Representation and Inequality in Late Nineteenth-Century America: The Politics of Apportionment

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As befits a historian who has written widely on Iowa railroads, this volume contains much for readers interested in the state’s rich railroad history. For example, the frontispiece image is of a depot in What Cheer, Iowa. The state, with its dense railway network, could not but play a significant part in telling the social history of the railroads and America. The state’s major carriers, such as the Rock Island and the Burlington, feature prominently; and its many obscure short-lines, such as the forlorn Iowa and Southwestern Railway, get their due as well. Little of the Iowa material is new, yet the book is still a worthwhile addition to the library of Iowa railroad readers.


Reviewer Mark Wahlgren Summers is professor of history at the University of Kentucky. His books include Party Games: Getting, Keeping, and Using Power in Gilded Age Politics (2004).

As Otto von Bismarck would have said, if he had thought of it, “People appalled by watching sausages being made will feel better watching a legislature passing an apportionment measure.” Readers certainly will feel that way after reading Peter H. Argersinger’s Representation and Inequality in Late Nineteenth-Century America. An appealingly appalling chronicle of the major parties’ shenanigans in the 1890s, it details how far Democrats and Republicans were willing to twist and bend district lines to thwart the people’s will.

Argersinger is not new to the field. Over the years, his articles have shown how much lawmakers’ manipulations could distort “the value of the vote,” and how election laws could keep third parties off the ballot or cut down the “outs’” totals. Thanks to his work, our understanding of what parties did to tilt the playing field has been tremendously enhanced. Representation and Inequality makes a walloping contribution to that understanding for the 1890s.

Concentrating on states in the Midwest—Ohio and Michigan a little and Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa a lot—Argersinger shows how, as the political equilibrium of the 1880s began to shift toward a Democratic advantage, both parties strove to seal it by redrawing the electoral maps in egregious ways and using the court system as never before to get the results they wanted. Each side seemed to operate on the principle, “Do unto others as you would expect them to do to you— and make it stick.” The result was a tumultuous series of legislative
sessions in which, Argersinger contends, apportionment issues stirred
more heat than even currency or ethnocultural issues. In Indiana, de-
bates turned into fights, with pistols drawn and chairs broken up to
provide clubs; at one point, partisan armies threatened to carry the
Hoosier state into civil war. Having been beaten in two gerrymanders
of their own before losing the state, Wisconsin Democratic leaders
were shocked—shocked!—that district-rigging would leverage a mi-
nority of voters into a majority of seats, until the free silver rank and
file took control over the party. Unable to rule, quite capable of ruining,
those same leaders dropped their lawsuits and let the Republican Gerrymander go through. That fall, 91 of 100 seats in the legislature went
for the GOP. In any state, Republicans would scream at “a gerry-
mander rotten beyond precedent” — and crave one just like it. They
got their wish, too. If Democrats came out winners in the early 1890s,
Republicans paid them back with interest after 1893.

Representation and Inequality gives painful insight into how readily
partisanship trumped principle. In one state, Republican lawmakers
vowed that they would never vote for their party’s steal. Nor did they.
They absented themselves, allowing their party to squeak through.
Editors shouted their outrage, until their side performed the same
way, whereupon they built bulwarks of excuses around statutory monstrosities.

Argersinger’s thorough mining of the sources puts his work be-
yond challenge, and readers will find it long enough. But he could
have made it five times as long: the same trickery characterized
Connecticut, New York, and many other states. Coming to grips with
reality, he might have tried some flights of fancy, imagining how, in
purely representative bodies, a fair apportionment might have made a
difference in policy. Suppose Wisconsin or Indiana had devised seats
to give all parties, not just the top two, their fair statewide share of the
vote. Taking what we know about how each party voted on liquor
legislation, tax policy, railroad regulation, or the like, and knowing
what subjects came up in each session, what would have passed that
failed, failed that passed? Which legislatures would have had a differ-
ent party in charge, and by what margin? Which U. S. senators would
not have been elected, because their parties lacked the working ma-
jority to make it happen? What-if’s can reveal just what we missed by
the creative cartography.

One could have asked a thousand other things of this excellent
book, indispensable reading for the Gilded Age’s political historians—
including a much cheaper price and a lot more illustrations, or one,
even. Argersinger has taken on enough states to get the point across;
the line has to be drawn somewhere. Representation and Inequality represents the best in political history.


Reviewer Marcia Noe is professor of English at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga and editor of MidAmerica. She is also senior editor of The Dictionary of Midwestern Literature.

Hamlin Garland, a Pulitzer Prize–winning author who grew up on farms in Mitchell County, Iowa, was known in the early twentieth century as the dean of American literature. Keith Newlin notes in his introduction that despite having written eight volumes of autobiography, Garland excluded much about his life; moreover, he lacked the critical distance to use appropriate principles of selection and emphasis. This volume remedies those problems by offering a variety of documents—letters, newspaper columns, and excerpts from books and speeches written by his family, friends, colleagues, and notable acquaintances such as Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Allen White—that present a kaleidoscope of perspectives on Garland. From them we learn that Garland was often a too-earnest and humorless advocate for his many causes and an unsociable man who was disliked by some of his neighbors. On the other hand, many of these documents also offer evidence of Garland’s generosity and helpfulness to younger writers.

Keith Newlin, the foremost Garland scholar working today, has done a masterful job of selecting and editing these documents, each of which is introduced by a headnote that contextualizes the document, the writer, and his or her relationship to Garland and is followed by endnotes that provide further explanation and context. The book usefully complements Newlin’s earlier biography of Garland and provides the fullest picture to date of one of the major nineteenth-century chroniclers of midwestern rural life. This book is an essential purchase for Garland scholars as well as for scholars of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American literature and history.

Voodoo Priests, Noble Savages, and Ozark Gypsies: The Life of Mary Alicia Owen, by Greg Olson. Missouri Biography Series. Columbia: University