Proportional Representation in Cleveland
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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN CLEVELAND

I

THE election of legislative bodies in the United States by the Hare system of proportional representation or single transferable vote is beginning to emerge from the realm of academic discussion. It is now a practical problem of government, particularly of the government of cities. A number of elections have been held in American cities under this system and the results in these elections furnish a body of interesting material with which to test the rather enthusiastic claims of those who believe that this system can solve some of the admitted defects of our legislative systems. Cleveland, the fifth city in the United States in population, elected its city council under the Hare system on November 6, 1923,—an event which marked the most important trial of this system in the United States up to this time.[1]

Cleveland adopted the charter providing for proportional representation and a city manager at its regular municipal elections in November, 1921. The campaign to adopt this new form of government—a radical departure for so large a city—was carried on by a handful of citizens, including several who have

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[1] A complete list of the states, cities and other political divisions using the Hare system throughout the world on July 1, 1923, is contained in *The Proportional Representation Review* of July, 1923. This publication is issued by The Proportional Representation League, 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia. In the United States the Hare system has been used in Cleveland (one election, 1923), Ashtabula, Ohio (five elections since 1915), Boulder, Colorado (since 1915), Kalamazoo, Michigan (one election, 1918), Sacramento, California (one election, 1921), West Hartford, Connecticut (two elections since 1921). The Supreme Courts of California and Michigan have declared the charter provisions providing proportional representation in Sacramento and Kalamazoo to be unconstitutional. The legislature of Connecticut in May, 1923, abolished the system used by West Hartford by providing that "No preferential or so called 'proportional' ballot shall be used in any election". The Supreme Court of Ohio sustained the Cleveland charter provisions in the cases of *Reutner v. The City of Cleveland*, 107 O. S. 117, and *Hile v. The City of Cleveland*, 107 O. S. 144.

long been associated with civic reform movements in Cleveland, with some assistance from a few sympathetic labor-union officials. The strength of the campaign however was due to powerful support from *The Cleveland Press*, a newspaper with a very large evening circulation. The effort to have the voters approve the new charter was not taken seriously by the two political parties and they made little effort to oppose it. That the measure passed was due in large part to the fact that the municipal campaign that year was exceptionally dull and uninteresting. A wave of opposition to the old parties marked the election which elevated to the mayoralty a candidate who had no platform, did not make a single campaign speech, had no organization worthy of the name, and was not supported by either party. It is probable that the majority which enacted the new charter were moved much more by a desire for a change in administration than a conviction that a new form of government was needed.

The new charter abolished the old system of a council elected from thirty-three wards and substituted a council of twenty-five elected from four districts. These districts, with the population and the number of councilmen elected from each, are as follows:

District	Population	Number of seats in council
1	228,617	7
2	175,113	5
3	196,732	6
4	204,375	7

The designated number of councilmen are selected in each district by the Hare system of proportional representation. The council selects the city manager, who serves at its pleasure. There is also to be selected from the membership of the council a mayor who is to be the ceremonial head of the city and the presiding officer of the council.

The ballot in each district contained the list of names of all candidates[1] in that district with the following directions to the voter:

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[1] Nomination is by petition signed by five hundred voters residing in the

Directions to Voters

Put the figure 1 opposite the name of your first choice.   If you want to express also second, third and other choices, do so by putting the figure 2 opposite the name of your second choice, the figure 3 opposite the name of your third choice, and so on.   In this way you may express as many choices as you please.   The more choices you express, the surer you are to make your ballot count for one of the candidates you favor.

This ballot will not be counted for your second choice, unless it is found that it cannot help your first choice; it will not be counted for your third choice unless it is found that it cannot help either your first or your second, etc.

The ballot is spoiled if the figure 1 is put opposite more than one name.   If you spoil this ballot, tear it across once, return to the election officer in charge of the ballots, and get another one from him.

The process of counting the votes is described in the following extract from the Cleveland charter:

Rules for Counting Ballots

Sec. 164.   Ballots cast for the election of members of the Council shall be counted and the results determined by the election authorities according to the following rules:

(a) On all ballots a cross shall be considered equivalent to the figure 1.   So far as may be consistent with the general election laws, every ballot from which the first choice of the voter can be clearly ascertained shall be considered valid.

(b) The ballots shall first be sorted and counted at the several voting precincts according to the first choice of the voters.   At each voting precinct the ballots cast for each candidate as first choice shall be put up in a separate package, which shall be properly marked on the outside to show the number of ballots therein and the name of the candidate for whom they were cast.   The ballots declared invalid by the precinct officials shall also be put up in a separate package, properly marked on the outside.   All the packages of each precinct, together with a record of the precinct count, shall be promptly forwarded to the central election authorities as directed by them, and the count-

district.   The candidate need not be a resident of the district in which he stands for election.   In this election only one candidate ran in a district other than the one in which he lived.   It is interesting to note that he received the highest vote of any candidate in the city.

ing of the ballots cast in each district shall thereafter be carried on by a central counting board for each such district, appointed by the central election authorities and acting under their direction.

(c) After the review of the precinct count of its district by the central district counting board, and the correction of any errors discovered therein, the first-choice votes of each candidate shall be added and tabulated. This completes the first count.

(d) The whole number of valid ballots cast in the district shall then be divided by a number greater by one than the number of seats to be filled in the district. The next whole number larger than the resulting quotient is the quota or constituency that suffices to elect a member.

(e) All candidates the number of whose votes on the first count equals or exceeds the quota shall then be declared elected.

(f) All votes obtained by any candidate in excess of the quota shall be termed his surplus.

(g) Any surpluses there may be shall next be transferred, the largest surplus first, then the next largest, and so on, according to the following rules.

(h) In the transfers of a surplus, transferable ballots up to the number of votes in the surplus shall be transferred to the continuing candidates marked on them as next choices, in accordance with rule (m). The particular ballots to be taken for transfer as the surplus of a candidate shall be obtained by taking as nearly an equal number of ballots as possible from the transferable ballots that have been cast for him in each of the voting precincts. All such surplus ballots shall be taken as they happen to come without selection.

(i) " Transferable ballots " means ballots from which the next choice of the voter for some continuing candidate can be clearly ascertained. A " continuing candidate " is a candidate as yet neither elected nor defeated.

(j) Whenever a ballot is transferred from one candidate to another, it shall be tallied or otherwise recorded by a tally clerk assigned to the candidate to whom it is being transferred. Each tally clerk shall take care not to receive for his candidate by transfer more ballots than are required to complete the quota.

(k) The votes standing to the credit of each candidate shall be added and a tabulation of results made whenever a comparison of the votes of the several candidates is necessary to determine the next step in the procedure. Each tabulation, together with the transfers of ballots made since the preceding tabulation, is referred to in this section as a " count ".

(l) After the transfer of all surpluses (or after the first count if no candidate received a surplus) every candidate who has no votes to his credit shall be declared defeated. Thereupon the candidate lowest on the poll as it then stands shall be declared defeated and all his transferable ballots transferred to continuing candidates, each ballot being transferred to the credit of that continuing candidate next preferred by the voter in accordance with rule (m). Thereupon the candidate then lowest shall be declared defeated and all his transferable ballots transferred in the same way. Thus the lowest candidates shall be declared defeated one after another and their transferable ballots transferred to continuing candidates.

(m) Whenever in the transfer of a surplus or of the ballots of a defeated candidate the vote of any candidate becomes equal to the quota, he shall immediately be declared elected and no further transfer to him shall be made.

(n) When candidates to the number of seats to be filled have received a quota and have therefore been declared elected, all other candidates shall be declared defeated and the election shall be at an end; or when the number of continuing candidates is reduced to the number of seats still to be filled, those candidates shall be declared elected whether they have received the full quota or not, and the election shall be at an end.

On the evening of election day the local election officers in each of the 777 voting precincts of the city counted all " first choice " votes and placed all ballots in envelopes according to the requirements of the charter. For the task of transferring the ballots of the four districts the election officials provided a space in the Public Auditorium as long as a city block and half as wide. The count for each district was conducted separately by a specially trained staff of clerks. Two hundred clerks were required for the work. The equipment used in transferring the votes of each district consisted of: (1) a series of large boxes to hold the ballots belonging to each candidate, (2) a series of smaller boxes to be used in the transfer of each group of ballots, (3) a large blackboard for the display of the entire statistical process of transferring ballots. The work of rechecking the first count and of transferring started the second day after election and was completed six days later.[1]

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[1] One commonly urged objection to proportional representation is that it is

Approximately forty-six working hours were used.   The public was admitted to the proceedings.

The number of candidates, vote by districts and quotas were as follows:

District	Seats in the Council	Candidates	Registered Voters	Valid Ballots	Quota
1	7	38	40,261	32,879	4110
2	5	20	22,688	18,620	3104
3	6	18	25,995	20,740	2963
4	7	43	43,049	33,607	4201
	25	119	131,993	105,846	

Four candidates were elected on first choice votes, and six others received the required quotas in the process of transferring votes, while fifteen were elected without receiving the quotas.   The large number of candidates elected without receiving a quota is very striking.   Mathematically the reason for it is that a sufficient number of voters did not express a sufficient number of choices to have their ballots count for some candidate.   Actually it was due to the large number of candidates.   This situation raises the question whether this system may not rather easily result in a mere plurality choice, one of the difficulties of ordinary elections which proportional representation is intended to prevent.   In the second district all the candidates elected failed to secure a quota after the entire transferring process was finished.   The total votes of all of the elected candidates in this district were 13,763 of a total of 18,720 valid ballots.   Twenty-six per cent of the voters of this district thus failed to express a sufficient number of choices to make certain the count of their votes.   This may have been due to indifference, to a quite reasonable failure to know a sufficient number of candidates to justify a long series of choices, or to an absence of " like-mindedness " which resulted in a wide scattering of the votes among many candidates.   It is probable that the latter was the more important reason.

likely to cost more than an ordinary election. The advocates say that it really is economical because it eliminates the need of a primary. This election cost about $85,000. The cost of an ordinary municipal election has been $60,000. This election cost about the same amount as a primary plus an election.

The total number of valid ballots in all districts was 105,846, of which 85,639 or 81 per cent were actually used in the election of candidates.[1] In the election of councilmen in 1921 held in Cleveland under the preferential voting system only 54,718 of a total vote of 128,686 went to the successful candidates.[2]

Twenty-three of the thirty-three members of the old council were candidates. Sixteen were elected. Three of the new councilmen were elected by party votes; they are men of about the same type as the group reelected. Five call themselves " independent", although one of them received the Republican endorsement. Of these " independents" W. J. Kennedy seemed to have been elected by a rebellious faction of the Democratic party. Another, Mrs. Helen Green, by a large number of " dry" and " native American " votes. Peter Witt, the third, was a well known political figure strongly supported by a newspaper. A Professor, A. R. Hatton, well known throughout the city, was supported by three newspapers and received the suffrages of many voters interested in civic reform. The remaining " independent," Miss Marie Wing, had been the secretary of the Y. W. C. A. and was well known to the women of the city. That these " independents" represent groups

[1] In the Irish elections held this year under the Hare system approximately 90 per cent of the votes actually counted toward an elected candidate. The number of candidates, however, was much smaller in comparison with the seats to be filled than in the Cleveland election. See " The Irish Free State Election, 1923 ", by John H. Humphries, *The Contemporary Review,* vol. 124, no. 694.

[2] It is significant that the election of councilmen and mayors in Cleveland has been under the preferential or " Mary Ann " system. This type of ballot is a three choice " non-partisan " system claimed to provide a means for securing a majority choice without a party primary. Five mayoralty elections have been held in only two of which the successful candidate has received a majority even after all of his " choices" had been counted. In the elections of 1921 the successful candidates for the council received only forty-two per cent of the votes cast. In the thirty-two ward contests only fourteen elected candidates received a majority on all " choices" while eleven or about thirty per cent received a majority of first choice votes. Elections under this system in Cleveland have offered little improvement over a simple election by pluralities with nominations by petition. Compared with this system the Hare method offers marked advantages.

or factions heretofore unrepresented because of the unfairness of the ward system is not at all clear.   It is probable that Professor Hatton or Mr. Witt, supported as they were by powerful newspapers, could have been elected under the old system in any one of a dozen city wards including the wards in which they live.   Mr. Kennedy was a candidate in 1921 in one of the wards and was defeated.   His election seems to have been desired by a faction of one of the major parties and can be rightly viewed, by believers in the representation of every considerable minority, as a justification of proportional representation.   Mrs. Helen Green is county president of the W. C. T. U.   The group interested in the philosophy of that organization doubtless supported her.   She received heavy support from the transferred ballots of the former secretary of an organization which regularly issues what is commonly known as " The Yellow Ticket" and which is quite generally thought to represent an anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic and anti-immigration point of view.[1]   That this sort of " minority" should appear is not surprising to those who have observed the effects elsewhere of so-called non-partisan elections.

Politically the new council comprised fourteen organization Republicans, six organization Democrats, one " independent" who was endorsed by the Republican party, one " independent" Democrat and three genuine " independents".   One of the Democrats was supported openly by the Republican leader. The Republican majority will organize the new council, probably elect a manager from among Cleveland Republican leaders and presumably determine the character and personnel of the entire administration.   There will be healthful opposition from the " independent" group, but it is not likely to be in a position to wield much power, particularly because the Democratic group will be more likely to aid the Republican majority than the non-partisans.

[1] This ticket was quite generally called the " Klan " slate although the connection was denied by the officers of the organization which issued it.

II

It is interesting to note the effect of this new method of election upon campaign policies and methods. Until the last few weeks before election the two political parties seemed to be perplexed as to the most effective methods to be used in such an election. They then placed several candidates in the field, endorsed others, adopted platforms, and issued a small amount of " literature ". The Republican party, which for six years has had a safe majority in the council, conducted a most painstaking and, judged by the results, successful campaign. The Republican leader in Cleveland has always followed a policy of maintaining a harmonious and united front in the face of the enemy by making many wise shifts and trades before the campaign begins. In this campaign there is much evidence that he gave great care and attention to the selection of the group who should represent his party in each district. Race, religion and nationality were considered. A Czech was withdrawn in one district to give a clear field to a rival, a stronger and more favored member of that group. A sitting councilman was induced to give up his right to run for reelection by the promise or hope of support for a judgeship. A few weak ones were eliminated, presumably by other inducements. Finally the approved " slate " appeared. In two districts more than the entire number to be elected were endorsed, in one the same number, while in one district the number of candidates supported by the Republican group was smaller than the number to be elected. It was quite generally believed that the Republican organization would not seriously oppose certain organization Democratic candidates. It is a fact that the Republicans put only four endorsed candidates into a district in which five were to be elected in order to make more certain the election of a friendly Democrat. If there had been a sufficient number of independents elected to endanger the control of the council by either party the purpose of these preliminary precautions would have appeared. It was the general belief that under such a condition there would have been a temporary coalition of the two parties with a resulting

"proportional representation" of each in the jobs to be filled after the manager was elected.

The parties held no large meetings and did little advertising except to publish their platforms and approved lists of candidates. Less money was spent by the parties than usually although the individual party candidates spent more. Where the party was well organized the old ward lines were respected by party candidates. Each sitting councilman who was running sought for all of the first-choice party votes in his ward. His colleagues on the party ticket, he permitted to enter his "house meetings" and solicit second and other choice votes. He himself instructed his followers to give other endorsed party men other choices. But in the last analysis the party sought to preserve to the best of its ability the individual following of each candidate in the ward which he had formerly represented. One particularly strong candidate secured 3434 of the 3884 votes in his ward. The Democratic party organization has been out of power in the city administration for nearly eight years. It is consequently very weak and politically emaciated. Six organization Democrats were elected, probably more on account of their personal following than because of organized party strength.

Next to the parties in influence was the press. One evening paper supported the Republican candidates but published very little news concerning the campaign. The other evening paper concentrated on one strong candidate in one of the districts. Eighty per cent of its news concerning the campaign was devoted to this favored candidate. The large and important morning paper gave some space to the campaign each day, making it even more prominent than its news value warranted because of a genuine desire to rouse public interest. But it found very difficult the task of extracting interesting issues from the discordant localisms and special pleadings of so many individual causes. All of the newspapers sought to "educate" the public by publishing a series of explanatory articles written by special writers sent out by the national organizations supporting proportional representation.

The campaigns of other "group" interests were largely limited

to the publication and dissemination of " slates." There were slates without number, some of which were issued by the follow- ing: the two political parties, six newspapers, the Federation of Labor, the Citizens' League, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, the Guardians of Liberty, the Ohio State Maintenance League,[1] the " slot machine " group[2] and numerous lesser organizations. The effect of these " slates " is difficult to evaluate. Those published by the newspapers, the parties, and the Citizens' League had considerable influence because they were backed by active support. But it is doubtful if any of the others had an important bearing upon the election.

III

The general purpose of the Hare system of proportional representation is to alter the fundamental basis of representa- tion. It substitutes for constituencies based upon geographical areas groupings based upon psychological preferences. Its advocates claim that it offers to voters " who live apart but think alike " the opportunity to unite upon one or more candidates of their choice. The system therefore contemplates a sort of rep- resentation in which constituencies may be political, economic, religious, or racial. The system does not seek to exclude polit- ical parties as such but to give them representation according to their numerical strength. But it does not permit them to in- dicate their existence by anything that appears upon the ballot. Whether this new kind of grouping of the voters for the pur- pose of electing a city council will operate to improve the char- acter of municipal administration, whether it will increase public interest in government and whether it will produce better public officials, are questions which cannot be determined until more facts are available and better methods of measuring such in- tangibles are discovered. But this election in Cleveland offers an opportunity to test some of the more common claims of the

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[1] Reprinted by the United Brewery Workers Union " so that the liberal voters may know the dry candidates ".

[2] This " group " was interested in a material way in protecting the opera- tion of slot machines in the city. They issued fifty thousand copies of their " slate " in one district alone.

advocates of the Hare system as applied to city councils in the United States. The more important of these claims for proportional representation as applied to city councils and the pertinent facts in the Cleveland election are the following:

1. "*The Hare system reproduces in the representative body the true interests and opinions of the voters in their true proportions. Each party or group that is revealed by the ballots, whether organized beforehand or not, secures the number of representatives it is entitled to—no more, no less.*" [1]

This statement implies that the new groups revealed by a proportional representation election will have a more vital relationship to the interests of the voter than the groups under the old ward and party system. But it does not follow that such groups have a more vital relationship to city government than the ward and party groups. On the contrary it is to be doubted whether groups of Poles as members of a nationality have any special claims to or interest in the affairs with which a city council deals. Nor has the W. C. T. U., except perhaps in certain kinds of law enforcement. Surely there cannot be Jewish and anti-Jewish ways of running a city.

The council elected in this election will be hailed as a most representative body. It will be truly said that the council will represent " wets " and " drys," men and women, Roman Catholics and Protestants, Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Irish, Jews, Germans, and colored voters. Big business and little business people are there, and most of the other sorts of people into which a city's population is divided. But a comparison of the personnel of this council with that of others which have preceded it reveals the fact that the parties have in reality always recognized these groups and have sought to make allowance for them in selecting candidates. The difference now is that they presumably represent these groups directly instead of indirectly through a party. With the exception of the interests represented by one or two of the new " independents " mentioned above, all of these representative elements have been in the council before.

[1] *Proportional Representation Review,* Fundamentals Issue, January, 1918, p. 30.

There are other groups which perhaps have a more vital re-
lationship to government than these nationalistic, racial and re-
ligious elements.   There are the groups based upon economic
interests.   What of organized labor and the Socialists?   The
election seemed to indicate that these groups, in spite of the
fact that they are somewhat numerous in Cleveland, did not
seek direct representation.   Walter H. Clem who was in 1922
president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, was a candidate
and received only 284 first-choice votes in a total of 32,872.
John J. Willert, who is a well-known Socialist of considerable
ability, was elected to the council in 1917 from a ward.   He was
a candidate this year and received only 869 first-choice votes.
It is quite certain that many voters who have voted the Socialist
ticket in the past voted this time for progressive independents,
or for sympathetic party candidates, or failed to vote at all.

On the other hand the cohesion of nationalistic groups is
shown throughout the results of the election.   There are several
significant examples.   In District 2 there are many voters of
Polish birth.   Recognizing this, the Democrats put forward Mr.
Orlikowski and the Republicans Mr. Benkoski.   In the transfer
of Benkoski's votes Orlikowski received 411, while three Re-
publican organization candidates received together only 145.
This fact shows quite conclusively that race prevailed over party.
Likewise in the transfer of a Hungarian's votes most of them
went to a fellow-countryman of the opposite party.   Whether
a council so largely based upon such a grouping of voters has
a more vital relationship to the actual job of a city council,
which is to choose a city manager and direct him in the admin-
istration of a city's business, can well be questioned.

The assertion of the advocates of proportional representation
that the parties will be more equitably represented under the
Hare system challenges thoughtful consideration.   No one can
deny the serious inequalities under a ward or district system.
In Cleveland there is no satisfactory way of determining the
exact proportion of Democrats and Republicans.   In 1920
Harding carried the city; in 1921 an independent Republican
was elected mayor; in 1922 a Democratic candidate for governor
received a small majority.   In the old council sixty per cent

were Republicans, thirty-four per cent were Democratic and six per cent were independent. In the present council the per-centages are fifty-six, twenty-four and twenty.

2. *By compelling the parties to nominate their "ablest and most trusted leaders"[1] and by permitting candidates to run who would not be likely to be successful in ward politics, it should re-sult in a more able group of representatives.* Parties under the Hare system will nominate the same sort of candidates as they always have—the best "vote-getters." In several instances in Cleveland men who were elected were not rated even by the leaders of their own parties as of sufficient ability to make de-sirable councilmen. They were elected because of wide ac-quaintance or long service, or, in one case, because of wide advertising. A cigar manufacturer whose name appears on thousands of cigar boxes in scores of stores throughout the city found proportional representation much to his liking. He re-ceived more first-choice votes than any other candidate except Mr. Witt. His ability is described by the Citizens' League in the following statement: "His long record in the council has not disclosed those qualities which are necessary for effective service in the new council." In the same district a former president of the council, a member of Congress from 1921 to 1923, described by the Citizens' League as "an independent and able public official with intimate knowledge of the city's needs", was defeated. This man demonstrated in several pre-ceding elections that he could be elected in a ward where voters could know him intimately, in spite of his inability to make a wide appeal through effective public speaking or by winning the friendship of the city desk of a newspaper. The kind of cam-paign that the Hare system requires does not necessarily give "the race to the swift, nor the battle to the strong . . . nor yet favor to men of skill, but time and chance happeneth to them all."

The average ability of the new council is to a degree better

[1] This argument appears in *The Proportional Representation Review*, Jan-uary, 1918, and also in J. Fischer Williams, *The Reform of Political Repre-sentation*, London, 1918.

than the old one which it succeeds.   The best and the worst of
the old group have been reelected.   The new members, includ-
ing the " independents ", constitute an element of improvement.
Two of them, perhaps three, rank with the best of those carried
over from the old council; the remaining ones are of the
average type found in preceding councils.   It is difficult, if not
impossible, to " rate " the personnel of the members of the old
and the new council and to determine with any degree of
accuracy the relative ability of the two bodies.   Three com-
petent persons who estimated the value to the council of each
member of the old and of the new group and averaged their
estimates found that the new group averages slightly better.
If such an estimate could be expressed in mathematical terms
the improvement would be about three or four per cent.   This
failure to achieve a marked improvement in personnel was due
to the inability of reform groups to get a large number of ex-
ceptional candidates into the contest.   Of the 119 candidates
not over ten were of a type not usually found in contests for
council seats in an ordinary election.

3. " By giving each voter a share in the election of a member
of the representative body . . . it encourages voting, increases
interest in public affairs and makes the act of voting easy." [1]

The most accurate measure of interest in an election is the
proportion of the qualified electors who register and vote.
Upon this basis the first election in Cleveland under propor-
tional representation did not " encourage voting ", nor did it
" increase interest in public affairs."   In 1920 seventy-six per
cent of the estimated number of qualified voters cast ballots for
the presidential candidates in Cleveland; in 1921 sixty-five per
cent participated in the mayoralty election; in 1922 forty-seven
per cent voted for the candidates for governor, United States
senator and other officers; while in the election just held under
proportional representation for councilmen, forty-two per cent
participated.   This is significant when it is considered that this
council will exercise the combined powers of a mayor and coun-
cil which existed under the old charter.   Interest in the election

[1] Proportional Representation Review, January, 1918, p. 30.

of a body which will exercise such important powers should compare favorably with that manifested in the election of a mayor under the old system.   That such interest did not exist is indicated in the following comparative statistics:

	Registra- tion	Total vote	Per cent below regis- tration	Valid ballots	Per cent invalid ballots
1921 election of mayor ..	167,775	154,123	8	150,455	2.3
1923 election of council..	131,993	114,613	13	105,846	7.6

Compared with the election of councilmen in 1921, an event which was overshadowed by the campaign for the office of mayor, the 1923 election still reveals less interest.   In that year seventeen per cent more valid votes were cast for candidates for the council than in 1923.

4. " *It gives every voter the satisfaction of marking his ballot according to his real will regardless of any candidate's weakness without wasting his vote.*" [1]

It is quite obvious that the voter, in order to be reasonably sure that his ballot will actually count in the election of some candidate, must vote for a large proportion of the candidates. This becomes very difficult with a large number of candidates on the ballot.   With as many as forty-three, the average citizen's choice is limited to the ten or twelve candidates whom he knows sufficiently to enable him to express an intelligent series of choices.   It may be that some method will have to be devised to reduce the number of candidates in order to eliminate this difficulty.

But the proportion of votes cast in this election for candidates who were actually elected was very favorable to the claims of the advocates of the Hare system.   In 1921 only forty-two per cent of those who cast valid votes participated in the election of the successful candidates; in 1923 eighty per cent participated.

[1] *Proportional Representation Review,* Supplement, July, 1918.

GENERAL RE-

REGULAR MUNICIPAL ELECTION FOR CITY COUNCILMEN ELECTED

No. to be Elected 6 Quota 2963	1st Count	2nd Count Transfer of Finkle's Surplus		3rd Count Transfer of Heinrich's Votes		4th Count Transfer of Harris' Votes		5th Count Transfer of Thomas' Votes		6th Count Transfer of Schulze's Votes		7th Count Transfer of Butler's Votes	
		Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result
1 Bronstrup (R.).	1387	1065	2452	15	2467	7	2474	15	2489	12	2501	16	2517
2 Butler	392	36	428	5	433	5	438	12	450	7	457	457	....
3 Carroll (D.)....	723	91	814	4	818	6	824	7	831	9	840	48	888
4 Ferris	790	45	835	4	839	26	865	4	869	56	925	17	942
5 Finkle (R.)	5314	2351	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963
6 Fleming (R.) ..	2915	48	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963
7 Harris.........	164	27	191	4	195	195	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
8 Heinrich	130	56	186	186	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
9 Lyons (D.)	427	21	448	7	455	10	465	4	469	5	474	28	502
10 McGinty (D.) ..	2087	293	2380	13	2393	27	2420	14	2434	10	2444	82	2526
11 Murrell	858	99	957	7	964	9	973	24	997	5	1002	28	1030
12 O'Reilly (R.)...	622	165	787	3	790	8	798	7	805	10	815	48	863
13 Reynolds (D) ..	417	42	459	7	466	9	475	8	483	7	490	27	517
14 Schulze........	245	24	269	17	286	7	293	2	295	295	.....	....	.....
15 Thomas	166	30	196	3	199	5	204	204	.....	....	.....	....	.....
16 Walsh (D.)	2069	76	2145	15	2160	3	2163	14	2177	31	2208	32	2240
17 Wing	1650	113	1763	23	1786	33	1819	12	1831	69	1900	52	1952
18 Zupnik	380	119	499	12	511	5	516	1	517	10	527	4	531
Scattering......	4	1	5	5	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....
Ineffective Ballots..	.....	....		5	52	52	35	87	80	167	64	231	75	306
Totals	20740	....	.....	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740

Candidates endorsed by the Republican and Democratic parties are indicated by (R.) and (D.)

The claims commonly made by those who do not favor the Hare system—that it presents great mechanical difficulties in counting the votes, that it increases the danger of fraud, and that the possibility of errors is large—were not strengthened by the actual operation of the system in this election. The counting process was well organized by the board of elections and was carried to its conclusion without serious errors or confusion. Mechanical difficulties cannot justly be regarded as an insuper-

SULT RECORD

NOVEMBER 6, 1923, IN THE CITY OF CLEVELAND, OHIO

8th Count		9th Count		10th Count		11th Count		12th Count		13th Count		Elected Candidates with Order of Election
Transfer of Lyons's Votes		Transfer of Zupnik's Votes		Transfer of Reynolds' Votes		Transfer of Ferris' Votes		Transfer of Carroll's Votes		Transfer of Murrell's Votes		
Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	Ballots	Result	
16	2533	37	2570	31	2601	102	2703	57	2760	80	2840	1 Bronstrup (6)
....	.....	....	.....	..	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	2
20	908	25	933	54	987	16	1003	*1003*	.....	....	.....	3
4	946	7	953	6	959	*959*	.....	....	.....	....	.....	4
....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	5 Finkle (1)
....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	....	2963	6 Fleming (2)
....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	7
....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	8
502	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	9
97	2623	58	2681	116	2797	33	2830	133	2963	....	2963	10 McGinty (3)
11	1041	3	1044	20	1064	34	1098	30	1128	*1128*	.....	11
63	926	21	947	71	1018	26	1044	131	1175	78	1253	12
99	616	18	634	*634*	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	13
....	· ···	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	14
....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	15
98	2338	73	2411	143	2554	28	2582	194	2776	65	2841	16 Walsh (5)
30	1982	52	2034	86	2120	542	2662	74	2736	227	2963	17 Wing (4)
7	538	*538*	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	18
....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	....	.....	
57	363	244	607	107	714	178	892	384	1276	678	1954	
....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	....	20740	

Figures in italics in each column marked " Ballots " indicate number of votes transferred to give " Result."

able obstacle. The ultimate success or failure of the Hare system must depend upon more fundamental and important tests to which it must be submitted in subsequent elections. Its first trial in Cleveland, however, seems to have revealed the need of a careful revision of the too extravagant claims of its supporters.

<div align="right">RAYMOND MOLEY</div>

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