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The Story of the Short Ballot Cities

A Series of Articles on the New Commission Form of Municipal Government

By RICHARD 5. CHILDS

III

The Secret of the Success of the Commission Plan

I.

What the "Commission Form" Is

HE spread of this movement is all the more striking because it was begun entirely by accident. Galveston, Tex., after the great flood of 1900 was practically wiped out. So much progressive and constructive work was demanded of the city government that the old system of a board of aldermen and the usual string of independent elective officers broke down. A group of business men petitioned the state government to suspend the local government and replace it temporarily with a commission of five men. This was done, and the whole city was put under the control of five men, three of whom were appointees of the gov-This was where the term "commission" originated, and the name for want of a better description has stuck to it ever since, although the board is no longer a "commission" in the true sense of the word at all.

This commission in Galveston was able to make decisions and get things accomplished in half the time that it took the old board of aldermen to get a resolution referred to a committee. The commission planned and built a sea wall to protect the city against further floods, raised the ground level of a large part of the town, got the city government running again at one-third less annual cost, made a number of important improvements and at the same time reduced the debt and the tax rate.

After two years, during which the politicians were finding precious little to do, the commission was made entirely elective by popular vote, much to the dismay of many good persons in the town, who had been much pleased with the practical success of the governor's commission. Their fears, however, proved groundless, for the people proceeded to elect the same commission and have continued to do it at every election since. Except by death there has been only one change in the personnel of the commission since the beginning.

Gaiveston's claim that it was the best governed city in the United States made Houston jealous, and after a few years this city periitoned for a similar government and was granted it. Dailas, El Paso, Denison, Waro and Austin have since then followed suit, leaving San Antonio, now the only important city in the state which has not adopted the plan.

A few years after Galveston first begap to attract attention some civic workers in Des Moines began to study fundamental fashion. They devised what has since become known as the "Des. Moines plan," which is simply the commission form of government, with certain interesting additions. known as the initiative, referendum. recall and nonpartisan primary. By the terms of the initiative provision a certain number of people are permitted to present a petition to the commission demanding the passage of a certain ordinance, and if the commission sees fit to refuse the request the matter must be settled by popular vote. By the referendum provision certain matters, particularly the granting of franchises to public utility corporations, must be approved by popular vote before they become law. By the terms of the recall provision, the presentation of a petition containing a certain number of signatures may force any member of the commission to submit the question of his continuance in office to a new election immediately. The nonpartisan primary is simply an eliminating election. All candidates are nominated by petition tno party labelss, and the leading ten remain on the ballot for the final elec-

The elimination of the party name. symbol and column from the ballot, is a highly significant and characteristic feature of the commission form of government. It excludes the political machines from a great strategic advantage and leaves independent candidates on an exact equality with those proposed by the organizations. The ballot is simply a list of names with a square opposite each, and the voter is instructed to "vote for five." Instead of having a ticket ready made for him, each voter makes up his own ticket. The fact that only five men are to be selected makes this task simple, and there has been found to be no difficulty about it in practice. This Short Pallot, which the voter can vote without the guidance of political experts, is the central and vital feature of the commission plan.

The publicity attendant on the installation of the new government in Des Moines gave the movement new atimulus throughout the country, and it began to be known as the latest and most up to date thing in city government. Many towns adopted it from

a mere desire to be abreast of the times and to show the world that they were progressive and enterprising. In some cases the plan met with vigorous opposition, sometimes with a complete lack of interest, while in some cities It carried by an overwhelming vote. Colorado Springs and other cities made a few alterations in the Des Moines plan, such as having the members of the commission elected for terms arranged to expire in rotation, and forbidding party nominations. Grand Junction, Colorado, added the preferential ballot, whereby the voter indicates on the ballot his first, second and third choice. There are various ways of counting the votes, and while the one adopted in Grand Junction is not the most scientific way, it results in a more accurate analysis of public opinion than the plan of straight plurality elections. The preferential ballot makes a primary election needless and thus saves expense.

The minor variations of the commis sion plan are endless. Except where a state has adopted a general law cover ing all cities of a certain class, it may be said that no two cities have char ters that are allke. Each charter revision commission has reviewed the work done in other cities and has sage ly made a few pet alterations in it. in Galveston, for instance, the mayor was the chairman of the commission; other wise he had no special duties. None of the members of the Galveston commis sion has specific control over any one department, although there has grown up the custom of allowing each mem ber to specialize in a certain department, and before election it is general ly understood which departments the candidates expect to interest themselves in. All matters are decided by majority vote. The members of the commission are paid nominal salaries and are not expected to give all their time to the city and, in fact, simply devote an bour or two a day to it.

Houston gave the major veto power over the vote of his four associates on the commission the has never used it and allowed the major to make certain appointments, paid the members good salaries and demanded that the commissioners devote all their time to the city. Each member of the Houston commission becomes the active superintendent of one of the five departments. This feature has been rather generally followed in other commission governed cities.

An exact definition of the commission plan of government is thus seen to be impossible. The only feature wherein all these "commission" government coincide is the concentration of all the powers of the city, both legislative and executive, in a single small board.

Never is our political history has any phenomenon of this nature been examined with such minuteness or by somany investigators.

Ex-President Charles W. Ellot of Harvard nade a tour of the countries slop governed cities, or "short ballcities," as he prefers to call them, and returned to Boston so enthusiastic that he was able to win over the town to an acceptance of some of the funda mental features of the plan. Another elaborate inquiry was made by a committee of the state legislature of Lili nois, from which everybody expected a hostile report. The committee, how ever, reported strongly in favor of the plan, stating that everywhere they found that it had won the approval of the people who fived under it.

There have been many explanations offered for the undoubted relative sucresses of the commission plan. The abolition of the wards, for example, is frequently quoted as an ample reason for the relative success of the new plan. But there are many cities in the United States in which there are no wards. Gaiveston itself had none before the flood, her city council being elected at large. Commission govern ment is a very common way of governing countles throughout the United States, and the plan there has not been a conspicuous success. There have been many other elected commissions, such as the trustees of the saul tary district of Illinois, and they like wise have never attracted attention by

their superior efficiency. Another loosely reasoned argument frequently used to promote the adop tion of the commission plan has been the statement that it is "like a busi ness corporation with its board of directors." Like most catch phrases however, this statement is only partly true. To be like a business corpora tion the commission would have to boose a business manager for the city. who in turn would appear all subor dinates and run the business of the city subject to periodical review by the commission. The commission plan however texcept in Galveston, actual ly provides for the election of depart ment superintendents by the stock holders-a form of organization which has no parallel in business practice.

Most of the explanations are only half true, because they involve a study only of the internal mechanism of the government, whereas the real difference between the old and the new comes at the point of contact between the government and the people, as will, be explained in detail in later articles.

WITCHCRAFT IN SCOTLAND.

Beatrice Layng's Pate at the Hands of the Mob In 1705.

That belief in witcheraft and brutal treatment of alleged witches once loomed large in Scotland is shown in Stewart Dick's "The trageant of the Forth." In 1705 Pittenweets gained unenviable notoriety from a series of prosecutions of old women, and the pamphieteers of the day were kept busy on both sides in defending and denouncing the action of the magis trates. The author says:

"It seems that a blacksmith, one Patrick Morton, being taken ill, de clared that he was bewitched, and on his instigation a number of old women were thrown into prison. Bullied by the magistrates and ministers of the town by day and tortured by their guards by night, who never let them sleep, but kept them awake by pricking them with pins, these miserable old women were soon induced to con-

fees, snything. "One woman in particular, Beatrice Layng, had been singled out by Morton for his special vengeance. He said that she came asking him to make some nails for her. He, belleving they were for some evil purpose refused to do so, and she went off muttering imprecations. When he fell ill she was beard to say, 'He micht blame his ane tongue for his ill.' On this tissue of trivialities she was im prisoned, and practically under tor ture she acknowledged to the ministers and magistrates that she had made a wax image of Morton and stuck pins in it.

"After a long period of judicial buliying she was set free or, in other
words, handed over to the mob to
work their will on her. Hanged on a
rope between a ship and the shore,
she was pelted with stones till haif
dead and finally pressed to death un
der a door. It seems that in those
days no one was safe against the
wildest accusations which might be
brought against him."

Misleading.

A man once ran for office, and after a very close election the returns showed that he had been elected by a few votes. A friend with whom he had been discussing the matter asked:

"What makes you think that all the

ballots weren't counted?"
"You see." replied the successful candidate, "I'm judging from the number
of fellows who've come around asking
for a job on the ground that they voted for me."—New York Times.

A teacher had told a class of juvenile pupils that Milton, the poet, was blind. The next day she asked if any of them could remember what Milton's great affliction was.

"Yes'm," replied one little fellow; the was a poet."-Christian Register.

The minutes saved by hurry are as useless as the pennies saved by paral-mony.-C. B. Newcomb.

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