	+ .74
Prohibition	+ .73
Foreign Stock	+ .48
Urban	+ .26
Non-Catholic	+ .08

It would appear that in the state of Missouri, Catholicism and Prohibition were the factors most positively associated with the vote in the Presidential election. That is, counties that had a considerable Catholic population and which tended to vote in 1926 for the repeal of the state Prohibition law, were those that were most favorably disposed to Smith. Cosmopolitanism and urbanism also played a role in the voting patterns of the counties, but a lesser one. What is particularly surprising is the lack of a meaningful relationship between the non-Catholic composition of the various counties and their voting behavior. In fact a slightly positive correlation, rather than the anticipated negative one appears; that is, instead of an increase in the percentage of non-Catholics in a county being associated with a decrease in the net Smith gain, it was associated, admittedly not to any significant degree, with an increase in the net Smith gain.

One of the limitations of the above analysis is the fact that the independent variables are not mutually exclusive, that is, that counties that are Catholic also tend to be "wet," urban, cosmopolitan, et cetera, so that the correlation between each of these characteristics and the voting is affected by the other characteristics. Fortunately, a more advanced stage of correlation analysis, called partial correlation, permits a determination of the relationship between each independent variable and the dependent variable if the other variables are "held constant," that is, taken into account in the computation. The partial coefficients of correlation set forth below, therefore, better measure the association between each of the characteristics analyzed in this study and the voting patterns because the associations are independent, that is, not obscured by the effect of the other characteristics.

Prohibition	+ .36
Catholicism	+ .36
Foreign Stock	+ .11
Urban	+ .04
Non-Catholic	+ .16

Although the individual partial correlations are generally lower than the comparable simple correlations because the influence of the other vari-

ables has been removed, the patterns of association follow those of the previous analysis. Thus Prohibition and Catholicism tend to be the most influential matters relating to the voting. Cosmopolitanism and urbanism are shown to be negligible as independent factors affecting the electoral behavior of the counties.

One final element of correlation analysis, namely, multiple correlation, is helpful in assessing the combined effect of all five factors on the voting. In this case the multiple correlation is .80. By squaring this statistic we obtain the coefficient of determination of .64. This figure measures the cumulative effect of all the independent variables on the dependent variable. In the instant case, it means that 64 per cent of the variance in the voting of the various counties was attributable to the factors analyzed, that is, Catholicism, Prohibition, cosmopolitanism, urbanism and non-Catholicism. The remaining 36 per cent remains unexplained.

Thus the above analysis provides some clues as to the influential factors in the 1928 Presidential election in Missouri. It suggests that Catholicism and Prohibition may well have been the major influences in the Presidential campaign that year, and that the religious issue for Protestants may not have been a very salient one. Before commenting further on this matter, however, it would be well to analyze the 1960 election in Missouri when another Catholic, John F. Kennedy, was heading the Democratic ticket.

III

The measures utilized to determine the effect of Smith on the 1928 ballot, when applied to the 1960 election, show that John F. Kennedy was not a strong candidate vis-à-vis his Congressional running-mates. He trailed all nine of the Democrats who won House seats in the state's 11 Congressional districts that year, and the combined percentage of the two-party vote of the 10 opposed candidates (Representative Paul Jones of the 10th District had no Republican opponent) was more than 7 per cent--57.1 to 50.3--greater than Kennedy's proportion of the major party vote. Moreover, Edward Long, Democratic candidate for the Senate that year²² garnered about 3 per cent more of the two-party vote than Kennedy--53.2 per cent to 50.3 per cent--and carried 19 counties Kennedy failed to win, while losing only 2 counties in which the Democratic Presidential candidate was successful. Long also drew a higher percentage of the vote than Kennedy in 109 of the state's 115 counties.

When Kennedy's electoral record is viewed in terms of Adlai Stevenson's vote-getting abilities as the Democratic Presidential standard-bearer four years before, the comparison is more favorable to him. He did manage to pick up slightly more of the two-party vote than Stevenson did in 1956--50.3% to 50.1% respectively. (Since, unlike 1924, there was no

third party of consequence either in 1956 or in 1960, the percentage of the two party vote received by Stevenson and Kennedy in these two elections is sufficient to compare the two candidates; it is unnecessary to look at the Eisenhower-Nixon situation since it is merely the reciprocal, -.2%, of the Stevenson-Kennedy comparison.) However, Kennedy carried 9 fewer counties--29 as compared to 38--than Stevenson did in 1956. A county-by-county comparison shows that Stevenson received a greater proportion of the vote than Kennedy in 95 counties of the state.

Having attempted to determine the effect of Kennedy's presence on the ballot (for the reasons previously given in the 1928 analysis, the Kennedy-Stevenson measure is considered the superior one), I then explored the factors of importance in the 1960 campaign. Again, the sources for this information were studies of the campaign and the electorate. Although the recency of the event precludes the historical perspective associated with some of the works dealing with the Smith-Hoover contest, there are some good accounts of the campaign.²³ Moreover, the sample survey of the electorate that year made by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan provides a much more adequate source of information on the electorate's attitudes in that election than is available for the 1928 campaign.²⁴

The Democratic party's second attempt to place a Catholic in the Presidency naturally brought the religious issue to the forefront in the 1960 campaign. In fact, Kennedy himself focused attention on the matter as early as the 1956 Democratic National Convention by circulating a memorandum, utilizing recent voting trends, to indicate that the Democratic ticket that year would be strengthened by running a Catholic as Vice President. The religious issue played a prominent role in the pre-convention period in 1960, particularly in the Wisconsin and West Virginia primaries, and also during the campaign period following the conventions. Generally speaking, the issue was much more out in the open than in 1928 as epitomized by Kennedy's appearance before the Ministerial Association of Greater Houston to express and defend his views on the church-state issue. Another difference from the 1928 situation was the major split in the ranks of the Protestant clergy with leaders like Dr. Ramsey Pollard of the nine-million-member Southern Baptist Convention coming out against the idea of a Catholic President, and the Very Reverend Francis Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Episcopal Cathedral in Washington, D.C., decrying anti-Catholicism as inconsistent with democracy and the American Constitution with its principle of no religious test.²⁵

Other issues of 1928 applied in varying degrees to the politics of the 1960 Presidential scene. Gone completely, of course, was the wet-dry issue. (The much feared and respected Anti-Saloon League had given way to the harmless and impotent Women's Christian Temperance Union, and few voters were even aware of the Prohibition party's candidate in 1960, Dr.

Rutherford L. Decker, Kansas City Baptist Minister.) Kennedy's Boston Irish background kept the urbanism and cosmopolitanism issues potentially alive, particularly since Nixon appeared to go over better as a candidate in the more Anglo-Saxon rural areas of the nation. It might be expected, however, that these issues would have less salience in 1960 than in 1928, since it would be stretching matters a bit to compare the Harvard-educated Kennedy with his highly-respected "lace curtain" Irish pedigree to a "shanty" Irishman who got his education on the streets and political clubs of New York City.

In fact, the essential differences in the backgrounds of Smith and Kennedy, and particularly the dominant characteristics of the latter as a candidate, offered possibilities for influential factors in the 1960 election that had not been present in the 1928 situation. The relevance of three such factors, Kennedy's youth, wealth and education, for the voting are explored in the subsequent analysis. This is made possible by the availability of 1960 census data reflecting such matters.

One other issue that appeared as if it might have some bearing on the voting was that of race. It will be recalled that when the Negro leader, Martin Luther King, was jailed in connection with a "sit-in" demonstration in Atlanta, Kennedy, acting on the suggestion of an aide working in the Civil Rights section of the campaign, telephoned King's mother and offered his sympathy and aid; this development is reputed to have had a considerable effect on the Negro community, including King's own father who had previously come out for Nixon. To be contrasted with Kennedy's reaction was Nixon's reluctance even to approve a Justice Department's application for release of the Negro minister after he was sentenced to four months of hard labor by a Georgia judge.²⁶

As in the 1928 analysis, the above factors were converted into measurable characteristics of the various counties in Missouri by the use of Census data. Urbanism and cosmopolitanism were determined by the same criteria as in 1928, namely, the percentage of persons in each county living in communities with over 2,500 persons, and the proportion born abroad or having at least one foreign parent. The race issue was reflected in the percentage of Negroes in each county. The age, income and educational factors were measured by the median age, median family income and median school years completed respectively for each of the county populations.

The religious issue was treated essentially as it was in 1928, although it was necessary to rely on a different source of information for the data.²⁷ The percentage of Catholics and non-Catholics (who, as in 1928, can be equated with Protestants since Jews constituted only about 1% of the state's population) in each county was computed. The analysis was also developed further than in 1928 through an attempt to differentiate be-

tween two general groups of non-Catholics, one designated as "liberal" and the other as "conservative" on the question of a Catholic Presidential candidate. This was done because of the above-noted tendency of the Protestants to split on the question of a Kennedy candidacy.

Of course there was a practical problem of determining how to classify each of the religious denominations in terms of the liberal-conservative dichotomy. A general classification system used by persons working in the field of the sociology of religion, whereby denominations are demarcated as "church-type" or "sect-type,"²⁸ was employed. It was felt that the basis of that distinction, namely, the tendency of the church-type group to accept secular society, the sect-type to withdraw from it, would have meaning for this analysis because persons in the latter group might tend to be more alarmed about the issue of the separation of church and state than those belonging to the former group.

While the above approach served as the general classification scheme, the church-type denominations being considered liberal, the sect-type, conservative, some adjustments were made to fit the immediate concern of this paper. Two major denominations, Southern Baptists and Lutherans, both church-type in character, were moved over into the conservative category because it was felt that their anticipated attitude on the question of a Catholic Presidential candidate properly placed them there. The basis for this judgment was the official position of the former group against a Catholic President, as enunciated by Dr. Pollard, and the historical development of the Lutheran Church from the Roman church, a source of considerable friction between the two churches over the years. All other groups, including Jews, were placed in the liberal category. The percentage of each county's population composed of persons belonging to denominations in each of these two groups was then determined and utilized in the subsequent analysis.

Following the approach utilized in the 1928 analysis, a simple and partial coefficient of correlation was computed between each of the county characteristics, designated as "independent" variables, and the net Kennedy gain (his percentage lead over Stevenson), the "dependent" variable. They are as follows:

	Simple	Partial
Catholic	+.58	+.47
Foreign Stock	+.44	+.03
Income	+.41	+.008
Urban	+.28	+.006
Negro	+.21	+.11
Education	+.18	+.15
Non-Catholic	+.08	+.09
Liberal Non-Catholic	+.22	+.04
Conservative Non-Catholic	-.11	+.08
Median Age	-.08	+.10

The above data indicate that the only factor that emerges from the correlation analysis as being very influential in the voting is the marked tendency of counties with a considerable Catholic population to be favorably disposed towards Kennedy. Several other factors appear to be important when viewed individually, but when the effect of the other factors is removed through partial correlation analysis, they are shown to have little independent influence on the county-by-county vote. Moreover, the multiple correlation coefficient of all the 10 factors analyzed totals only .66, which means that only 43.5 per cent of the total variance in the vote can be explained by the cumulative effect of all these factors. The remaining 56.5 per cent remains unexplained.

With the analysis of the 1960 election completed, it is time to turn to a comparison of the reactions of the Missouri electorate to the two Presidential campaigns, which is the subject of the final section of this paper. Also included in this section are some concluding comments concerning other matters relating to religion and politics in which future research is needed.

IV

In looking at the effect of the Smith and Kennedy candidacies on the Missouri electorate, one dominant factor stands out. Neither were generally as popular with the voters as were other Democratic standard-bearers. Both trailed most of their Congressional running-mates and the party's Senatorial candidate the year they were on the ballot. Smith was not nearly so successful in adding to the party's percentage of the 1924 total vote as was Hoover. Kennedy did manage to do better than Stevenson on a state-wide basis, but the difference was only .2%, hardly an impressive feat given the great popularity of the latter's Presidential opponent, Eisenhower, as compared to Kennedy's political adversary, Nixon. Moreover, Stevenson actually carried 9 more counties in 1956 than Kennedy did in 1960.

As far as the religious factor is concerned, the analysis of the two campaigns indicates almost identical results. Both in 1928 and in 1960, counties with a considerable number of Catholics in their population clearly supported the Democratic Presidential candidates. But contrariwise, in neither campaign did a tendency appear for non-Catholic counties to vote to any significant degree against Smith and Kennedy. Even the counties in 1960 with a number of persons belonging to what were assumed to be conservative Protestant denominations did not evince a clear pattern of voting against the Democratic Catholic candidate that year.

As far as other factors connected with the two Presidential elections are concerned, there are some distinct differences demonstrated by the analyses. Although more political factors were investigated in 1960, in-

cluding such matters as race, education, income and age, none of them proved to be nearly as influential as the Prohibition issue in 1928, which was as important as the Catholicism factor that year. In fact, the combined effect of all 10 factors analyzed in 1960 explained only 43.5 per cent of the variation in the vote, whereas 64 per cent of the 1928 electoral variance was attributable to the five factors under analysis that year.

One method of comparing the two campaigns is to look at the effect of the factors that were common to both elections. In this case the factors include urbanism, cosmopolitanism and the religious issue as reflected by the per cent of Catholics and non-Catholics in each county. (It will be recalled that the coefficients of simple correlations for these characteristics were contained in the separate analyses, but no partial and multiple correlations for these factors alone were previously developed in this paper.) The following information allows a comparison of the relative effect of factors common to both campaigns. (The dependent variables are the net Smith gain and net Kennedy gain respectively.)

	1928		1960	
	Simple	Partial	Simple	Partial
Catholic	+.74	+.67	+.58	+.48
Foreign Stock	+.48	+.23	+.44	+.13
Urban	+.26	+.04	+.28	+.07
Non-Catholic	+.08	+.02	+.08	+.19
Multiple Correlation		+.76		+.63
Coefficient of Determination		58%		39%

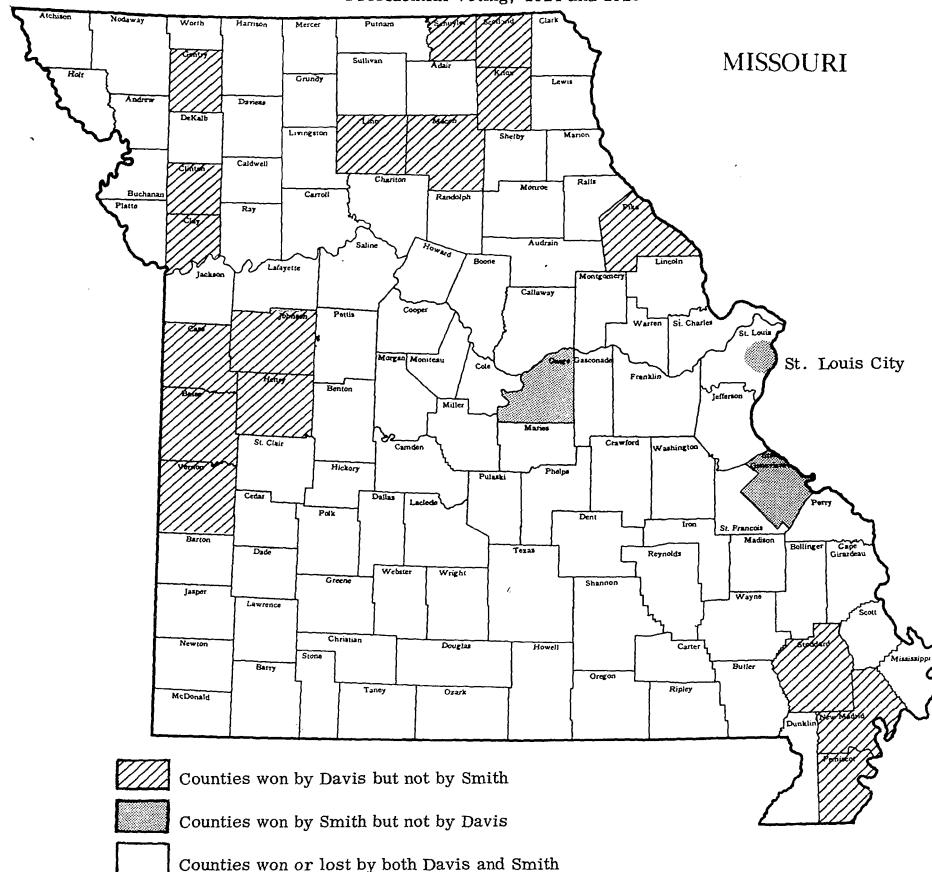
The above data indicates that Catholicism was by far the most influential factor of the four in both elections, retaining a fairly high correlation with the voting results even after the effect of the other factors is removed. However, it was more influential in 1928 than in 1960. As might be anticipated, the native-foreign born issue was also more important in the Smith-Hoover election than it was a generation and a half later. The data also indicate that the four factors taken together had more of an effect on the vote in 1928 than they did in 1960.

Another measure of the similarities and differences in the Smith and Kennedy candidacies involves a comparison of the voting results in the two elections on a county-by-county basis. To what extent did the counties that tended to vote for or against Smith in 1928 also behave similarly with respect to Kennedy in 1960? A comparison of the net Smith and net Kennedy gains in 1928 and 1960 shows a fairly strong relationship, a +.48 coefficient of correlation. It would thus appear that county sentiment on the two Democratic Catholic candidates was fairly similar in the two elections.

The particular Democratic counties affected by the Smith and Kennedy candidacies are indicated by Figures 1 and 2 respectively. Figure 1 shows the differences in the counties carried by Davis in 1924 and Smith in 1928,

Figure 1

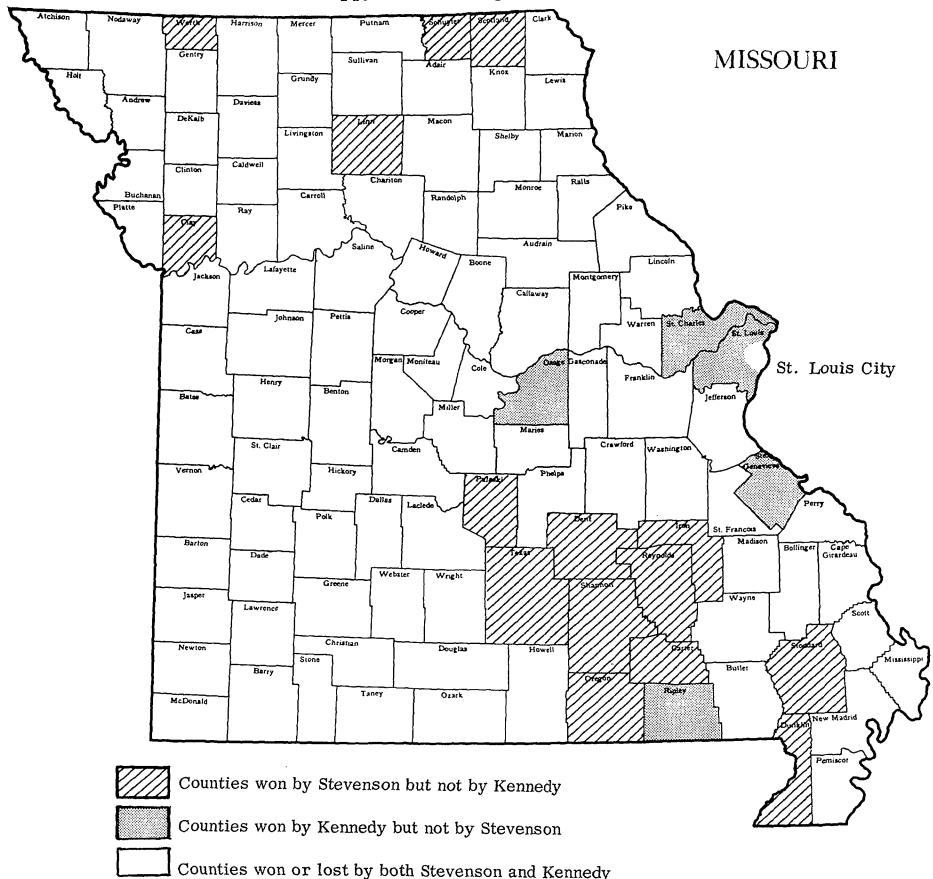
Presidential Voting, 1924 and 1928



while Figure 2 contains the same information for the Stevenson and Kennedy races of 1956 and 1960. The figures show that Smith and Kennedy both lost more counties voting Democratic four years before than they gained from those previously Republican. There is also a certain degree of correspondence between the comparable counties in the two election situations, with Smith and Kennedy losing scattered Democratic counties in the Northern part of the State, together with a concentration of counties south of the Missouri River in the areas demarcated by one student of Missouri political geography as the Southwestern and Eastern Ozarks,²⁹ and winning over heavily Catholic counties like Osage and Ste. Genevieve.

Figure 2

Presidential Voting, 1956 and 1960



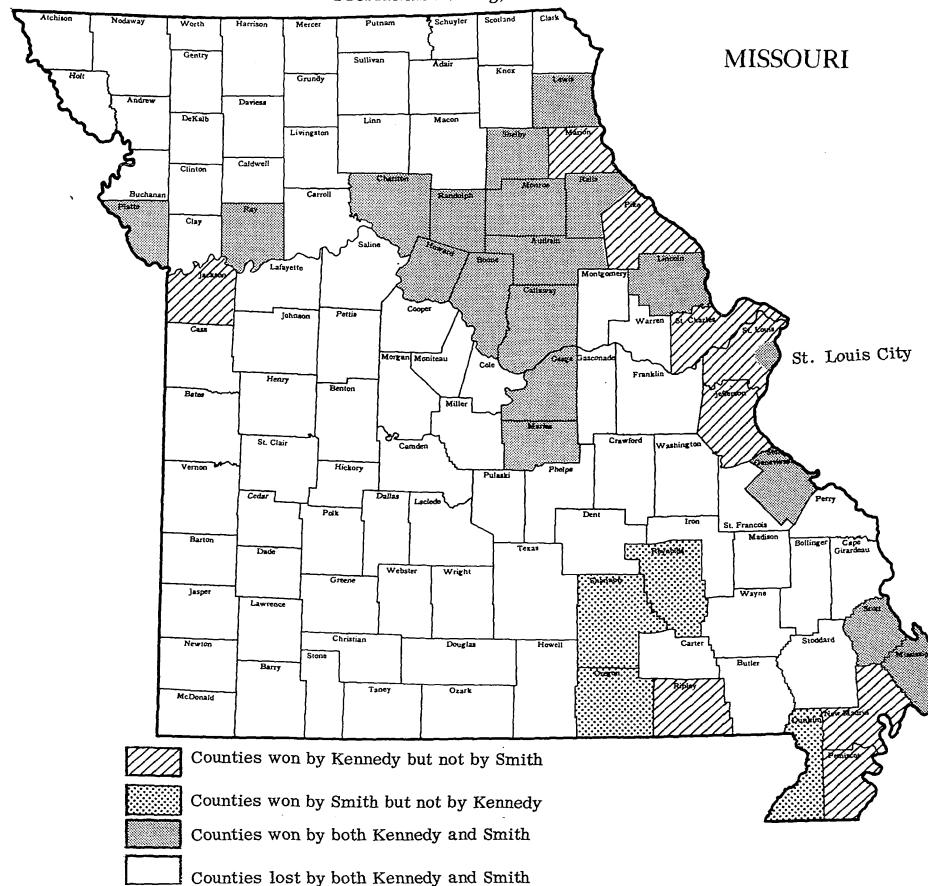
One final comparison of the two elections is that of the Democratic counties in the state that do not appear to be as adversely affected by a Catholic candidacy. These are counties that supported the Democratic Presidential candidate in either of the two elections, or in both of them. Figure 3 indicates the presence of a considerable number of counties that stayed with the Democratic party in both elections in which a Catholic appeared on the ballot. For the most part, these counties are located north of the Missouri River in the area generally known as the "Little Dixie" section of the state.

This latter line of inquiry suggests one of the directions future research on the question of religion and politics in Missouri can take. We need to explore the particular geographical areas in the state that seem to be affected by Catholic candidates, together with those counties that stay with the Democratic party regardless of the Presidential standard-bearer. What are the reasons for these separate developments? Are they related to party traditions, party organization, the kinds of religious groups that are concentrated in the different counties, or what?

For the findings in this paper are by no means determinative and raise more questions than they answer. A statistical analysis is not the end, but rather the beginning of fruitful research activity. For example, rather than concluding on the basis of the evidence presented here that religion plays no role at all in the voting of Protestants in Missouri, we need to explore the

Figure 3

Presidential Voting, 1928 and 1960



reasons why counties do not tend to vote more against Catholic candidates as the percentage of Protestant church members in their populations increases. What are the voting behavior patterns of persons in these counties that do not belong to any church? Is it possible that the Protestant church members do tend to vote against Catholics to some degree, but that their votes were offset by persons who belong to no church and resented the introduction of the religious issue in the campaign?

The point of these latter questions is that they cannot be answered through analyses using aggregate data like that utilized in this paper. Such analyses cannot tell us how individuals as such voted; they only record how county-wide "electorates," composed of persons with certain kinds of characteristics, voted. Aggregate data analyses, however, suggest hypotheses that can then be pursued further with the use of sample surveys which do tell us how individuals vote, together with their reasons for doing so. Such a survey in Missouri in 1964, when incumbent President Kennedy will undoubtedly be on the ticket once again, would help to resolve some of the questions raised above.

Finally, it should be stated that although studies relating general characteristics to voting patterns cannot tell us how specific individuals vote, they do allow the checking of too-facile assumptions that the dominant issues as seen by campaign observers affect a large number of voters. The results of this paper would raise serious doubts about the salience of the religious issue for most non-Catholic Missourians in both 1928 and 1960. It would rather suggest that Prohibition was a more important factor in 1928, and that it was Catholics, rather than Protestants, in both campaigns that felt the religious issue more keenly.

University of Missouri

Footnotes:

This paper was presented before the Eighth Annual meeting of the Association held at the University of Kansas City on April 6, 1963. The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Joseph Hirn, a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at the University of Missouri, and Mr. Al-Doorii of the University's Computer Center, both of whom helped with the statistical analysis portion of the paper.

¹ Professor Lasswell used this phrase as the subtitle in his work Politics (New York, 1936).

² Economics, however, was associated with political science before the advent of the behavioral movement as evidenced by the appearance of university departments of political economy before the present century.

³ A leader in this movement to analyze elections with reference to long-term political trends is V. O. Key, Jr. See his "A Theory of Critical Elections," The Journal of Politics, 17 (February 1955), 3-18, and "Secular Realignment and the Party System," Ibid., 21 (May 1959), 198-210.

The researchers in the Survey Research Center have placed the 1960 election in historical perspective. See Philip E. Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," The American Political Science Review LV (June 1961), 279f.

⁴ Academic soul-searching among political scientists concerning the proper domain of the discipline has led to a number of works in recent years treating the various approaches to the subject. Included are David Easton, The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science (New York, 1953); Charles Hyneman, The Study of Politics: The Present State of Political Science (Urbana, Illinois, 1959) and Vernon Van Dyke, Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis (Stanford, 1960).

⁵ A pioneer work in this field utilizing systematic tools of analysis was Stuart A. Rice's Quantitative Methods in Politics, published in 1928. For an analysis of early voting studies see Samuel J. Eldersveld, "The Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research," The Journal of Politics (February 1951), 70-87.

⁶ Other areas of the political science which have been analyzed in behavioral terms include activities in the judicial, administrative and legislative spheres of government.

⁷ Article VI, Section 3 of the National Constitution provides: ". . . No religious test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or Public Trust under the United States."

⁸ Sidney Hyman, The American President (New York, 1954), Ch. 10.

⁹ For a discussion of this "unwritten law" as developed in the Smith campaign, see Edmund A. Moore, A Catholic Runs for President (New York, 1956), 101 f.

¹⁰ For an extensive account of the Kennedy candidacy, see Berton Dulce and Edgar J. Richter, Religion and The Presidency (New York, 1962), Chs. 9-13.

¹¹ See Converse, et al., 279.

¹² As used in this context, "Congressional" refers to contests for the National House of Representatives, although of course Senators are also members of the Congress.

¹³ For example, Key suggests that one of the reasons the party in power characteristically loses seats at mid-term Congressional elections is the absence of the supportive power of the Presidential campaign. The result is the loss of some of the districts the party carried two years before at the time of the Presidential election. See his Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups (New York, 1958), 616.

¹⁴ This matter was checked through the use of a scattergram in which the third party's percentage of the vote in 1924 was plotted along the hori-

zontal axis, while the net Smith gain or Hoover gain (Smith loss) was plotted along the vertical axis. It failed to establish any perceptible relationship between these two factors.

15 Smith's biographies include Henry E. Pringle's Alfred E. Smith, A Critical Study (New York, 1927) and Oscar Handlin's Al Smith and His America (Boston, 1958). The best historical accounts of the campaign are Moore (see fn. 9) and Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, The 1928 Campaign: An Analysis (New York, 1931). An account of the campaign is also included in Dulce and Richter, Ch. 7, and materials from it are in Peter H. Odegard's Religion and Politics (New Brunswick, N. J., 1960), Ch. III. An early statistical analysis of the election covering 173 counties in 10 states is William F. Osburn and Nell Talbot's "A Measurement of the Factors in the Presidential Election of 1928," Social Forces, VIII (Dec. 1929), 175-183. An excellent comprehensive and sophisticated statistical analysis of the nation-wide election is Ruth Silva's Rum, Religion and Votes: 1928 Re-Examined (Philadelphia, 1962). Some of the techniques adopted in this paper are patterned after those used in the latter monograph.

16 For example, Osburn and Talbot found Prohibition to be the most influential factor in their analysis of the 1928 election, while Silva's study showed that on a nation-wide basis, the native-foreign born factor was most important.

17 Smith discussed the issue openly only once in a speech in Oklahoma City; Hoover ignored the issue but did repudiate a letter to party workers from a Virginia national committeewoman in which she urged them to "save the United States from being Romanized and rum-ridden." See Moore, A Catholic Runs for President, Ch. 6.

18 The regular decennial Census does not gather data on religious preference. However, a special religious census was taken in 1916, 1926 and 1936. The data for this study were taken from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1926, Vol. I, Table 32, 638f.

19 See Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1927-28, 294-5 for a compilation of those votes. Voting for delegates to a state convention in 1933, called for the purpose of passing upon the 21st Amendment, was also divided along wet-dry lines, but the former source was selected because it occurred at the same time as a general election and thus involved more persons than the special election of 1933. It also took place closer to the time of the Presidential election than the one connected with the adoption of the 21st Amendment, and measures sentiment before the considerable shift of public opinion on the issue that occurred in the early 1930's.

20 This is the term used by Silva to denote the native-foreign stock issue.

21 For an excellent explanation of correlation analysis written primarily for persons with a limited background in statistics, see V. O. Key, A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists (New York, 1954), Chs. 4 and 5.

22 Long, a Baptist from Bowling Green in Pike County, Missouri, was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. who died in 1960. He was elected Senator in November of 1960 and again in November 1962 for a six-year term.

23 In addition to Dulce and Richter, see Theodore H. White's, The Making of the President (New York, 1961).

24 For one analysis of the campaign based upon the survey data see Converse, et al., "Stability."

25 See Dulce and Richter, 131, 146.

26 See White (fn. 23), 378, 385-6.

27 The Census Bureau ceased taking a religious census in 1936. The source for this data was a nation-wide survey conducted by the National Council of Churches. See its Churches and Church Membership in the United States: An Enumeration and Analysis by Counties, States and Regions, 1956, Series C, Nos. 23 and 24, for data on Missouri counties.

28 For a discussion of this classification system see The Church in Rural Missouri (Columbia: College of Agriculture, 1957), Research Bulletin 633A, 31ff.

29 See Morran D. Harris, Political Trends in Missouri, 1900-1954 (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Missouri, 1956), Ch. III.