

CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING IN IOWA

When and where the representative system of government originated is not exactly known. Guizot says it "has constantly hovered over Europe, ever since the founding of modern states";¹ other authorities advance the idea that "representation first found its beginning in the Saxon Witenagemot,"² or as Montesquieu suggests, "in the forests of Germany".³ At any rate it is fairly certain that the old Teutonic tribes that overran western Europe during the decline of the Roman Empire planted the seed from which our modern democratic governments sprang.

In the English Colonies in North America, democracy and representative government were early established as a part of the political system. Indeed the life of the pioneers nurtured democracy and independence, while the distances and the difficulties of travel encouraged the delegation of powers to representatives. As a result, the principle of representative government "entered into the constitution as a matter of course, because it was the method by which modern liberty had been steadily growing stronger and broader for six centuries."⁴

Representation may be found in a variety of forms. An arrangement whereby the representative body would be a miniature replica of the electorate would be ideal. In this case the individuals entrusted with legislative duties would clearly reflect the desires and wishes of their constituents.

¹ Guizot's *History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe*, p. 12.

² Taft's *Popular Government*, p. 23.

³ Sterne's *On Representative Government and Personal Representation*, p. 25.

⁴ Fast's *Congressional Reapportionment*, p. 1.

Following this theory of representation, then, every element of the population of a State should be adequately represented in the legislature. Perhaps the greatest defect of the representative system in America is the inadequate provision for the representation of the minority. Undoubtedly the will of the majority should weigh more heavily than the desires of the smaller group — but does it follow that the minority should have no representation at all? “Because the majority ought to prevail over the minority, must the majority have all the votes, the minority none?”⁵

The two most obvious reasons for the failure of the minority interests to obtain adequate representation in the United States are the existence of the bi-party system and the election of representatives from single-member districts. The political party developed as an extralegal organization in the field of politics, in order that groups with similar political ideas might secure representation. If enough supporters in a district rally to the standard of a certain group, their choice will receive the election from that district, even though it may be by a majority of only a single vote. For other interests in the district to be actively represented is impossible with such a system — and single member districts still prevail in the United States.

Undoubtedly the desirable results of party existence and growth have more than balanced the evils which have arisen, yet party desires very frequently subordinate the general will of the people and promote undemocratic practices. If partisan advantage can be secured by manipulating the scheme of government, the dominating party will utilize that power. Representative districts will naturally be

⁵ Lubbock's *Representation*, p. 3.

formed in the interests of the party in control of the governmental machinery.

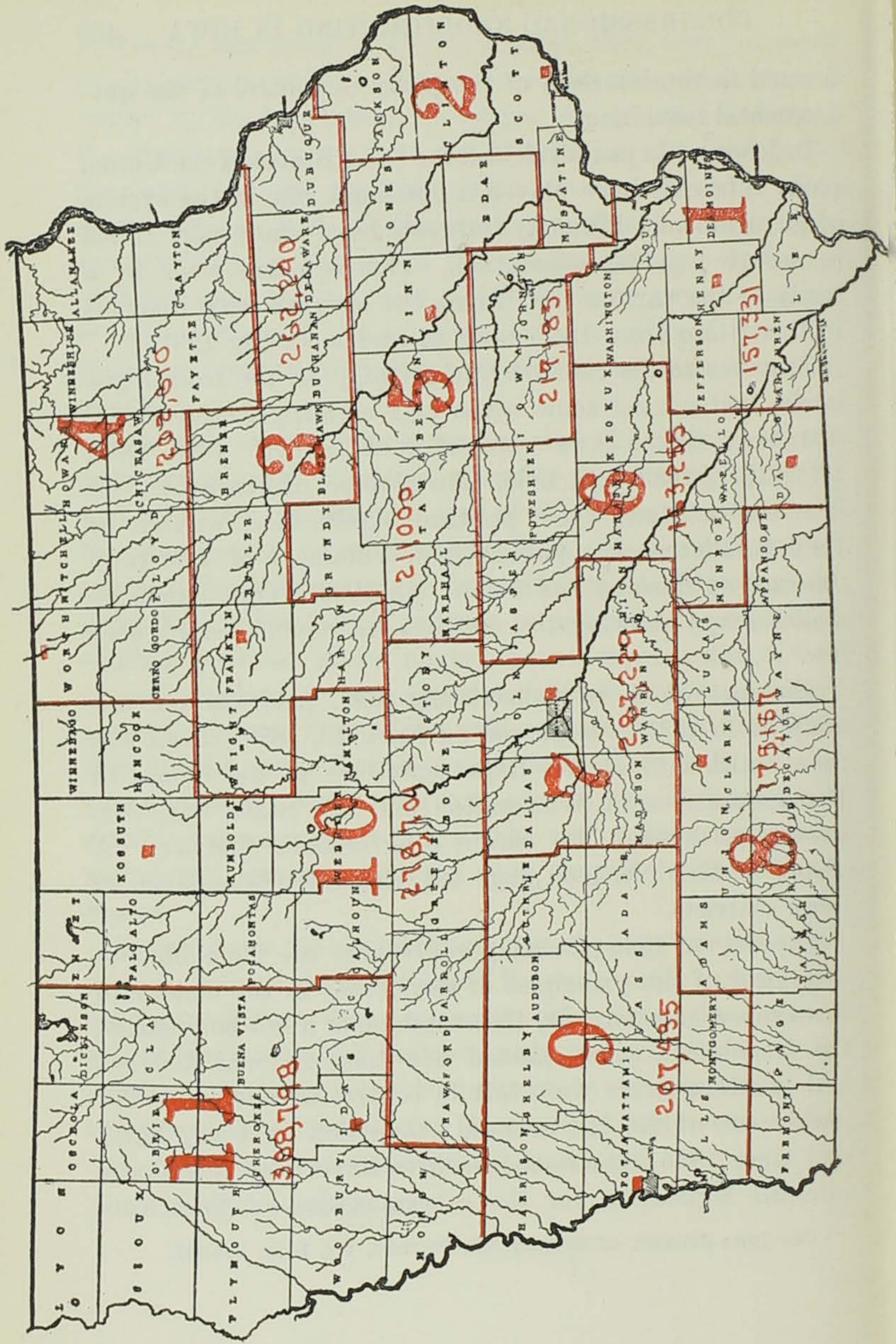
In Iowa, as in practically all the other States of the Union, party interests have played a dominant rôle in the system of government. Minority interests have continually failed to secure just representation. This is made clear by a study of the various laws fixing the congressional districts in this State from 1847 down to and including 1931.

Previous to the redistricting act of 1931, the Iowa legislature had passed some seven acts creating congressional districts. These laws were adopted in 1847, 1848, 1857, 1862, 1872, 1882, and 1886. An account of the provisions in these acts and their political significance, written by Paul S. Pierce, was published in Volume I of *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1903. This article includes maps showing the districts as established by each law.⁶

The last of these redistricting acts, prior to the one adopted in 1931, was passed on April 10, 1886. Iowa was then entitled to eleven Representatives in the House of Representatives at Washington and the State was, consequently, divided into eleven congressional districts. A glance at Map No. 1 on page 464, shows the boundaries of these districts.

The act of 1886 probably represents the most obvious disregard of the principles of democracy in the history of Iowa representation. By the switching of a few boundaries, the Republican party gained five congressional districts and the Democrats were left in control of but one. The unfairness of the bill aroused opposition on every hand, and since 1886 numerous measures have been introduced into the legislature for the reorganization of these con-

⁶ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, pp. 334-362.



gressional districts; "but all have come to nought."⁷ By 1930, the need for congressional redistricting in Iowa from the standpoint of population was also obvious. According to the census of 1930 the number of people in the Iowa districts varied from 157,000 in the first to 308,000 in the eleventh. The rapid growth of the western part of the State and a decrease in population in the southeastern section had brought about this inequality.

PERMANENT REAPPORTIONMENT

Following the usual decennial custom, Congress passed a reapportionment measure after the census of 1900, and again in 1911, so that the number of Representatives in the House gradually rose to 435.⁸ Neither of these bills affected the status of the Iowa delegation, for population was increasing steadily and Iowa managed to retain eleven seats. In 1920, however, contrary to precedent, Congress failed to provide for a new apportionment. The leader in the conservative policy suggested that the census of 1920 was unfair as a great number of war veterans were unsettled, because the condition of the country in general was disturbed, and because a temporary trek to the city would tend to leave the rural sections unfairly represented.⁹ There was no lack of interest in the problem, however, for in the seven years after the submission of the 1920 census figures, over 40 reapportionment measures found their way into the Federal House and Senate. None, however, received the necessary vote to become a law, and newspapers everywhere pointed to Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution which provides for the reapportionment of the House members following each decennial census. *The Literary Digest*

⁷ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, p. 354.

⁸ *Congressional Digest*, February, 1929.

⁹ Tow's *A Permanent System of Reapportionment*, p. 34.

asked, "What's the Constitution among friends? — when some members are in danger of losing \$10,000 seats."¹⁰ Iowa happened to be one of the heaviest losers, and the Iowa delegation was not anxious to reduce the State's representation by the loss of two members.

By the time the Seventieth Congress convened, public sentiment had become so aroused that action was inevitable. Representative R. G. Fitzgerald of Ohio arose in the House on December 3, 1928, and said: "I protest the transaction of business by this House on the grounds that it is illegally constituted."¹¹ In the same session C. J. McLeod of Michigan announced that if "a date for action was not set within six days his bloc would launch a filibuster against all legislation."¹² Such action proved unnecessary, however, for on January 4, 1929, the House Committee on Census reported favorably on the Fenn Bill, which provided for automatic reapportionment by the Commerce Department.¹³ Representative John Q. Tilson of Connecticut said he would "put the bill on the legislative calendar for January tenth and ask for a special rule for its consideration".

On January 11th the bill was brought up for discussion and roundly opposed by Representative C. W. Ramseyer of Iowa, a majority member of the Committee on Rules. His remarks indicted the measure vigorously as a "proposition to enact a law requiring somebody else to do in January, 1931, what will be the plain duty of the Senate and House to do. . . . You cannot defend this proposition on any grounds except that you are in favor of increasing bureaucracy to let the Secretary of Commerce or somebody else do it. You have lost faith in the intelligence, patriotism

¹⁰ *The Literary Digest*, Vol. LXXXIX, p. 12.

¹¹ *Fast's Congressional Reapportionment*, p. 103.

¹² *Fast's Congressional Reapportionment*, p. 104.

¹³ *The United States Daily*, January 5, 1929.

and courage of members of Congress. I feel, and I know in other States similar to my own State, that the members are ready when the time comes to apportion".¹⁴ However, on January 11, the Fenn Bill passed the House after a motion to recommit had been defeated by a vote of 226 to 134.¹⁵ The Senate, to complicate matters, failed to give the measure a place on its legislative program, but Senator A. H. Vandenberg assured the House leaders it would be considered "when other measures on the docket were disposed of." On April 15th, the Senate drafted a new bill, following closely the provisions of the Fenn Bill and on May 29th with a vote of 57 to 26, the act providing for the 1930 census and for automatic reapportionment passed the upper house.¹⁶

In the lower house the dissension continued, and on June 5th, Representative Lloyd Thurston of Iowa introduced an amendment to exclude aliens from the count for representation in Congress. This arrangement would have decreased Iowa's representation to ten seats instead of nine, but the suggestion met defeat in the form of a motion by John Q. Tilson of Connecticut. On June 6th, the House passed the Senate bill by a vote of 272 to 105,¹⁷ and twelve days later President Hoover gave his approval to the act that was to decrease Iowa's representation in Congress to nine seats.

The main purpose of the bill was to provide for the reapportionment of the seats of the lower house based on the 1930 Federal census returns.¹⁸ The number of Congressmen remained at 435, and this fact in the light of the

¹⁴ *The United States Daily*, January 11, 1929.

¹⁵ *The United States Daily*, January 12, 1929.

¹⁶ *The United States Daily*, May 31, 1929.

¹⁷ *The United States Daily*, June 7, 1929.

¹⁸ The full text of the bill may be found in the *United States Code Pamphlet Supplement Unannotated*, 1929, No. 3.

census returns entitled Iowa to only nine members in the House beginning with the year 1932. For the first time it was necessary to reduce the number of congressional districts in Iowa. To separate the State into nine districts and to provide for equal representation for the people of Iowa was a problem perplexing hundreds of politicians, legislators, and Iowans whose interests were at stake.

PLANS FOR REDISTRICTING IOWA IN 1931

When the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa convened at Des Moines on January 12, 1931, redistricting was by no means the least difficult problem to be solved. If only population were involved, it would have been easy, but "when it comes to tearing one county, set for fifty years in its political relationship with its neighbors, away from one district and put it into another, there appears a horse of a different breed."¹⁹ Besides, there was the task of satisfying the larger counties.

It was generally conceded that redistricting would be a Republican affair. Although the Democrats polled 207,658 votes out of a total of 535,476 cast by the two major parties in the election of the eleven Iowa Congressmen in 1930,²⁰ the Republicans controlled both the upper and lower houses in the State legislature, and could easily muster enough votes to pass any measure they desired — provided, of course, that they agreed among themselves.

The first indication as to the character of the new redistricting measure came with the formation of the House Committee on Judicial and Political Districts, early in January. Two members were selected from each of the Iowa congressional districts, and in making up the com-

¹⁹ *The Des Moines Register*, June 8, 1929.

²⁰ Congressional election returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of the State at Des Moines.

mittee not a Democratic member was included.²¹ Following the usual custom, the committee was placed in charge of all bills pertaining to redistricting. Incidentally it took care that only the most favored plans were submitted for the approval of the House. Certainly Republican interests were foremost, and it remained for time alone to indicate just what advantage the party would take of its controlling power in the State legislature.

By March 4, 1931, Congress had adjourned without altering the provisions of the Fenn Law, and the Iowa redistricting problem had assumed a definite place in the legislative program. The fact that two of the eleven Congressmen must lose their seats in the House complicated matters. In no reapportionment of the past had Iowa's quota of Congressmen been decreased. The political struggle in the House promised to be interesting, for with thirty-eight Democrats²² and a number of doubtful Republicans arrayed against them, the Republicans in control found enough opposition to threaten their supremacy. The various plans presented for committee approval indicated the nature of the forthcoming battle.

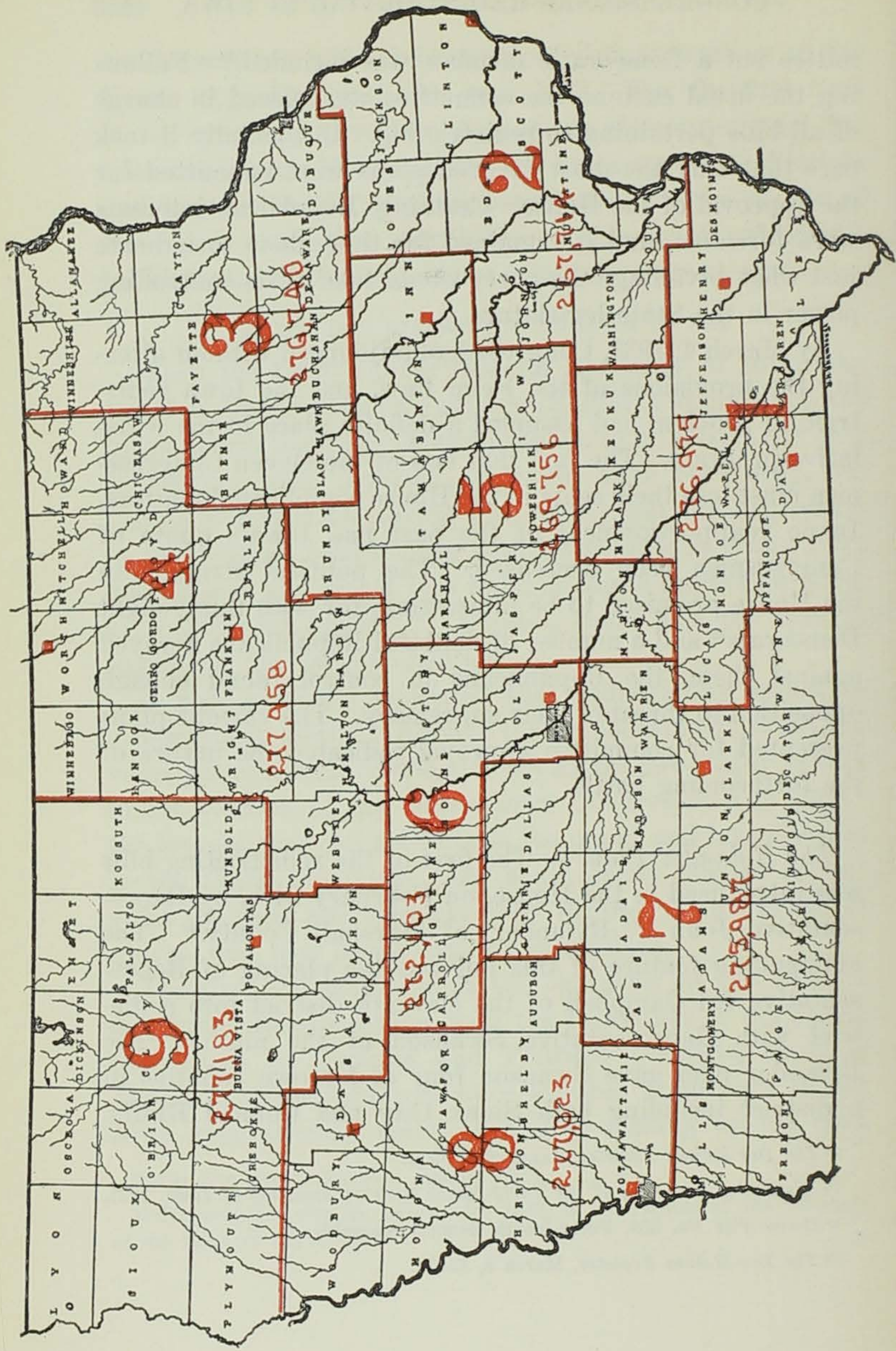
The Rylander Plan. — The first of the redistricting bills was introduced in the House, on February 24th, by Representative John F. Rylander of Marshall County.²³ The outstanding feature of this bill was the placing of Representative Ed Campbell of the eleventh district into a district with Representative Swanson of the ninth.²⁴ The Rylander plan gave Swanson four of his own counties in a district including both Sioux City and Council Bluffs.

²¹ *The Des Moines Register*, January 7, 1931.

²² *Legislative Directory of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa*, 1931.

²³ House File No. 359, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

²⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, March 8, 1931.



MAP II — THE RYLANDER PLAN

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Such a plan was opposed to the prevailing idea that the west, because of population and party considerations — and especially the northwest — should be little disturbed by the new district lines.

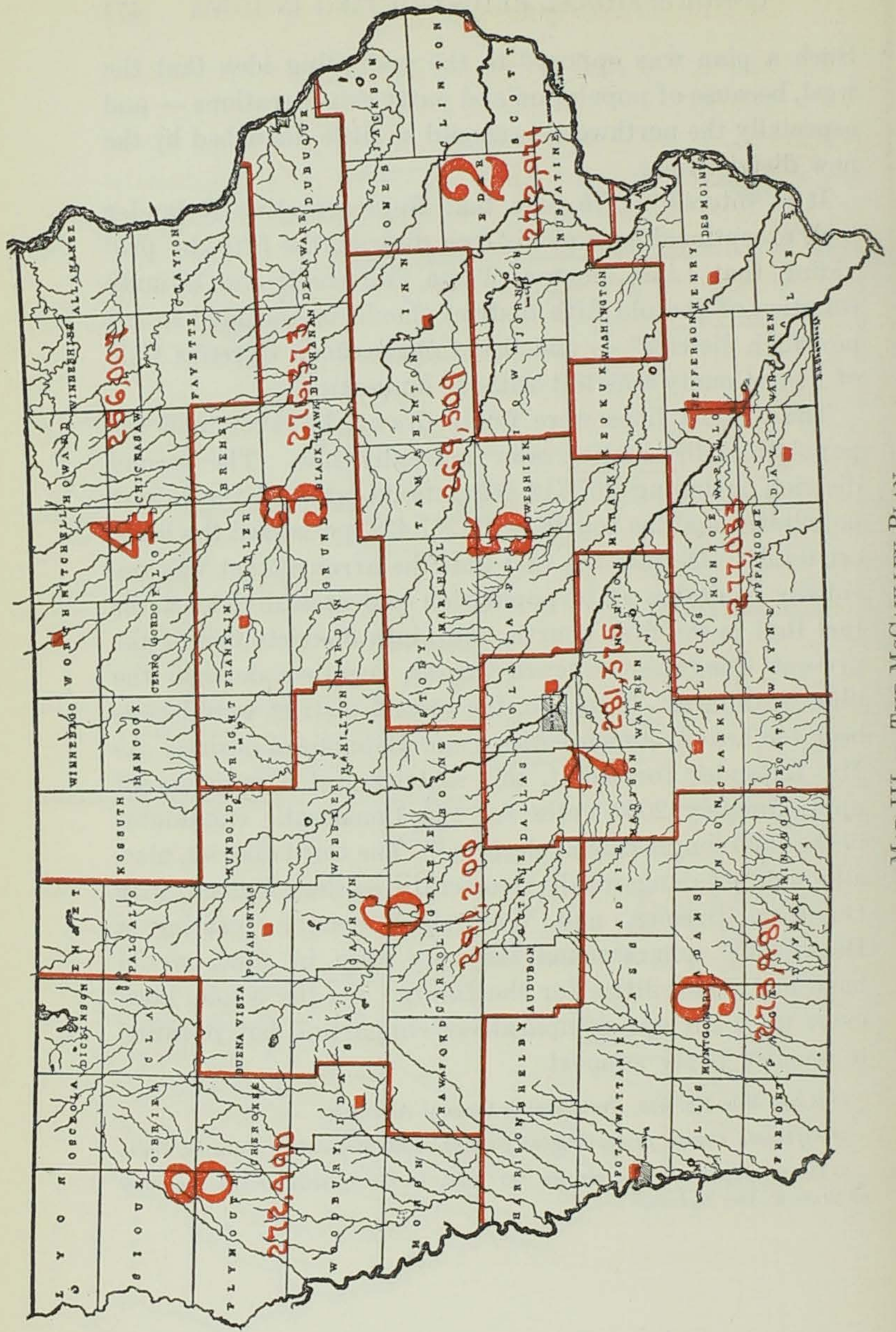
It is interesting to note that Representative Rylander took exceptional care of his own district, the fifth, by providing that Linn, Benton, Tama, Marshall, and Grundy counties of the old fifth district should be included in his new fifth district²⁵ — and that Congressman Cyrenus Cole of Linn County was left without opposition.

The district lines were fairly drawn, however, and the population distribution was unusually fair. The second district, including 267,714 inhabitants, showed the lowest population and the fourth, with 277,458, possessed the highest total.²⁶ Despite the fact that the arrangement was decidedly equitable as to population and area divisions, the fact that in the first, fourth, and ninth districts two of the present Congressmen were thrown together doomed the plan to failure. Then, too, the second district would have been too heavily Democratic to suit Republican desires. As Mr. Rylander formed it, this district cast a majority of approximately 2000 votes for the Democratic candidates in the 1930 congressional election.²⁷ The third district, also, although not dangerously Democratic as here formed, with Dubuque, Bremer, and Winneshiek counties casting a Democratic congressional majority vote in 1930, would have had possibilities for the future. On the whole, however, the plan was comparatively impartial, but it failed to acquire party support.

²⁵ House File No. 359, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

²⁶ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*

²⁷ Congressional election returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.



MAP III — THE MCCAULLEY PLAN
 (Squares indicate boundaries of Counties in 1904)

The McCaulley Plan. — Three days after the Rylander Bill was introduced, another redistricting plan reached the House. Representatives A. H. Avery, F. W. Elliott, M. R. McCaulley, O. P. Morton, and C. J. Orr, evidently believing in the old adage “in union there is strength”, united to draw up what was called the McCaulley Bill. The chief feature of this plan was that it would “not greatly affect any congressman in the district of any sponsor of the bill”.²⁸ Thus congressional districts number two, three, four, ten, and eleven remained without drastic change, and were arranged so that no opposition would be afforded the incumbents then in Congress.²⁹

The population of the districts as divided by the McCaulley Bill varied from 256,007 in the fourth district to 291,200 in the new sixth district.³⁰ Also an added or subtracted county here and there in almost every district helped to form a very irregular and unsightly congressional map, in appearance not unlike a multi-colored crazy quilt, so familiar to the members of the older generation.

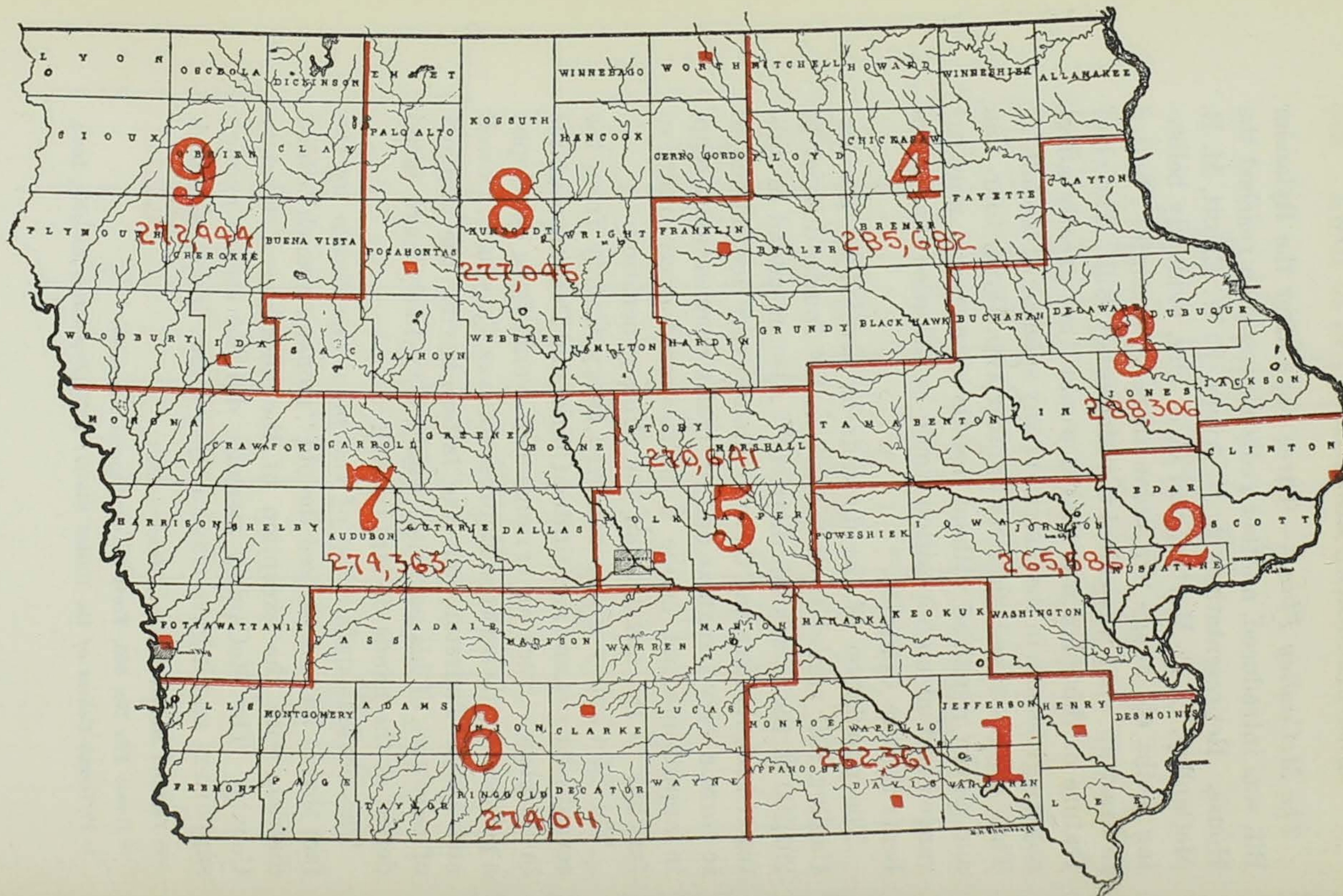
The McCaulley group removed Story County from the seventh district and substituted Clarke and Decatur counties in its place. Such an arrangement would have developed a political battle between Representatives Cassius C. Dowell and Lloyd Thurston, but the latter, having the support of only two of his counties, would very likely have faced defeat at the hands of Mr. Dowell.

The obvious unfairness of the plan was shown by the fact that it left unchanged the old “monkey-wrench” third district, with the exception of the addition of Grundy County. The McCaulley measure did not secure enough supporters and it gave way to other plans, which, although

²⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, March 8, 1931.

²⁹ House File No. 403, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

³⁰ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP IV — THE BAIR PLAN, NUMBER ONE

perhaps not entirely fair, did abolish some of the 1886 gerrymandering.

Bair's Plan, Number One. — Next came a plan which, in the words of the author, was devised "from the point of view of making each district as symmetrical as possible to contain an average population of approximately 280,000 paying no attention to political consideration." Representative J. Park Bair of Buena Vista County introduced this measure in the House on March 9th.³¹ Changes were made in all the old districts, with the exception of the new ninth — Bair's own home area. Story, Marshall, Polk, and Jasper counties were grouped together to form one district with a population of 270,641 — which was perhaps the best arranged district of the entire scheme. The first district would have had a population of 262,361 and the third 288,306.

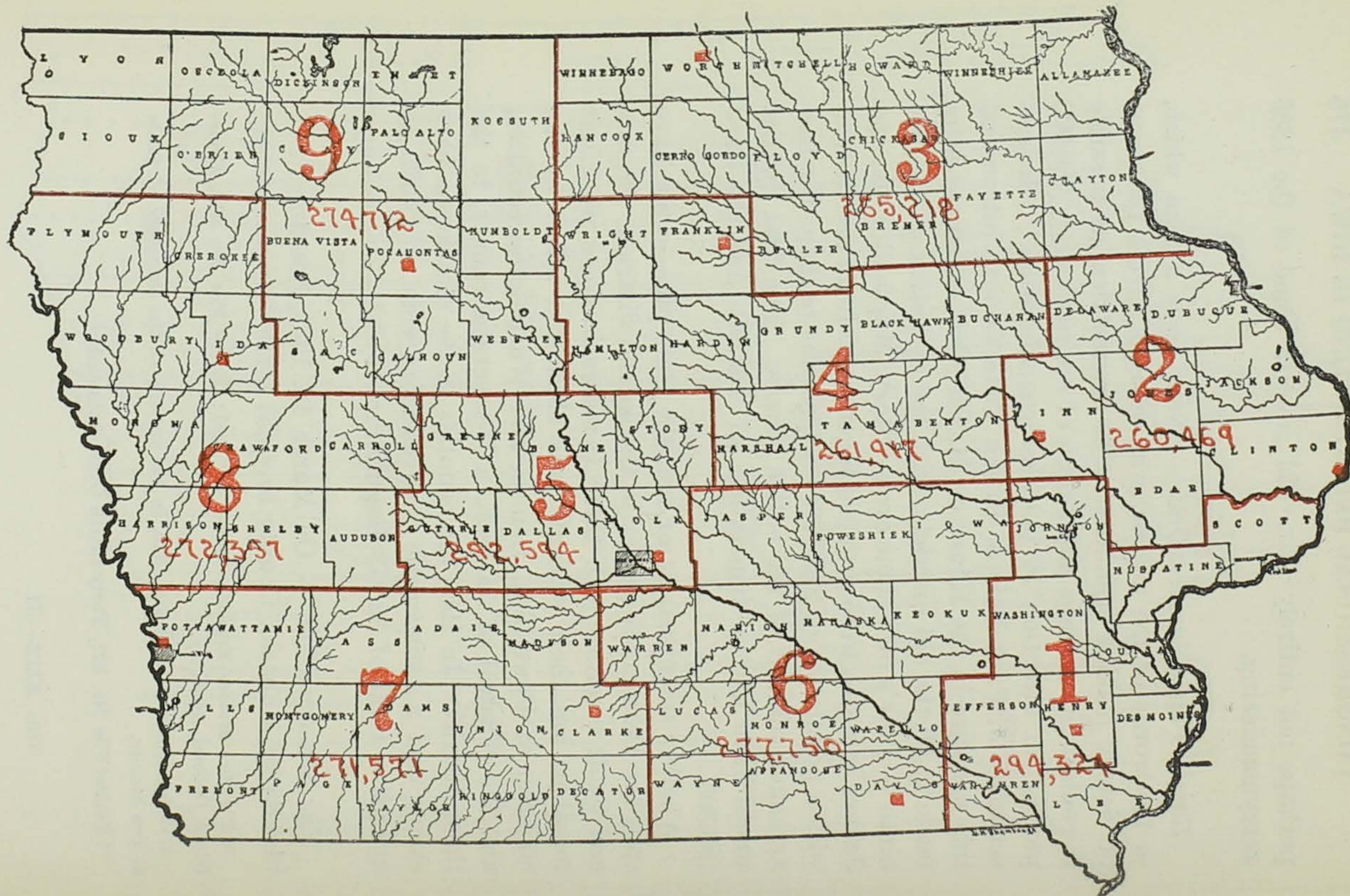
Whether intentionally or not, the Bair plan would have split the Democratic power in the second district. Clinton and Scott counties with their Democratic votes were left together, but their strength was somewhat offset by the addition of Poweshiek, Louisa, and Washington counties, and the removal of Jackson, a Democratic county, to the third district. In 1930 the counties in the district as here shown cast a Democratic congressional vote of 32,392 as against a total of 32,943 Republican votes.³²

The Stanley Plan. — On March 10, 1931, Senator F. C. Stanley of Mahaska County brought forth³³ a redistricting

³¹ *The Des Moines Register*, March 10, 1931; House File No. 416, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

³² Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

³³ Senate File No. 321, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP V — THE STANLEY PLAN

bill which was unique in two ways. It was the first measure to be introduced into the Senate in regard to redistricting; and it was the first to propose that the old sixth district should not be destroyed. Such a plan, of course, implied that Representative C. W. Ramseyer of the sixth district should be assured of retaining his seat in Congress. This might well have been expected from Senator Stanley, for he was elected from Mahaska County — the center of Mr. Ramseyer's district.

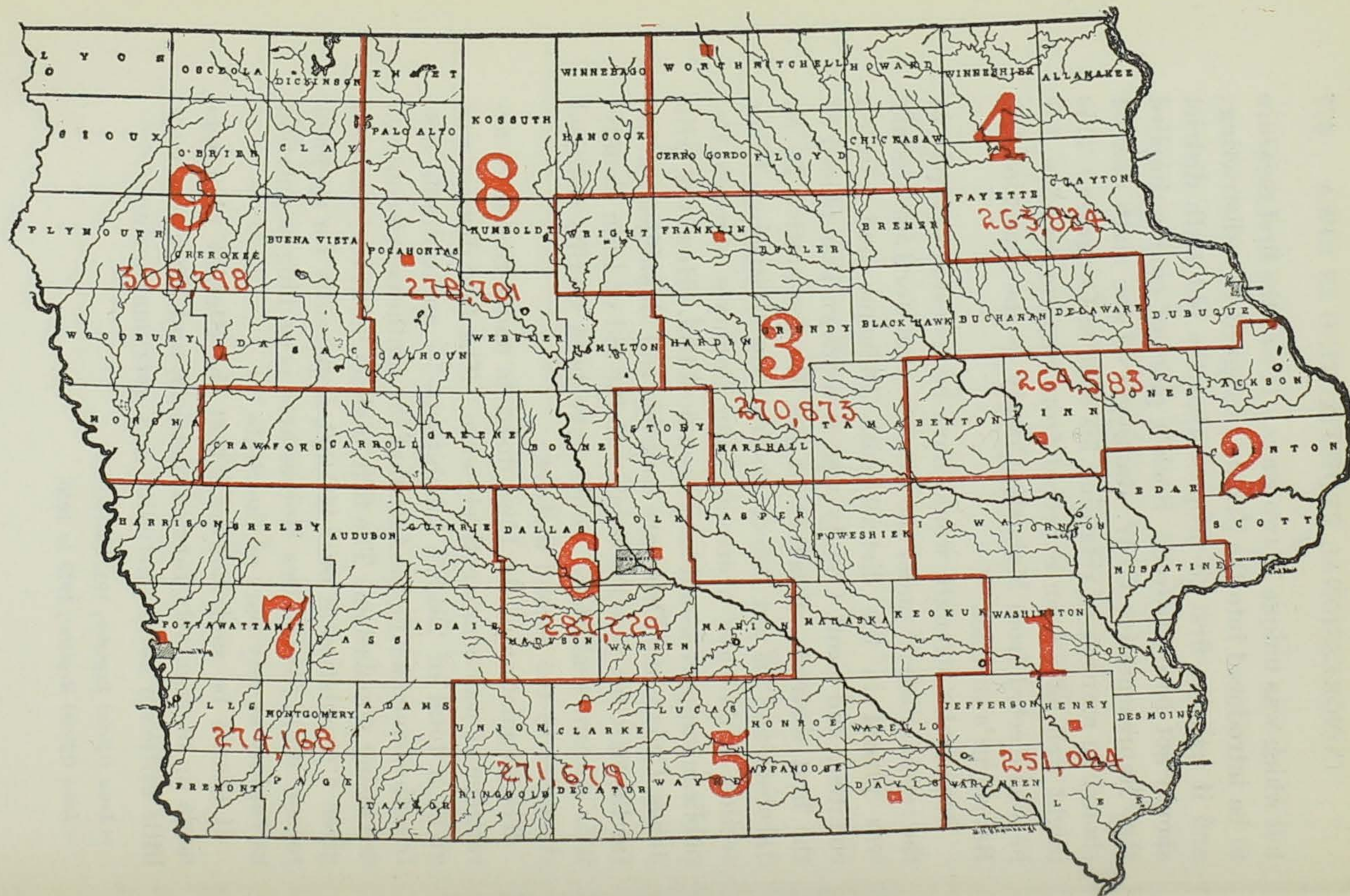
Democratic strength would have been tested severely in the second district under the Stanley plan, for Linn County was placed in the district with Dubuque and Clinton counties, and Scott County was withdrawn and placed in the first district. Whether or not Representative B. M. Jacobsen and his wet Democrats from the Mississippi River section could have overcome Linn County's staunch Republican support would have been doubtful. However, with Jones, Cedar, and Delaware counties (all Republican areas for the past ten years)³⁴ coming to the aid of Linn County, it is certain that there would have been terrific political struggles in the second district.

The population of the Iowa districts under Stanley's arrangement was comparatively even. The first district was given a total of 294,324 inhabitants — an equitable distribution considering the fact that the southeastern counties are losing population. The fifth district, however, was also given a population of over 290,000, apparently for no good reason at all, for the Des Moines area is gaining population as rapidly as any part of the State.³⁵

It should be said, however, that the Stanley plan was made up of regularly formed districts, and there was very little criticism as to partiality and gerrymandering.

³⁴ *Iowa Official Register*, 1919 to 1930.

³⁵ *Iowa Official Register*, 1919 to 1930.



MAP VI — THE TAMISIEA-ANDERSON PLAN

The Tamisiea-Anderson Plan. — No matter how many good points a measure possesses, it must receive votes before it can become a law — and that is exactly what Representative Hugh J. Tamisiea and Senator C. E. Anderson were thinking about when they introduced their redistricting plan in both the House and Senate on March 10th. “It was drawn with the view of obtaining support of legislators in large blocks, and to tackle the remapping problem as a political matter.”³⁶

The framers of this bill worked on the assumption that the more districts they left undisturbed, the more votes would be drawn to the support of their bill. As a result, the boundaries of the seventh, tenth, and eleventh districts were left unchanged, while districts number four and nine remained almost as they were formed in 1886.

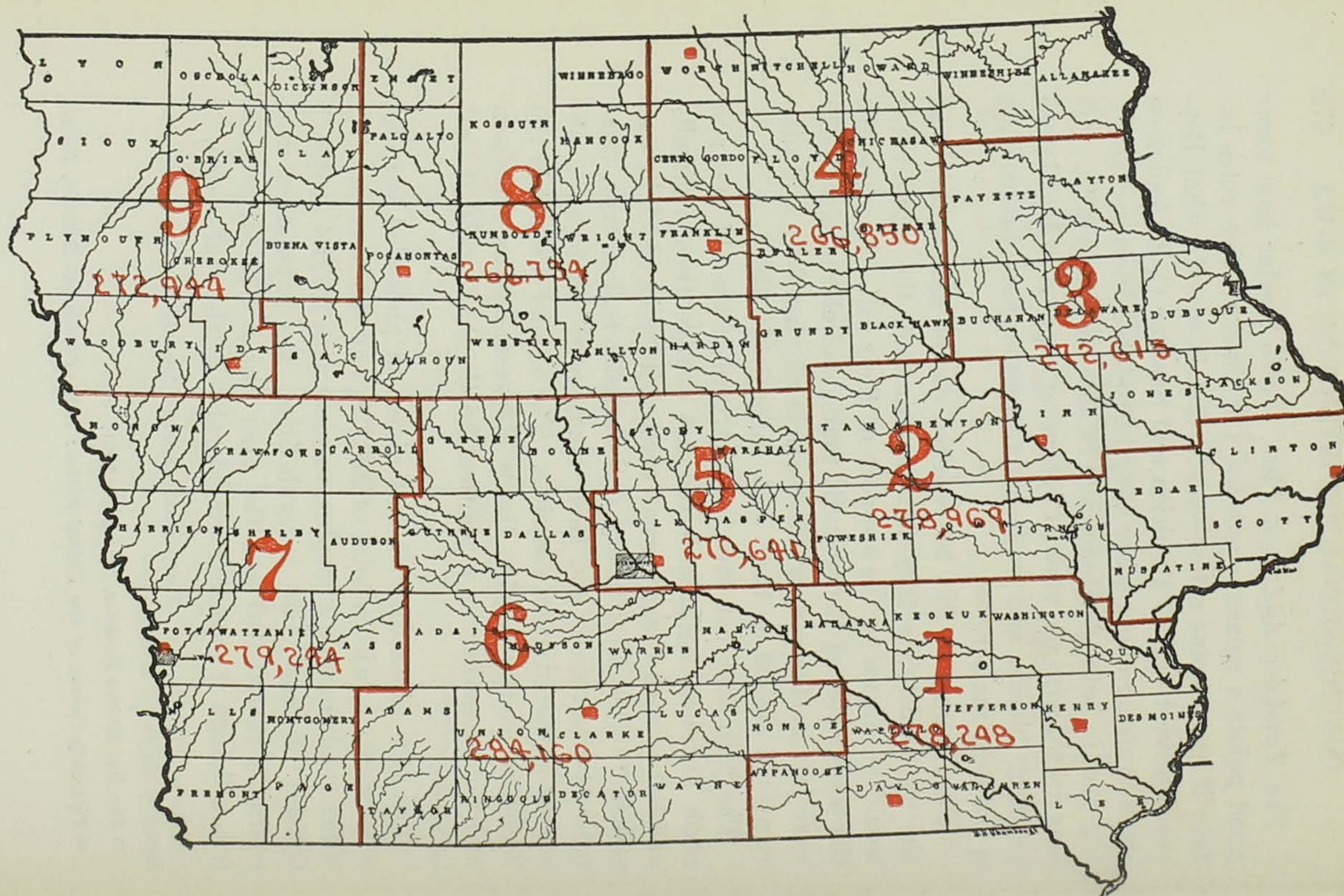
The plan also met with the approval of the old first and sixth districts, because it did not change them radically and left to each Congressman the territory in which he was strong.³⁷ The old fifth and eighth districts, however, were entirely destroyed and their component parts were absorbed in the adjacent districts. The second district in the Tamisiea-Anderson plan threw Representatives Jacobsen and Cole together in a political battle that would indeed be close.

The new ninth district was given an unneeded surplus of population, with a total of 308,798, and the first district, which really needed a surplus, was left with 251,084 people.³⁸ Outside of these two irregularities, the population was equitably distributed and the plan was not at all a poor one, although it smacked considerably of the status quo.

³⁶ House File No. 442, Forty-fourth General Assembly; *The Des Moines Register*, March 13, 1931.

³⁷ *The Des Moines Register*, March 13, 1931.

³⁸ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP VII — THE HELGASON PLAN

The Helgason Plan. — Representative E. O. Helgason's congressional map would seem to indicate that his chief object in redistricting the State was to keep the minority party from gaining control of even one district. To accomplish his purpose, he split the Democratic second district in two parts and then attached a block of central Republican counties to counteract the Democratic vote of Clinton and Scott counties.³⁹

Representatives Fred C. Gilchrist and T. J. B. Robinson were pitted together in the new eighth district, but the author of the bill was careful to give his own Representative, Mr. Gilchrist, the support of ten of his old counties, as against Mr. Robinson's three. A special district was carved out for Representative Thurston. The old seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth districts were each to give at least two counties to help form the new sixth district. The smallest population contained in any of Helgason's districts was 266,734 people, while number six, with 284,160 inhabitants, was the largest.⁴⁰

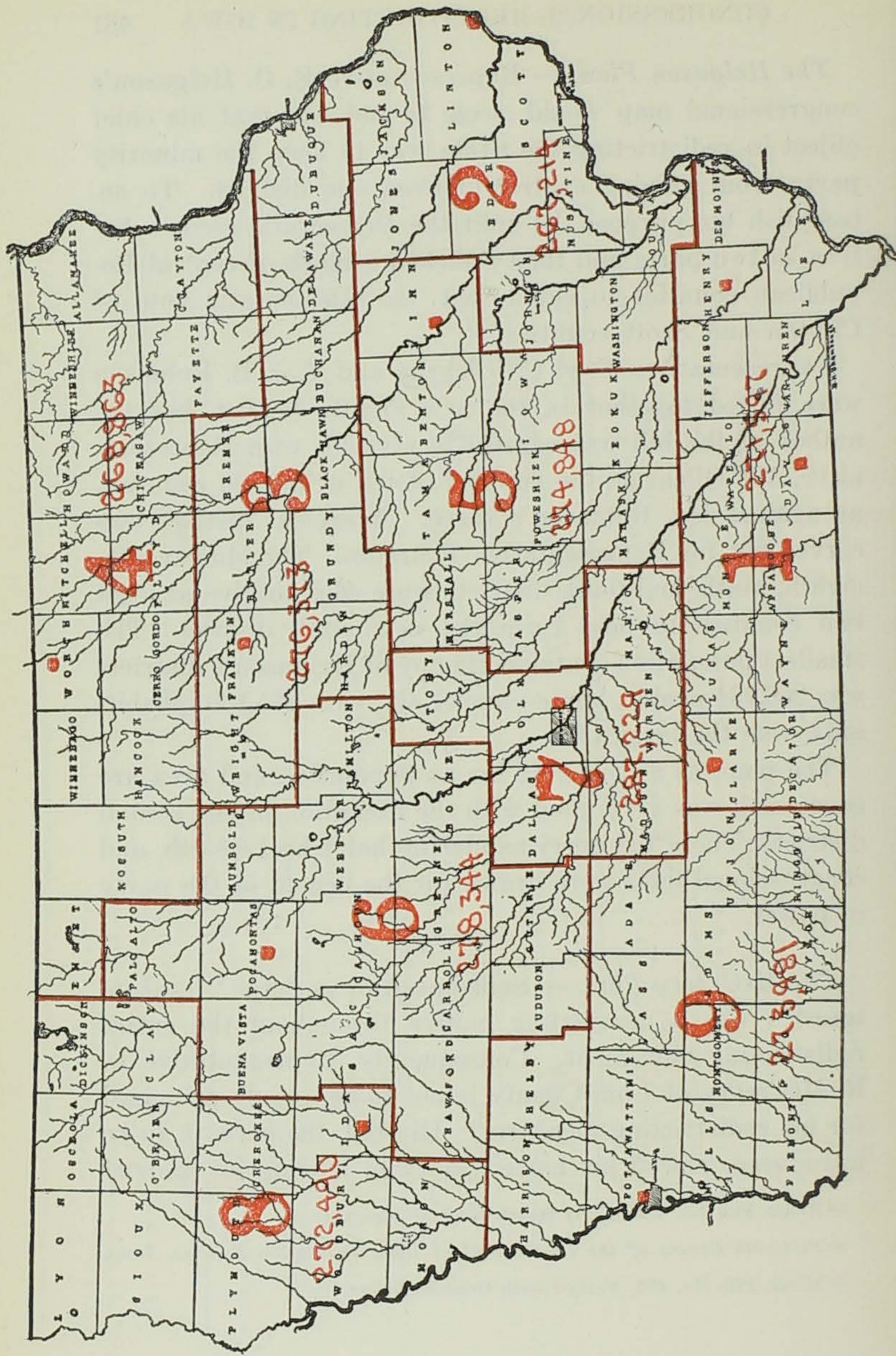
The plan, as a whole, as far as population and area are concerned, was very good with the exception of the second district. There the gerrymandering habit broke forth, and congressional lines were drawn for the benefit of the party in power.

The McCreery Plan. — Selfishness, or perhaps "local interest", was a dominating motive throughout the entire redistricting movement. Consequently, Representative D. R. McCreery of Linn County is not to be unduly criticised for his redistricting measure.⁴¹ His bill, the seventh to be introduced, placed his home county in an interior district

³⁹ House File No. 438, Forty-fourth General Assembly.

⁴⁰ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*

⁴¹ House File No. 486, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP VIII — THE MCCREERY PLAN

made up of four of the counties from the old fifth district, and five new counties from the second and sixth districts. Linn County would have remained the dominating county of a conservative Republican district. It was exactly what the people of Linn County wanted.

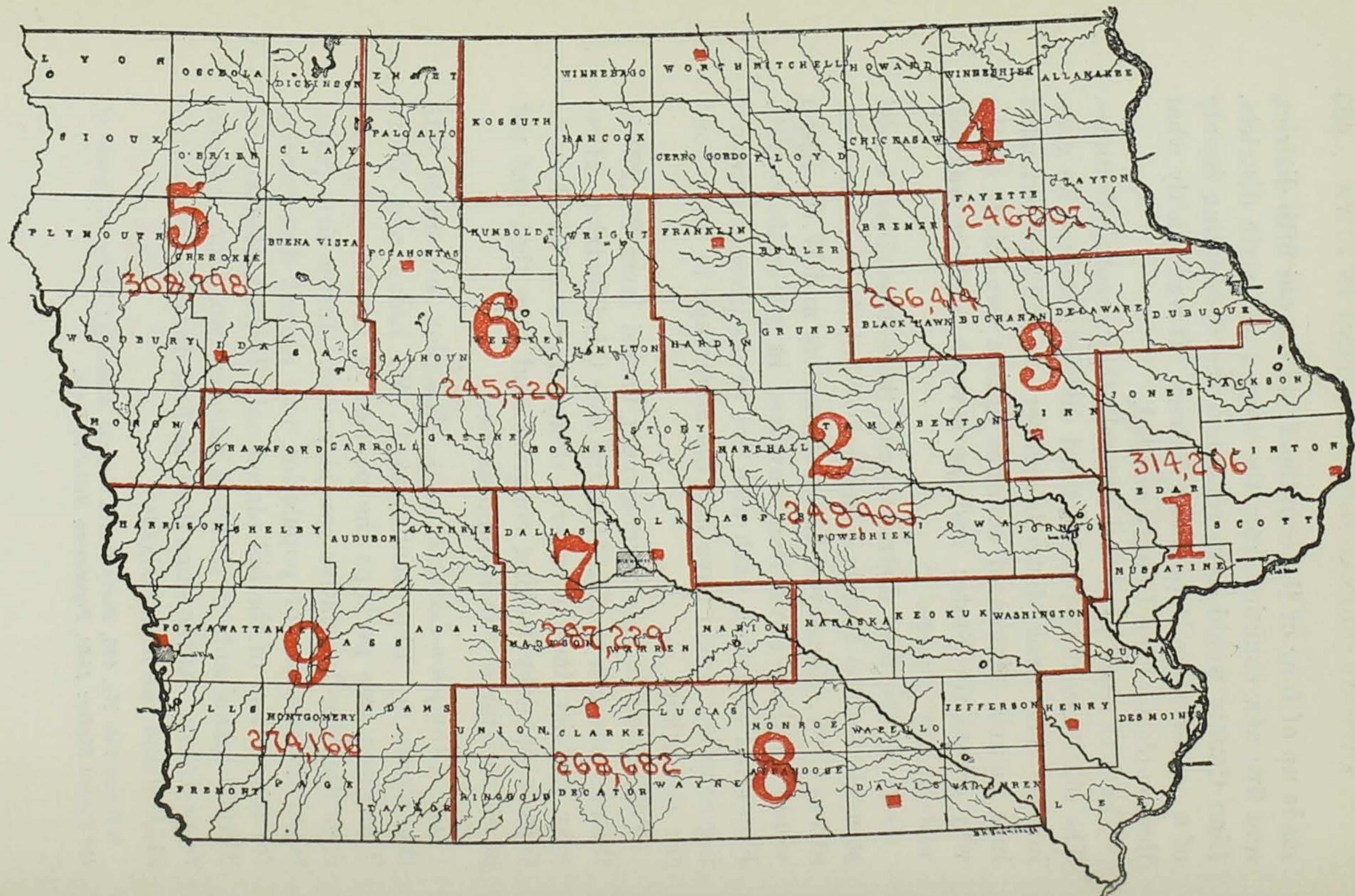
The McCreery plan had several other peculiar features. The old "monkey-wrench" third district retained its glaring boundary lines; districts number one and four extended in a narrow column of counties almost two-thirds of the way across the State; and the seventh district was left without any change.

Only in the first district would there have been a real struggle for the seat in Congress — but there Representatives C. W. Ramseyer, Lloyd Thurston, and W. F. Kopp would all three have been involved in a "battle royal". Kopp and Thurston, each with five of his present supporting counties, would have had the advantage in the contest for reëlection.

Population in this arrangement varied from 287,229 in the new seventh to 267,214 in the new third district. However, district lines in general wound and weaved about to form a splotchy looking congressional map that was not at all satisfactory in its appearance.

The Thompson-Lamb Plan. — The plan introduced into the House by Representatives C. W. Lamb and Thore Thompson was perhaps the poorest of the ten proposals submitted for legislative consideration. In the first place, equal distribution of population was almost disregarded, for the writers of the bill placed only 248,000, 246,000, and 245,000 inhabitants in districts number two, four, and six, respectively. At the same time the first district was allotted 314,000 and the fifth 308,000.⁴²

⁴² House File No. 495, Forty-fourth General Assembly; *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP IX — THE THOMPSON-LAMB PLAN
 (Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1921)

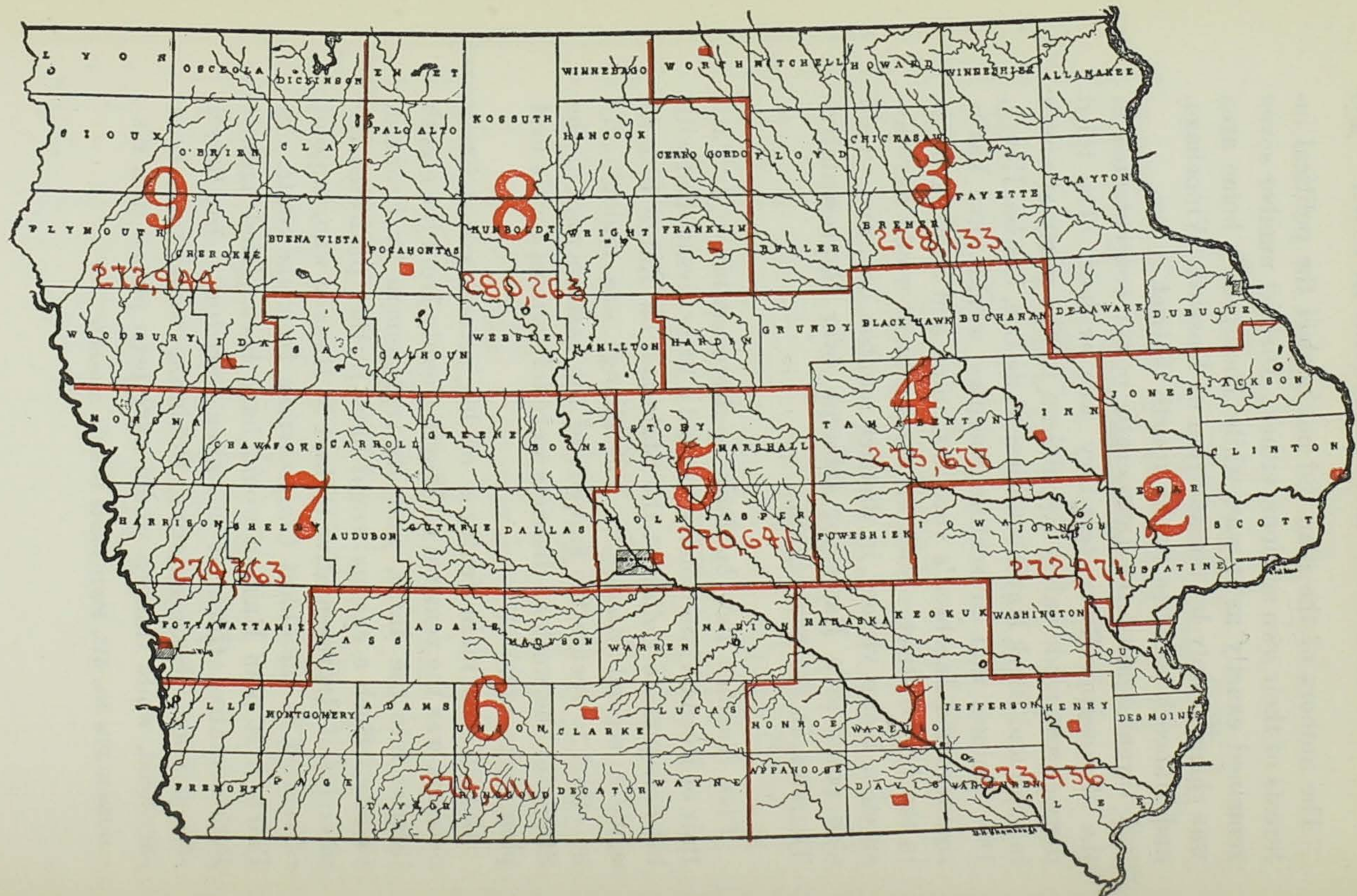
The authors of the plan did not neglect the political interests of their own sections, either. District number seven remained exactly as it was, while Thompson's home area was changed only by the addition of Kossuth, Winnebago, and Hancock counties to the fourth district.

A threat against the Democratic power concentrated in the Mississippi River territory was evident. The third district was made safely Republican by the party strength in Linn and Black Hawk counties, while Lee, Louisa, Henry, Des Moines, and Muscatine counties would have easily counteracted Jacobsen's vote in Clinton and Scott counties in the first district. Such an arrangement would have assured a Kopp victory in district number one, and would also point to a Ramseyer triumph over Representative Thurston in the new eighth.

Plan Number Two by Bair. — Representative J. Park Bair of Buena Vista County seemed a little dissatisfied with his first plan to redistrict the State and on March 16th he made a second attempt.⁴³ The change was undoubtedly an effort to secure the support of the eastern part of the State, for the western districts were left almost as his first plan suggested.

One of the main features of his second redistricting measure was the removal of Worth County from the eighth district into the third, and its replacement by Franklin County. Such a change would have further protected the interests of Representative Gilbert N. Haugen who, in point of service, is the oldest Congressman from the State. In Bair's first plan Haugen would have been pitted against Representative Gilchrist in alien territory. In Bair's second plan, Representative Robinson would have been sacrificed, while Haugen would have been placed in a dis-

⁴³ House File No. 513, Forty-fourth General Assembly.



MAP X — THE BAIR PLAN, NUMBER TWO
(Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

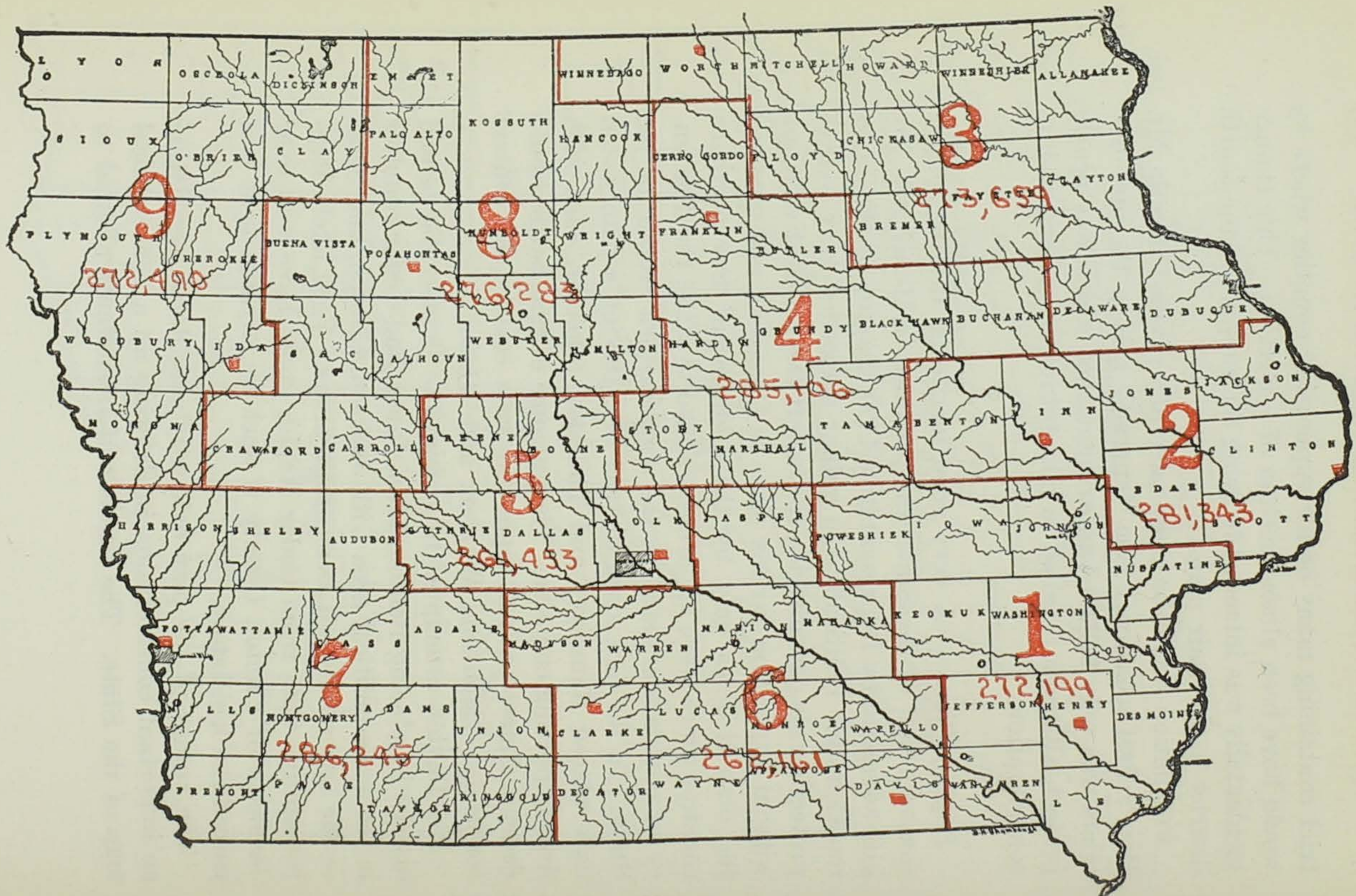
trict containing many of his supporting counties where he would have been almost certain of reëlection. This change incidentally was intended to bring the support of the fourth district to the Bair plan.

Population was even more carefully divided than in Mr. Bair's first measure. The "spread" among the nine districts was only 9622 — an arrangement which was nearly perfect, although it failed to take future developments into consideration.

Dayton Plan. — A very good territorial division of the southern half of the State was provided in House File No. 516, advanced by Representative C. O. Dayton of Washington County. Politically the author succeeded very well in protecting his own district, for he left Representative Kopp without opposition for his place in Congress, and changed the district lines only by the addition of five northern counties which were apparently added to offset the deficiency in population found in the southeastern section of the State. In the new sixth district Mr. Dayton's plan would have placed Ramseyer and Thurston together, each with five supporting counties. The outcome of that battle would depend almost entirely upon the vote cast in the neutral counties — Madison, Warren, and Marion.

Mr. Dayton attempted to swamp the Democratic second district by placing Benton, Linn, Jones, and Cedar counties in the same political area with Jackson, Clinton, and Scott — the latter three all Democratic areas. Very likely Representative Cole from Cedar Rapids could have won over Jacobsen of Clinton County if such an arrangement had passed the legislature.

The author of the plan evidently considered population an important consideration in drawing up a new political map of the State. The number of inhabitants allotted to



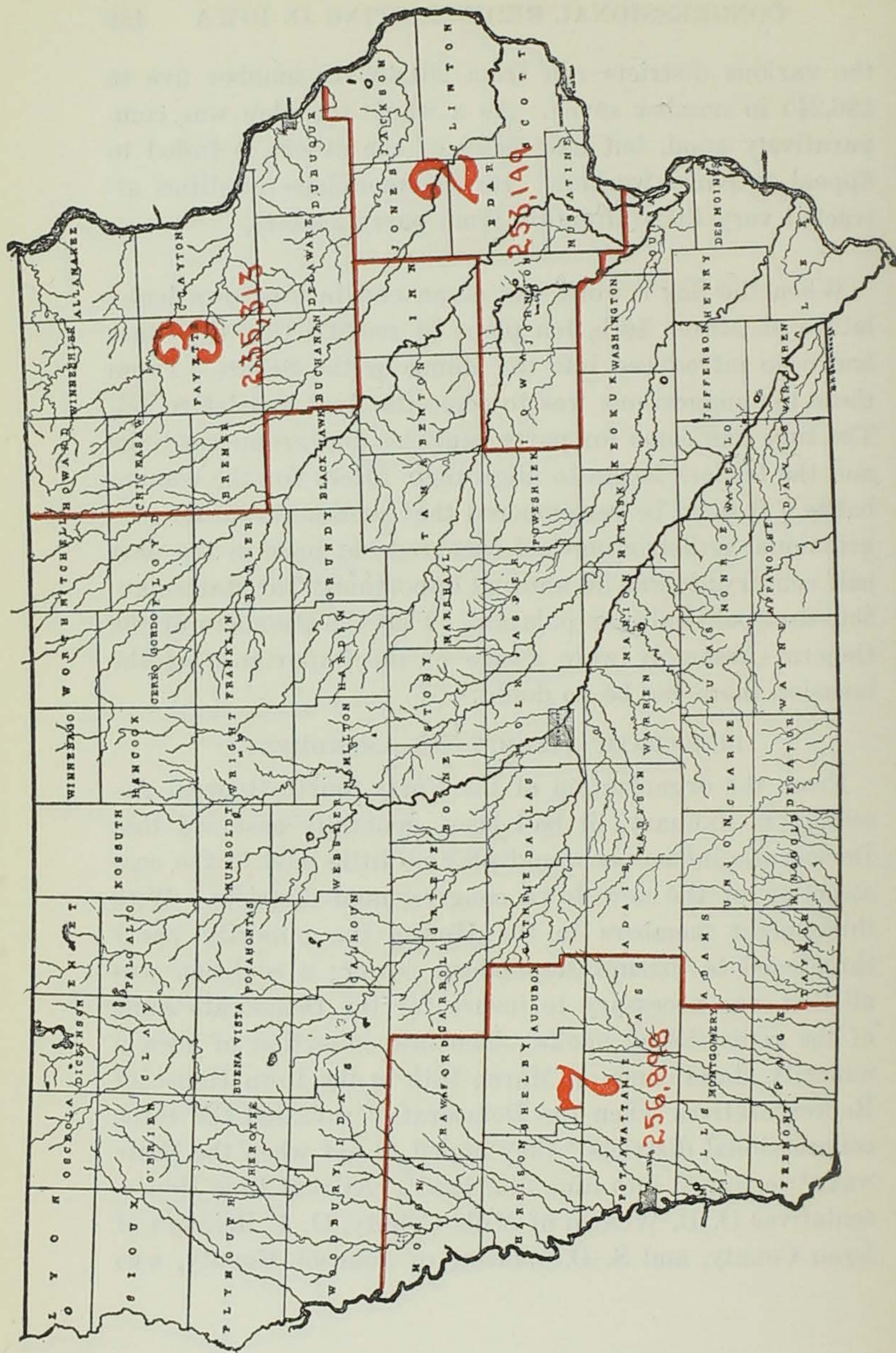
MAP XI — THE DAYTON PLAN
 (Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

the various districts ran from 261,453 in number five to 286,245 in number seven. As a whole the plan was comparatively good, but like many of the others it failed to appeal to party workers. Its commonplace qualities attracted very little attention from party leaders.

When the day's work was at an end in the Iowa legislature on March 16th, ten plans of redistricting the State had been introduced into the House or the Senate. From these ten suggestions was to come the final legislative act. The time had come for party caucuses and group meetings and the leaders began to align their forces for the coming battle. It must be remembered that such an event as congressional redistricting had occurred but once in the past half century; it was an unusual opportunity for statesmanship and political manipulation. That the members of the General Assembly were aware of the importance of the occasion there can be no doubt.

DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPTS AT AMENDMENT

From the organization of the Forty-fourth General Assembly in January, it had been generally assumed that Democratic influences would play no little part in the construction of the new Iowa congressional districts. With thirty-eight members in the House, the minority party threatened to disrupt Republican power; a coalition was all that was necessary to insure for the Democrats some of the redistricting spoils. The first assertion of such a minority stand came on March 16th in the Iowa House of Representatives when the Democrats "revealed the three congressional districts" they hoped to get when the State was "remapped into nine districts". At that time Representatives O. D. Wearin of Mills County, O. J. Reimers of Lyon County, and S. D. Whiting of Johnson County, who



MAP XII — THE THREE DISTRICTS DEMANDED BY THE DEMOCRATS

formed the committee to handle the party's redistricting stand, filed amendments to five of the redistricting bills in the House. Later the same amendment was to be filed to the other bills before the House.⁴⁴

Such Democratic action was apparently necessary if the party was to have any hand in the redistricting. The Committee on Judicial and Political Districts, made up entirely of Republicans, precluded the endorsement of any Democratic measures through the ordinary channels. Amendments were the only means by which the desires of the minority party could get consideration on the floor of the House.

The Democratic plan was simple. Three sections of the State were fairly heavily Democratic and might possibly return a Democratic Representative if boundary lines were favorably drawn. (See Map No. 12). Thus, under the suggested arrangement, the second district, with a population of 253,149, was made up of the counties of the old second with the addition of Jones and Cedar counties from the fifth district.⁴⁵ Such a lineup would very likely return a Democratic vote in the 1932 election.

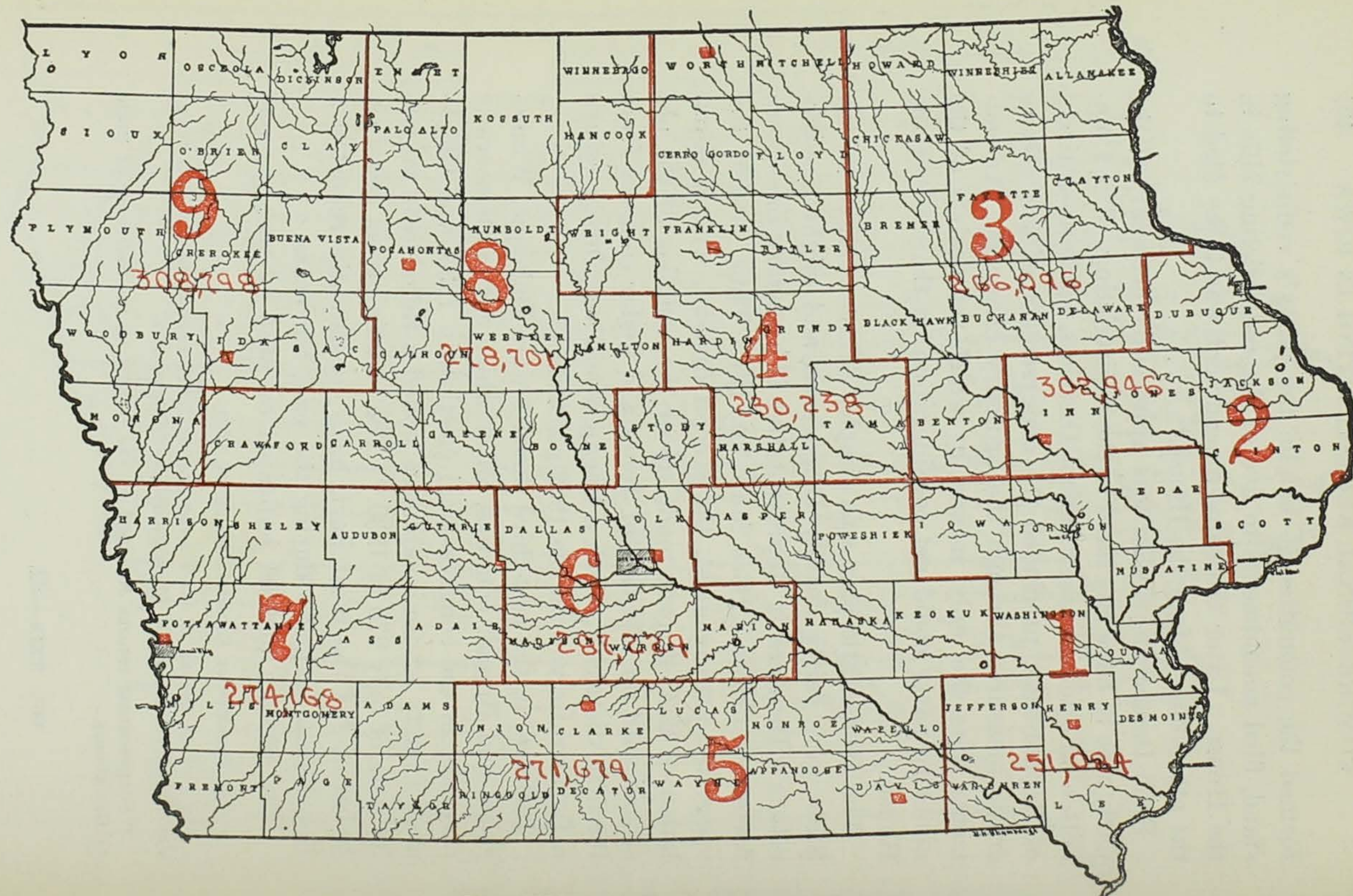
Included in the new third district were Dubuque, Winneshek, and Bremer counties, all of which cast a Democratic majority in the congressional election in 1930, and Chickasaw County whose inhabitants polled a Republican majority vote of only 270 in 1930.⁴⁶ The remaining six counties, however, for the most part, have consistently reported a Republican majority during the past ten years.

The seventh district indicated on Map 12 was the one

⁴⁴ *The Des Moines Register*, March 18, 1931.

⁴⁵ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa; Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, p. 979.

⁴⁶ Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.



MAP XIII — THE HAYES AMENDMENT
 (Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1921)

which Democratic followers insisted might produce a favorable Democratic majority. In the Forty-fourth General Assembly, Monona, Crawford, Shelby, Cass, Mills, and Fremont counties were each represented by at least one Democrat in the House, while Fremont and Page counties each sent a Democratic Senator to Des Moines.⁴⁷ The population of the seventh district as the Democrats would have arranged it would have been 256,898.⁴⁸ It was made up of parts of the old eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh districts.

On Friday, March 27th, the Democratic declarations assumed more tangible proportions, when Representative James Hayes of Dubuque County offered a coalition amendment to the Tamisiea-Anderson redistricting bill.⁴⁹

The idea back of this plan was to concentrate Democratic power in the second district, and to leave six of the districts in the Tamisiea-Anderson bill unchanged. By such an arrangement, Democratic leaders hoped to gain the votes of most of the supporters of the Tamisiea plan, and at the same time to attract the thirty-eight Democratic votes in the House. If such a coalition could be effected the measure would pass.

One of the glaring faults of the Hayes amendment, as politicians viewed it, was the fact that the suggested new third district had no present Congressman within its boundaries. Thus this division would bring about the unseating of at least three of the present Representatives instead of the minimum number of two. In his second, fourth, and fifth districts Mr. Hayes had two Congressmen.

This attempt to suit both parties resulted in a poor division of the State so far as population was concerned. Under

⁴⁷ *Legislative Directory of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of Iowa*, 1931.

⁴⁸ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa*.

⁴⁹ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, p. 1200.

the 1930 census figures, the new fourth district would have included only 230,238 inhabitants, while the northwestern district would have contained 308,798 people.

Needless to say, the plan failed, for while it might have attracted the western vote of the State, it so tore up the northeastern section that it received hearty opposition from the counties involved. It appeared that Republican interests remained uppermost. Followers of the Tamisiea plan refused to support such a coalition scheme, and the Hayes amendment received little recognition in the House.

The culmination of Democratic efforts to gain their ends came on March 30th, with an amendment to the Tamisiea-Anderson Bill introduced into the House by Samuel D. Whiting of Johnson County.⁵⁰ In addition to Mr. Whiting, the measure was sponsored by Representatives LeRoy Shields, O. D. Wearin, F. W. Elliott, P. H. Donlon, H. S. Berry, Homer Hush, Roy Drake of Keokuk County, J. H. Aiken, W. J. McLain, and I. M. Reed.⁵¹ It, also, was advanced as a compromise measure, and its supporters hoped to gain the votes of enough dissatisfied Republicans to swing the balance in their favor. With solid Democratic support, only seventeen Republicans were needed for a majority.

The district lines of the Whiting amendment followed fairly closely the lines proposed by the Tamisiea Bill. The southeastern section presented the greatest difference, for the Whiting forces suggested that the second district exclude Linn County, and extend down the river to include Muscatine, Louisa, and Des Moines counties. This provision would have left Johnson County in the second district and would have left Congressman Jacobsen without

⁵⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, p. 1296.

⁵¹ *The Daily Iowan*, March 31, 1931.

opposition from any present Congressman. The exclusion of Linn County would also have left the district more heavily Democratic.

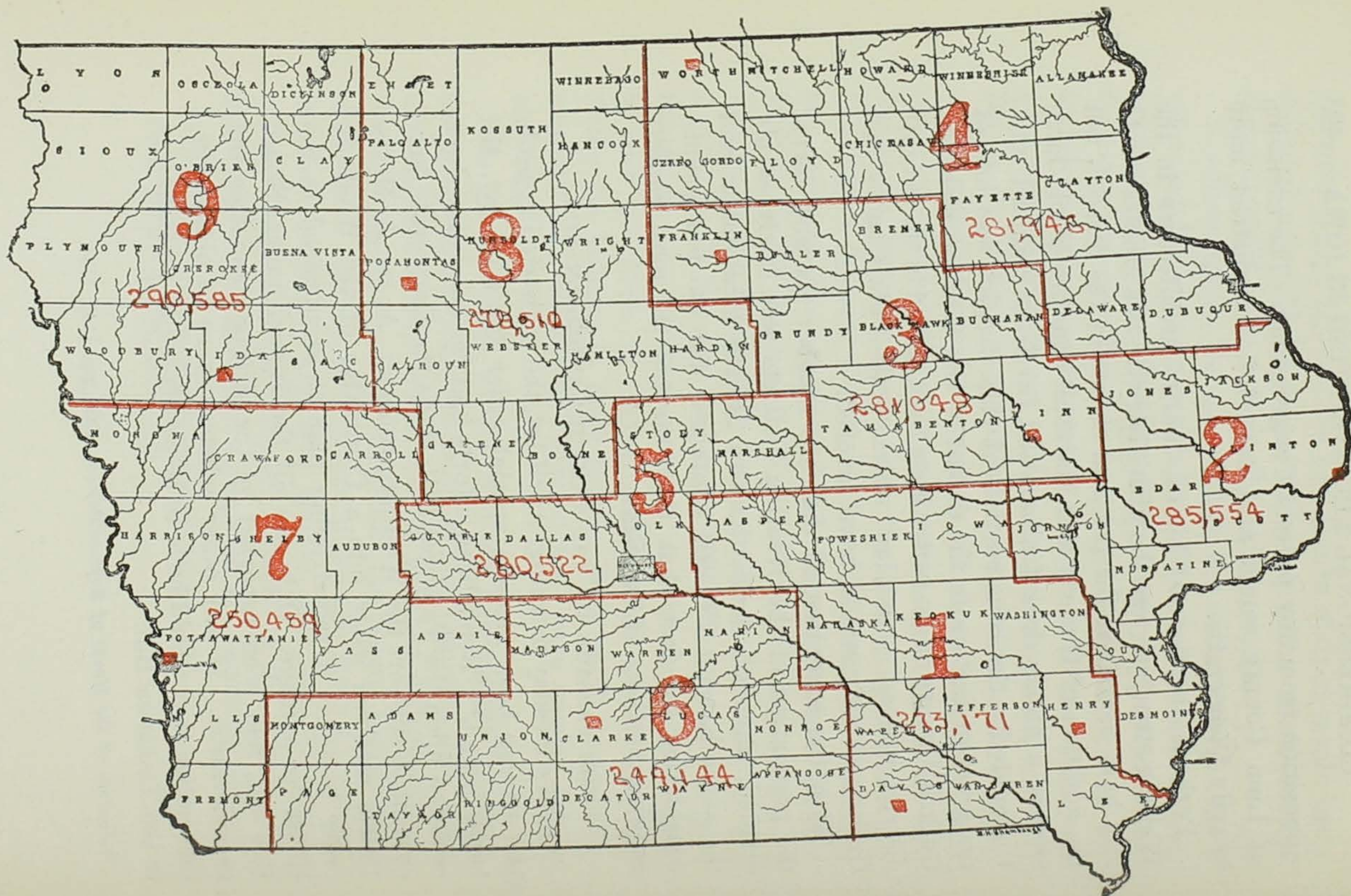
Perhaps the poorest bit of district architecture in the Whiting structure was the fifth district. Des Moines would still have remained the political center of the district, but the addition of Guthrie and Marshall counties would have created a highly decentralized and far from compact unit. Undoubtedly the construction of this district was one of the greatest factors in the defeat of the Whiting measure. Guthrie County might better have been placed in the seventh district instead — a plan which both Polk County and Guthrie County would have favored.

With the exception of districts number six and seven, the population of the Whiting districts was fairly evenly divided, although the sixth, with 249,144 inhabitants, and the seventh, with 250,459, contained far too few people, considering the fact that they are not the most rapidly growing sections of the State.

THE PASSAGE OF THE TAMISIEA-ANDERSON BILL

On Wednesday morning, April 1st, the redistricting problem having been made a special order for that day, the battle began.⁵² Republican efforts had for some time been centered upon the Tamisiea Bill, while the Democrats were content to support the Whiting proposal. At ten A. M. the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole in order to select a redistricting plan to recommend to the House for passage. Only one bill, the Tamisiea plan, House File 442, had been reported by the sifting committee for consideration. If any other schemes were to obtain further notice they would have to be presented as amendments to the Tamisiea Bill.

⁵² *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, pp. 1143, 1144.



MAP XIV — THE WHITING AMENDMENT
 (Circles indicate residence of Congressman in 1921)

The Democrats at first presented a solid front to Republican forces, with their thirty-eight members opposing the Tamisiea Bill. Added to these were Representatives F. W. Elliott of Scott County, D. R. McCreery and F. C. Byers of Linn County, and a number of other dissatisfied Republicans.⁵³ Satisfied that they could carry the vote of the Committee of the Whole, the Whiting followers were eager to force the issue. Representative B. G. Allen of Pocahontas County, however, "stalled the Democratic effort to get a vote by moving that first votes on all amendments should be informal".⁵⁴ "Any way to avoid a parliamentary tangle", he argued, "should be satisfactory to all concerned". Furthermore, the vote was merely to "ascertain the sentiment of the House".

Representative Hugh J. Tamisiea of Harrison County, author of the bill before the House, opened the redistricting debate. His plan, he contended, had three advantages. It changed district lines the least of any plan introduced; it permitted influential Iowa Congressmen to retain their seats; and it was regarded favorably by the Senate.

Samuel D. Whiting of Johnson County, floor leader of the Democrats, "countered with charges that the Tamisiea Bill was a deliberate gerrymander for Republican advantage."⁵⁵ He also maintained that his measure had the support of the Senate. "In fact," he said, "our plan was written in the Senate."

Throughout the morning the Democratic guns played with unerring accuracy upon the weak points of the Tamisiea Bill. It was not logical, the Democrats declared, that the large cities should be thrown together, and the agricul-

⁵³ *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol*, April 2, 1931.

⁵⁴ *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol*, April 2, 1931.

⁵⁵ *Des Moines Tribune-Capitol*, April 2, 1931.

tural territory be left to form the remaining districts. In particular, they pointed to the second district, with several large cities. In the past each of these urban areas had formed a nucleus of a congressional district; the Democrats argued for a continuation of that policy.

During the noon hour, however, Republican interests were not idle and aid was rallied to the Tamisiea standard. Representative E. R. Brown of Polk County, one of the more influential members of the House, was among those to defend the Tamisiea plan. The Whiting amendment did not suit Polk County, he said, for Guthrie and Marshall counties did not belong in that district. Furthermore, it seemed to him not illogical to form some dominantly urban districts and others mainly agricultural in character for each district should be composed of a like-minded population.

Just when sentiment appeared to be in favor of the Democratic measure, the Tamisiea forces introduced an amendment to their bill in the hope of securing a few additional votes. They proposed that Dubuque County be placed in the second district instead of the fourth, and that Buchanan and Delaware counties be shunted into the new fourth district. The amendment also threw Benton County into the third district instead of the second. These changes undoubtedly pleased Congressman Haugen's followers. For the effect of this amendment see Maps No. 6 and 15.

The Whiting group retaliated by revamping their unsatisfactory second district. Their amendment traded Des Moines County for Iowa County in the second district, placed Cerro Gordo County in the new eighth district, and threw Bremer County into the fourth.

Everything was in readiness now for the ballot. Representative Leonard Simmer of Wapello County made a plea for fair play, although he said, "We are all more or less selfish in this proposition — each one trying to get the best

that he can."⁵⁶ Representatives from Scott and Linn counties were particularly anxious that the two counties be placed in different districts. Others, whose counties were to be little affected by the vote, asked that local interests be subordinated in favor of the welfare of the State as a whole.

When the buttons pressed for the informal ballot on the Whiting amendment, and the red and green lights of the voting machine flashed on, the leaders of each group waited anxiously, for the vote apparently was very close. The informal ballot indicated that the House opposed the Whiting plan by a vote of 54 to 53. The vote on the Tamisiea plan indicated the same result, and when the formal vote was taken the Republicans were victorious, 55 to 52. Thus the Whiting Bill, which one Representative declared was "the biggest Democratic smoke screen I ever saw", met defeat, and the Tamisiea redistricting scheme was generally conceded the victory. On the following day the measure was favorably reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole, and it passed by a vote of 60 to 48.⁵⁷

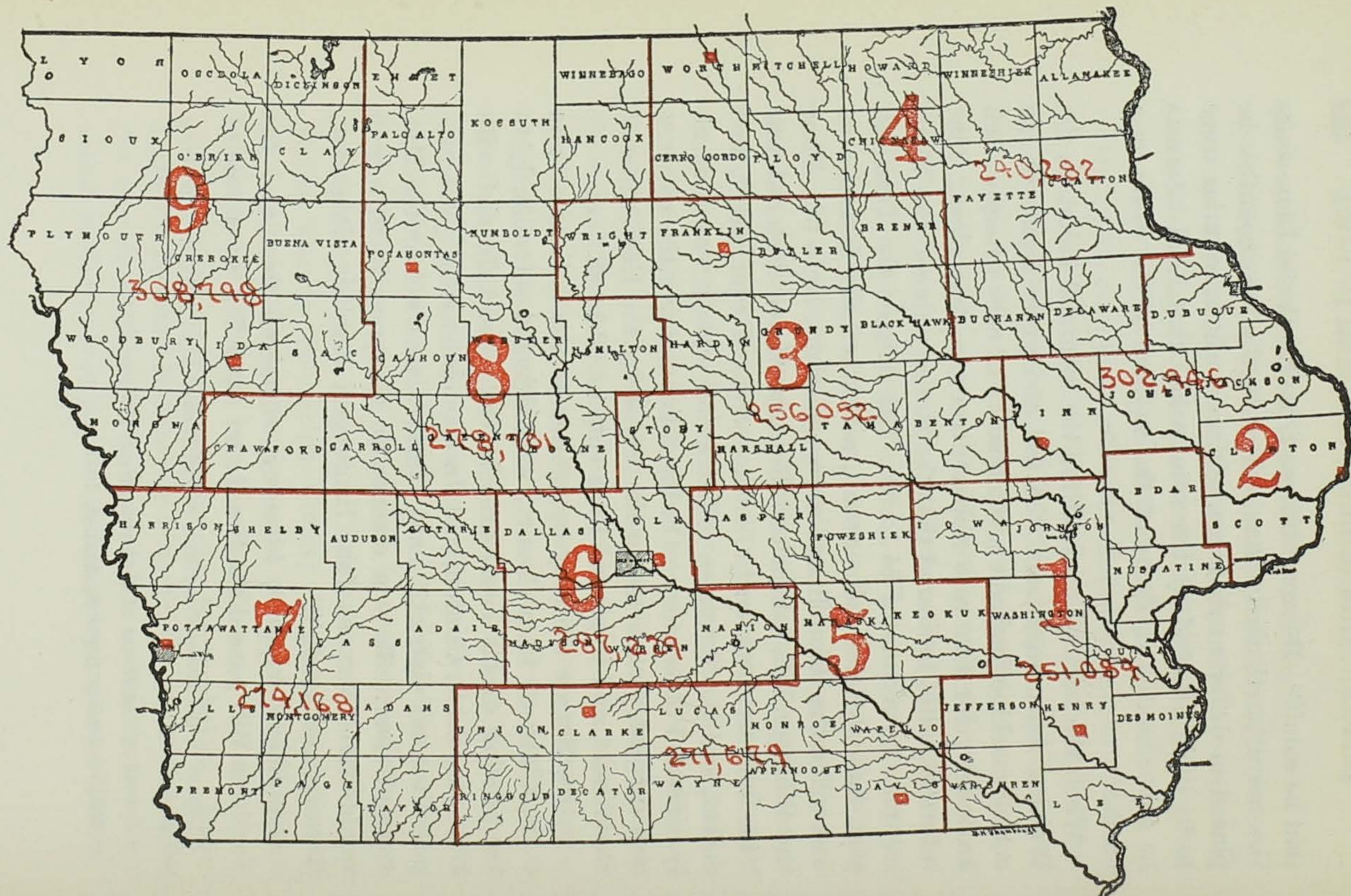
In the Senate the only opposition to the bill came from C. F. Clark of Linn County, who objected strenuously to the placing of his home area in the second district with Dubuque, Scott, Clinton, and Jackson counties. "The proposed second district", said Clark, "is as wet as the Mississippi river. To win election to Congress in it, a man would have to speak four languages, English, Bohemian, German and Irish."⁵⁸

Republican support, however, remained firm and the Tamisiea Bill passed the Senate on April 7th, by a vote of

⁵⁶ Debate in the House Committee of the Whole, April 1, 1931. The writer was present.

⁵⁷ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1931, p. 1337.

⁵⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, April 8, 1931.



MAP XV — THE REDISTRICTING PLAN AS ADOPTED IN 1931
 (Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

36 to 8.⁵⁹ The finishing touch was applied by the signature of Governor Dan W. Turner four days later. It was now definitely settled that in 1932 Iowa would select her nine congressmen from the districts as provided in the Tamisiea plan.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE TAMISIEA REDISTRICTING LAW

A study of the political map of Iowa after the amended Tamisiea-Anderson plan received Governor Turner's signature reveals several characteristics: (1) the district lines, although still far from regular, divide the State into much more compact units than the old eleven district arrangement; (2) the population spread between the various districts is at present 68,000, with future trends indicating a much greater variation in years to come;⁶⁰ (3) eight of the nine districts appear to possess heavy Republican strength, while the second district is doubtful; (4) Representatives Cole and Thurston, of the new second and fifth districts, are the two present Congressmen who will probably lose their seats in the House of Representatives; (5) with three old districts unchanged and several others remaining very much as they were under the old arrangement, the Tamisiea map presents a striking likeness to the redistricting of 1886.

Territorial Results of the Plan. — Territorially the new redistricting plan has a number of defects which might well have been corrected, had not so many votes been required to pass a measure in the Iowa House. Districts number six, eight, and nine are left unchanged, while the new seventh is altered only by the addition of Adams, Taylor, Page, and Fremont counties. (See Map No. 15). One of the better features of the Tamisiea plan, however, is that it destroys

⁵⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1931, p. 1229.

⁶⁰ *Iowa Official Register*, 1919 to 1930.

the old "monkey-wrench" third district, and from the old third and fifth districts a new and more compact unit is formed. Yet descriptive appellations have already been appended to one new Iowa district. Representative Wearin suggests that the new fifth district, from its general appearance, might be termed the "fish-hook" district.⁶¹ Evidences of gerrymandering are not entirely absent.

It is generally considered that all points within a congressional district should be easily accessible to the members of the district along natural routes. Under the new arrangement, however, a journey from Union County to Jasper County in the new fifth district would necessitate moving directly through the heart of the sixth district. Likewise Worth and Buchanan counties in district number four, Scott and Linn counties in the second, and Crawford and Winnebago counties in the new eighth are separated by other Iowa districts. This predicament might have been avoided by a compact political division without regard to party and county desires.

Population in the New Iowa Districts. — An outstanding defect of the Tamisiea Bill may be readily discovered by a study of the population chart for 1930 and an investigation of the future possibilities of population growth in Iowa. Obviously, equality and fairness have been sacrificed at the altar of expediency, for the purpose of obtaining votes enough to pass the measure.

It has been generally conceded in past years that an Iowa congressional district should include at least one of the urban centers of the State, and that each of the larger cities should, if possible, be placed within separate districts. In this respect, the Tamisiea map forsakes the beaten path

⁶¹ Address of Representative Otha D. Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

of custom. District number two includes the four cities of Davenport, Clinton, Cedar Rapids, and Dubuque, each of them large enough to be the nucleus of a district. An abnormal growth of population within such a district might result in still more unfair representation in the years to come. It is interesting to note that should the population continue to increase at the present rate and should the present redistricting plan remain in force for the next forty years as the last plan did, the Iowa districts would contain the following number of people:⁶²

<i>District</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1970</i>
No. 1	251,084	256,736	262,388
No. 2	302,946	332,584	362,222
No. 3	256,052	280,904	305,756
No. 4	240,282	241,080	241,878
No. 5	271,679	249,329	226,979
No. 6	287,229	334,971	382,713
No. 7	274,168	294,528	314,888
No. 8	278,701	289,289	299,877
No. 9	308,798	335,496	362,194

Thus the first and fourth districts, which are made up for the main part of rural counties not likely to have any considerable increase in population, are given small populations instead of the surplus they should have. On the other hand, districts number two and six, which are the areas of most rapid growth in Iowa today, already include a relatively large number of people.

Political Considerations. — Politically the Tamisiea redistricting plan is almost a complete triumph for the Republican interests. An examination of the congressional vote in Iowa during the past decade discloses that only the second district has any Democratic potentialities.⁶³ And

⁶² *Iowa Official Register*, 1919 to 1930.

⁶³ Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

even in the second district, now considered Democratic, only Dubuque County, with a ten year average Democratic majority of 705 votes, has consistently returned a Democratic vote. In fact, the Democratic counties are said to be more "wet" than Democratic. And, as Representative Otha D. Wearin commented in a recent address, in the mixing of Dubuque County Irish-Catholics and Scott and Clinton German Protestants, party strength may suffer.⁶⁴ A political battle may also be waged between the Republicans in Cedar Rapids and the faction composing Davenport's Republican forces. And so with factions and non-party issues playing an important rôle, party power in the new second district is indeed difficult to predict. Representative Wearin of Mills County suggested that it "would be a toss up".⁶⁵

The nearest any of the other districts come to affording opposition to the Republican power in Iowa, is indicated by the vote for Congressmen for the decade from 1920-1930. The new third district, one of the districts in which the Democratic party is strongest, cast a Republican majority vote of 9266 in 1930, while the new seventh returned about the same Republican majority.⁶⁶ Within the next few years at least, it will be difficult for the Democratic party in Iowa to receive representation in Congress in proportion to voting strength. A table showing the vote in the various counties for the past ten years gives some idea of the voting strength of the two major parties. The counties are grouped according to the new districts.

⁶⁴ Address of Representative Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

⁶⁵ Address of Representative Wearin before the Iowa Political Science Association at Cedar Falls, on May 1, 1931.

⁶⁶ Congressional returns for 1930, in the records of the Secretary of State at Des Moines.

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CONGRESSIONAL VOTE FOR THE PAST DECADE IN COUNTIES AS GROUPED IN NINE
NEW DISTRICTS, SHOWING MAJORITIES RECEIVED BY
THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES⁶⁷

First District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Lee	1010	2177	4991	2121	11274*	2266	3973
Van Buren	2221	1429	2545	1985	4004*	1047	2205
Jefferson	2369	2067	3316	1888	4901*	2257	2799
Henry	3018	1651	3693	2855	5514*	1929	3110
Des Moines	3339	2357	5076	3138	11007*	360	4212
Louisa	2094	1162	2592	1857	3250*	1762	2119
Washington	3073	1752	3398	2106	5856*	1894	3013
Muscatine	7845	937	2190	2236	4530	1460	3199
Cedar	5624	1851	2791	2373	2283	686	2601
Johnson	5724*	270-	489	27-	694-	529-	782
Iowa	4662	755	1147	152	1152	594	1610
Total Average Majority							29,623

Second District

Scott	14982	1028-	7957	2930	4647	1275-	4702
Clinton	6988*	976	3569	3112	1927	5503-	1844
Jackson	4073*	460	1222	1185	687	642-	1164
Dubuque	12020*	4383-	1507-	34-	8910-	1420-	705-
Linn	20231*	8458	14183	7950	12186	1216	10701
Jones	5880*	1331	2131	1418	1928	322	2168
Total Average Majority							19,874

Third District

Wright	5770*	2298	4216	2409	3289	1108	3181
Franklin	4160*	1237	2753	2030	2801	1271	2375
Butler	5775*	1438	3308	1636	3194	1349	2783
Bremer	3939*	681-	1906	1258	1172	28-	1261
Hardin	6113*	1902	3818	2496	3961	1575	3310
Grundy	4514*	2274	2033	1716	2299	714	2258
Black Hawk	16208*	4063	8092	3469	10910	2925	7611
Marshall	9187*	1246	5591	2714	5463	170-	4005
Tama	6260*	1442	1018	1487	708	25	1823
Benton	6448*	1180	2258	1332	1961	497	2269
Total Average Majority							30,876

⁶⁷ All figures not marked in any way indicate Republican majorities. Democratic majorities are designated by a line following the figure. All figures marked with an asterisk indicate that there was no Democratic candidate for Congress that year. Minor party votes have been disregarded in this table.

Fourth District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Worth	2813	984	2422	850	1538	399	1501
Mitchell	3396	881	2674	932	1766	1636	1880
Howard	1624	431	1266	17	170	296	634
Winneshiek	3917	1012	2456	1061	617	331-	1455
Allamakee	2729	294	1605	802	1444	297	1195
Cerro Gordo	5766	906	7452	1616	5717	2077	3922
Floyd	4851	1042	4392	1440	2094	1308	2521
Chickasaw	1562	221	1050	210	133	270	677
Fayette	4828	2538	5221	2502	3650	2140	3469
Clayton	3593	255-	1627	1105	1841	896	1436
Buchanan	6187*	1891	3371	2668	2627	1576	3053
Delaware	5713	2449	3751	2552	2512	1834	3136
Total Average Majority							24,878

Fifth District

Jasper	2785	968	4829	2741	5178	1982	3060
Poweshiek	3525	1345	3341	2419	2913	1762	2550
Mahaska	3083	1983	3748	2402	2058	2206	2579
Keokuk	3083	1707	2480	141	1785	718	1580
Union	4697	151	2216	1626	1803	371	1810
Clarke	3110*	788	109	1487	1094	251	1139
Lucas	3889*	1022	961	1048	1683	280	1480
Monroe	2036	1965	3003	2168	1698	1725	2097
Wapello	5170	2758	5464	3631	5828	2172	4203
Ringgold	3764	656	1898	1508	1446	138	1568
Decatur	4382	322-	785	611	730	320-	977
Wayne	4318	857	591	618	786	68	1206
Appanoose	6364	1740	2981	112	2857	1350	2567
Davis	857	487	1007	272	734	1501-	301
Total Average Majority							* 27,117

Sixth District

Story	8370*	556	4968	2902	7601*	2204	4433
Dallas	6390*	1958	4118	1963	7357*	3465	4208
Polk	35409*	8973	31150	13654	42054*	14543	26297
Madison	4379*	266	2161	1516	4132*	1762	2352
Warren	5342*	1708	2977	2305	5272*	1942	3257
Marion	5205*	554	2722	1564	5988*	1427	2910
Total Average Majority							43,457

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Seventh District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Harrison	4240	1041	1743	1092	519	169	1467
Shelby	3271	564	721	122	73	97-	775
Audubon	2422	1371	1660	1219	539	111	1210
Guthrie	4334	2040	2845	2018	2702	1818	2626
Pottawattamie	6231	1648	6728	3278	5247	1407	4164
Cass	6022	2660	4221	2490	3697	1924	3502
Adair	3402	1711	3108	2361	2464	1472	2419
Mills	3151	783	1629	1102	1295	246-	1285
Montgomery	4278	217	3757	1854	3336	728	2361
Adams	3020	378-	698	854	353	36-	751
Fremont	3739	258	853	120-	219	713-	703
Page	7022*	2716	3972	2193	2075	458	3072
Taylor	5039	415-	1837	1888	1318	260-	1567
Total Average Majority							25,902

Eighth District

Emmet	3405*	1773	2718	1601*	3369*	1361	2371
Palo Alto	3667*	1333	2649	2813*	3587*	1236	2547
Kossuth	6016*	3174	3691	3326*	5400*	1402	3834
Winnebago	3744*	1871	3111	2026*	3447*	1711	2635
Hancock	3269*	1971	3177	2255*	3311*	1762	2624
Pocahontas	3958*	902	1616	3038*	3101*	1919	2425
Humboldt	3417*	1521	2698	1689*	2928*	1119	2228
Calhoun	5022*	1692	2660	2705*	3858*	1452	2898
Webster	5958*	1586	2980	5174*	7988*	154-	3922
Hamilton	5803*	2745	4572	3095*	4699*	1651	3760
Crawford	4647*	772	1408	3058*	3472*	200	2259
Greene	4592*	2045	3772	2141*	3829	1316	2969
Boone	6948*	3088	4563	3498*	6398*	2986	4580
Total Average Majority							39,052

Ninth District

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Buena Vista	3632	1284	2002	2070	3668	2164	2470
Cherokee	2998	1265-	1103	703	2336	1690	1260
Clay	3428	1530	1884	2106	2615	2375	2316
Dickinson	2583	833	1476	962	1745	952	1425
Ida	1554	1185	399-	1788	2255	2106	1414

County	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1930	Average Majority
Lyon	2385	765	352	981	2140	1612	1372
Monona	2156	536	633	1083	1508	1472	1231
O'Brien	3179	463	1309	1990	3221	1493	1962
Osceola	1240	517	38-	177	917	956	628
Plymouth	2796	776	44	141	1213	1149	1019
Sac	3517	1722	1998	1911	3271	1435	2309
Sioux	3862	1954	1394	617	4007	1790	2270
Woodbury	3086	1723	9348	1310	139	5083	3448
Total Average Majority							23,124

These figures do not, of course, indicate exactly the relative strength of the two parties in the new districts, since local jealousies and affiliations may operate differently in the new grouping of counties.

With the redistricting of the State accomplished, Representative Cole of Cedar Rapids "finds his home county, Linn, and the adjoining county, Jones, all he has left of his present district".⁶⁸ The remaining counties of the new second district are Scott, Clinton, Jackson, and Dubuque. Ordinarily, Dubuque County's heavy Democratic vote counted for little in the old "monkey-wrench" third, but "in a district with Clinton and Scott, Dubuque's Democratic vote would be a powerful aid to a candidate from that county".⁶⁹ Such a statement indicates that even if the Democrats should be in the majority, Representative Jacobsen may not return to the House of Representatives after 1932, since a Dubuque County Democrat would be the logical choice for his successor.

In the new fifth district Representative Thurston, in Clarke County, and Representative Ramseyer, in Davis County, are thrown together in a district which contains all of Ramseyer's former supporting counties. Mr. Thurs-

⁶⁸ *The Des Moines Register*, April 3, 1931.

⁶⁹ *The Des Moines Register*, April 3, 1931.

ton still has seven of his old counties in the new district but his chances for reëlection are considered exceedingly small, for the Ramseyer counties contain a larger share of the voting strength. Moreover, Ramseyer has had a longer congressional experience, and has a larger party following than Thurston has. "Merely the chance of geography", remarked Mr. Thurston, when asked what he thought of the new measure.⁷⁰

The remaining Congressmen are left either in their old districts or in districts which do not greatly harm their chances of reëlection. Party power has thus far protected their interests, and very likely the 1932 primary election returns will indicate their future victory.

With all its faults, the Tamisiea redistricting plan might have been worse. It must be remembered that the measure passed the House because it pleased sixty of the one hundred and eight Iowa Representatives, even though its provisions were unsatisfactory to the remaining members. Had no measure been passed at all, it would have been necessary to have elected Iowa's nine Representatives from the State at large in 1932, and even further political complications would have resulted. As it is, the districts are fairly compact and the population passably equal. It remains for future years and future generations to produce a governmental system which will, as our political thinkers advocate, acknowledge and respect the fundamental principles of representation.

SUGGESTED PLANS

The reconstruction of the congressional districts in Iowa is made extremely difficult because of the various factors that influence legislators in framing any redistricting bill.

⁷⁰ Interview with Representative Lloyd Thurston in Des Moines, on April 1, 1931.

In the first place the laws of the United States require that congressional districts be nearly equal in population and of contiguous territory.⁷¹ These two requirements are fairly easy to meet in Iowa, if other considerations could be eliminated. The three factors which most commonly prevent the formation of a logical and fair districting plan are: first, the political requirements of the party in power; second, the political and social relationships between the various counties; and third, the struggle of Congressmen now in office to retain their seats. When, as in the re-districting of 1931, some Congressmen are to be lost, this problem of course is more acute.

What would be an ideal plan of congressional districting? There are two possibilities. One is to assign the counties to the various districts so that the new districts would be almost equal in population — with some consideration for growth of population — and as symmetrical as possible, with due consideration to transportation facilities and centers of interest. A second plan would involve a change in the representation scheme and would require a smaller number of districts with several Congressmen from each, elected by proportional representation.

An Ideal Redistricting Plan Under the Present Law. — This proposed plan for re-districting Iowa into nine districts is based entirely upon territorial unity, equality of population, and natural interests. The desire of one party to secure as many Congressmen as possible and the desire of Congressmen in office to succeed themselves have been disregarded. Such a non-partisan system of districts is shown on Map No. 16. Under the Federal census for 1930, the average population in each of the nine new districts

⁷¹ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, p. 343; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, p. 572.

should be 274,548, and a reference to the map shows that the plan suggested conforms closely to this figure.⁷²

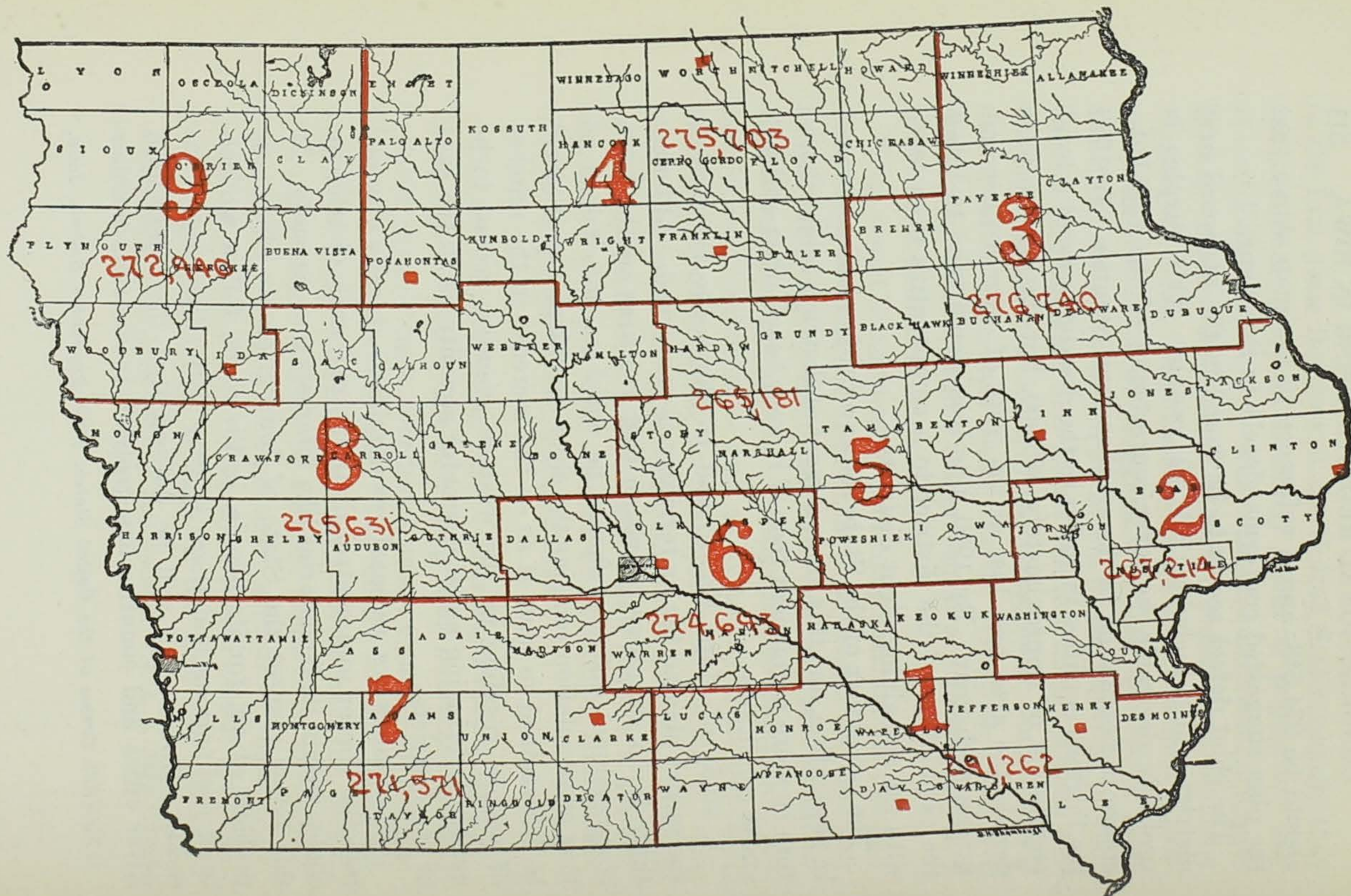
The chief defect seems to be found in the proposed first district which includes 291,262 people. This surplus is probably desirable, however, on account of the rapid decrease in population in the southeastern counties. In 1920 the thirteen counties included in the district boasted a total population of approximately 306,000, but during the past decade the area has lost at the rate of over a thousand people each year. By 1950, this loss would tend to bring the population of the district to a comparative even level with the remaining eight districts.

The remainder of the State shows a fairly steady increase in population, and this arrangement of districts might therefore be more permanent than if it were based upon entirely static conditions.

A study of Maps No. 15 and 16 shows the fairness of the model plan so far as territory is concerned. Although there is no statutory provision that the area of the Iowa congressional districts should be equal — and indeed as long as population remains the chief consideration, it might be impractical to have it so — the increase in the number of people residing in the western counties seems to be gradually bringing about a greater equality as to the area of the districts.

The counties are, as nearly as possible, naturally grouped into the border and central districts, and each district includes within its boundaries like interests and pursuits. In this latter respect the State of Iowa presents almost no problem at all, for its people, in the main, follow agricultural occupations and there is very little diversity of interest. However, it will be noticed that the Mississippi River cities and counties are grouped in districts number

⁷² *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population Bulletin, Iowa.*



MAP XVI — AN IDEAL REDISTRICTING PLAN
 (Squares indicate residences of Congressmen in 1931)

one, two, and three, and that the mining interests, cattle counties, and manufacturing areas are placed largely within their own district boundary lines.

To suggest such a district as the fourth district of the model plan is politically useless, but the irregular division lines created by former redistricting measures must sometime be adjusted.

The plan here presented indicates only one fairly possible Democratic victory, and that in the second district. In fact, so evenly is the Democratic vote distributed throughout the State, it is almost impossible to fairly return more than one Democratic majority from the nine congressional districts. This is true no matter how the dividing lines are twisted and turned.

In this struggle of Politics versus Population, it may be easily seen that this model plan takes the side of population. It has also largely disregarded the political complications that must necessarily arise when eleven Iowa Congressmen desire to keep their seats and not more than nine may do so. County desires, too, are for the most part disregarded. Iowa's population has shifted considerably in the last half century so that many old associations are no longer natural. New industries have arisen, new population centers have developed, and the counties should naturally be grouped into the central and border districts. New relationships should be allowed to develop.

A Plan Involving Proportional Representation. — Ernest Naville, the eminent Swiss publicist, wrote in 1865, "In a democratic government, the right of decision belongs to the majority, but the right of representation belongs to all."⁷³ Especially should that maxim be respected in this century, for in 1921 the average cost of government to each

⁷³ Hoag and Hallett's *Proportional Representation*, Introduction, p. XI.

man, woman, and child in cities of 30,000 and over in the United States was about \$96.16.⁷⁴ With the upkeep of governmental institutions leaning so heavily upon the purse of the electorate, their right to representation should not be denied. Yet in Iowa, the representation of the electorate has proven far from being equitable. Since 1846 the minority party has cast enough votes to entitle it to forty members in the House, while in reality only eighteen Democratic candidates have been elected.

Under the existing scheme of government within the State, a truly equitable election is impossible. Iowa's single-member districts prevent adequate minority representation. The only remedy lies in establishing a new system of representation, that is, the election of representatives from multi-member districts, with proportional representation.

The plan here proposed, as shown by Map No. 17, has been designed to fit the existing conditions found in Iowa. It is not suggested that such an arrangement would suit every State. Varying conditions necessarily alter the governmental form, and this plan might be entirely unfit for some other State. While a complete explanation of the plan and its technicalities is not possible here, a brief description of the results of such an arrangement and its advantages over the old system of selection may be an appropriate conclusion for this study of Iowa congressional districting.

Because of the fact that Iowa has been allotted nine Representatives beginning in 1932, a three district division, with each district electing three representatives, would be a logical plan. The State is thus divided into a Mississippi River district, a central district, and a western district, each area comprising a fairly compact unit. District number

⁷⁴ Hoag and Hallett's *Proportional Representation*, Introduction, p. XI.

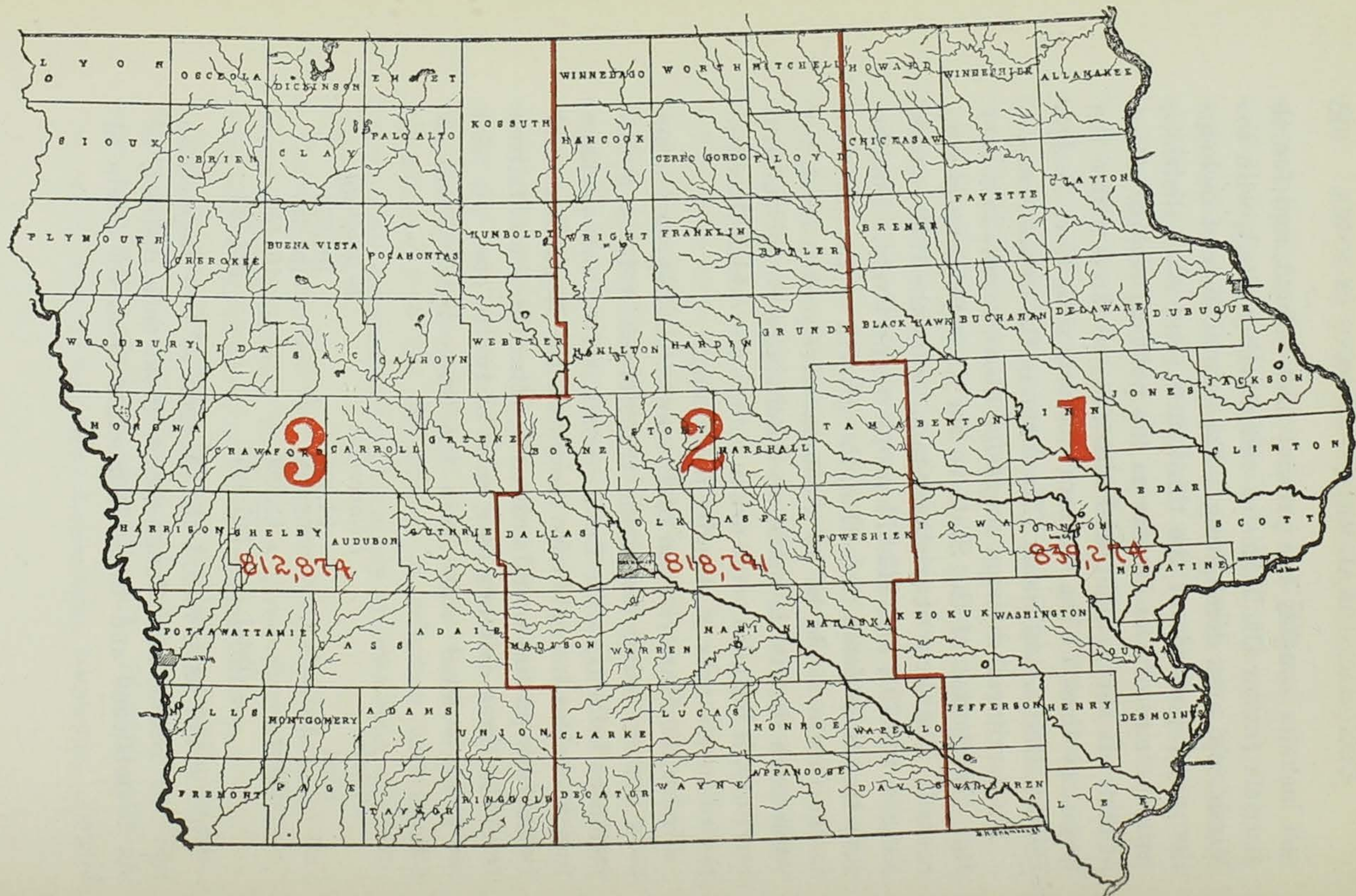
one includes roughly the present first, second, and fourth districts (under the Tamisiea redistricting plan), with the Mississippi area dominating. The second district includes the major portions of the third, fifth, and sixth districts, with the city of Des Moines as the political center. Most of districts seven, eight, and nine are embraced within the boundary lines of the western district, with Fort Dodge, Council Bluffs, and Sioux City forming the urban areas.

The territorial division suggested above results in a very fair distribution of the State so far as population is concerned. The three districts contain, under the 1930 census, 839,274, 818,791, and 812,874 people respectively. Population trends indicate, too, that the growth of the districts in the future would be on a comparatively even level, for while each district is made up dominantly of agricultural territory, it includes some urban counties in which the number of inhabitants is steadily increasing.

Under the Hare System of Proportional Representation — a system using the single transferable vote in multi-member districts, with first, second, third, and perhaps fourth choices indicated by the voter, the Republican and Democratic parties would ordinarily return Representatives from the three districts on a ratio of two to one. In 1930 the Congressional vote from the three districts was as follows:

<i>District</i>	<i>Democratic</i>	<i>Republican</i>
First	91,038	108,552
Second	52,849	108,569
Third	63,799	104,581
Total	<u>207,686</u>	<u>321,702</u>

This would have meant the election of two Republican and one Democratic Congressmen from each district, or six Republicans and three Democrats from the State at large.



MAP XVII — DISTRICTS FOR PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

With only three members elected from each district, it would be difficult, indeed, for a third party to secure any Representatives in Congress, unless it procured the strength necessary to carry approximately one-third of the votes cast in the district. It would be difficult, also, for the majority party to gain all the seats. Thus the two-party system would undoubtedly remain intact for many years, and each of the two major parties would be represented very nearly according to their strength in the district. Even though the plan advanced here may be improved technically, it does fit the needs of the State.

The Practicability of Such a Plan. — Whether Proportional Representation will ever be adopted in Iowa, time alone will tell. Certainly it is one of the most progressive steps that has been made in the field of representation in recent times. In Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, and many other countries in Europe some form or other of Proportional Representation has been established and is functioning smoothly.

No constitutional amendment would be necessary for the adoption of such a plan in Iowa. It would be necessary, however, for Congress, by statutory provision, to do away with the single member district, and give individual States the right to elect their members at large or from multi-member districts.

Possibly by the time Iowa is again divided into congressional districts, the division may be made with little regard to political considerations, and an arrangement may be made whereby the representative body will be a miniature of the electorate, clearly mirroring the desires of its constituents.

FRANCIS O. WILCOX