

Dorien the main body. During the trek, which lasted four days, our progress was like the old-time forays in the Highlands of Scotland two centuries ago. The country is very like Scotland, and we moved on from valley to valley, lifting cattle and sheep, burning, looting and turning out the women and children to sit and weep in despair and utter misery beside the ruins of their once beautiful farmsteads. It was the first touch of Kitchener's iron hand—a terrible witness, and I don't know that I want to see another trip of the sort. It rather revolted the most of us.

"We burned a track about six miles wide through these fertile valleys, and completely destroyed the village of Willpoort and the flourishing town of Dullstroom. The column left a trail of fire and smoke behind it that could be seen at Belfast. Many of the houses were surrounded by beautiful gardens abloom with roses, lilies and hollyhocks, and embowered in fruit trees, and with my glasses I could see the women and children bundled out, their bedding thrown through the windows after them. The cavalry would ride rapidly away, and the poor women and children, utterly confounded by the sudden visitation, would remain standing in the yard or garden watching helplessly, their homes disappearing in fire and smoke."

Describing the sack of Dullstroom, Lieut. Morrison proceeds: "On the following morning, the troops were up long before daylight and marched off at four o'clock. We had no trouble in getting up at the right hour. You could hear alarm clock bells ringing from nearly every heap of blankets upon the camp ground, and the veldt hummed like a telephone office. When a soldier loots a house the first thing he grabs is the clock. In the dim, early dawn the column, nearly all mounted men, moved swiftly north. We were going to sack and burn the town of Dullstroom.

"Nobody who was there will ever forget that day's work. About seven o'clock in the morning our force seized the town after a little fight. The Boers went into the surrounding hills, and there was nobody in the town except women and children. It was a pretty place, nestling in a valley. The houses had lovely flower gardens and the roses were in bloom. We seized a kopje overlooking the main street and placed all the guns on it, while the cavalry galloped through and skirmished up the hills beyond. The Boers drove in our outposts on the

flank, and began sniping the guns, and amid the row of the cannonade and the crackle of rifle fire the sacking of the place began.

"First, there was an ominous bluish haze over the town and then the smoke rolled up in volumes that could be seen for 50 miles away. The Boers on the hills seemed paralyzed by the sight, and stopped shooting. When the lull came Gen. Smith-Dorien invited the artillery officers to go down into the place with him on a sort of official appearance—'just to tell them that you saw me' style of thing. The town was very quiet save for the roaring and crackle of the flames. On the steps of the church a group of women and children were huddled. The women's faces were very white, but some of them had spots of red on either cheek and their eyes were blazing.

"The troops were systematically looking the place over, and as they got through with each house they burned it. Our Canadian boys helped the women to get their furniture out with much the same concern as they would exhibit at a village fire at home. If they saw anything, however, they particularly fancied they would likely appropriate it (muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn), but they had not the callous nerve to take the people's stuff before their eyes. But you should have seen the royal Irish on the loot. They helped the people out with their stuff by heaving bureaus bodily through the windows, putting pickaxes through melodeons and such like wantonness. I heard the yell: 'Bogorry, Tim, here's a nice carpet. Oi think Oi'll take it home for the ould woman. Lind a hand here.' R-r-r-rip! Up came a handsome pile carpet in strips. And so the work went on, the officers standing by laughing at the costly fun their men were having.

"As I stood looking a woman, the owner of a very pretty little cottage standing in a rose garden on a side street which was being destroyed, turned to me and pathetically exclaimed: 'Oh how can they be so cruel?' I sympathized with her and explained that it was an order and had to be obeyed. But all the same it was an intensely sad sight to see the little homes burning and the rose bushes withering up in the pretty gardens and the pathetic groups of homeless and distressed women and children weeping in abject misery and despair among the smoking ruins as we rode away."

Possibly the Chinese would take a little more kindly to Christianity if they realized that you can believe in it without practicing it.—Puck.

THE PRACTICABILITY OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

For The Public.

Proportional representation has been unfortunate in having too many speculative, and too few practical friends. A very simple principle has suffered from over refinement. The idea itself, that of so constituting legislative bodies that they shall be representative of the various political factions as measured by their votes, is everywhere received with friendliness by thinking people; but when it comes to the application these friends are too often at loggerheads.

In this dilemma we might well take a lesson from the Swiss. While the English have speculated upon the Hare system of transferable votes, and the French theorists have reduced the problem to mathematical exactness, the hard-headed statesmen of the mountain republic adopted a simple application, and have had it in operation for ten years.

The principal features of the Swiss system are:

1. District lines, such, for instance, as congressional districts, are wiped out, and the representatives elected from the state at large.

2. Any party or group of voters entitled to nominate candidates, either by convention or petition, may nominate as many candidates as it sees fit, up to the whole number to be elected.

3. Each elector has as many votes as there are representatives to be elected, which he may distribute as he pleases among the candidates. The votes count for the candidates individually as well as for the party or group to which they belong.

4. The sum of all the votes cast is divided by the number of representatives to be elected, and the quotient is known as the quota of representation.

5. The total vote of each party or group of voters is divided by this electoral quota, and each party is allotted as many representatives as the quota is contained times in its vote. Should there not be enough full quotas to elect all the representatives the required number is taken from the party of parties having the largest unfilled quotas.

6. The number of representatives to which each party is entitled is taken from its list of candidates in the order of votes they received.

7. Should there be a vacancy during a term of office the remainder of the term is served by the candidate of the same party whose vote was highest of those not at first chosen.

Districts should not be so large as to

lead to confusion in the choice of candidates, nor should they be too small to admit of the representation of every considerable minority. No state elects too many congressmen to be included in one district. Some states might be divided into three, four or even five districts for the election of members of the legislature.

In the November election the congressional vote of Iowa was: Republican, 304,302; democratic, 212,649; prohibition, 6,151; social-labor, 1,876; making a total vote of 524,978 cast. A stranger looking at that vote would naturally suppose the democrats elected two-thirds as many congressmen as the republicans, but instead of that the republicans elected them all.

Under the Swiss system this total vote of 524,978 would be divided by 11, the number of congressmen to be chosen, which would give as the quota 47,725, the number of votes necessary to elect one congressman. Dividing the republican vote, 304,302, by the quota, 47,725, it is found they have six full quotas and a remainder of 17,952. The 212,649 democratic votes divided by the quota give four full quotas and the remainder of 21,749. Neither the prohibitionists nor the social-laborites polled enough votes to fill a quota. As there is still one congressman to be assigned, he is given to the democrats, because that party has the largest unfilled quota, which makes the congressional delegation six republicans and five democrats, instead of the present 11 republicans.

In a few of the Iowa districts the democrats have a fighting chance of electing a congressman, but in most of them there is never any hope. The democrats merely go through the form of nominating a candidate, while the real election takes place in the republican convention. The reverse of all this is true of so-called democratic states. All of it is unnecessary. With the state voting as a unit, each voter would know his vote bore directly upon the final result; he would know his party would secure representation in proportion to the number of votes it polled. The apathy of hopelessness and the arrogance of over-confidence would alike disappear.

Not only would each party or group of independent voters have the representation to which it was entitled, but the voters could choose among the candidates on their respective tickets. This would prevent conventions nominating unworthy candidates, and setting aside the real leaders of the

people, for even if the politicians of the leading parties agreed to nominate unworthy men, the people could assert themselves by presenting on an independent ticket the men whom the conventions ignored. This power is the hands of the people would be the most effective restraint upon "machine" conventions.

Proportional representation is especially applicable to the election of city aldermen, county commissioners, and members of the state legislatures. It has ceased to be a novelty. Switzerland has used it for ten years. Belgium adopted it last year, and Tasmania has adopted it for the election of representatives to the Australian federation.

Not only has the United States outstripped the world in material achievements, but she has in two generations acquired the conservatism of ages.

STOUGHTON COOLEY,
Secretary American Proportional Representation League, Maywood, Ill.

A MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS.

For The Public.

Bryan said that a single taxpayer could always be recognized by the fact that he believed in his principles and had faith in himself. Faith—that is the word. Faith in humanity is the first gospel of freedom. Faith in one's self is the mainspring of all great actions. In this world each one is a factor for good or evil. However great or insignificant a man may be, however high or low his station, he wields a certain influence. And it is only when the individual realizes the power he wields that he can form any proper conception of his duties. A man who thinks himself of no force whatever is not apt to weigh his words as well, to consider his thoughts as carefully, or to be so circumspect in the formation of his opinions as the one who feels and knows that his life counts for something.

One who was in many respects a good man once said to me: "I know the world is full of crime and sorrow; I know that my government is not a just one, and that the condition of mankind should be and could be vastly better than it is—but what can I do? I am only one, and men will not listen to me; therefore I will attend my own affairs, provide for myself and family, and let the world wag as it will." A comfortable sentiment, truly; but where would civilization be to-day if all men had believed it? No, my friend, it is not true that you have no power over men; it is by no means true that your voice counts for nothing. Do not believe yourself so worthless a crea-

ture. God made you a man; therefore a freeman. Can you look into the face of the Omnipotent and say: "Behold, O Father, the misery and injustice of the world, which I have not sought to change because I could not!"—Would you tell Him that? You know you would not. Then cease telling it to yourself. Quit living a lie. You are responsible, yes, primarily so, for all of the wrongs that exist around you, unless you have exerted yourself to the utmost to bring about just and righteous conditions.

The system that produces millionaires and beggars is wrong—but the wrong is institutional. It is not the fault of any particular beggar, nor of any special millionaire. It is the fault of those political institutions under which such unhappy conditions are possible. Now, who is to blame for these institutions? Those who suffer them to remain. Would you abolish injustice? If so, speak out. Lift up your voice against it and fight it with all the powers you may possess. Let the world know which side you are on. Whatever course others may take, this is the only one that will relieve you of responsibility for existing social and political wrongs.

Justice requires you to speak. Tyranny demands nothing but silence. She asks that you sit still and close your eyes—nothing more. She says unto oppressed humanity: "Peace—be still," and her all's-well echoes along the cordons of buttressed wrong around the globe. Idleness, inertness, political apathy and inactivity will do more for tyranny than all the powers of eloquence or physical force. But those who love Justice must work. To those who have heard her call, the message is clear. There is no middle course; no turning aside, nor falling back. Our duty is plain. It is not for us to ask: "What shall the harvest be?" Many of us will not live to see the harvest. But what of that? We know what it will be, if we but sow the seed. It is idle to speculate upon the time when our work shall have been accomplished, or the probable results of each individual effort. Put your whole force into each blow, and strike for Justice! Let posterity calculate the result.

He who underestimates the force of individual effort, who thinks that power always resides in the inert force of numbers, has certainly read history to little advantage. The loudest trumpet does not blow the sweetest tone. The largest armies have not won the greatest victories. The most modest beginnings have produced the most stu-