The Columbian.

VOL. I.—NO. 48. BLOOMSBURG, PA., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1867. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Bloomsburg Business Directory

STOVES AND TINWARE.

JACOB METZ, dealer in stoves & tinware, Main st., above court house. vl-n41

A. M. RUPERT, stoves and tinware, Rupert Block, Main st., west of Market. vl-n41

CLOTHING, &c.

D. LOWENBERG, merchant tailor, Main st., 2d door above American house. vl-n41

J. W. CHAMBERLIN, wholesale and retail dealer in clothing, etc., Harpham's building, Main street. vl-n41

DRUGS, CHEMICALS, &c.

L. N. MOYER, druggist and apothecary, Exchange block Main st. vl-n43

E. D. LUTZ, druggist and apothecary, Rupert block, Main st., west of Market.

CLOCKS, WATCHES, &c.

R. CATHCART, watch and clock maker, Market st., below Main.

LOUIS BERNHARDI, watch and clock maker, near southwest corner Main and Iron sts. vl-n43

C. E. SAYAGE, dealer in clocks, watches and jewelry, Main st., nearly opposite American house. vl-n43

BOOTS AND SHOES.

C. E. BROWER, boot and shoemaker, Main street opposite Episcopal church. vl-n47

A. SHLEIDER, manufacturer and dealer in boots and shoes, Market, opposite Episcopal church. vl-n47

HENRY KLEIN, manufacturer and dealer in boots and shoes, groceries etc., East Bloomsburg Main st. vl-n47

DAVID BITZ, boot and shoemaker, Main st., below Harpham's store, west of Market street. vl-n47

PROFESSIONAL.

DR. B. F. KINNEY, surgeon dentist, teeth extracted without pain. Main st., nearly opposite Episcopal church. vl-n49

J. H. MAYBURY, M. D. surgeon and physician south side Main st., below Market. vl-n41

J. H. EVANS, M. D. surgeon and physician south side Main st., below Market. vl-n41

J. G. BUTLER, M. D. surgeon and Physician, Market st., above Main. vl-n41

DR. H. A. HOWER, surgeon dentist, Main st., above court house. vl-n41

MILLINERY AND FANCY GOODS.

MISS LIZZIE BARKLEY, milliner, Ramsey Buildings, Main st. vl-n41

MRS. A. D. WEBB, fancy goods, notions, books, stationery, north side Main street below Market. vl-n43

E. PETERMAN, millinery and fancy goods opposite Episcopal church, Main st. vl-n43

MRS. JULIA A. & SADE BARKLEY, ladies cloaks and dress patterns, southeast corner Main and west st. vl-n41

MISS M. B. FURMAN, milliner, Main st., below Hartman's store, west of Market st. vl-n41

THE MISSES HARMAN, millinery and fancy goods, Main street just below American house. vl-n41

MISS M. BERRICKSON, millinery and fancy goods Main st., opposite Court House. vl-n41

HOTELS AND SALOONS.

J. YOUNG, oyster and eating saloon, American House, Main st., Balzer Leasock superintendent. vl-n45

WIDMYER & JACOBY, confectionery, bakery, ice cream saloon, wholesale and retail, Exchange block, Main st. vl-n45

FOX & WEBB, confectionery, bakery, and oyster saloon, wholesale and retail, Main st., just above Iron. vl-n43

EXCHANGE HOTEL, by J. F. Caslow, Main st., opposite court house. vl-n43

AMERICAN HOUSE, by JOHN LEACOCK, Main st., west of Iron street. vl-n43

FOUNTAIN HOTEL, by G. W. MAUGER, east end of Main st. vl-n41

B. SPONSLER, refreshment saloon, Main st., just above court house. vl-n41

J. F. CASLOW, refreshment saloon, Exchange Hotel, Leacock Column, superintendent vl-n43

W. H. GILLMORE, refreshment saloon, Shive's block south side Main st. vl-n41

MERCHANTS, GROCERS, &c.

E. JACOBS, confectionery, groceries etc. Main st., below Court House. vl-n46

S. H. MILLER, dealer in dry goods, groceries, queensware, boots and shoes, hats, caps, notions, etc., Exchange block, Main street. vl-n41

MOYER, NEALY & CO., dealers in dry goods, groceries, flour, feed, salt, fish, iron, nails, etc., northeast corner Main and Market st. vl-n41

J. SLOAN, dealer in choice dry goods, Housekeeping goods, fresh groceries, etc., etc. Main st., opposite court house. v-n47

J. KLEIN, groceries and general merchandise Main st., above Wolf. vl-n43

H. D. WILLS, hats and caps, boots and shoes Main st., above court house. vl-n43

J. CHARTERS, dry goods, groceries, foods, Exchange block, Main st., west of Market. vl-n43

C. G. MAIER, dry goods and notions, southwest corner Main and Iron sts. vl-n43

J. J. BROWER, dry goods, groceries, etc., northeast corner Main and Iron sts. vl-n43

REV. A. HARTMAN, dry goods, notions, and groceries, Main st., opposite Episcopal church. vl-n43

H. H. RUNSHOUSER, (agent,) groceries, tobacco, and confectionery, Main st., below Arcade hotel. vl-n43

D. A. BERKLEY, Keystone shoe store, books and stationery, southwest corner Market and Main sts. vl-n43

WILLIAM ERASMUS, confectionries, Main st., just above court house.

E. MENDENHALL, general stock of merchandise and lumber, corner of Main street and Berwick road. vl-n43

J. J. ROBBINS, dealer in dry goods groceries etc. Shive's block, Main st., below Iron vl-n43

J. K. GIRTON, Groceries & Provisions, southeast corner Main and Iron Streets. vl-n41

MISCELLANEOUS.

BLOOMSBURG LUMBER CO., manufacturers and dealers in Lumber, of all kinds, planing mill near the rail-road. vl-n46

W. J. RIDLEMAN, saddle and harness maker, near southwest corner Main and Market st. vl-n43

C. W. SNYDER, hardware, cutlery, guns, etc., Main st., below Iron. vl-n43

A. WITMAN, marble works, near southwest corner Main and Market sts. vl-n43

G. W. CORELL, furniture rooms, three story brick on Main st., west of Market st. vl-n43

R. H. SINGER, dealer in pianos, organs and melodeons, at G. W. Corell's furniture rooms. vl-n43

E. L. THORNTON, wall paper, window shades, and fixtures, Rupert Block, Main st. vl-n43

T. H. MASTERS, agent for Grover & Baker's sewing machine, Main st., Hartman's building, up stairs. vl-n43

H. ROSENSTOCK, photographer, Exchange block, Main st., opposite court house. vl-n43

J. E. BROADT, photographer, Hartman's building northeast corner Main and Market st. vl-n43

D. W. ROBBINS, liquor dealer second door from northwest corner Main and Iron sts. vl-n43

N. W. BAETON, tobacconist, and dealer in stove coal, Main st., opposite court house. vl-n43

W. PEACOCK, Notary Public, northeast corner Main and Market st. vl-n43

JOHN A. FUNSTON, mutual and cash rates fire insurance company, northeast corner, Main and West st. vl-n43

GEORGE HASSERT, manufacturer and repairer of threshing machines, Chamberlin's alley near Shuman's foundry. vl-n43

I. S. KUHN, dealer in neat tallow, etc., Chamberlin's alley, east of American house. vl-n43

J. B. FRISHILL, saddle, trunk and harness maker, Main st., below court house. vl-n43

SAMUEL JACOBY, Marble and Brown Stone Works, East Bloomsburg, Berwick road. vl-n47

STEPHEN KNORR, Blacksmith, North-west corner of Main and West Street. vl-n47

C. FOWLER, Gun Maker, and White and fancy Tanner, Scottown. vl-n47

Orangeville Directory.

DR. O. A. MEGARGEL, physician and surgeon, Main st., next door to Good's Hotel. vl-n47

BRICK HOTEL and refreshment saloon, by Israel Mumma, corner of Main and Pine st. vl-n47

SWAN HOTEL, the upper house by John Snyder, Main st., above Pine. vl-n47

D. K. SLOAN, dealer in dry goods, groceries, lumber and general Merchandise Main st. vl-n47

THOMAS BUCKLE, saddle and Harness maker Main st., above the Swan Hotel. vl-n47

W. H. SMITH, manufacturer of tin ware and dealer in stoves etc., Main st., above the Swan Hotel. vl-n47

SAMUEL EVERETT, Druggist & Apothecary, Main Street. vl-n4

A. & E. W. COLEMAN, Merchant tailor and Gent's furnishing goods, Main st., next door to the brick hotel. vl-n47

M. S. HAYHURST, Clocks, Watches and Guns repaired. Guns and Watches for sale, Main St., below Pine. vl-n47

JAMES B. HARMAN, Cabinet Maker, and Undertaker, Main St., below Pine. vl-n47

MICHAEL C. KELLER, Confectionery, Oysters &c., &c., on Pine St., between Main and Mill. vl-n47

H. H. & C. KELCHNER, Blacksmiths, on Mill Street, near Pine. vl-n47

WILLIAM DELONG, Shoemaker and manufacturer of Brick, Mill St., west of Pine vl-n49

ELIAS SNYDER, Flour and Grist Mill, and Dealer in grain, Mill Street. vl-n47

ADAM SCHUYLER, Iron founder, Machinist, and Manufacturer of plows, Mill St. vl-n47

MILES A. WILLIAMS & Co., Tanners and Manufacturers of Leather, Mill Street. vl-n47

JOHN KELLER, Boot and Shoemaker, Pine Street, opposite the Academy vl-n47

A. R. HERRING & BROTHER, Carpenters and Builders, Main Street, below Pine. vl-n47

SAMUEL M. PRENTISS, Veterinary surgeon at the Brick Hotel, corner of Main and Pine Sts. vl-n47

Light Street Directory.

PETER ENT, dealer in dry goods, groceries, flour, feed, salt, fish, iron, nails, etc., Light Street. vl-n45

H. WHITMIRE, manufacturer and dealer in boots and shoes. vl-n48

J. TERWILLIGER, Cabinetmaker, Undertaker and Chairmaker.

F. P. KELLEY, Blacksmith, opposite post office. vl-n46

H. F. OMAN & Co., Wheelwrights, first door above school house. vl-n49

MRS. E. KLINE, millenery and fancy goods. vl-n46

J. W. SANKEY, dealer in Leather, Hides, Bark, etc. Cash paid for Hides. vl-n46

WM. M. ENT, dealer in stoves and tin ware in all its branches. vl-n46

Jersey Town Directory.

ANDREW MADISON, dealer in dry goods, groceries, grain, lumber etc., Jerseytown vl-n46

JACOB A. SWISHER, dealer in Hides, Leather Bark etc. Madison township Columbia county Pa. vl-n46

HOTELS AND SALOONS.

LONG POND HOTEL.

THE undersigned having leased and re-furnished in good style the above well-known House, situate

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS

in the borders of Columbia and Sullivan counties, in one of the most beautiful and healthful regions in the State; is fully prepared to accommodate visitors and sojourners

WITH THEIR FAMILIES.

The Pond and streams are well stocked with delicious fish of many kinds including

TROUT AND PIKE,

and boats in good order will be kept for the accommodation and amusement of guests, either for fishing or pleasure excursions upon this beautiful sheet of water which is

SEVERAL MILES IN EXTENT.

Surrounded by an extensive Forest, there is afforded to the huntsman a splendid field for his own peculiar sports, and exercise with his

DOG AND GUN.

His larder will be always provided with the delicacies of the season; and his Bar stocked with PURE LIQUORS. The House is large and commodious; the Stabling extensive and safe.

The House is reached from several points, on the Bloomsburg & Lackawanna Railroad; and is a splendid place to pass the hot months of Summer.

H. H. HAYHURST.

May 17, 1867-1m.

EXCHANGE HOTEL,

BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PA.

The undersigned having purchased this well-known and centrally-located house, the Exchange Hotel, situate on MAIN STREET, in Bloomsburg, immediately opposite the Columbia County Court House, respectfully informs his friends and the public in general that his house is now in order for the reception and entertainment of travellers who may be disposed to favor it with their custom. He has spared no expense in preparing the Exchange for the entertainment of his guests, neither shall there be anything wanting on his part to minister to their personal comfort. His house is spacious, and enjoys an excellent business location.

Omnibuses run at all times between the Exchange Hotel and the various railroad depots, by which travellers will be pleasantly conveyed to and from the respective stations in due time to meet the cars. JOHN F. CASLOW.

Bloomsburg, March 22, 1866.

COLUMBIA HOUSE,

BY

BERNARD STORNER.

HAVING lately purchased and fitted up the well-known Robinson Hotel Property, located at

FOUR DOORS ABOVE THE COURT HOUSE,

on the same side of the street, in the town of Bloomsburg; and having obtained a license for the same as a

RESTAURANT,

the Proprietor has determined to give to the people visiting the town on business or pleasure,

A LITTLE MORE GOOD.

His stabling also is extensive, and is fitted up to put buggies and carriages in the city. He promises that everything about his establishment shall be conducted in an orderly and lawful manner; and he respectfully solicits a share of the public patronage. may17 67-6m.

FORK'S HOTEL,

GEORGE W. MAUGER, Proprietor.

The above well-known hotel has recently undergone radical changes in its internal arrangements, and its proprietor announces to his former customers and the travelling public that his accommodations for the comfort of his guests are second to none in the country. His table will always be found supplied, not only with substantial food, but with all the delicacies of the season. His wines and liquors (except that popular beverage known as "McBean's") purchased direct from the importing houses, are entirely pure, and free from all poisonous drugs. He is thankful for a liberal patronage in the past, and will continue to deserve it in the future. GEORGE W. MAUGER

THE SWAN HOTEL.

THE UPPER HOUSE,

ORANGEVILLE, COLUMBIA CO., PA.

The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has taken the above well known House of Entertainment, and will be pleased to receive the custom of all who will favor him with a call.

HE WILL KEEP A GOOD TABLE,

a Bar well stocked with the best of Liquors, and every effort will be made to render entire satisfaction. JOHN SNYDER.

Orangeville, Pa., March 15, 1867-1m.

EXCHANGE SALOON,

THE Proprietor of the Exchange Saloon has now on hand a large stock of

SUMMER REFRESHMENTS,

consisting of

SPICED OYSTERS, SARDINES, TRIPE, BOLOGNAS SHEEP TONGUE, BOILED EGGS, SWEITZER CHEESE.

LAGER BEER, ALE, &C.

☞ COME ONE, COME ALL AND SEE. ☜

LAWSON CALMAN, Superintendent.

Bloomsburg, May 3, 1867.

THE ESPY HOTEL,

ESPY, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PA.

THE subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has taken the above well known House of Entertainment, and will be pleased to receive the custom of all who will favor him with a call.

HE WILL KEEP A GOOD TABLE,

a Bar well stocked with the best of Liquors, and every effort will be made to render entire satisfaction. WM. REMLEY.

Espy, Pa., April 12, 1867.

EVERY Customer may be sure of a Good Fit or hassle at CHEMERLIN'S Clothing Store.

THE COLUMBIAN,

A Democratic Newspaper

IS PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY MORNING AT

BLOOMSBURG, PENN'A.

THE principles of this paper are of the Jeffersonian School of politics. These principles will neve be compromised, yet courtesy and kindess shal. not be forgotten in discussing them, whether with individuals, or with contemporaries of the Press The unity, happiness, and prosperity of the country is our aim and object; and as the means to secure that, we shall labor honestly and earnestly for the harmony, success and growth of our organization.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:—Two dollars a year if paid in advance. If not paid in advance two dollars and fifty cents will be invariably charged.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING:—One square (ten lines or less) one or three insertions $1,50; each subsequent insertion 37½ cents.

SPACE.	1M.	2M.	3M.	6M.	1Y.
One square	$2,00	$3,00	$4,00	$6,00	$10,00
Two squares	3,00	5,00	6,00	8,00	14,00
Three squares	4,00	7,00	8,00	12,00	18,00
Four squares	5,00	9,00	10,00	14,00	20,00
Half column	10,00	15,00	18,00	20,00	30,00
One column	15,00	18,00	20,00	30,00	50,00

Executor's and Administrator's Notice $3,00; Auditor's Notice $2,50. Other advertisements inserted according to special contract.

Business notices, without advertisement, twenty cents per line.

Transient advertisements payable in advance—all others due after the first insertion.

☞ It is, in all cases, more likely to be satisfactory, both to subscribers and to the Publishers, that remittances and all communications respecting the business of the paper, be sent direct to the office of publication. All letters, whether relating to the editorial or business concerns of the paper, and all payments for subscriptions, advertising, or jobbing, are to be made to and addressed

BROCKWAY & FREEZE,
"Columbian Office,"
BLOOMSBURG, PA.

Printed at Robison's Buildings, near the Court House, by CHAS. M. VANDERSLICE, FRANK R. SNYDER.

BUSINESS CARDS.

JOB PRINTING

Neatly executed at this Office.

M. M. LVELLE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.
Ashland, Schuylkill County, Penn'a.

M. E. JACKSON,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.
Berwick, Columbia County, Penn'a.

M. M. TRAUGH,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Berwick, Columbia County, Penn'a.

WILLIAM H. ABBOTT,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
CENTRALIA, PA.

C. W. MILLER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Office with E. H. Little, in brick building adjoining Post Office. ☞ Bounties, Back-Pay and Pensions collected. sep28'67.

JOHN G. FREEZE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Office in Register and Recorder's office, in the basement of the Court House, Bloomsburg, Pa.

ROBERT F. CLARK,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
Office corner of Main and Market streets, over First National Bank, Bloomsburg, Pa.

E. H. LITTLE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Office on Main street, in brick building below the Court House, Bloomsburg, Pa.

C. B. BROCKWAY,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
BLOOMSBURG, PA.
☞ OFFICE—Court House Alley, below the Columbian Office. Jan'68.

J. B. ROBISON,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
BLOOMSBURG, PENN'A.
Office in Ohange's Building, Main Street, West of the American House. may24'67.

AUCTIONEER.

MOSES COFFMAN,

Having followed the profession of Public Vendue Cryer for many years, would inform his friends that he is still in the field, ready and willing to attend to all the duties of his calling. Persons desiring his services should call or write to him at Bloomsburg, Pa. may17.

DR. W. H. BRADLEY,
(Late Assistant Medical Director U. S. Army.)
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON,
☞ Office at the house opposite Shive's Block, Bloomsburg, Pa.
Calls promptly attended to both night and day.
Bloomsburg, Jan. 18, 1867.

S. C. SHIVE,
CABINET MAKER,
AND MANUFACTURER BY STEAM OF
SASH, BLINDS, DOORS,
SHUTTERS, MOULDINGS,
WINDOW FRAMES, &C.
MAIN STREET,
BLOOMSBURG, PA.
June 28, 1867.

S. C. COLLINS,
FASHIONABLE
SHAVING, HAIR CUTTING
AND
SHAMPOOING SALOON,
Over Widmyer & Jacoby's Ice Cream Saloon,
BLOOMSBURG, PA.
Hair Dyeing and Whiskers colored black or brown. Hair Tonic to destroy dandruff and beautify the hair; will restore hair to its original color without soiling the finest fabric, constantly on hand. apr12'67.

M. ARTMAN. C. H. DILLINGER. F. R. HATMAN.
ARTMAN, DILLINGER & CO.,
NO. 22 NORTH THIRD STREET,
(Nearly opposite Jones, First, Market & Co.)
Wholesale Dealers in
YARNS, BATTING, WADDING, CARPETS, OIL-CLOTHS, SHADES, TAY NETS, GRAIN BAGS, CORDAGE, &C. ALSO, WILLOW AND WOODEN WARE, BRUSHES, TRUNKS, LOOKING GLASSES, ETC. May 10, 1867-1y.

WARTMAN & ENGELMAN,
TOBACCO, SNUFF & SEGAR
MANUFACTORY,
NO. 312 NORTH THIRD STREET,
Second Door below Wood,
PHILADELPHIA.
J. W. WARTMAN. H. P. ENGELMAN.

ALL Kinds of Ready Made Clothing at low figures at CHEMERLIN'S Clothing Store, Hartman's block, Bloomsburg, Pa. 6—6m.

ALL KINDS OF JOB PRINTING neatly executed at THE COLUMBIAN Steam Printing office.

REPRESENTATIVE REFORM.

Speech of Hon. C. R. Buckalew,

Delivered in the Assembley Buildings, Philadelphia, Tuesday Evening, November 19th, 1867.

The Defects of our Electoral System.

The Cumulative Vote.

Its Necessity and Advantages.

&c. &c. &c.

Fellow-Citizens of the City of Philadelphia:

You have had stated to you the circumstances under which I appear in your presence to speak upon the subject of representative reform. Without any introductory remarks, without pausing to tarry over preliminary topics, I shall proceed to the subject matter of my discourse.

Ours is said to be a government of the people, meaning by that term the whole electoral body with whom the right of suffrage is lodged by our Constitution. The people considered in this sense are said to rule themselves, and our system is therefore described as one of self government. Those who are bound by the laws are to enact them. Power is in the first instance exerted by them, and obedience yielded afterward. All rests upon their voluntary assent, and upon their free action, and as it is impossible that the whole mass of the political community should assemble together for the purpose of enacting or agreeing upon those rules of conduct which are to bind the citizens, and as it would be impossible for such an enormous body, even if it were convened, to act with convenience, or to act at all, we, like the people of other countries, in former times, have resorted to what is known as the representative system.

From the impossibility of convening ourselves together to determine those great questions which pertain to the political and social body, and about which government is employed, we have determined to select from amongst ourselves a certain number of persons with whom shall be lodged all our powers connected with legislation and with government, and whatsoever they shall determine shall be to us and to all men within our borders the law of individual conduct.

Well, now, gentlemen, in executing the system of representative government the manner in which the agents of the people shall be selected becomes in the highest degree important. Although by our theory, although by our fundamental principle of self-government by the people, all the people are to be represented in the making of laws, in the administration of government, in point of fact we have not attained to this result. We have fallen short of it in our arrangements, and hence it is that men of intelligence and of sagacity, driven to their conclusions by thorough examinations and by full inquiry, have been compelled to declare that our system is imperfect, and imperfect to such an extent that the quality of our government is affected, and many pernicious things have place in its administration.

Instead of there being under the representative system as it is known among us, a representation of the entire electoral body, of all the individuals who compose it, there is in fact a representation of only a part, in other words, representation, instead of being complete and co-extensive with all those who are to be represented, and who are to be bound by the action of government, is partial and restricted to a part alone of the political body.

Well, gentlemen, in the infancy or the early stages of the government, an imperfection of this kind may be permitted or overlooked. The affairs of society, when they are not complicated before the community has become rich, before its affairs, social and political, become involved and intricate, may admit of very rude and imperfect arrangements, and yet the people may be well governed, the laws may be just and wholesome, and administered in the proper spirit and with complete success. But, as wealth accumulates, as population becomes dense, and great cities grow up, as vices are spread through the social body, and as widely extended and complicated political action becomes necessary, those earlier and simpler arrangements—imperfect always—become positively pernicious and hurtful, and the necessity arises for their correction, and that the system of government shall be purified and invigorated by amendment.

In your popular elections which are held or taken under the majority, or rather under the plurality rule, which ordinarily amounts to the same thing—at your popular elections the smaller number of voices which are spoken in the election of representatives who are to enact your laws are stricken from the count. When the officers charged with the duty of collecting the voices of the people come to make up the account and declare the result, they strike from the poll or the return, all those who when numbered are the smaller quantity or the smaller political force. Then after your representatives selected in this manner by a majority merely, by a part of the community, are convened together, when they come to act in the business of government to enact laws, they again act by a similar rule. The majority in the representative body pronounces the opinion and decree of that body, and what they pronounce becomes law, binding upon all the people. Now, what is observable in this statement of facts? Why, that in the first place, in selecting representatives you strike off a part of the political body; then, again, in representative action, you strike off the minority of the representative body, who represent another portion or mass of the popular electors. The result is that your laws may be made by men who represent a minority of the people who are to be bound by the laws so made. A representative majority may not be, in point of fact—and often is not—a representative of a majority of the people.

When we come to consider in addition to this that the representative majority, whether in a State Legislature or in Congress, in modern times, or in comparatively corrupt times, when pernicious and selfish interests invade the halls of legislation, ordinarily acts under what is known as the caucus system, you perceive how far we have departed from these popular principles upon which we professed to found our system originally, and which we supposed would give vitality and energy to its action. A caucus, a private consultation of majority members, rules the action of the representative majority, that majority rules the entire representative body, and that representative body is composed of representatives of only a part of the political community. Is it not then established by this inquiry that instead of our representative system being what we originally intended it to be, and what we had supposed it would be, it is in its practical action characterized by imperfections which must arrest universal attention when the facts are examined, and provoke a cry for some measure of amendment and reform? And if a project of reform and amendment be proposed, which is practical, reasonable and wise—can be brought forward, it will be our business to embrace it with promptness and with gladness of heart.

Now what do we desire? We may desire that the whole people, instead of a part of them, shall be represented in the government, and that is precisely what I propose. In accomplishing this object, differences of opinion, as in all cases of new inquiries may be expected. One may have one project, and another, another. In a time of inquiry, of movement in the public mind, it is not well, and it is not to be expected, that all minds should run in the same channel; and that out of the inquiries which individuals enter upon, the same ultimate proposition should be evolved by each. How will we then obtain representation in government of the entire mass of the people? Let us come to that question, and in coming to it inquire into the several plans or projects which have been suggested to secure this object. They may be classed under three heads. In the first place, it has been proposed in various forms that by law there should be a restricted or limited mode of voting. Again, it has been proposed that the elector, in all elections of representatives and of other officers where more than one are to be chosen, may bestow his votes upon a smaller number than the whole; in other words, he may exercise what is known as the Cumulative Vote. Again, there has been proposed in Great Britain, and elaborately defended in that country, what is called the system of Personal Representation, by which an elector shall be emancipated from the ordinary bonds and trammels of party organization, and shall be as an individual and not as a member of a party represented in Parliament or other body of a similar constitution.

Now, as to the first of these, that is the limited or restricted vote—I use these words because I have none more expressive or convenient at hand—as to this first or limited vote: When you pass to your places of election and proceed to choose for yourselves the election officers who shall hold elections during the year in your several election districts, what do you do?

Each elector votes for one inspector, and yet two are chosen. There is a limitation upon the voter. Instead of voting for both the law says that he shall vote for but one. What is the practical result throughout the State under this law? Why, that one inspector belongs to the majority party in each election district, and the other belongs to an opposing one. In other words, both the parties into which our political society is ordinarily divided, are represented in the election boards. Thus you secure representation of the entire mass of electors, and yet you secure it by a limitation upon the votes of individual electors.

What has been the practical result of this arrangement, which is found in your State election law of 1839? Has the result been good or bad? Why, there is not a man who hears me, or an intelligent, honorable citizen in this Commonwealth, who would not cry "shame" if that law were repealed. It is a law by which elections are kept comparatively pure; by which fraud is prevented, and fairness is secured to the citizen in polling his vote.

I believe in this city, when you come to choose assessors in your several wards, those interesting persons who have control over your pockets, (laughter), who take valuations of your property, whose action as public officers is most interesting to you, each elector votes for one, and yet two are selected. In this case you are secured, I presume, against partiality and injustice in the administration of the tax laws by dividing these officers between political parties.

I am told also that in selecting your school directors each school division or ward has twelve directors, who have charge of your school system—one third, that is four, elected in each year. In voting, each elector votes for but three, so that it ordinarily happens that the fourth man chosen each year will be of a different opinion politically from the majority of his fellow directors; will represent in the government of the school district one kind of opinion, while the greater number of his colleagues will represent another.

At the last session of your State Legislature a law was passed which took from the commissioners of counties and sheriffs, the selection of jurors for the several courts throughout the Commonwealth. Great complaints were made in this matter, especially in the interior of the State. You had a particular arrangement in this city, which has not been disturbed, to wit: the selection of jurors by the judges of the several courts, in order to insure impartiality and fairness, and prevent the intrusion of political interests or passions in the selection of your jurors. But in the interior the duty of selecting jurors, which was formerly charged upon the commissioners and the sheriffs of the several counties, was taken away at the last session of the Legislature, and confided to two officers in each county, who are to be called jury commissioners. The President Judge of each County has some function or duty in connection with these offices—it is somewhat doubtful what it is—the law was badly drawn—but substantially the power of selection heretofore exercised by the ordinary officers of counties, to whom I have referred, is now to be confided to these jury commissioners.

How are they to be chosen? As in the case of inspectors of election, where one candidate alone is voted for but two are to be chosen. By this means it is to be supposed that there will be fairness in the selection of Jurors throughout the State, and the abuses which have heretofore prevailed will be removed from our system—the abuse that in Republican counties Democratic citizens were excluded to an unreasonable extent, from the jury-box, and that on the other hand, in Democratic counties, Republican jurymen were unreasonably excluded.

Here again is a limitation upon the elector. He shall vote for but one of these officers, who are to select the men who may sit upon questions which relate to his life, to his property, or to his reputation, and yet by this limitation fuller representation of the people and fairness in trials are secured. I think that a much wiser arrangement might have been made than that. If I had possessed power to mould this law upon this subject, I would have simply changed the mode in which county commissioners are chosen. I would have had them selected upon the principle of the cumulative vote (which I will presently explain,) or upon the principle of the limited vote. We would have obtained substantially, in that way the same result without two additional officers, and without certain inconveniences which attend upon the existing law. But the object was laudable, and the effect which will be produced by that law will be salutary. Public opinion will take hold of it and uphold it hereafter as a just and wise arrangement compared with the one it superseded.

Let me illustrate this idea of limited voting which has obtained in our State by another case, taken from the State of N. Y. Under the Constitution of that State, every twenty years the question of reforming the State Constitution is to be submitted to a vote of the people, and in case they vote in favor of a convention to amend the Constitution, one is to be called. It happened last year that a Convention was to be called and Governor Fenton proposed to the Legislature that in addition to the selection of delegates from the representative districts of the State (one from each), there should be 32 delegates selected at large. In selecting these 32 delegates, each elector in the State to vote for but 16. His recommendation was adopted by the Legislature, so that the existing Constitutional Convention of New York (it has not concluded the performance of its duties) is constituted of representatives elected from the representative districts and of 32 delegates from the State at large. Of the latter, 16 belong to each political party, for such was the inevitable effect of the plan adopted. Many men went into the convention, and are now sitting in it, who could not have been elected in their several local districts, because the party with which they were associated was in the minority in their several localities. In selecting delegates from the State at large this was possible, and able men were selected on both sides—men of great weight and great wisdom. These cases of limited voting in our own State which I have mentioned, and this case in New York, will suffice so far as our own country is concerned.

Now, let me carry you to England for a moment to see what has been done there in this same direction. In 1854, under the administration of Lord Aberdeen, Lord John Russel introduced a reform bill, which underwent protracted discussion in the House of Commons. One feature of this bill was that in all constituencies selecting three members of Parliament no elector should vote for more than two, the result of which would have been to give to the minority class of electors, ordinarily, the third member. That bill, however, did not become a law; it fell, and other reform bills introduced since into Parliament have failed. But during the present year a bill was passed through Parliament to amend and reform the representation of the people of England in the House of Commons. The Reform Bill having passed the House of Commons, and being under consideration in the House of Lords on the 30th of July last, Lord Cairnes moved to amend clause 8 of the bill by adding, "at a contested election for any county or borough represented by three members, no person shall vote for more than two candidates." This was substantially, if not in exact terms, the same as the clause in the Russell Reform Bill of 1854. After undergoing debate, this amendment was adopted in the House of Lords by the following vote: Contents, 142; non-contents, 51, or by the large majority of 91 in its favor. The bill being returned with this and other amendments to the House of Commons, was again considered in that House. Finally, upon the 8th of August, after prolonged and exhaustive debate, in which men whose names are known throughout the earth participated, upon motion to strike out this amendment made by the House of Lords, the vote stood, ayes 291, noes 233, being a majority of 49 in favor of retaining the provision, and it was retained by that vote; and the bill subsequently passing and receiving the approval of the Crown, it became, and is now the law of Great Britain (from which country we derive our political descent and many of our principles of free government, including that of representation.) Henceforth, in the election of members of the popular house of Parliament, where a constituency select three members, two shall be given to the majority and one to the minority of the electors, assuming that the latter constitute as large a mass as one-third of the whole number. This is the most notable instance of the application of the limited vote to secure the representation of the whole political mass of the community, or of a particular constituency charged with the duty and power of selecting representatives for the enactment of laws.

By these instances selected in our own country and abroad, it is manifest that attention has been largely drawn to this question of amendment in representation, and of mitigating the evils and inconveniences which must always arise under an unchecked, unmitigated, unamended majority rule.

But, gentlemen, I pass from the consideration of this mode of amending representation to the second form which propositions for that purpose have assumed, in other words, I pass to the discussion of the topic which is most interesting at this time for our consideration. I mean the plan of *cumulative voting*, as it has been named. This was in the first instance proposed, explained, and advocated by James Garth Marshall, a subject of the Crown of Great Britain; and, by his proposition and his advocacy of it, he has given his name to the political history of his country and to the political history of representative institutions everywhere in future times, for no one previously had mastered this subject with such grasp, no one had looked into it with such intuitive perception of all its characteristics, and was able to strike precisely the point where reform could be most safely and effectively introduced. It is preferable, infinitely preferable, to all proositions for securing the representation of all interests in society by any limitation upon the elector's vote in the manner of the various propositions which I have already described.

This system or plan of cumulative voting has been endorsed by John Stuart Mill, in his work on Parliamentary Reform, and in his work on Representative Government, and since supported by him ably in the House of Commons. It has been recommended, also, by Earl Grey, in his work on Parliamentary Reform, edition of 1864. It was proposed during the recent consideration of the Reform Bill, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Lowe, on the 5th of July last, and after debate received the very respectable support of 173 votes. It is beginning to attract, in this country, that degree of attention which it merits, and which is naturally provoked by the inquiry which has taken place abroad. I shall describe it in a moment. For the present, I will simply say that, the third proposition of reform, known as *personal representation*, which looks to other objects and to other consequences, I shall not attempt to discuss to-night. It invites us over too wide a field of inquiry for the time at our disposal; and, I may add, that it involves so many additional considerations and so much of prolonged debate that, within the ordinary compass of a meeting, it would be impossible to exhaust the subject or to come to an intelligent conclusion upon it. I presume also, speaking generally concerning it, that it will be a considerable time before we shall be in possession of that amount of experience and of discussion which are requisite to its adoption in this country.

Now, what is *cumulative voting?* I propose that what is known by this term shall be applied to the election of representatives in Congress, and to the choice of electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. It admits, also, of application to the selection of senators and representatives in the several State Legislatures, and to the selection of county commissioners, and possibly other officers. In what I shall say at this time, however, I shall confine myself, in the discussion of this plan, mainly to the election of representatives in Congress. This reform can be introduced by act of Congress without any constitutional change; and the plan can be applied to the election of Presidential electors by the Legislatures of the several States, who under the Constitution, have committed to them the power of providing the manner in which those electors shall be chosen. What, then, is cumulative voting? It is that where more than one officer is to be chosen, the elector in the first place shall possess as many votes as there are persons to be chosen, and next, he may bestow those votes at his discretion upon the whole number of persons to be chosen, giving one vote to each, or upon any less number, cumulating his votes upon one, two, three, or any other number less than the whole. That is simple in its statement, although its effect, the practical character of the proposition, requires some inquiry and prolonged experience to its entire comprehension. What is the result? It is that any political interest in a community, whether in a State or in a division of a State, if it can ascertain about the relative proportion which its strength bears to the whole mass of the vote, or to the vote of an opposing interest, may cast the suffrages of its members in such manner that they will tell upon the result; and it will happen that every man, or about every man who votes shall vote for a candidate who shall be chosen, and there will be in such thing as unrepresented minorities left. They will be wiped out of the system; they will no longer exist. To speak of this as a plan for the representation of minorities, is an abuse of terms, because it conveys no idea which attaches to the plan. Far be it from us to arm a minority with power which we know even majorities abuse! The proposition now submitted to us is not that there shall be majorities and minorities known in election returns, but that the men who vote shall vote for those who will be chosen, and who will in point of fact represent them.

I cannot better illustrate the scheme than by the case of Vermont, which I have used on another occasion. There are 60,000 voters in Vermont, of whom 40,000 are members of the Republican party, and 20,000 of the Democratic party. I speak in round numbers. By law that State is entitled to three Representatives in Congress, because her population, under the Constitution of the United States, authorizes the allotment of that number to her. Now what ought to take place there? The majority should elect two Representatives, having 40,000 votes, and the minority should elect one, having 20,000 votes; but is that so in point of fact at present? If the electors of that State vote for three Representatives, by general ticket, the majority would elect the whole three. If the State be divided up into single districts, it is a matter of chance how the result will be, whether all three districts will have majorities of the same political complexion or not. I say it is a matter of chance—nay, more than that, it is a matter of honesty in the Legislature of the State, and any political majority that has control of the Legislature will very likely frame the districts to suit its own interests. We know that these things occur everywhere. By cumulative voting, by authorizing the 20,000 minority electors of that State to give each three votes to one candidate, that candidate would receive 60,000 votes, and the majority cannot defeat him. The majority voting for