unrepresented." "The present electoral system is usually supposed to be a protection against the cranks and faddists whom a truly representative or proportional system would introduce; it is in fact their strongest ally for it gives them a fictitious strength and it prevents the true paucity of their numbers from

appearing."

"The present system is also open to criticism from the point of view of the member of parliament as a worker. We hear much to-day, and rightly, of the desirability of continuity in employment. A man is the better craftsman if he is not haunted by the fear of unemployment. This doctrine has its application in the political sphere. It is a good thing that if a man has given himself to public life he may be sure of remaining in it so long as he has the confidence of a body of electors entitled to representation. In such conditions he can pursue his career more firmly, he can do better work, he can accumulate more experience than if he is liable to be dismissed at any moment from public life by the few electors whose change determines the result of an election in a single-member constituency. A politician's seat and career should be safe so long as his own supporters are sufficiently large in number to be entitled to a representative and wish to be represented by him. Safe seats are at present, and must be, the exception; a proportional system would make them just so far the rule as they ought to be. This insecurity of the politician's employment has been praised as a merit of the present system. It has been claimed that it is an advantage that the electorate can at the present moment dismiss its representatives if it disagrees with them—that in fact the present system ensures 'democratic control."

"The House of Commons must be all-inclusive, if it is to continue to exist. The alternative, sooner or later, is a reaction of disillusion with parliamentary methods which may dissolve society into anarchy. Next, see how the case looks in an individual constituency. We have three parties of more or less equal strength with distinct programs and principles. Whichever candidate is chosen, the two parties to which he does not belong are treated unjustly. For this admitted evil the supporters of the present system can only suggest as a remedy either the second ballot, the left-off clothes of continental politics, or the alternative vote, which, though a great improvement in mechanism, is still in

principle only the second ballot in a new disguise."

"Such is our actual electoral system. It does not secure the consent of the majority of the governed. It disfranchises minorities; it deadens political life; it does not set free those new forces and stimuli which in whatever class of society they arise, are the real hope of the future." "The different systems of P.R. need not here be discussed. There are said to be some three hundred systems in existence, and the ingenuity of inventors shows no sign of exhaustion." ... "But all systems of proportional representation agree in a denial of the shallow dogma that local majorities alone are entitled to the elementary privileges of citizenship, and in an assertion of the simple proposition that the just representation of 70,000 electors, of whom 40,000 are Whites, 20,000 are Reds, and 10,000 are Greens, is not by 7 White members of parliament, but by 4 White, 2 Red, and 1 Green member."

"Thus the first step in the introduction of a system of proportional representation—or at any rate of the system of the single transferable vote, or of any continental system of 'lists'—is the creation of constituencies returning several members. The number of members that each constituency should return would be governed either by the number of its electorate or of its population—whichever basis were approved by parliament. The constituencies themselves should, whenever possible, be local government units—great cities or counties. This, no doubt, would not be possible in many cases, but, as far as may be, what may be called natural lines of division should be followed. The new constituencies once created, redistribution in the future would be simplified enormously. As population shifted or increased, no alteration of