LIVE QUESTIONS.

Asseries of Articles Contributed to These

NUMBER III -- PROPORTIONAL REPRE-SENTATION.

In the development of our popular institutions members of legislative bodies are elected from "districts," because people do not yet realize that there is a better way to seenre representation.

That this system was a clumsy contrivance was evident from the beginning; it gave no security that the popular wishes would be represented at all; a popular majority might be so distributed that it would not control a ma-jority of the districts. The case is often bad enough, even when no effort is made to prevent fair representation, but it is infinitely worse whenever the party in power seeks to intrench itself by purposely dividing districts in such a manner that the opposition cannot secure control of the legislative body, even if a majority of electors demand a change. Again, the different sections of the state or city continually change in population; hence frequent readjustments of the districts become necessary. But we want a system by which constituencies shall readily adapt themselves to new conditions. If there were a few large districts, the need of reapportionment would be greatly reduced, while if there were no districts at all apportionment would be unnecessary and impossible. The palpable defects of the district system might be illustrated in various ways.

Popular government (as we know it today) is merely government by political parties. Men who think alike would naturally act together, and their union would form a party, but the district system, while it forces men into parties with whose principles they do not agree, tends to prevent the natural, healthy union of persons who think alike and who desire to vote alike. A large majority of all popular elections turn upon questions which apply to the whole country rather than to any particular locality. A man votes with this party or with the other merely because he believes or does not believe in free trade, free silver, prohibition, etc., and this is equally true even when the real issue is purely local. The district system separates those whose interests are identical, while uniting those who have nothing in common.

Another evil of the district system arises from the facilities afforded for vote buying. The system of dividing the state and also the city into districts, from each of which a representative is to be chosen, usually results in doubtful, closely contested districts, where the change of a few votes must change the representative and may consequently change the legislature and ultimately the national senate.

Naturally the vote buyer confines his operations to such pivotal localities, but if districts were abolished he could nover secure any larger number of lawmakers than were fairly represented by the votes thus bought. Again, even if electors were perfectly free when casting | Switzerland and has been gradually extheir votes, if the votes thus cast ex- tended from one canton to another year ressed the real sentiments of the voter. it is obvious that, under present conditions, large numbers of votes are really thrown away and a large proportion of voters are systematically disfranchised. Equally obvious is the fact that small districts tend almost inevitably to the It reduces the unrepresented minorityproduction of small men in the halls of legislation, men of narrow mental caliber, who almost invariably lack the ocurage of their convictions, and who remain perched upon the fence, touching all questions where the constituency is divided. This district system really fastens servility upon the representative, while proportional representation, on the other hand, encourages the selection of men of character and principle; it stimulates independence and leadership, for the representative who can retain the support of even a single quota can afford to remain true to his convictions. The proposed reform is sometimes objected to for the alleged reason that it would be dangerous to allow the advocates of wild, impracticable schemes even a single representative in the halls of legislation, but a moment's reflection will convince the reader that anarchists, for example, are no more dangerous to society when they are represented than when they are not represented in the lawmaking body.

It is the confined explosive that is most deadly; give truth and error a fair chance to fight their battles in the open field, and the former will take care of itself. The objection most strongly urged against the proposed reform is that if each phase of popular sentiment was allowed its proportional representabodies would divide into groups; that up one group could control or would be responsible for the legislative policy. We are told, in other words, that a majority must be secured, even though misrepresentation is resorted to in obtaining such majority. But is it true that an absolute majority is essential or even desirable? It may be true in the exercise of administrative functions, but as to purely legislative matters the

correct principle demands "plurality."
For myself I deny that an absolute majority is desirable in a deliberative body, unless there is such a majority among the people at large. It is of the very highest importance to the state that all special integests should have the fullest, freest means of expression in the halls of legislation, each phase of thought should be represented by its own fairly chosen advocates, and then, after a fair consideration of all arguments, judgment should be rendered

in accordance with the just rights of all concerned. But whatever might be urged against this proposed reform as to national or state politics, it would be obviously productive of unmixed good in all municipal elections.

One great and growing evil of our system of municipal government is the lugging in of national issues; the same political lines are drawn in municipal elections as those which divide parties elsewhere; men are elected to the city council simply because they are or are not Democrats, are or are not Republicans, and it will be impossible to prevent this, so strong is the force of party usage, until the electoral system is radically changed; then, and only then, business administration will take the place of political administration in municipal affairs.

In applying the remedy proposed for the evils thus briefly outlined three measures have been suggested—the "cumulative vote," the "single transferable vote" and the "free list system." The first is now in practical operation in the state of Illinois, in choosing members of the lower house of the legislature; the second has for several years been used in Denmark; the third is in successful operation throughout Switzerland; it is an American invention, having been advocated by Thomas Gilpin of Philadelphia more than 50 years ago, and it is believed to be better adapted than any other to the needs of an American community.

Under its practical workings district lines are abolished, and members of the representative body are chosen at large upon a general ticket. The official ballot is used in the same manner as in states where the Australian system prevails; each group of electors is required to file with the proper officer, previous to the day of election, a list of its candidates; this list may contain the names of as many candidates as the community is entitled to elect or any number less than that. For example, if 16 councilmen are to be chosen, each party may nominate 16 or any smaller number. If the same candidate is named on more than one ticket, he must elect between them, and if he fails to do so the choice is made for him by lot. Each elector has as many votes as there are officials to be chosen. These he may distribute as he pleases among candidates on the official ballot, giving no candidate more than one. In the case supposed he would have 16 votes and would place his stamp opposite the name of each person whom he designed to support. In addition the voter may, if he so desires, designate one of the parties for which he desires to vote, in which event he can only vote for the candidates of that party.
On the other hand, the voter who

does not care to support a party ticket may distribute his votes to suit himself. In canvassing the returns all votes are added together, the sum total is divided by the number of offices to be filled, and the quotient is termed the "quota of representation," or number of voters who are jointly entitled to one representative. Each party is then entitled to as many officials as it has quotas. Among candidates those who receive the greatest number of votes are seated, and if vacancies occur, whether from death or otherwise, the candidate of the same party having the next highest vote is substituted. This plan has been successfully tested by practical experience in after year. In conclusion, the free list system is an American device, but has been adopted and demonstrated in a republic whose government is worthy of imitation. It is a plan which eliminates and extinguishes the gerrymander. It removes all incentive to vote buying. the grand army of the disfranchised-to the least possible minimum. It gives to each voter the fullest liberty of choice. It recognizes party affiliations and lines, yet permits the utmost freedom of all who wish to be independent of partisan dictation. And, better than all else, it contemplates and provides for a representative body that will be like an image in the camera, every color, form, light, motion, shade being exactly reproduced—a body that is representative in fact as well as in name. If we have any faith in popular government, any faith in the political integrity of our people, let us give this plan a fair trial in the near future.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE. Richmond, Ind., Dec. 1, 1895.

The True Functions of Political Parties. Let us not be too superstitions about parties. Political parties, rightly understood in this free country, are but agencies employed by the voters for carrying their own will into effect. There have been times, within our first century of national life, when party lines and party issues seemed to vanish altogether. National parties great in their day and with renowned leaders have dissolved and disappeared, some of them whose very names are doomed to be forgotten, because the people needed tion, the chances are that legislative them as agents no longer. What, then, should be the fate of those political organizers who make a Frankenstein monster out of this party machinery for consolidating and monopolizing personal power, pelf and patronage? Let them be crushed under their own contrivance.

When any organized force compels the voters and takes from the people or from any popular party a fair right of selection among men and measures, it should, by whatever combination of good citizens, be overthrown. The tyranny of an absolute monarch is palliated by glittering pomps and illusions which stimulate a centiment of personal loyalty, but a "boss" tyranny in a republic is worse than any monarchy to live under, for it fosters no high sentiment and has no veil of illusion; its bare hideousness is like that of a swinging skele ton; it is altogether vicious, and thriv by paisoning the lifeblood of self givernment.—Professor Schonler in Public Opinion.

PICKEREL TRAVEL IN PAIRS.

Crawford's Discovery of This Fact, and Wood Pitt's Disturbing Question.

"It's queer, isn't it, how pickerel al-ways travel in pairs," said Major Craw-ford of Campbell Hall, "Why, do they, Major?" inquired the

Hon. Charles T. Dunning, interested as

"Do they?" replied the Major. "Why, certainly they do! I discovered the fact. I think, and in a very curious way. I never go pickerel fishing in the Wallkill without taking my rifle along with me in the boat, for ducks are liable to come flying about this time of year, mallards, principally, and there isn't anything much better to follow pickerel at dinner than mallard duck. My rifle. always fitted with a hair trigger, so there will be no delay in its going when I pull, I invariably place between my knees as I sit and troll, so as to have it

"One day I was out on the river this way, trolling for pickerel and ready for ducks. I got a big strike on the troll, hooked it, and hauled in. Just as I had the pickerel almost to the boat I spied a lot of mallards coming up the river. I kept cool, landed the pickerel all right, and dropped the troll out so as not to lose time. Just then the ducks came into nice range. I fired. Ducks began to tumble. Chug! came another strike on my line, I hooked it, and landed a second pickerel before the last duck had fallen. I couldn't have done that, don't you see, if it wasn't a fact that pickerel travel in pairs; and that's the way I discovered the interesting fact," concluded the Major.

"I see," said Mr. Dunning. "How many ducks did you kill, Major?" "Six," was the reply.

There was an impressive silence for awhile. Wood Pitts of the St. Elms broke it by asking:

"Did they all fall in the boat, Major?"

Mr. Dunning reproved Wood Pitts for asking such a disturbing question, but the Major didn't deign to notice it. -New York Sun.

Makes a Pretty Penny Out of Pennies. It is not generally known that all the minor coins of base metal, such as pennies and nickels, are made at the Philadelphia mint, and that nearly 100,000,000 pennies are coined here every year. This large number is occasioned by the fact that thousands of pennies are lost annually, and the Government has some difficulty in maintaining the supply. The profit to the Government on their manufacture is large. The blanks for making them are purchased for \$1 per thousand from a Cincinnati firm that produces them by contract.

Blanks for nicke's are produced in the same way, costing Uncle Sam only 1 1-2 cents apiece. Gold is coined in Philadelphia and Fan Francisco. Not enough of it comes into the mint at New Orleans to make the coinage of it worth while. Gold pieces are the only coins of the United States which are worth their face value intrinsically. A double eagle contains \$20 worth of gold without counting the one-tenth part copper.

Had Lots of Time. A foppish young man, with a football crop of hair, was walking along Chestnut street the other evening, when a lit-

"Ten minutes to nine," said the

tle urchin asked him the time.

"Well," said the boy, "at nine o'clock get your hair cut," and he took to his heels and ran down Tenth street.

The masher ran after him, and in turning the corner came in contact with a policeman, nearly knocking him

"What's up?" asked the policeman. The masher, very much out of breath,

"You see that young brat running down the street? He asked me the time; I told him ten minutes to nine, and he said:

"'At 9 o'clock get your hair cut."' "Well, remarked the policeman, what are you running for? You've eight minutes yet."-Philadelphia Re-

The Better the Day the Better the Deed. After the regular service at the Baptist Temple yesterday morning, the communion table was uncovered and while those who had merely come to hear the sermon were going out, the pastor, the Rev. Russell H. Conwell, and the deacons prepared for the solemn rite that was to follow

The silver goblets were filled with wine, bread was broken and the andience was already hushed by the impres sive preliminaries, when a man, a little past middle age, with unkept whiskers and linen besmirched, stepped forward to the altar. His gleves and hat was all that remained of respectability, and those were the wor'e for wear, but his manners were as exquisite as those of a polished Frenchman. He stepped blithely up to Dr. Conwell, touched him gently on the shoulder, and with the air of a man paying profuse compliments,

"My friend may I touch you for a five to get back to New York?"

The touch didn't work and the ceremony proceeded, while the un'tept one moved away absorbed in deep thought. -Philadelphia Record.

Wanted to Know the Game. Perry Patettic-Mister, can you give

Wallace—None of my good money goes for whisky, my friend. "It don't? How do you work it?"-Cincinnati Enquirer.

He'd Leave the Town. Magistrate-Will you leave the town

if I let you go? Flippant Culprit-Sure thing. I don't believe real estate in this section is worth carrying away. - Chicago Tri-

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Yenowine's News.

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