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A

LIST OF BOOKS

(WITH REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS)

RELATING TO

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

A. P. C. GRIFFIN
CHIEF BIBLIOGRAPHER



WASHINGTON
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1904

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INTRODUCTION

This List represents the contents of the Library on the subject of proportional representation. It includes also some titles on direct legislation and apportionment as related subjects. It does not embrace in its scope the initiative or referendum.

The first systematic discussion of minority or proportional representation is said to be Gilpin's, "On the representation of minorities," first issued at Philadelphia in 1844. It was written to apply to the government of the city of Philadelphia. The scheme advanced by Gilpin is regarded as identical with the Libre Liste, or ticket vote, advocated by Naville in Geneva in 1871 and now used in some of the Swiss cantons.

In 1859 Thomas Hare published "The election of representatives, parliamentary and municipal," in which he elaborated a system of proportionate representation known as the "Single transferable vote." This system was indorsed by John Stuart Mill in his "Considerations on representative government," which he declares to be "among the greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government."

In 1869 Senator Buckalew proposed a plan of cumulative voting as a part of a reconstruction scheme for suffrage in the South. The report of the committee favoring his proposition, together with his speeches on the subject and other illustrative material, were published in a volume described on page 8 of this list.

Dutcher's "Minority or proportional representation," New York, 1872, is a record of the movements toward proportional representation in Great Britain and the United States, including an account of experimental legislation in various States.

Forney's "Political reform by the representation of minorities," New York, 1894, is an argument for what is called the Burnitz system. A translation of Burnitz's exposition of his system is printed in Forney's work, pages 159-174.

John R. Commons's "Proportional representation," New York, 1896, passes in review the various systems of proportional representation, giving also a résumé of the progress of the cause in different countries.

It is a good statement of the history and development of the proposed reform in representation up to the date of its publication. The Belgian system had not been put into effect at that time.

A scheme of proportional representation was introduced in Switzerland in 1891 in the Canton of Ticino, and since that time has been adopted by several other cantons. Naville is one of the principal promoters of the cause in Switzerland. A full account of proportional representation in Switzerland is given in Klöti's "Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz," Bern, 1901. For accounts in English there are brief statements in McCrackan's "Swiss solutions of American problems," Boston, 1894; Vincent's "Government in Switzerland," London, 1898. The subject also enters largely into the article by Prof. Louis Wuarin, of the University of Geneva, entitled "Recent political experiments in the Swiss democracy," printed in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, volume 6, November, 1895, pages 361-380.

In December, 1899, a system of proportional representation was adopted by Belgium. The text of the act providing for proportional representation is printed with some notes by P. Wauwermans in "Annuaire de législation étrangère publié par la Société de législation comparée," volume 29, pages 463-471, also in Duthoit's "Le suffrage de demain," Paris, 1901, and in the "Revue de droit public et de la science politique," volume 14, November-December, 1900, pages 385-424. A history of the movement in Belgium is given by Goblet d'Alviella in "La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique," Bruxelles et Paris, 1900. The system adopted in Belgium is known as the D'Hondt system. A tabulated statement by D'Hondt is noted on page 14 of the present list. Dupriez's "L'organisation du suffrage universel en Belgique," Paris, 1901, contains a bibliography of the movement in Belgium. Other treatises by Belgian writers are Aelvoet's "La représentation proportionnelle," Gand, 1900; Biddaer and Somerhausen's "Élections législatives; application de la représentation proportionnelle," Bruxelles, 1900; Cameau's "La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique," Paris, 1901; Delcroix's "Élections législatives," Bruxelles, 1900; Dumont's "Les élections en Belgique" in "Revue politique," vol. 25, pp. 314-329; "Les enseignements du scrutin" in "Revue de Belgique," vol. 33, pp. 175-196, 303-318; Dupriez's "L'organisation du suffrage universel en Belgique," Paris, 1901; Duysters's "De nieuwe kieswet," Berchem-Antwerpen, 1900; Fromes's "Manuel pratique pour les élections législatives," Bruxelles, 1900; Jacquart's "Statistique électorale," Bruxelles, 1900; Nerinx's "Le suffrage universel, le vote plural et la représentation proportionnelle," Bruxelles, 1900; Van der Smissen's "La représentation proportionnelle en Belgique et les élections générales de mai 1900," in "Annales des sciences politiques," volume 15; and Vanlaar's "Le

mécanisme de la représentation proportionnelle dans le nouveau système électoral belge," in "Revue politique et parlementaire," volume 25.

In the "Revue de Belgique," April 15, 1904, pp. 308-332, V. Van de Walle gives a statistical survey of elections in Belgium under the act of 1900, in which he points out defects and proposes a "*formule*" for their correction.

The periodical called "La représentation proportionnelle" has been published since 1883 in Brussels, in the interests of the D'Hondt system. A summary description of "The Belgian system of proportional representation" is given by Robert Tyson in the "Arena" for December, 1903. A fuller exposition is given by Mahaim, under the title "Proportional representation and the debates upon the electoral question in Belgium," printed in the "Annals of the American academy of political and social science," volume 15, May, 1900, pages 381-404.

In 1893 the American proportional representation league began the publication of the "Proportional Representation Review," devoted to the advancement of the cause in this country; which is still issued.

There is a society in France for the study of proportional representation which published a collection of material on the subject, including accounts of debates in various parliaments, which is described on page 19 of this list.

For a general survey of the movement for proportional representation up to 1899, the work by Saripolos, "La démocratie et l'élection proportionnelle," Paris, 1899, is regarded by good authority as of the first importance.

The application of proportional representation in municipal elections is discussed in Conkling's "City government in the United States," New York, 1899; Parson's "The city for the people; or, the Municipalization of the city government and of local franchises," Philadelphia, 1901; Wilcox's "The study of city government," New York, 1897; and L. F. C. Garvin's article "How to effect municipal reform," in the "Arena," vol. 10, September, 1894.

A. P. C. GRIFFIN,
Chief Bibliographer.

HERBERT PUTNAM,

Librarian of Congress.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 24, 1904.

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