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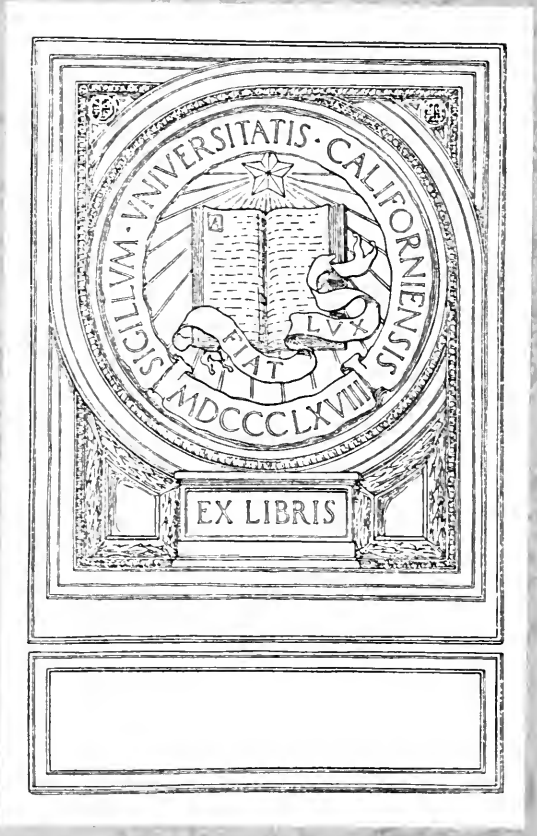
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The Ashtabula Plan of Municipal Government

The Commission-Manager Form with Proportional Representation

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The text of the novel features of the Charter and an account of the first election November 2, 1915

PUBLISHED BY THE
ASHTABULA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
ASHTABULA, OHIO

Copies of this pamphlet may also be obtained on request from

The National Short Ballot Organization, 381 4th Avenue, N. Y.
(Which publishes other pamphlets on the Commission-Manager Plan)

The American Proportional Representation League, Haverford, Pa.
(Which publishes other pamphlets on Proportional Representation)

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The Ashtabula Plan

This pamphlet is intended to provide a careful answer to the many questions that are being addressed to Ashtabula in regard to its unique new plan of government.

Ashtabula, Ohio, is a thriving industrial community of about 20,000 population (18,266 in the 1910 Census). Politically its history has been uneventful except for the incessant contests between wets and drys on the liquor question, on which the city divides very evenly, sometimes inclining to one side and sometimes to the other. There was no serious allegation of graft in the old mayor-and-council government: the new charter was adopted mainly to realize the benefits of the home-rule provisions of the new state constitution and to modernize and simplify the municipal machinery.

General Charter Provisions

The governing body is a body of seven members elected at large by the Hare system of proportional representation for a term of two years. Salary of members, $100 a year, with $50 extra for the chairman (called president). No other elective officers in the city government—a Short Ballot facilitating control by the people.

The council is instructed to "appoint a City Manager who shall be the administrative head of the municipal government under the direction and supervision of the Council and who shall hold office at the pleasure of the Council." The council also appoints the City Solicitor, City Treasurer, Health Officer, City Auditor, and Civil Service Commission. All other appointments are in the hands of the Manager.

The charter includes the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall.

Except for the unique proportional representation feature, it will be seen that the charter conforms to the commission-manager plan of Dayton, Springfield, and some forty other American cities.

Ashtabula takes its position in the following sequence of pioneers in municipal government.

1900	Galveston	Commission Plan
1905	Des Moines	Commission Plan with non-partisan elections and other improvements (copied by over 350 cities)
1913	Dayton	Commission Plan with City Manager (copied by 40 cities up to date)
1914	Cadillac	Commission-Manager Plan with Preferential Ballot (copied by 4 cities)
1915	Ashtabula	Commission-Manager Plan with Proportional Representation

Univ. of California

The First Proportional Representation Election in America*

By A. R. HATTON
Professor of Political Science, Western Reserve University

Has Ashtabula shown the way to the final type of city government on this continent? There is more than a fair chance that she has.

Ashtabula chose a Charter Commission under the Ohio home rule amendment early in 1914. The Commission elected was favorable to the Commission-Manager Plan of government with a council elected at large.

Already, however, the objection had been advanced in Ashtabula that a council elected at large in the usual way would probably represent only one party, and that this was not desirable if the council was to choose the Manager, who was expected to be a permanent expert non-political official.

The man who had brought this idea to Ashtabula was C. G. Hoag, General Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. Mr. Hoag was invited to address the Charter Commission at its first formal meeting. On that occasion he again proposed, as a way out of the difficulty, the election of the council at large *by proportional representation*. Several members of the Commission accepted the idea as sound in theory. One of them, Mr. W. E. Boynton, an engineer on the Lake Shore Railroad, who had previously been President of the City Council, embraced the proposal with enthusiasm, thoroughly acquainted himself with the proportional system, and became the devoted and efficient leader of a campaign for its adoption by Ashtabula.

The Commission finally rejected proportional representation as a novelty likely to jeopardize the acceptance of the charter as a whole when submitted to the voters. As submitted in November, 1914, the charter provided for a council of seven, nominated by a 5 per cent petition and to be elected at large in the usual way on a non-partisan ballot. This charter was adopted.

Although Mr. Boynton is quiet, he is persistent. He at once set about to initiate his proportional representation amendment to the new charter. This amendment was voted on in August, 1915, before the first election of the council.

*From the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, November 8th, with Changes Sanctioned by the Author

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Though the vote was light, proportional representation carried in all but five of the fifteen precincts of the city. It was under this amendment that Ashtabula elected its first council under the new charter.

What is Proportional Representation?

The theory of proportional representation is that each considerable party or group of opinion should be represented in the council or representative body in proportion to its voting strength. Thus if, in an election at which seven representatives are to be chosen, the Democrats cast four-sevenths, the Republicans two-sevenths, and the Socialists one-seventh of the vote, those parties should be represented in the council by four, two, and one representative respectively.

If the division of opinion is not along party lines, the divisions should nevertheless be represented in proportion to their voting strength.

In Ashtabula the lines of division in the recent election had little to do with national parties except that there was a Socialist group. There was first the question of local representation. The Harbor district lies at some distance from the city proper. Under the old ward plan this district had always been represented by one member of the council. Under the usual plan of election at large it would probably not have been represented at all. Then there is in Ashtabula the question of nationalities. The city has a large foreign element, the chief groups being Irish, Italians, Swedes, and Finns.

The voters are also sharply divided on the liquor issue, the city swaying first to the dry and then to the wet side. Finally, there is the question of adequate representation for the substantial business element of the community. It will be interesting to note the extent to which these various groups and interests secured representation at the recent election.

There are several plans of proportional representation. That adopted is the Hare plan.

There are seven members of the council to be chosen. The candidates get their names on the ballot by filing a petition signed by 2 per cent of the voters. No voter can sign a petition for more than one candidate. The ballot has no party marks. The voter marks his preferences for as many candidates as he pleases, the figure 1 for his first choice, the figure 2 for his second choice, etc. Though any number of preferences may be marked, and though seven members are to be elected, no ballot can be actually counted for more than one candidate. In order to be elected a candidate does not need a majority, or even a plurality of all the votes, but only a trifle more than an eighth of them.

To determine the number of votes necessary for election to the council the total number of valid ballots is divided by eight, and the whole number next higher than the quotient thus secured is taken as the number of votes required to elect. This number is chosen because

it is the smallest whole number that can be taken seven but not eight times from the total. In other words, it would be possible for seven candidates to get that many votes out of a given total but eight could not possibly do so.

In Ashtabula the total number of valid ballots cast was 2,972. This number divided by 8 gives a quotient of $371\frac{4}{8}$. The next whole number larger than this quotient is 372, and this was therefore the number of votes required for election. The number so established is known as the "quota" or constituency.

One candidate, McClure, received more than this number of first-choice votes, namely 392. The extra 20 ballots, taken from his ballots at random but equally from the ballots of each precinct, were transferred to second-choice candidates, each one in accordance with the instructions given by the voter's figures on the ballot. For example, 11 of these 20 ballots were transferred to McCune because on them McCune's name was marked with the figure 2.

Next, the candidate having fewest votes was declared defeated and out of the count, and all his ballots were distributed to other candidates in the same way. This done, the candidate *now* lowest was declared defeated and out, and his ballots transferred. And so the count proceeded until all the ballots except an odd remainder found their way into one or another of seven surviving piles.

An abstract explanation of the process gives an impression of great complexity. When it came to the actual work of the count, however, no trouble whatever arose. Although the board of election had had no previous experience with such a system and was without proper office equipment for handling such a ballot, the transferring of the ballots and the tabulation of the vote was accomplished in about three hours. At no time were the officials in serious doubt concerning the steps to be taken.

* * *

With one exception the seven standing highest on first-choice votes were finally elected, the exception being Mr. Rinto, a young Finnish lawyer. McCune, Hogan, Briggs, and Corrado, four of the successful candidates, are members of the present city council. The other three candidates who are members of the present council were defeated.

How well do the men chosen represent the city? McClure is manager of a department in one of the large stores. Hogan is one of the leading physicians of Ashtabula, McCune is a greenhouse man, Gudmundson assistant cashier of a bank in the Harbor district, Earlywine clerk and paymaster of a large ore company, Briggs a newspaper man, and Carrado a saloon-keeper.

The business element may be said to have three representatives. The Irish, Swedes, and Italians each elected a member. The Socialists elected one member, and the Harbor district is represented. On the liquor issue, three of the successful candidates are pronounced drys, three are classed as liberal, and one as very wet.

In general, the opinion in Ashtabula seems to be that, taking both quality and representative character into consideration, a better choice could hardly have been made from the list of candidates. It is generally agreed that the new council will contain more ability than the present one elected on the ward plan, and that it will also be more representative of the entire body of the voters.

I think it may be said that Ashtabula has shown other cities the way. They have been shown how to elect a council in a manner to provide equitable representation to all parties and interests; a plan under which the majority will control while the minority or minorities will have representation in proportion to their actual importance.

Under the Ashtabula system we may expect the quality of the council to improve. When groups of opinion come to understand that if they have a little more than one-eighth of the vote they cannot be denied representation in the council, their ablest representatives will be willing to become candidates. Men of high professional and business ability will stand for election to the council because they will be sure that if they really represent their element they will win. Gerrymandering and a large measure of political jockeying and wire-pulling will disappear. Parties will be obliged to find a basis on principle rather than largely on patronage, as is the case at the present time.

The manager-plan opens the way for permanent, expert service in city administration and for the elimination of politics from that part of our municipal governments. Proportional representation will provide a council which may properly be allowed to choose a city manager—a council which is truly representative, the members of which stand for policies and the fundamental interests of the community rather than for a more or less artificial party organization.

Ashtabula has a short ballot, the manager-plan, and a council chosen by proportional representation. That is the latest word in city government, and as yet no one has arisen to suggest that anything further can be said.

From the Ashtabula "*Beacon*," Nov. 5, 1915

Proportional representation has been demonstrated and found better than expected.

In analyzing the results we find that all sections and factions are represented in the new council. There are two from the first ward, one from the second, two from the third, and two from the fourth. Three from the Harbor and four from uptown. One from the east side and two from the west side at the Harbor. One from the west end, one from the south end, and two from the central portion of the uptown section of the city. Four of the old council were re-elected.

The drys and wets are represented. The Protestants and Catholics, the business, professional and laboring men, the Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, the English, Swedes, and Italians are all represented, while there were more divisions than places.

It would be hard to select a more representative council in any other way.

From the Ashtabula "*Star*," Nov. 5, 1915

It is generally conceded that it [the new voting system] has given Ashtabula a broadly representative council, probably the most representative body in the city's history.

The ward system elects each councilman by a constituency of voters *who live together and think apart.*

The proportional system elects each councilman by a constituency of voters *who live apart and think together.*

First Proportional Election in Ashtabula, November 2, 1915

FOR THE SEVEN MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL

Procedure

1. Ascertain the quota. (The total number of valid ballots was 2,972) 2,972 divided by 8=371$\frac{4}{8}$.

   The next number larger than this quotient, namely 372, is the "quota" or constituency, i. e. enough to elect, being the smallest number which seven, but not eight, candidates can get.

2. First-choice votes. McClure, having more first-choice votes than the quota, was forthwith declared elected and out of the count.

The figures referred to in each of the following paragraphs will appear directly opposite in the table.

3. The 20 surplus ballots of McClure were taken at random from his ballots (an equal number being drawn from the returns of each precinct) and transferred, each one separately according to the second choice indicated on it.
4. Lampela, the lowest man, was now declared defeated and out of the count, and all his ballots (except those on which no available lower choice was indicated) were transferred in the same way. If the second choice on a ballot was McClure, that ballot was transferred according to third choice, of course, since McClure had already been elected.
5. Loose, the man now lowest, was next declared defeated and out of the count, and his ballots were transferred just as Lampela's had been. (Note that only 64 out of Loose's 107 ballots could be transferred because only 64 of them had marked an available lower choice. For example, a ballot marked only for Loose as first, McClure as second, and Lampela as third choice could not be transferred, because McClure had been elected and Lampela had been eliminated.)
6. Cook, the man now lowest, was declared out and his ballots transferred.
7. Carlson and Flower were now tied for lowest place, with 165 votes each. Carlson, who had been the lower of the two at the previous count, was declared out and his ballots transferred.
8. Flower, now lowest, was declared out and his ballots transferred. Before this transfer was finished, Hogan had the quota and was declared elected.
9. Tilton, now lowest, was declared out and his ballots transferred. This brought McCune's votes up to the quota and elected him.
10. Rinto, being now lowest, was declared out. As this left only seven candidates standing, it was unnecessary to count further. (Rinto had stood higher than either Corrado or Briggs on first choices, but he was not well known except in his own section and so did not attract many second and lower choices.)

For an explanation of each line of figures, see paragraph directly opposite.

McClure	Hogan	McCune	Earlywine	Gudmundson	Briggs	Corrado	Rinto	Tilton	Flower	Carlson	Cook	Loose	Lampela
392	322	309	289	292	211	196	237	193	147	138	114	107	25
	0	11	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	0
	1	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	1	1	0	
	12	10	6	0	2	5	2	3	10	14	0		
	5	3	11	6	3	10	1	3	5	10			
	24	1	8	12	16	32	2	4	0				
	8	27	6	9	20	30	2	0					
		8	38	24	34	9	14						
372	372	372	361	343	286	282	263	204	165	165	115	108	25
	Elected							Defeated					

Advantages of Proportional Representation

This system of voting is known as the Hare plan of proportional representation. It is new to America, but has been used successfully for a number of years in Tasmania and South Africa. It is considered to offer the fullest and freest expression of the opinions of the electorate. Its expected advantages over the common plurality system are as follows:

1. It gives proportional representation, i. e., it gives each party or group of voters its due proportionate share of members in the council or commission. Instead of electing a solid block of seven dry or seven wet Republicans, Ashtabula elected four Republicans, two Democrats, and a Socialist, of whom three were classed as dry, and four as liberal or wet. *It is just, making the body that spends the taxes of all truly representative of all.*

2. The *stability and continuity* of membership in the council, through successive terms, will be much greater. The tenure of a good Manager is thereby made more secure. A ten per cent fluctuation in public opinion will produce only a corresponding change in the council, whereas under the common at-large method the swing of ten per cent may produce either a hundred per cent overturn in the personnel of the governing body or no change at all.

3. The voter can vote exactly as he desires with *no fear of wasting his vote.* A Prohibitionist, for instance, may mark his sentimental first choice for a probably hopeless Prohibition candidate and yet also turn his influence toward the selection of some one who has a better chance of election.

4. No *political organization,* or caucusing of any kind to prevent a group of voters from being split among too many acceptable candidates, is necessary. The alternative second and lower choices will automatically bring the group together again in the count. The whole field of political bluff and strategy is swept away. A minority, no matter how compact and well-drilled in its machine organization, cannot capture the control, no matter how split up and disorganized the opposition may be. The scheme makes machines weaker but makes live parties stronger.

5. The voter can make his ballot a possible source of strength to any candidate he approves of, no matter how many such there may be in the field.

6. The Short Ballot principle is conserved without either concentrating the power into the hands of a very small commission or dividing the city into districts.

7. *It tends to secure for the administration the co-operation of all interests and of all sections of public opinion.* This great advantage of the system was recently brought out by Dr. Lent D. Upson, formerly Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research of Dayton, where the Manager Plan gives the city an administration of splendid efficiency and zeal for the public welfare but where the commission, elected at large by the majority system, represents only the one dominant group in the city.

> The experience of a year and a half has now demonstrated the need of a more satisfactory method of connecting public opinion with the government itself. Our administration is honest, highly efficient, and has exceeded my most enthusiastic expectation so far as results are concerned. I feel, however, that its work would be strengthened if every element had a voice in the policy-making body, and were compelled to go on record regarding the very matters which they are now criticizing.
>
> I have said this publicly a number of times, and in a number of published articles. I feel confident that the greatest success of our present type of government will come under some system of proportional representation.

Sample of the Ashtabula Ballot as marked by a voter

MUNICIPAL TICKET

DIRECTIONS TO VOTERS

Put the figure 1 opposite the name of your first choice for the Council. If you want to express also second, third, and other preferences, 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. You may express thus as many preferences as you please. This ballot will not be counted for your second choice unless it is found that it cannot help your first; 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 more choices you express, the surer you are to make your ballot count for one of the candidates you favor.

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

	For Members of Council
	FRED A. BRIGGS
	JOHN CARLSON
	M. R. COOK
	NICK CORRADO
5	ROBT. W. EARLYWINE
	JAMES H. FLOWER
	C. O. GUDMUNDSON
3	J. J. HOGAN
1	ROBERT LAMPELA
	GEORGE H. LOOSE
2	J. H. McCLURE
	E. R. McCUNE
	ARTHUR RINTO
4	E. N. TILTON

The voter who marked his ballot as indicated said to the Tally Clerk in effect: "Count this ballot for Mr. Lampela, who is my first choice; but if he does not need my vote, or if it is found that he is so weak that votes for him are useless, transfer this ballot to my second choice, Mr. McClure; if my vote cannot help either Mr. Lampela or Mr. McClure, count it for Mr. Hogan, and so on."

* * *

As Mr. Lampela was found in the counting to be hopelessly weak, this ballot was available for Mr. McClure. But Mr. McClure did not need it, already having votes enough to elect him. Therefore the ballot went to Mr. Hogan, and was one of the 372 ballots that elected him.

Proportional Representation in Ashtabula

A Statement of the Facts Concerning the Adoption of Proportional Representation and the First Election Held Thereunder in the City of Ashtabula, by the Chamber of Commerce.

*** In 1913 Mr. W. E. Boynton, who was at the time a member of this Chamber, first brought the matter [proportional representation] before the Chamber and later Mr. C. G. Hoag, General Secretary-Treasurer of the American Proportional Representation League, appeared and addressed the Chamber upon this subject.

Under the provisions of the Constitution of Ohio adopted in 1912, the proposition of a new charter for this city was taken up by the Chamber, and we were largely instrumental in bringing about the election of the Charter Commission at the November election in 1913.

Proportional Representation was ably advocated before the Charter Commission by Mr. Boynton, Mr. Hoag and others, but was rejected by a vote of 10 to 5. The charter prepared by the Commission was adopted at the November election in 1914 to take effect on the first of January, 1916. In the spring of 1915 petitions were circulated to secure a vote upon an amendment to the charter so that the Council first to be elected under the new charter, in November, 1915, should be elected by the proportional representation method. A special election upon this charter amendment was held August 10th, 1915, and was participated in by 988 voters, which number was about one-fourth of the total vote of this city. The Amendment was adopted by a vote of 588 to 400, and the first election for seven members of Council under the charter as so amended was held November 2, 1915.

In this election 3334 votes were cast, of which 362 were thrown out as invalid. The quota required for election was 372. Of the seven members declared elected one member was elected on first choice ballots with a surplus of 20 votes. Another was elected on the 7th count, another on the 8th count; and the remaining four, having respectively 361, 343, 286 and 282 votes, were declared elected under the provisions of the amendment, that when the candidates have been eliminated down to the number to be elected, those candidates remaining shall be declared elected whether having the quota of votes or not. During the process of transfer 321 votes were rendered ineffective through the failure of the voters to mark sufficient choices. No great difficulty was experienced in counting and transferring the ballots, the matter of transferring being completed in about three hours.

The result of the first election seems to have given the city a fairly representative council, in which nearly all elements sufficiently important to be entitled to representation have selected one or more members. Ashtabula is a city of about 22,000 people, located on the south shore of Lake Erie. It has a magnificent harbor, with the greatest ore receiving and coal shipping facilities in the world. Formerly a large amount of labor was required in dock operations so that a considerable proportion of our population is of foreign birth. Of the numerous nationalities represented here the only three that have sufficient voting strength to approximate a quota are the Italians, Swedes and Finns. The council-elect contains one member of Italian birth and one of Swedish birth. The city is divided into four wards. The council-elect contains two members from the first ward, one from the second, two from the third, and two from the fourth, which is perhaps as near in proportion as may be to the proportionate voting strength of the four wards.

The members of the council-elect consist of four Republicans, two Democrats and one Socialist. While the Republican and Democratic strength is more nearly equal, the election of one member fairly represents the voting strength of the Socialist party. The most important issue before the voters at this election was the wet and dry question, and the City of Ashtabula returned a dry majority of 327. Of the members of council-elect three are dry, three are liberal, and one very wet.

Whether the organization of this council, its appointments of the administrative officers of the City, and its conduct of municipal affairs, will result in an efficient, economical administration of the business of the City, time will tell.

(Signed) Legislative Committee,
F. R. HOGUE
E. P. HALL
J. M. McCLURE.

The above report was unanimously adopted by the members of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Ashtabula at a meeting held on the fifteenth day of November, 1915.

(Seal of the Chamber)
Attest: THEODORE HALL, Secretary.

Text of the Election Provisions of the Ashtabula Charter

(The only officials elected are the seven members of the council)

Marking the Ballot

Section 46-1. Ballots for the election of members of the Council shall be marked according to the following rules and the same shall be printed at the top of each ballot under the head of "Directions to Voters:" [Here follow the directions to voters as given on the sample ballot on a previous page.]

Rules for Counting the Ballots

Section 46-2. 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) No ballot shall be declared invalid except one on which the first choice of the voter cannot be clearly ascertained. A ballot marked with a cross opposite one name, but with no other mark, shall be treated exactly as if it had been marked with a figure 1 opposite the same name, but with no other mark.

(b) The ballots shall first be sorted and counted at the several voting precincts according to the first choice of the voters. The valid ballots so cast for each candidate shall be sorted into two groups, that of valid ballots on which the voter's second choice is clearly indicated and that of valid ballots on which his second choice is not clearly indicated. Each such group shall be tied up by itself and properly marked on the outside and the two for each candidate shall then be tied up in one bundle which shall also be properly marked on the outside. All the bundles thus made up at a precinct, together with the invalid ballots and a record of all the ballots cast at the precinct, showing the number of invalid ballots, the number of valid ballots, the total number of first-choice ballots for each candidate, and the number of ballots in each of the two groups of first-choice ballots received by each candidate, shall be forwarded to the Board of Deputy State Supervisors of Elections, as directed by that Board, and the counting of the ballots shall proceed under its direction.

(c) First-choice votes for each candidate shall be added and tabulated as the first count.

(d) The whole number of valid ballots shall then be divided by a number greater by one than the number of seats to be filled. The next whole number larger than the quotient thus obtained shall be the quota or constituency.

(e) All candidates the number of whose votes on the first count is equal to or greater than the quota shall then be declared elected.

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

(g) The surpluses shall be transferred, successively in order of size from the largest to the smallest. Each ballot of the surplus that is capable of transfer shall be transferred to and added to the votes of continuing candidates, according to the highest available preference on it.

(h) "Ballots capable of transfer" means ballots from which the preference of the voter for some continuing candidate can be clearly ascertained. "Continuing candidates" means candidates who have not been declared elected or defeated.

(i) The particular ballots to be taken for transfer as the surplus of such candidate shall be obtained by taking as nearly an equal number of ballots as possible from the first-choice ballots, capable of transfer, that have been cast for the candidate in each of the different precincts of the city. All such surplus ballots shall be taken as they may happen to come in the different packages without selection.

(j) After the transfer of all surpluses the votes standing to the credit of each candidate shall be counted and tabulated as the second count.

(k) After the tabulation of the second count (or after that of the first count if no candidate received a surplus on the first) the candidate lowest on the poll as it then stands shall be declared defeated and all his ballots capable of transfer shall be transferred to the continuing candidates, each ballot being transferred to the credit of that continuing candidate preferred by the voter. After the transfer of these ballots a fresh count and tabulation shall be made. In this manner candidates shall be successively declared defeated, and their ballots capable of transfer transferred to continuing candidates, and a fresh count and tabulation made. After any tabulation the candidate to be declared defeated shall be the one then lowest on the poll.

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

(m) When candidates to the number of the seats to be filled have been declared elected, all other candidates shall be declared defeated and the count shall be at an end; and when the number of continuing candidates shall be reduced to the number of seats to be filled, those candidates shall be declared elected and the count shall be at an end; and in this case the ballots of the last candidate defeated need not be transferred.

(n) If at any count two or more candidates at the bottom of the poll have the same number of votes, that candidate shall first be declared defeated who was lowest at the next preceding count at which their votes were different. Should it happen that the votes of these candidates are equal to each other on all counts, lots shall be drawn to decide which candidate shall next be declared defeated.

(o) In the transfer of the ballots of any candidate who has received ballots by transfer, those ballots shall first be transferred upon which the defeated candidate was first choice.

(p) On each tabulation a count shall be kept of those ballots which have not been used in the election of some candidate and which are not capable of transfer, under the designation "Non-transferable ballots."

(q) Every ballot that is transferred from one candidate to another shall be stamped or marked so that its entire course from candidate to candidate throughout the count can be conveniently traced. In case a recount of the ballots is made, every ballot shall be made to take in the recount the same course that it took in the first count unless there is discovered a mistake that requires its taking a different course, in which case such mistake shall be corrected and any changes made in the course taken by ballots that may be required as a result of such correction. The particular ballots the course of which is to be changed in the recount as a result of such corrections shall be taken as they happen to come, without selection.

(r) So far as may be consistent with good order and with convenience in the counting and transferring of the ballots, the public, representatives of the press, and especially the candidates themselves shall be afforded every facility for being present and witnessing these operations.

Ashtabula

Situated on the south shore of Lake Erie in north eastern Ohio, midway between New York and Chicago.

Population at last federal census was 18,266. Is now about 21,000.

Climate healthful, tempered both summer and winter by adjacent Lake Erie.

Excellent transportation facilities afforded by two great trunk lines east and west, the New York Central Lines and the Nickel Plate, by branch lines of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Company to the south, and by the gigantic waterway system of the Great Lakes to the north and north-west. Trolley connections also with Cleveland and Buffalo.

Water obtained from Lake Erie in abundance and filtered before distribution.

Highly efficient municipal electric light and power plant.

Natural gas available for all purposes. Found in great quantities within three miles of the city.

Oil found within two miles of the city.

Coal abundant and cheap from the Pennsylvania and West Virginia fields.

Over two hundred acres of public parks.

Schools ample and thoroughly modernized.

Enormous quantities of iron ore and coal handled annually. Dock facilities for unloading 20,000,000 tons of iron ore from lake boats each season.

Ship yards and dry-docks for the construction and repair of the largest lake freighters.

Labor troubles unknown.

Many desirable factory sites available.

Write Theodore Hall, Secretary Chamber of Commerce, Ashtabula, O., for further information.

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