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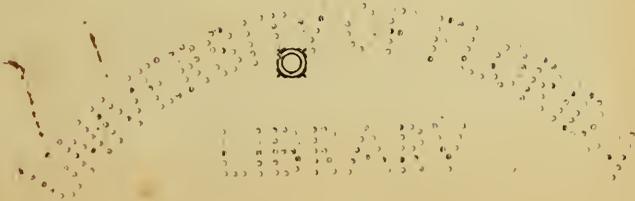
THE
REFERENDUM IN CHICAGO

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BY OF THE

CLARENCE ORAN GARDNER

University of Florida



ONE CHAPTER OF

A THESIS

ON THE "REFERENDUM IN ILLINOIS," PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR CHICAGO REFERENDA

At no time in the history of Illinois can popular voting on local measures be properly regarded as an innovation. It is true that the first constitution of the state, in effect from 1818 to 1848, did not sanction any form of local referendum, but the state legislature very early adopted the practice of referring acts of a local nature to the voters of local communities for approval. A brief summary of the nature of these laws and of subsequent provisions for voting on local measures applicable to Chicago will serve as an appropriate introduction to an analysis of the actual operation of the referendum in the metropolis of the state.

The earlier laws calling for popular votes in local communities related for the most part to county and municipal organization. The customary method of organizing new counties and determining their boundaries was by direct act of the legislature or by a special commission appointed by it, but later alterations in boundaries or government were frequently left to the decision of the local voters affected.¹ Towns and cities were incorporated under special charter laws which sometimes required local ratification and at other times went into effect without a local reference. In 1831 a general charter law for towns definitely recognized the referendum as a necessary part of the process of incorporation or dissolution. Even after this time, however, special laws were not infrequent and some of them provided for a reference on local adoption while others did not. There thus seems to have been no fixed policy with reference to the use of the referendum, although it should be noted that, when a plebescite was not required, practically the same result was often attained by having the

¹ For illustrations of procedure followed see Laws, 1817-1818, pp. 12, 16, 17, 39; Laws, 1835, pp. 38, 46, 58, 54, 155, 156, 159; Laws, 1839, p. 68.

charter originate in the local community and then sent up to the legislature for enactment.²

The second state constitution, adopted in 1848, recognized what had come to be the prevailing practice and made a referendum mandatory on such questions as changing the location of a county seat, adopting township organization within the county and altering county boundary lines.³ These provisions were continued in the new constitution of 1870 and one other added which required that the question of abandoning township organization likewise receive the assent of the voters. No important opposition to the principle of the local referendum seems to have developed. When the subject was discussed at all in the constitutional convention any differences of opinion that arose related to methods of submitting the measures or to the majorities to be required.⁴

While plebescites were thus constitutionally required on the questions noted, the legislature continued to provide for others. As early as 1837 the incorporation of local school districts was left to the decision of the voters therein and local option on the sale of intoxicants was established in incorporated towns and city wards. Another law of 1867, passed to prevent domestic animals from running at large, was made enforceable only in those counties that might later adopt it by popular vote. Prior to the adoption of the present constitution in 1870 instances of "contingent legislation" of this sort were rare, but with each succeeding decade the number has increased with leaps and bounds. Seventeen provisions for local voting on measures are to be found in the laws passed between 1890 and 1900, and more than fifty during the following decade.

Through the process described the legislature has found it convenient to shift the responsibility upon the shoulders of local

² In 1833 Alton was granted a special charter subject to a referendum, as were Lawrenceville and Galena in 1835. Laws, 1835, pp. 214, 140. At this session, however, Mt. Carmel was organized under a charter which had no provision for local ratification. *Ibid.*, p. 214. In 1839 Quincy, Springfield and Carmi received charters by special acts subject to local approval, while Lacon was granted a charter which went into effect on passage. Laws, 1839, pp. 122, 65, 74. See also James, E. J., "Charters of Chicago," Part II, p. 91.

³ These constitutional provisions made it impossible to alter county boundary lines without popular approval, whereas previously the referendum had been optional with the legislature. *The People vs. Marshall*, 12 Ill. 393.

⁴ For instance, see *Debates of the Constitutional Convention, 1870*, pp. 307, 1503.

voters, but its constitutional right to do so has not gone unquestioned. As early as 1849 a test was made of the validity of the procedure. An act of 1847 had provided for the division of Gallatin County if the voters of the county approved. The voters gave their assent and new governments were established in accordance with the law. A case was brought in the form of a mandamus to compel the former recorder of deeds to perform certain duties of the office, the action being based on the charge that the act under which the division was affected constituted an illegal delegation of legislative power. The court, in refusing the mandamus and upholding the law, said: "A law may depend upon a future event or contingency for its taking effect, and that contingency may arise from the voluntary acts of others." The law was declared complete and perfect as it came from the legislature, although the principal provisions were to take effect upon a contingency, the determination of which did not depend upon the exercise of legislative power by the people, but upon an expression which they were authorized to make in the execution rather than the enactment of the law. The legislature may thus not delegate its legislative powers, but the reference of a local measure to the voters of a locality affected does not constitute such a delegation.⁵

In all succeeding cases the decision in *People vs. Reynolds* has been followed. The act of 1867 to prevent domestic animals from running at large was upheld,⁶ as was another act of the same year providing for a local vote on the question of establishing a park district in Chicago.⁷ In the case of *The People vs. McBride*, in which a liquor local option law was upheld, the court declared decisions in Illinois to have "settled beyond all question that the legislature may enact laws which will become operative by a vote of the people of the district affected, provided the law contains an entire and perfect declaration of the legislative will."⁸ In all the Illinois decisions particular emphasis has been placed on the

⁵ *People vs. Reynolds*, 5 Gilman 1 (10 Ill. Reports), 1849.

⁶ *Erlinger vs. Boneau*, 51 Ill. 100 (1869).

⁷ *People vs. Saloman*, 57 Ill. 53. See also *Schweiker vs. Husser et al.*, 146 Ill. 431 (1893); *Rouse vs. Thompson*, 228 Ill. 536 (1907). But a statute empowering a county court to determine a question of annexation upon petition of the voters, and after a hearing, was voided as a delegation of legislative power to a judicial officer. *City of Galesburg vs. Hawkinson et al.*, 75 Ill. 152 (1874).

⁸ 234 Ill. 146.

point that the laws questioned were complete and perfect in form when they emanated from the legislature, and this seems to have been the determining fact in deciding the question of delegation of power.

Local contingent legislation has also been attacked on the ground that, since all localities are not affected alike, it amounts to special legislation which is forbidden by the constitution. Such was the point advanced against the commission government law for cities, which provides for a referendum on the question of its adoption by any city. The court, however, attached very little importance to the contention and in the case of *The People vs. Edmands* dismissed the subject without argument, merely stating that such legislation was not local or special in the sense in which those terms were used in the constitution.⁹

In Illinois, therefore, the legality of contingent legislation affecting local communities is no longer open to question. Such laws can neither be successfully attacked as constituting a delegation of legislative power, nor as a violation of the constitutional prohibition of local and special legislation. Statutes made operative throughout the state through a statewide referendum not directly authorized by the constitution have not been before the state courts for consideration and there is no certainty that they would be so treated.¹⁰

The existing legal sources for referenda within the city of Chicago include not only some of the laws just described, but a few other provisions that relate particularly to that local community. Of the latter, one of the most important is the constitutional amendment of 1904. This amendment resulted from the state constitutional requirement of uniformity in legislation for cities. The principle of uniformity was carried out by the enactment of a general municipal charter law in 1873, which imposed the same type of government and conferred the same powers on all cities of the state. Since Chicago was the only large urban center

⁹ 252 Ill. 108. The decision was reached by a vote of four to three. The initiative and referendum provisions of the law were also attacked unsuccessfully as violating the federal guarantee of republication government to the states. On this point the court held that the guarantee was intended to apply only to the state government and not to municipalities and other local subdivisions. See also *People vs. Hoffman*, 116 Ill. 587.

¹⁰ For decisions in other states see Oberholtzer, E. P., "The Referendum in America" (1912) pp. 209-217; *State ex rel. Van Alstine vs. Frear*, 142 Wis. 320 (1910).

in the state she found herself constantly handicapped in her efforts to solve urban problems peculiarly her own with machinery designed primarily for much smaller urban communities. The amendment of 1904 sought to relieve the situation by authorizing special legislation for Chicago, but, to prevent the recurrence of abuses arising from state interference in local matters, it was further provided that such special laws must be approved by the voters of the city before becoming effective. The city electorate has thus an effective veto on all such legislation.

Other very prolific sources of Chicago referenda are to be found in laws requiring the submission of all propositions to enlarge or reduce the territorial boundaries of the city, or to incur city or county debts by issuing bonds. A large majority of the measures that have appeared on the Chicago ballot are directly traceable to these laws.

It may thus be seen that whatever experience Chicago has had with the referendum has resulted from provisions for special references of particular kinds of questions. The nearest approximation to a comprehensive local referendum law, available for Chicago, is to be found in the state Public Policy Act of 1901. It provided for state-wide votes on questions of general policy, but it also permits the voters of a local community, on petition of twenty-five percent, to have submitted any question of local policy.¹¹ Its purpose is to afford an opportunity for the voters to express their views, the record to serve as a guide to officials in gauging public sentiment. The results of the voting are supposed to have, and do have, whatever weight the city authorities see fit to attach to them. Chicago voters have operated the law very frequently to aid in solving some of their most vital local issues. As will be pointed out later, it played a conspicuous role in the settlement of the extended controversy with the street railway utilities. Under it the voters have also expressed opinions on such subjects as municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting utilities (1902), popular election of members of the Board of Education (1904), development of a comprehensive subway system (1914), home rule with respect to public utility regulation (1914) and prohibition (1919). The advice of the voters has not always been followed, but it has usually been taken seriously.

¹¹ Hurd, Revised Statutes, 1905, p. 967.

EXTENT OF POPULAR VOTING IN CHICAGO

Residents of Chicago had their first opportunity to vote on a local proposition when, in 1833, a mass meeting was held to decide whether incorporation as a town was desirable. Thirteen were present and twelve voted in favor of incorporation. The next few years witnessed a remarkable growth in the size of the village which soon led to a demand for a city charter. A local committee was accordingly appointed which drafted a charter and submitted it for the approval of the town meeting on January 23, 1837. Here the document was approved unanimously after which it was forwarded to the state legislature for formal enactment. From that body it emerged, slightly amended, as the first charter of the city.¹²

Chicago's first organic law was thus based on popular approval obtained not through the modern instrument known as the referendum, but through its near relative, the direct primary assembly. Under the charter the participation of the voters in government was confined almost exclusively to the election of officials. Occasionally, however, some public questions were submitted. Among these may be mentioned the vote on the adoption of township government in 1849 and the question of municipalization of the waterworks which was decided in the affirmative in 1851.¹³

But these were isolated instances. It was not until after the adoption of the state constitution of 1870 that measures began to be referred for popular ratification with any degree of regularity. The first Chicago referendum under the new constitution resulted from its prohibition of special legislation for cities. To conform to the new requirements a general charter law was passed in 1872 and in the following year the question of its adoption came before the voters of Chicago. Accompanying

¹² James, E. J., "Charters of the City of Chicago," Part 2, pp. 97, 99. The special town charter for Chicago, passed in 1835, likewise originated in the village. *Ibid.* p. 91. At the first city election of May 2, 1837, the total vote cast was 1709. The population of the city was 3265 as compared with 350 in 1833. *Illinois Blue Book*, 1900, p. 147; Wentworth, "Early History of Chicago," No. 7, p. 6; No. 8, pp. 29-30. See also Andreas, A. T. "History of Chicago," Vol. 1, p. 128; Hugo Grosser, "History of Chicago," Introduction, published by the League of American Municipalities, 1906.

¹³ Andreas, Vol. 1, p. 156.

it was a second proposition to adopt the principle of minority representation in the city council. The campaign which preceded the voting was one of the most interesting in the early history of the city and is described more fully later. It is sufficient to note here that the new charter met with the approval of the voters while the second measure was rejected overwhelmingly.

State-wide measures, in the form of constitutional amendments or laws requiring popular ratification, now began to appear frequently, and occasionally a local annexation measure or a county bond issue would find its way to the ballot. From 1880 to 1890 eight measures were submitted and in the decade immediately following this number was more than tripled. But most of Chicago's experience in direct voting is confined to the period from 1890 to the present time. During these thirty years over one hundred and seventy measures have been submitted, most of which have been local propositions. It is now a rare occurrence for a year to elapse without the referendum being called into operation on some sort of issue. In fact, the "little ballot," which is the name used popularly to describe the ballot on which measures appear, makes its appearance with almost as great a regularity as election days themselves. The referendum is now viewed by local residents as an essential feature of the machinery of local government and has been so considered for more than a generation.

CHARACTER OF PROPOSITIONS

ANNEXATION MEASURES

For purposes of analysis most local measures that have been submitted in Chicago may be classed as annexation propositions, proposals to issue bonds for sundry purposes or measures relating to local public utilities. An attempt will be made to describe briefly the treatment of each of these types of questions.

Very little need be said as to annexation measures. Although frequently appearing in the ballot, they have not presented very serious problems for the voter. The law requires not only the approval of the voters of Chicago, but also that of the voters of the territory to be annexed. Sometimes the people to be absorbed object strenuously to incorporation, and this leads to repeated submissions of the same question. For instance, the

proposition to annex Cicero, a small community completely surrounded by the city, has appeared on the Chicago ballot no less than eight times, and the proposition of annexing Morgan Park has been referred seven times.

Although the residents of territories to be annexed frequently reject such proposals, this is never true of the Chicago voters. Their opinion of the desirability of territorial expansion is unvarying and they do not fail to register emphatic approval of such propositions at every opportunity. Merits of specific propositions seem to have little weight as compared to the larger issue. The propositions are never considered as controversial so far as the city is concerned, and as a result, they are seldom the subject of comment or discussion in the press during the pre-election period. Despite this handicap they usually attract the attention of a commendably large proportion of the voters at the polls. When submitted alone, from 60% to 75% of the active voters will normally vote on them under the separate ballot system now used. When submitted with other propositions, they can be expected to poll an average vote as compared with the other measures. Sometimes, however, their record is much above the average, as in the election of 1911 when an Oak Park annexation measure received more votes than any other of the five propositions on the ballot, and this despite the fact that it labored under a decided disadvantage by being the last on the list.

BOND ISSUES

The second class of measures to be discussed relates to the issuance of bonds. Both county and municipal bond issues require popular ratification, with the result that the voters are kept busy sanctioning all sorts of projects that have to be financed by borrowing. Since 1887 over sixty-five propositions of this character have been referred to the voters and as many as seven at one election. The proposal is usually presented on the ballot in simple form, with a statement of the amount to be borrowed and the purpose of the proposed expenditure. Not only are balloting conditions favorable to an intelligent vote, but bond issue proposals are normally the source of considerable discussion during the pre-election period. It is customary for the newspapers to feature many of these propositions in news as well as editorial

columns and some papers almost invariably recommend approval or rejection of propositions. The voters are thus usually supplied with adequate sources of information and recommendations in advance of the elections.

It is sometimes said that the people can be depended on to favor bond issues regardless of their merits or demerits, because borrowing money means shifting burdens to future generations that have to pay the bills.¹⁴ Chicago's experience does not seem to bear out the assumption. Prior to 1912, it is true, the voters approved of most propositions to increase municipal and county debts. Of a total of twenty such measures, only three were rejected. One county bond issue submitted in November, 1900, was defeated by a vote of over three to one, after powerful opposition on the part of the newspapers of the city,¹⁵ and despite political influences exerted in favor of the measure. A proposal to borrow \$3,500,000 to complete the construction of the City Hall became practically a political issue in 1910. The Mayor exerted his influence to secure its adoption and it was asserted that one party machine ordered its workers to instruct voters to "slash" the measure regardless of merits. The measure was approved by a very large but close vote, over 25,000 voters marking it without considering at all seven other propositions submitted at the same time.

Since 1912 twenty-nine proposals, involving the borrowing of over \$40,000,000 have been approved and seventeen, with a total of over \$20,000,000 have been rejected. Four of six propositions submitted in April, 1914, were rejected. The huge \$4,000,000 county hospital issue, opposed by most of the press as well as by the Chicago Medical Society, was rejected chiefly because of distrust of the authorities that would control the expenditure, and the vagueness of the plan for the hospital.¹⁶ The Bureau of Public Efficiency pointed out during the campaign

¹⁴ Such seems to have been the experience in Philadelphia. "The history of the submission of measures to make loans and increase the debt of Philadelphia in the past few years, affecting, as they do, the pecuniary fortunes of every property-holding citizen should be conclusive—They are approved upon the order of the political managers without the slightest popular contest." Oberholtzer, E. P., "The Referendum in America" (1912) p. 503.

¹⁵ See issue of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE of Nov. 9, 1900.

¹⁶ The CHICAGO EVENING POST and the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, April 2, 1914. The Mayor urged the voters to approve the bond issues. The Chicago Association of Commerce likewise endorsed all proposed issues.

that the police and fire bond issues were unnecessary, as \$2,880,000 of a previous issue was still available. These two proposals were rejected by the voters. The other issue that met with defeat was for judgment bonds, representing largely current expenses. There is little doubt that the voters expressed the better opinion of the community, in dealing with the bond proposals at this election.

Seven bond issue propositions, submitted April 6, 1915, received very little opposition by the press and all were approved by the voters.¹⁷ One of the most apathetic pre-election referendum campaigns was that of April, 1917, when five bond proposals appeared. All except a \$200,000 issue for bathing beaches were approved, but some by close votes. The newspapers, although contributing very little to popular enlightenment, generally favored all five measures.¹⁸ Mention should also be made of the November election of 1916 when four proposals to borrow money were submitted and all were rejected by the voters of the city. The most important issue, that of \$1,000,000 for road improvement in the county, although disapproved of by the city voters,¹⁹ was actually carried by a large favorable rural vote. The press of the city, as well as such representative local organizations as the Woman's Club, City Planning Commission, Bureau of Public Efficiency and many others had advocated adoption of the road improvement scheme. The other bond issues proposed received little consideration in the general discussion in the press, but most of what was to be found was adverse.²⁰

Whatever the wisdom of the voters in acting on proposals to borrow money, there can be little doubt about their powers of discrimination. For the last ten years it has been the normal thing for some bond issues to be singled out of a mass of measures for adoption or rejection. In 1912 the first three such proposals were

¹⁷ The TRIBUNE, however, opposed the Farm Colony bond issue, while the DAILY NEWS approved of all issues with reluctance.

¹⁸ This was true of the RECORD-HERALD and the TRIBUNE. The EVENING POST made no recommendations and the DAILY NEWS opposed the bond issues for comfort stations.

¹⁹ The votes of the women on this issue had no effect on the results because the measure involved not only the proposition to issue bonds, on which they did have a vote, but also a special tax levy to defray the expenses to be incurred by the debt. On the tax levy part of the measure they had no voice, and the two propositions were combined in one measure.

²⁰ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Nov. 6; CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Nov. 5.

approved and the last two rejected; in the November election of the same year, the first two proposals were approved by approximately 25,000 majority, the third rejected by 50,000 majority and the fourth approved by about the same margin. Perhaps the most interesting vote was that of the spring election of 1914 when six bond proposals appeared. The first two on the ballot were rejected by over two to one, the third approved by a majority of 50,000, the fourth rejected by a vote of three to one, the fifth approved by 25,000 majority and the last measure rejected by a majority of about 140,000. Such a record displays no lack of purpose on the part of the electorate.

Bond issues, when submitted, ordinarily attract 65% or 70% of those voting at the election. At least a fourth of the voters who ballot for candidates will disregard the referendum ballot. A proposal (April, 1908) to borrow \$2,000,000 for the county poor house obtained over 87% of the vote for concilman, and an issue of \$3,000,000 for a new county jail received a total of only 54% of the votes for candidates at the November election of 1917. Disregarding votes from 1890 to 1900,²¹ these two instances represent the extremes. The percentages normally run higher than those on annexation measures. They are also subject to more decided fluctuations.

STREET RAILWAYS—TRANSPORTATION

The referendum has also had a very conspicuous part to play in the solution of the problem of local transportation. In 1900 the city was at the threshold of a prolonged campaign to improve the street railway service. The traction difficulties had their origin far back in the days prior to the adoption of the present state constitution, and the situation in 1900 can be more clearly comprehended after a brief review of preceding events.

In 1859 and 1861, under special acts of the legislature, the Chicago Council had granted franchises to the Chicago City Railway Company, the North Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago West Division Railway Company to operate lines in the city and suburbs for periods of five years each.²²

²¹ For a discussion of this period see *Supra*, p. 25.

²² For an excellent treatment of the Chicago traction question see Fairlie, J. A., "The Street Railway Question in Chicago" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. xxi, p. 371 et seq.

An amendatory act of 1865 furnished the basis for the later controversy. Under it the Companies claimed their franchises had been extended for ninety-nine years from the dates of the original grants. From the beginning, the city denied the validity of the claims, but in 1885, when the question of franchise renewal arose, no definite settlement was made. Instead, a temporary compromise was resorted to by passing an ordinance extending the franchises for twenty years without prejudice to the rights of the city or the companies. Final solution was thus postponed until 1903. In the meantime the companies allowed their properties to deteriorate and thereby aroused general dissatisfaction by poor service, and for justification, they pointed to the uncertainty of a future extension of their privileges. While various attempts to obtain long term renewals were made during the nineties they all ended in failure.²³

Such was the status of the problem in 1902. A considerable public opinion favoring municipal ownership of the lines had developed as a result of the street railway companies' policy. As the time for the municipal elections drew near, it was decided to test the strength of this movement by invoking the Public Policy Law, which had been passed the previous year. The real issue was franchise renewal vs. municipal purchase and operation of the lines although the proposition, as submitted, merely asked for a vote on the question of municipal ownership.²⁴ The result was decisive. With four-fifths of the active voters marking the measure, five favored municipalization to every one who opposed.

The results of the referendum seemed clear and convincing, but obstacles, almost insuperable, remained to be overcome before definite action could be taken. The utility companies naturally opposed any steps toward municipalization and, to block any action to oust them, proceedings were started in the Federal Circuit Court to test the validity of the ninety-nine year franchise act of 1865, which was the source of the dispute. In July, 1903,

²³ In 1897 the state legislature passed the Allen law conferring on cities the power to grant street railway franchises for fifty-year terms. Under the Cities and Villages Act of 1872 twenty years was the maximum. So great was the popular outcry against the law that the Chicago city council refrained from taking advantage of the law and two years later it was repealed.

²⁴ On the ballot it read as follows: "Are you in favor of municipal ownership of street railways?" With this question was submitted a similar proposition with reference to the lighting utilities.

the old franchises expired and Council extended them for ninety days pending a permanent adjustment.²⁵ But not only were the utilities opposed; many people came to feel that municipal ownership was impracticable. In the first place, the city had no authority to purchase or operate the lines, and could not proceed until the state legislature had granted the necessary power. Furthermore, even though the necessary authority might be obtained, action would probably be delayed by years of litigation, already begun in the Courts.²⁶ Organized opposition to municipal ownership began to appear.

One of these difficulties was speedily overcome when, in its 1903 session, the Legislature passed the Mueller law. It authorized cities to purchase and operate street railways after the voters of any city had, by popular vote, accepted the law. It also provided for approval by the voters of any definite plan under it for purchase or operation. The referendum was thus made a necessary part of any further action. In October, the City Council provided by ordinance for submitting the question of adopting the Mueller law at the forthcoming spring election of 1904. The voters adopted it by a majority of over five to one, and thus settled the question of the power of the city to act.

Before proceeding further, however, it was thought desirable to turn to the people for enlightenment, so at the same election two questions of public policy were submitted. One inquired whether it would be wise, should the Mueller law be adopted, to proceed at once to acquire the properties. The other asked whether the voters would approve a policy of licensing the companies to operate until municipalization could be effected, rather than renewing the franchises.²⁷ The voters answered both queries in the affirmative by almost identical votes. The most interesting feature of the voting was that it showed a clear loss of 20,000

²⁵ CHICAGO TRIBUNE, July 31, 1903. At the close of the period a further extension of ninety days was made. *Ibid.*, Nov. 30.

²⁶ Such was the view expressed by the Civic Federation early in December. CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Dec. 12, 1903.

²⁷ The questions were worded on the ballot as follows:

1. Shall the City Council, upon the adoption of the Mueller law, proceed without delay to acquire the ownership of the street railways under the power conferred by the Mueller law?

2. Shall the City Council, instead of granting any franchises, proceed at once under the city's police power and other existing laws to license the street railway companies until municipal ownership can be secured, and compel them to give satisfactory service?

votes for the cause of municipal ownership. The total number of voters participating in the referendum was almost exactly the same as it had been two years before, but the affirmative majority had dwindled from five to one to two to one. But it was still strong enough to leave little uncertainty about the wishes of the voters, despite the fact that most of the newspapers had, during the campaign, strongly urged them to reject both propositions.²⁸

The advocates of municipal ownership began at once to urge Council to carry out the licensing policy as the voters desired, but events conspired to prevent. In May the Circuit Court rendered its decision which virtually upheld the claims of the street railway companies with respect to lines operated prior to 1875, i. e., before the cities and villages act, limiting franchise grants to twenty years, had been adopted by Chicago.²⁹ Although the city appealed at once to the Supreme Court, the decision convinced many that the only practical solution was to resort to franchise grants. Council decided that the decision changed the outlook so completely that it would be justified in disregarding temporarily the voice of the people as expressed through the referendum. In August it prepared a tentative ordinance to extend the franchises for thirteen years (until 1917), at the end of which period, the city was to have the right to purchase. In return, the companies were to surrender their claims under the ninety-nine year act of 1865, make extensive improvements and turn into the City Treasury annually five percent of the gross receipts.³⁰

Opposition to such a program was inevitable. A petition was soon circulated to invoke the public policy act once more to determine what the voters thought of the proposal, and the whole matter was deferred until the April elections when a new Mayor was to be elected. This was considered all the more desirable because the traction question was certain to be the main political issue in the mayoralty contest. Mayor Harrison, although an earnest advocate of the referendum, had come to favor the franchise policy proposed by Council in lieu of municipal ownership. This was probably the chief reason for his defeat

²⁸ CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 5, 1904.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, April 7; May 27, 1904.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1904.

for renomination on the Democratic ticket. Judge Dunne, the nominee who supplanted him, was an ardent supporter of immediate municipal ownership. The Republicans nominated Mr. John M. Harlan, whose position on the traction question was not well defined.³¹

The results of the voting were again unmistakably clear. The strenuous campaign aroused great interest and called forth a large vote. Judge Dunne was elected with a 20,000 majority. The total vote for Mayor was 330,935. The three public policy votes overwhelmingly opposed settling the street railway question by granting franchises. Adoption of the proposed ordinance was rejected by 64,391 to 150,785, and even stronger opposition was registered against granting any franchise to the Chicago Street Railway Company or to any other company.³² Because of the close mayoralty contest many voters came out to vote for the candidates, who were not accustomed to taking part in the municipal elections. From this surplus, so to speak, the opponents of the franchise policy of Council obtained twice as many votes as those who favored it.

Another year elapsed during which the new mayor, backed by what appeared to be the public opinion of the community, strove to force action through a hostile Council. Further referenda were necessary under the Mueller law. The voters had adopted the act and approved of the general policy of municipalization under it, but no definite plan had met with acceptance. Council now proceeded to submit the proposition of municipal operation under the Mueller law. If carried, it would make such procedure binding and thus differed from similar preceding measures that were merely expressions of opinion. This fact seems to have been realized by the voters. Although more votes were cast in the affirmative, the difference was very slight,³³ and since a three-fifths majority was required by law, the meas-

³¹ Fairlie, *supra cit.*, p. 390.

³² The propositions appeared on the ballot in the following form:

1. Shall the City Council pass the ordinances reported by the Local Transportation Committee to the Council August 24, 1904, granting a franchise to the Chicago Street Railway Co.?

2. Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting any franchise to the Chicago Street Railway Co.?

3. Shall the City Council pass any ordinance granting any franchise to any street railway company?

³³ The vote was 121,916 for the measure and 110,323 against.

ure was defeated. The results showed that the advocates of municipal ownership had lost approximately 30,000 supporters while their opponents showed a gain of 50,000. The major proposition was accompanied by two others—one to issue street railway certificates to defray the expense of municipal purchase of the lines; the other, a public policy question of a general nature on the desirability of immediate municipalization.³⁴ Both carried, but by such small majorities that the result was considered indecisive, and, interpreted in connection with previous votes and the legal defeat of the main question on the ballot, in the opinion of many people amounted practically to a repudiation of the policy of municipal ownership. This opinion was strengthened by the fact that the referendum attracted a larger proportion of the active voters than in any other previous balloting.³⁵ The voting could thus be construed as a more complete expression of public opinion than had previously been obtained.

The results of these referenda naturally encouraged the adherents of a franchise-granting policy to proceed with a program along these lines. Their problem was now somewhat simplified. The street railways had been rendered more tractable by a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States, which overruled the Circuit Court and made ineffective most of the claims of the companies under the ninety-nine year act.³⁶ A satisfactory franchise now seemed a possibility. After negotiations with the companies, Council passed an ordinance providing for a continuation of private operation under licenses revocable on six months notice. The city reserved the right to purchase for the sum of \$50,000,000 plus costs of future improvements. As originally framed, the ordinance did not provide for ratification by popular vote, but pressure brought to bear by the Mayor and friends of the referendum led to an amendment re-

³⁴ The question appeared on the ballot as follows:

"Shall the City Council proceed without delay to secure municipal ownership of all street railways in Chicago under the Mueller law instead of passing the pending franchise ordinance or any other granting franchises to private companies?"

³⁵ The major proposition received a vote equal to 88% of the vote for candidates. The other two received 82% and 83% respectively.

³⁶ Blair vs. Chicago, 201 U. S. 400.

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON QUESTIONS INVOLVING MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP,
SUBMITTED IN CHICAGO, 1902-1907

	Vote for Municipal Ownership	Vote against Municipal Ownership	Total Vote on Proposition	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	Percentage Vote on Proposition to Vote at Election	Percentage Vote on Proposition to Total Registration
1902—							
1. Public policy measure.....	142,826	27,998	170,824	215,857	354,794	79	48
2. Public policy measure.....	139,999	21,364	161,363	215,857	354,794	74	45
1904—							
1. Public policy measure.....	121,957	50,807	172,764	236,810	360,429	73	48
2. Public policy measure.....	120,863	48,200	169,063	236,810	360,429	71	47
1905—							
1. Public policy measure.....	150,785	64,391	215,176	330,935	412,856	65	52
2. Public policy measure.....	151,974	60,020	211,994	330,935	412,856	64	51
3. Public policy measure.....	152,135	59,013	211,148	330,935	412,856	64	51
1906—							
1. Mueller law providing for municipal ownership and operation.....	121,916	110,325	232,239	264,483	375,251	88	62
2. Public policy measure (immediate municipal ownership).....	111,955	108,087	220,042	264,483	375,251	83	59
1907—							
1. City ordinance.....	134,281	167,367	301,648	320,726	392,287	94	77

quiring submission, on petition, at the municipal election of 1907.³⁷

The voters seemed to realize that the long-drawn-out controversy had at last reached a crisis. Eighty-nine percent of the 338,924 participating at the election, marked the referendum ballot. This represented nearly 77% of the entire registered electorate and was the most complete expression of the popular will that had thus far been obtained on any public question. The ordinance was adopted by a majority of over 30,000. Both affirmative and negative votes were much larger than at the election of the preceding year, but the advocates of municipal ownership, represented by the negative vote, gained only 12,000 votes, while their opponents found over 57,000 new supporters.³⁸

It would thus seem that there was a decided change of opinion on the subject of municipalization between 1902 and 1907. But it should be remembered that conditions had also changed. In 1902 there seemed to be little hope of getting the reactionary companies to agree to any franchise that would hold out assurances of better service to the public. The voters turned to municipal ownership and operation as the only promising solution, or perhaps as an effective weapon with which to fight the traction companies. By 1907, however, the companies, deprived of their main supports by the decision of the Supreme Court and by the city's increased power to municipalize, were more conciliatory. The early voting might be interpreted as showing a preference for municipalization rather than a continuation of the old regime, and the voting in 1907 a preference for a definite plan that promised immediate relief, although involving private control, to a still vague and uncertain program of municipalization.

The acceptance of the ordinance of 1907 settled the traction problem so far as concerned the surface lines, but the increasingly important problem of rapid transportation remained.

³⁷ Some newspapers waged a violent war against the reference of the ordinances. The CHICAGO TRIBUNE started a straw vote which was not very successful, for not many responses were received. Of the few received, however, adoption without reference was favored four to one. Some people were apparently losing faith in the referendum as an instrument to solve the traction problem. See the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Dec. 21, 1906.

³⁸ The CHICAGO TRIBUNE, CHICAGO INTER-OCEAN, and the DAILY NEWS all favored the adoption of the ordinance as did Mr. Busse, the successful candidate for mayor. The Hearst papers were opposed.

Many plans for passenger subways and extensions of elevated lines had been evolved, but the first to receive definite approval of the city authorities was the so-called comprehensive scheme of 1914. This grandiose plan, which called for total expenditures of over a hundred million dollars, was designed to meet all possible transportation requirements for a long time to come. It was supported by the Mayor, but the press was practically unanimous in opposing it chiefly because it was said to be too indefinite, too large a financial undertaking, and went far beyond the needs of the city.³⁹ The proposition attracted wide interest, but met with overwhelming disapproval at the polls and the project was dropped.

It appeared again, however, in a different guise at the November election of 1918. On August 22 of that year the City Council passed an ordinance providing for an elaborate scheme for the consideration of surface and elevated lines and the construction of new subways. The city was to construct the subways, but the operation of the entire transportation system was to be vested in the Chicago Local Transportation Co. The city was to receive a subway rental amounting to 6% on its investment while rates of fare, at least for ten years, were to be controlled by an irremovable board of trustees. The plan amounted practically to a revision of the settlement of 1907. It met with the vigorous opposition of Mayor Thompson, and of labor, chiefly because, it was claimed, it failed to protect the city's interest.⁴⁰ On the other hand, it received practically the unanimous support of the press, some of the papers devoting more space to the question than they gave to the rival candidate for office. A long list of civic associations also endorsed the ordinance.⁴¹ The prevailing impression among the masses that the proposed arrangement would result in increased fares probably contribu-

³⁹ Such was the position of the CHICAGO EVENING POST, the DAILY NEWS, and the RECORD-HERALD. The POST referred to the scheme as the "incomprehensible subway."

⁴⁰ The Chicago Federation of Labor, the Cook County Realty Board, the Chicago Political Equality League and the Greater Chicago Federation were the chief organizations in opposition. Former mayors Harrison and Busse also opposed.

⁴¹ Among them were the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Chicago Real Estate Board, the Citizens' Association of Chicago, the Civic Federation, the Chicago Woman's Club and many improvement associations. The newspapers advocating acceptance of the ordinance were the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, EVENING POST, DAILY NEWS and the HERALD-EXAMINER.

ted more than any other one factor to its final defeat. In the long history of popular voting in Chicago, no other measure had ever succeeded in drawing out such a large proportion of the voters. Stated in specific terms, the vote on the traction measure represented 77% of the entire electorate and over 90% of the vote at the election.

CHARACTER OF THE VOTING

BALLOT FORMS

Some voters are, of course, never attracted by referenda. There is always a certain proportion of stay-at-homes that can not be drawn out to elections by any issues, be they men or measures, and of those who ballot for candidates many will disregard propositions. In Chicago, the silent vote, so far as concerns referenda, has varied enormously. At one election it amounted to 87½% of the registered vote, while at another, it amounted to only 24%. These are the extremes, but the variation has been so marked that no statement of averages for the period from 1890 to the present would be of value. Of those voters participating in the elections, from 10% to as many as 83% have refrained from voting on propositions. At times, therefore, the silent vote has been a negligible quantity while on other occasions it has been so large as seriously to impair the value of the the vote as a means of reflecting public opinion.

Various factors have contributed to produce these results. One of the most important is the element of publicity given the measures prior to the voting. Unfortunately, the laws of the state make no provision for pre-election publicity, and if any such is to be had, it must come from the press, from the activities of civic bodies or from candidates for office, who interest themselves in measures. Many propositions have undoubtedly suffered from lack of publicity. It is probably one of the reasons why state-wide measures, not directly affecting the city, attract fewer voters than do local measures. They have no local sponsors to explain their merits. On the other hand, the numerous measures involving the street railway controversy and many bond issue proposals have had the active aid of the press and the other agencies mentioned. Such propositions as

the traction ordinance, submitted in April, 1907, and the comprehensive subway scheme of 1914, became, in fact, the vital issues of these campaigns and newspapers, local civic organizations and political machines all contributed to present them to the voters from all angles. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that these questions attracted far more voters than other propositions that were almost equally important, but not so favorably backed by publicity.

General discussion of measures during the campaign is a great aid in bringing out a large vote. But there are other factors, some of which operate purely mechanically, that have had a direct effect on the size of the vote. Some have been so important in the voting in Chicago that they deserve more extended consideration. Among them may be mentioned the form of the ballot used in the voting, the method of presenting the measure on the ballot and the position on the ballot.

Two important changes in ballot forms have been made during the period under review. Prior to 1890 the so-called "party ballot" was used. It was customary for each political party to print its own ballot, and include thereon or not, as it preferred, any proposition that was to be submitted to the electors. If the party leaders looked with favor upon a proposal, they caused to be printed on the ballot the affirmative side of the proposition only. When such a ballot was cast by the voter, it constituted a blanket approval of everything on it, including the proposition, unless the voter indicated disapproval by "scratching" it. If the party leaders disliked the measure, they could print only the negative of the proposition or sometimes, with equal effectiveness, omit it altogether.⁴² Under such conditions it is obviously useless to look to the election returns for much light on the subject of electoral interest, for there were too many opportunities for automatic voting. Such was, in fact, encouraged as a device to obtain formal sanction of propositions that had to be approved by a majority of all the voters at the election, as required by the state constitution. From the records it appears that most measures in this period succeeded in attracting from 85% to 90% of the voters taking part in the election. In fact, a state constitutional amendment proposed in 1886 received over 96%

⁴² This was true when the proposition required a majority at the election, as was frequently the case.

of the total vote in Chicago and one other similar measure in 1890 obtained 92% of the entire vote for candidates.

The balloting devices explained would in themselves discredit any assumption that these percentages indicated an extensive electoral interest in referenda, but there are other reasons for skepticism. Reference to one election will, perhaps, suffice as an illustration of what appears to have been a normal condition. In April, 1875, there was submitted at a special election the proposition to adopt for Chicago the general city charter law of 1872. It was admittedly one of the most important questions that had confronted the voters of the city, involving, as it did, radical changes in the organic law. The press was divided on the question of adoption,⁴³ and devoted much space to the discussion of the measure. Notwithstanding these aids and the importance of the question, the bulk of the voters refused to interest themselves. With a total electorate of about 60,000,⁴⁴ about one-third went to the polls. A large proportion of this number consisted of party-workers called out at the behest of their leaders and instructed how to vote.⁴⁵

A second proposition at this election related to the adoption of minority representation in the City Council. Recognition of minority parties was a live issue at the time. The new state constitution had just established cumulative voting in selecting members of the lower house of the state legislature, and the laws had made minority voting optional for the cities. Judged by the vote at this election, one could hardly say it was a popular measure. While approximately 22,000 cast ballots for or against

⁴³ The CHICAGO TRIBUNE opposed, while the CHICAGO TIMES and the INTER-OCEAN favored the measure. The opposition centered about the Citizens' Association, the "immortal seven," while the city aldermen and their machines worked strenuously for the law. CHICAGO TIMES, April 25, 1875.

⁴⁴ The DAILY INTER-OCEAN, April 26, 1875. The following year the total vote for the city clerk was 50,882. For expressions of lack of interest on the part of the voters see CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 24, 1875; also the INTER-OCEAN of the same date.

⁴⁵ A contemporary account throws an interesting sidelight on some of the methods used at the election. We are told that ticket peddlers handed out tickets to the voters explaining that they were "all right." The tickets were marked "For" and, if cast, counted as votes for the measure. "The notorious Hugh Reed was one of the judges at the Second Ward poll and, of course, 'run it' himself in his own peculiar way. He was drunk, and, leaning out of the window with a handful of tickets, would kindly hand one 'For' to a voter and thus succeed in making many vote that way whether he wished to or not." CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 24, 1875. See also Sparling, S. E., "Municipal History and Present Government of the City of Chicago," p. 64.

adoption of the charter law, only one-third of them (7,104) considered minority representation worthy of their attention. Of this number 1,500 favored and 5,500 opposed adoption.

As previously stated, these two measures were submitted at a special election when there were no officials to be chosen. The size of the total vote is thus at least partly explained for it is almost invariably true that voters will not come out to the polls in any great numbers when there is nothing to be done but approve or disapprove of a proposition. But even after deductions are made for this factor, the results must be considered as unsatisfactory⁴⁶ and contemporary accounts of the election strengthen the belief that electoral lethargy prevailed rather than the reverse. If this is true of purely local questions that are controversial in nature and of such importance as to warrant close attention and wide interest, it is unreasonable to suppose that the other measures, usually of much less importance, submitted in the years before 1890, were actually attracting the attention of voters, despite the high percentages shown in the official returns. For them, the ballot laws were chiefly responsible.

A change in the ballot laws completely reversed the situation after 1890. In that year the official "Australian" ballot was installed for the election of candidates as well as for referenda. One ballot sufficed for all and when measures were referred, they had to be printed on the official ballot in both the affirmative and negative, or in such a fashion as to require a definite affirmative or negative vote from the elector before his vote could be counted at all. For referenda, it had, therefore, precisely the same effect as does the office column ballot in voting for candidates. There was no longer opportunity for blanket or automatic voting, for, although the voter may vote the straight ticket for candidates for office, he was compelled to seek out a proposition and make a separate mark for it. The results were enlightening. In November, 1909, just before the new law went into effect, five propositions were voted on by an average of about 88% of the total number of voters at the election. A year later, under the new law, a proposition received 31% of the total vote, while two years later two other measures attracted respectively

⁴⁶ Compare, for instance, with the vote on a similar measure submitted at a special election on September 17, 1907, which received 54% of the votes cast for candidates at the election held five months previous.

19% and 17½% of the voters. During the ten-year period (1890-1900), while the new law was operative, twenty-two measures appeared in Chicago, eighteen of which received less than one-third of the total vote at the election and nine less than one-fourth. The questions submitted were not different in nature from those previously submitted, nor was there any material difference in the amount of publicity obtained. With no mechanical aid in registering votes for propositions, it proved to be next to impossible to get more than a third of the voters to attend to them. The actual results on local measures were not so disastrous for they required only a majority voting on each proposition, but from the point of view of electoral interest in referenda, they furnished ground for discouragement. For proposed amendments to the state constitution, the apathy of the voters proved fatal. Their defeat was inevitable for they could not hope to obtain the requisite majority at the election. As soon as this was fully realized, there developed a strong demand for a change in the ballot laws that would insure better results.

The remedy was found in the separate ballot law of 1899. In general it provided that all propositions submitted for popular approval be referred on a special ballot and not printed on the official ballot for candidates. One referendum ballot may suffice for all measures or separate ballots may be provided for individual propositions. The essential point was that the voter was no longer forced to search for a measure on which he cared to express an opinion by going over the long and cumbersome ballot for candidates. His attention was attracted to it at once by its being presented to him on a separate form.

It would seem, however, that the general provision for the separate ballot applies only to instances when the legislature has made no other provision for submission. In 1904 an amendment to the Torrens land law was passed, but its adoption in any local community was conditioned on its approval by the voters therein. The act provided that the question of adoption should be submitted "at the top of the ballot to be used for said election." The voters of Cook County proceeded to adopt the law at the election of November, 1904. The measure appeared at the top of the separate ballot on which was printed three other propositions. Later, the legality of the election was tested in the courts on the claim that the method of submission was

improper since the law prescribed submission on the candidates' ballot rather than the separate ballot. The Court sustained the claim and declared the vote illegal on the ground that the intent of the legislature was to have the measure appear "at the top of the ballot that *must* be used," that is, the ballot on which the names of candidates for office appeared, and "not the top of any ballot that might be used."⁴⁷ The position of the Court thus established a presumption against the use of the separate ballot where the act prescribing the referendum contained no very definite statement on the subject. It is clear that when an act of the sort is silent as to the method of submission, then the separate ballot law applies. It may also be clear that when the legislature intends to discard the separate ballot in a particular case, it may do so by a statement to that effect in the act. But here the intent of the legislature was not clear and the element of doubt was resolved against its use.

Whatever the possibilities, the separate ballot has been employed for all referenda in Chicago since its adoption in 1899 and with striking results. It more than doubled the proportionate number of active voters participating in referenda. The vote on propositions has fallen below 50% of the total vote at the elections in only three instances out of over one hundred and twenty-five, while the normal percentage of participation has been about 70. Some of this increase in voting can unquestionably be attributed to a constantly increasing amount of general discussion of measures submitted, to a longer use of the referendum, and to an awakened interest in popular voting in general caused by the rapid extension of direct legislation in the United States. Nevertheless, a decidedly abrupt change in results after the separate ballot law went into effect points clearly to the conclusion that the ballot form itself was the chief factor.

To summarize, three ballot forms have been used in Chicago during the period when the referendum has been in operation. Prior to 1890, the party ballot system, with its attendant mechanical voting and with little apparent electoral interest in measures, produced large votes. From 1891 to 1899 (inclusive) the official ballot, with one ballot serving both candidates for office and referenda, and with an equally unresponsive audience for prop-

⁴⁷ Harvey vs. Cook County, 221 Ill. 76.

ositions, resulted in an extremely small vote on measures. Finally, the separate ballot adopted in 1899, operating at a time when popular interest in voting was greater, raised the average to a position mid-way between the extremes. Disregarding the effect of varying electoral interests, the form of the ballot is thus seen to have had a marked influence in raising or lowering the votes.⁴⁸

POSITION OF PROPOSITIONS ON THE BALLOT

The position of a measure on the ballot is sometimes an important factor in determining the size of a vote on it, particularly when a number of questions appear at the same election. This advantage of position has long been recognized by candidates for office. Some voters, approaching their duty at the polls with a fresh mind, will do full justice to measures that first attract their attention, but become careless before their labors are completed and fail to express a choice for unfortunate propositions far down on the list. With respect to questions of public policy the law fixes the order of propositions by requiring that they shall appear on the ballot in the order in which they are filed in the office of the Secretary of State. When there are no legal provisions to govern, a scramble usually ensues by backers of particular propositions, who have their favorites placed first.⁴⁹

It is difficult to say just how important the element of position has been in Chicago voting. First place on the "little ballot" seems to have a decided advantage, although at one-fourth of the elections with three or more referenda, the largest vote has been cast on some other measure. At the November election of 1904 seven propositions were submitted. The proposed constitutional amendment authorizing special legislation for Chicago was given first place and polled the largest vote. But that might have been expected because of its importance and

⁴⁸ Compare with the effects shown on the voting on state-wide measures. "The Working of the State-Wide Referendum in Illinois," C. O. Gardner, in the *American Political Science Review*, August, 1911.

⁴⁹ When the proposition to issue bonds for the completion of the city hall appeared in 1910, Alderman Toell, Chairman of the Finance Committee of Council, said: "In spite of my certainty that the voters recognize the situation, I am glad that the bond issue comes first on the ballot, for a voter in haste might vote for only three or four of the propositions submitted to him or he might mark the ones near the end carelessly." *CHICAGO TRIBUNE*, Nov. 8, 1910.

direct interest for Chicago voters. The second and third propositions (the Torrens land title act and the adoption of voting machines) received about the same number of votes. Proceeding down the list there was a gradual decline in the size of the votes, some of which may be attributed to lack of attention on the part of the voters. The third question was a local bond issue, while the remaining three were state-wide public policy measures. In all there was a decrease of 46,110 votes from the top of the ballot to the bottom, which represents 16% of the highest vote. Similarly in 1910 about 27% of those who voted on the first proposition on the ballot neglected the list of seven. Two local bond issues headed the list of questions, followed by three state-wide questions of public policy relating to direct legislation, civil service and corrupt practices at elections, which were in turn followed by two local questions of annexation. The position on the ballot was clearly a factor of some importance in this vote, although it should be noted that the nature of the questions was such as to excuse the voter for carelessness.⁵⁰ Again, in April, 1919, there was a decrease of 20% in the vote on a ballot with four propositions. But the leading question, that of prohibition, always attracts a large vote when submitted. The other propositions related to borrowing money.

On the other hand, there are even more instances when the voters have clearly shown their ability to overcome obstacles of position and single out questions that were handicapped by being disadvantageously placed. In April, 1915, in a list of 12 propositions, the tenth obtained the largest vote and the variation in totals shows that the voters used considerable discrimination in selecting the questions they cared most about. The same is true of the balloting of April, 1914, which was the only other election when as many as twelve questions were submitted. One might naturally expect the factor of position to be increasingly important as the ballot grew larger and more complicated, but such has not been true.

⁵⁰ Public policy measures are not taken seriously by some voters because the votes have no legal effect. Annexation measures are not controversial and are thus neglected by some.

WORDING OF PROPOSITIONS ON THE BALLOT

The separate ballot law of 1899 requires that the "substance" of a proposition shall be printed on the ballot in clear and concise terms. If observed, this enables the voter to grasp the fundamentals of the measure on which he is to vote even though the proposition be entirely new to him.

Unfortunately, it is still possible for the legislature to disregard this provision of the law, for it can make special provision of some other form of presentation of any particular measure. This was settled in the case of *Swigart vs. City of Chicago*,⁵¹ which involved the method in which the proposed charter for Chicago had been submitted in 1905. Ratification by the voters was provided in the act, which stipulated the following form for submission:

"For the adoption of the act to amend the act entitled 'An act to provide for the incorporation of cities and villages'."	Yes	
	No	

The voters were thus confronted with the title of the act in question, but not its substance as required by the separate ballot law. The court held that the requirements of the special act of 1905 had been observed and that its provisions ipso facto superseded those of the general law.

In general it may be said that most propositions that have been submitted by virtue of special acts of the legislature have usually appeared by title only. The Special Charter Act of 1905 referred to above, amendments to the municipal court law, an act to grant municipalities power to fix rates for electricity and gas, and amendments to the state banking law are examples of submissions in this form.⁵² The absurdity of thus presenting a measure to the voters may be illustrated by referring to a proposition, in 1911, to increase the salaries of municipal court judges. It took the form of an amendment to the original court law and appeared on the ballot thus:

⁵¹ 223 Ill. 371 (1906).

⁵² For examples to the contrary see Hurd, Revised Statutes, 1910, p. 548, 549, 984.

“For consenting to an act entitled ‘An act to amend the act entitled “An act in relation to the municipal court in the city of Chicago,” approved May 18, 1905; as amended by an act approved June 3, 1907, entitled “An act to amend an act entitled ‘An act in relation to a municipal court in the City of Chicago,’” approved May 18, 1905’.”

“Against consenting to an act,” etc.

When several propositions are submitted in such a technical form as the above, the voter is bound to become confused, despite any effort he might have made before going to the polls to familiarize himself with them.⁵³ If he has made no such effort, the wording on the ballot can scarcely be of any assistance. Being unacquainted with the issue, his judgment must be a snap judgment, which might have some value, if he were told on the ballot in a simple manner what the issue really was. He may or may not approve of increasing judges' salaries and might have some valid reason for his conviction. But how could he express any real opinion on a question such as the one indicated above? In such instances the unenlightened voter must either vote blindly or refrain from voting at all.

He seems to have chosen not to vote. Questions submitted by title only have invariably received a very small vote in comparison with other measures clearly explained on the ballot. In 1918 (November) over 100,000 voters who had marked three preceding measures deliberately refrained from marking a proposed amendment to the state banking laws (submitted by reference to title only), but did vote on the next proposition to issue state bonds. The two amendments to the municipal court act, submitted in 1917, received the same kind of treatment.⁵⁴ To submit measures in the forms in which these appeared on the ballot was a deliberate invitation to blind voting, if not worse. The voter's silence constitutes not so much lack of interest as an exhibition of good judgment and discrimination.

⁵³ At the November election of 1917 two measures submitted related to amendments to the municipal court act. The ballot contained no explanation the propositions beyond a mere reference to the sections of the law to be changed.

⁵⁴ See also elections of April, 1914, April, 1916, November, 1911, November, 1908, November, 1905 and November, 1898.

CHARACTER OF VOTERS—TYPICAL WARDS

In the preceding discussion, the voters have been considered en masse and results analyzed from the point of view of the electorate as a whole. The electorate is, of course, a conglomerate group of people of all shades of political opinion and intelligence. In Chicago are found practically all possible variations of humanity, all having more or less influence in the shaping of local community opinion through the ballot. Just what the influence of any particular class is, in what direction it is exerted, and how it differs from that of other classes are questions of tremendous interest to a student of popular voting, but questions about which it is extremely difficult to obtain accurate information. Voters do not vote by classes, but by wards and precincts and these political divisions are never perfect sociological units.

It is possible, however, to select wards where certain types of voters may be said to predominate and to analyze and compare voting therein to determine whether any light may be shed on some of the points mentioned. For this purpose, the First, Second, Fifth and Tenth wards were chosen as typical poorer class districts of various sorts. The First Ward comprises the downtown business district known as the "Loop". Here most of the voters are ignorant, very poor, not permanently attached to property and a minimum of political acumen might be expected. The lodging house vote is very important. The Second Ward, directly south of the First, is known as the "Black Belt." The colored voters reign supreme, frequently sending colored representatives to Council. The Fifth Ward, another poor section, lies in the stockyards district. Most of the voters are of Irish extraction, but there are also many of Southern European stock. The Tenth Ward is a tenement section, overwhelmingly Jewish. It is a part of the Ghetto district. Two other wards, the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-first, may be said to be typical of average voters. The Twenty-seventh, situated in the outlying district to the northwest, is peopled with business and professional men of small means. The Thirty-first Ward, on the south side, comprising Englewood, is of the same general type, except that here the residents usually own their own homes. Although essentially

a residential section, it has an important business district. Finally, two other wards were chosen as very well-to-do or rich wards. They are the Sixth, on the south side, adjacent to the University and where the University influences are felt, and the Twenty-first, comprising the exclusive north side residential section.⁵⁵ The former is sometimes referred to as the "intellectual" ward and the latter as the "silk stocking" ward.

On the basis of interest shown in referenda, the "intellectual" Sixth and the two "average" wards are clearly entitled to first rank. During the period from November, 1911, to 1918, in eleven elections analyzed, these wards lead all the other five in the proportionate number of eligible voters as well as the proportionate number of active voters that marked referendum ballots. The Twenty-seventh appears to have had fewer stay-at-homes than any other, but of those who participated in the elections, relatively fewer were inclined to interest themselves in propositions than in the Sixth Ward.⁵⁶ These two wards (the Sixth and Twenty-seventh) almost invariably register a much larger proportional vote on measures than the city as a whole. In other words, they are conspicuously above the average for the city in the interest they display in measures submitted. The average for the city is reflected in the voting in the Thirty-first and rich Twenty-first, the former ranking slightly above and the latter slightly below the city as a whole.

The remaining four wards, including various types of poorer and less intelligent voters, appear to have displayed the least interest and consequently the greatest amount of electoral lethargy. At least voters in these sections refrained from voting on measures to a greater extent than elsewhere. The First Ward has by far the poorest record in this respect. There are fewer eligible voters who go to the polls and of those who do, fewer vote on propositions. Of the "poorer class" group, the "stock-yards district" (Fifth Ward) should be ranked first, but even there the percentage of

⁵⁵ There is, however, an important lodging house vote in this ward that should be considered.

⁵⁶ The percentages of those voting for candidates who also voted on measures was highest in the Sixth in ten out of eleven elections, while in seven instances the Twenty-Seventh Ward had the highest percentage of the registered vote.

participation is much below the city's average.⁵⁷ The following table shows the above tendencies and contrasts:

TABLE SPOWING REFERENDUM VOTING BY WARDS
1911-1918

CHARACTER OF WARD	Intellectual and Well-to-do	Average Sub-urban	Sub-urban Residential	Very Rich	Stock-yards	Colored	Ghetto	Lodging House
Ward.....	6	27	31	21	5	2	10	1
No. of questions receiving stated percentage of votes for candidates—								
Over 75%.....	46	27	19	16	8	8	6	0
From 50% to 75%....	10	29	38	41	46	37	36	37
Below 50%.....	2	2	3	3	4	13	28	21
Total No. of questions.	58	58	60	60	58	58	60	58
No. of questions receiving stated percentage of registered vote—								
Below 25%.....	3	3	3	4	5	7	6	6
From 25% to 50%....	21	14	15	26	29	43	33	46
From 50% to 75%....	32	39	38	26	20	4	17	2
Total No. of questions.	56	56	56	56	54	54	56	54

Although the wards studied have thus displayed some marked differences in the extent of interest shown in popular voting, there is a rather marked similarity in the character of questions that seemed to have interested them most. As a rule bond issue proposals have crowded the ballot with other questions usually of minor importance occasionally interspersed. In several instances the same propositions attracted the most votes in all the wards. For example, bonds to improve the harbor (1912), general city bonds (1913), bonds for new bathing beaches (1916), have been the favorites in all the wards, although these propositions have not always headed the list of questions submitted. In the April election of 1914 the comprehensive subway proposition, which was the favorite of a list of twelve in the city voting, likewise

⁵⁷ Although in many instances the difference was slight, the "percentage of interest" for the city was greater than in the Fifth Ward on fifty-six of the sixty measures submitted.

attracted more votes in the First, Second and Fifth Wards than any other measure. This was also true of the question of a two-platoon system for the Fire Department the year following. But in both these elections most of the voters in the other wards (6th, 10th, 27th and 31st) turned to bond issues for bathing beaches and hospitals as their chief source of interest. In general it may be said that such proposals as the construction of new bridges, widening of Twelfth Street, development of the harbor and the construction of bathing beaches have attracted the greatest interest when submitted—a striking tribute to the effectiveness of the educational campaign in connection with the City Plan.

Proposals to borrow money, although most prominent in drawing out voters, have not been treated alike in the various wards. The “lodging house” First and the “colored” Second vote consistently in favor of all bond proposals regardless of their nature. This is equally true of the rich and ultra fashionable north side ward (Twenty-first). On the other hand the “Ghetto” district (Tenth Ward) has just as consistently opposed all bond issues for any purposes whatsoever. In the other wards results have varied as they might be expected to vary if the voter used intelligence,⁵⁸ but whether or not more intelligent in voting, they have unquestionably been more discrimnatory in selecting certain issues for defeat and others for success. The Sixth Ward has been inclined to approve most measures of this character and the Twenty-seventh just as strongly to reject them. The character of the proposals seems to throw little light on the reason for such differences. It is certainly true, however, that the poorer voters are not always the advocates of bond issues, nor do the richer and well-to-do voters favor or disapprove as a class.

Not only on bond issues, but on other propositions as well, the voters of the Tenth Ward seem to be confirmed objectors. They have rejected all but thirteen of sixty measures included in this review. Most of the few that have met with favor have been State-wide questions or local questions of annexation. But even four of the latter have suffered defeat in the Tenth—a fate that befell them in none of the other wards. The Tenth Ward voters rejected thirty-four out of thirty-eight bond proposals.

⁵⁸ The variation is just as marked in the “stockyards” ward (Fifth) as in the “intellectual” ward (Sixth).

Aside from bond issues and the annexation measures that they approved no local issue submitted met their approval. They disapproved of the comprehensive subway, of the idea of home rule for the city, of an increase in length of term of city officials, of changes in the municipal court act⁵⁹ and the double platoon system for the Fire Department.

Generally speaking, measures, other than bond issues, have been dealt with in much the same fashion in the eight wards. The variations in addition to those of the Tenth may be mentioned briefly. The comprehensive subway proposition was approved in the First and Second Wards, although rejected in the other wards and by the city. The increase in tenure of office measure, already mentioned, was likewise carried in the First, although rejected in the remaining wards and in the city as a whole. The Fifth Ward joined with the First in favoring the double platoon system, while the other wards rejected the measure; and finally, the Twenty-seventh and Thirty-first Wards favored the proposed amendment to the municipal court act of 1916, while the other wards united in disapproval. These are practically the only instances where the various type wards differed in their conclusions on public questions other than bond issues. On these they seem to have disagreed about as frequently as otherwise.

VOTES OF WOMEN ON PROPOSITIONS

A study of the operation of the referendum in Chicago would no longer be complete without some mention of the part taken by the women in popular voting. With respect to local suffrage, women now possess the franchise on the basis of equality with the men. A state law of 1913 extended them the privilege of voting for all elective officials not directly provided for in the state constitution. In effect, it meant that men and women were to share alike in municipal elections, since municipal offices have a statutory basis, while the women were to be debarred from voting for county and state officials, whose positions were created directly by the constitution. This was as far as the legislature could go without a constitutional amendment. Local suffrage

⁵⁹ Except in one out of four submissions, and then by only 38 votes out of 3250.

necessarily included the right to vote on local measures as well as men, hence the participation of women in local referenda.⁶⁰

The limited character of the vote which women thus enjoy must be kept constantly in mind in any attempt to analyze results. It is a very vital point in any comparison with the masculine vote. In Chicago when local propositions are submitted at the spring municipal elections men and women vote on both candidates and propositions and a fair comparison of the sort mentioned may be made. But if, for instance, local measures are submitted at judicial elections in June or November, as they frequently are, such a comparison would be obviously unfair because the masculine vote is then drawn out by an incentive—that of voting for candidates for office—which does not exist for the women. The latter can then vote only on local propositions and it is natural for them to display less interest in the election than the men appear to possess.

The women of Chicago made their formal bow as electors in April, 1914, under circumstances that were somewhat unusual. In the first place, although there was no mayoralty contest to stir the imagination and get out the votes, nevertheless aldermen had to be chosen in all the wards, and the selection of aldermen frequently develops spirited contests both in the primaries and final elections. In some wards great interest might thus be looked for, while in others there was no great incentive for a large registration. A certain amount of apathy might be expected particularly of new voters. Moreover, the "little ballot," as the referendum ballot is styled, was much longer and more complicated than any in the previous history of the city. A total of twelve propositions appeared, six of which were proposed bond issues. Two others were annexation measures, one related to an amendment to the municipal court act, and another to the increase in terms for certain city officials, and two others were local public policy questions on the subject of home rule for the city and the comprehensive subway system. The last mentioned question was the one of greatest local interest. The women were thus confronted with a severe test on their initial appearance. On the other hand, the intense interest developed during the campaign for the suffrage was still in evidence and the added feeling

⁶⁰ Since county bond issues are provided for by statute women may also vote on them.

that the justification of equal suffrage itself was on trial more than counterbalanced the adverse circumstances just noted.

The outcome of the election was watched with great interest by some and with grave concern by others. Disastrous effects on men and women were foreseen by some, while others as confidently predicted a mere enlargement of totals without any decisive changes in results. Suffragists and their sponsors had been pleading for the ballot as an aid to the reform forces in the fight for a cleaner council and uprightness in government. Enthusiasts declared confidently that it would spell the death knell for "dark forces," for the women could be counted on to throw their influence on the side of righteousness in politics. Politicians clearly feared that it might do so, hence their opposition. At any rate the consequences of such an enlargement of the electorate by the introduction of an entirely new element could not be foreseen in advance.

The actual results as they affected the referendum may be reviewed briefly. Previous registrations had approximated 440,000. The total was now increased to 672,897, of which 455,283 were men and 217,614 were women. The women thus made up somewhat less than one-third of the total.⁶¹ The comprehensive subway proposition was voted on by 59% of the registered men and 55% of the registered women. It received the largest vote from the men as well as the women. Of those voting for candidates 86% of the men voted on the subway measure and 71% of the women did likewise. The voters on the other measures varied in about the same proportion. The interest of the women thus proved to center about the same issues that attracted the men, although it never reached quite the same proportions. Moreover, the results on the referendum measures were not altered in the slightest degree by the addition of votes by the women, for they approved and disapproved of the same propositions as did the men. It would seem that the women either followed the guidance of the more experienced male electors or they expressed their own opinion on the merits of measures and this proved to be the same as that of the men. The fears and hopes of those who had anticipated "revolutionary" results were thus allayed.

⁶¹ Since 1914 the proportion has somewhat changed. At the election of April 1, 1919, the registration was as follows: Men, 500,064; Women, 306,920 Total, 806,984.

The conditions under which the first balloting of the women was had may have been exceptional, but the results have not proved to be so. Since 1914 the women have been participating in all local elections and have helped in the solution of some forty-six referendum measures. They have swelled the total vote, but have not materially affected it otherwise. On forty-three of the forty-six propositions the women have voted as the men, approving those the men approved and rejecting those that were not favored by the men. So closely attuned have been the masculine and feminine political minds, that even when the vote was very close indeed, a slight majority of men approving would be accompanied by a slight majority of approving women, and vice versa. For instance in April, 1916, a proposition "to amend sections 16, 40, 47 and 48 of the municipal court act" appeared on the ballot alone. It was an aldermanic election and the attention of both men and women was directed chiefly to personalities in ward politics. The measure was rejected by the 66% of the men voting at the election, but by a margin of 1,800 votes out of 217,000. It was likewise rejected by the 38% of the women at the election and by a margin of 42 votes out of 54,000.

The illustration mentioned may not be considered a good one because of the nature of the measure. But, in fact, similar results apply to all kinds of propositions that have appeared. Women may not perhaps be expected to differ from men on the desirability of most bond issues, the regulation of street railways, annexation measures, etc. But another sort of question appeared in April, 1919, when the voters were asked to express an opinion as to prohibition. The question, intended to test the local popularity of recently enacted national prohibition measures, was one of general policy and thus had no binding effect. Both men and women were found to oppose prohibition, the former by a vote from four to one, the latter by less than two to one. Thus a larger proportion of women favored prohibition than is true of the men, but it is clear that both men and women overwhelmingly opposed.⁶²

⁶² The vote can be taken as a clear expression of public opinion for the opposition vote was actually a majority of the entire registered vote of the city while the registration was the largest, save one, in the history of the city. In other words, if all the silent voters had voted for prohibition the results would not have been changed.

Although the women thus voted as did the men on the subject of prohibition, they showed some inclination to vote differently. On three other propositions this tendency was more marked. In April, 1917, two proposed bond issues, one to provide for a system of waste disposal, and the other to construct comfort stations were approved by the men and rejected by the women, but both measures obtained total favorable majorities and carried despite the defection in the votes of women. Results were thus unchanged in both instances. Again, at the judicial election of November, 1917, with only 3% of the registered women voting, they favored the proposed county bond issue for road improvement, while the male voters of the city rejected it.⁶³ This proposition, however, related not only to issuing bonds, but to levying special taxes to meet the costs of the debt. It seems that the women could vote on the former but not on the latter and since both questions were combined in one proposition the vote of the women had no weight.⁶⁴ But there is reason to believe that a more complete vote on the part of the women would have shown that their views on the measure were not different than those of the men. In the eight wards previously considered, the women voted as did the men except in the Tenth. There only 24 women cast ballots on the proposition and they divided 13 to 11 in favor.

There have been but two measures upon which the results were affected directly by the votes of the women. On one occasion (June, 1915) a proposal to borrow money for the County Poor House was decided in the negative by an adverse female vote. The male vote was extremely close (70,348 for and 69,872 against), while the few women who went to the polls opposed by a sufficiently large vote to turn the scales. But only a mere handful of women were voting, otherwise a different result might have been obtained.⁶⁵ On the other hand, there appears to have been a real difference of opinion between the men and women groups on a proposition to construct new county buildings by bond

⁶³ The rural county vote was, however, so strongly affirmative that the measure was carried over the opposition of the city voters.

⁶⁴ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Nov. 2.

⁶⁵ Two and one-half percent of the registered women voters came to the polls. In the eight wards studied the women voted as did the men in five (Wards 1, 5, 10, 27, 31) and registered a different opinion in three (Wards 2, 6 and 21).

issues, submitted in April, 1919. The men voters of the city did not approve, while the women favored in such large numbers as to change the final results for the city. This is the only instance that has arisen when it may fairly be said that there developed any marked difference of opinion between men and women on a public measure.

Such is the five year record of the women of Chicago with the local referendum. The interest they seem to display in public measures, as indicated by the voting, is uniformly below that of the men, but the difference is not sufficiently great to have any other effect than to reduce slightly the total percentage of all voters at the elections, who participated in the voting on questions submitted. In other words, more women, in proportion to those who are qualified, or who vote for candidates, will refrain from voting on propositions than is true of the men. But those who vote almost invariably register the same sort of an opinion on all sorts of measures as do the male voters. Such a result might well have been expected and no reason can be seen why it should not continue to hold for the future. Radical innovations in local government, or revolutionary decisions on questions of local policy can scarcely be expected from the ballots of the women.⁶⁶

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In a general survey of Chicago voting, some significant facts stand out prominently. In the first place, popular voting on measures can not be said to have had great value before 1900. There did not exist the necessary background of electoral interest in measures submitted and the result was a perfunctory vote that automatically got results, through devices used in the balloting, or failed to get results because of the absence of such devices. What little interest there was, was dormant, and little was done to awaken it. Since 1900 conditions have been more favorable and year after year of continuous education through constant submissions has resulted in the development of an

⁶⁶ It should be remembered that the statements here made refer only to voting on propositions. For an interesting account of the record of the women in voting for councilmen at one election see Abbott, Edith, "Are Women a Force for Good Government?", National Municipal Review, July, 1915.

active electorate accustomed to solving its public questions first hand. There remains, of course, too much general apathy, but it has been reduced to a point where it seldom prevents a vote from reaching proportions that are satisfactory. About one-fourth of the active voters of the city still normally refrain from voting on public questions, although they vote for candidates. But more than half of all the qualified voters make it a part of their regular political duty to vote on questions from year to year. Some of this voting remains perfunctory and has little value in registering public opinion, but it is believed that this element is not large enough to be considered seriously.

Whether the passive voter, that is, the voter who disregards referendum measures, would have much of value to contribute to the balloting, depends upon his character and capacity. A study of the ward voting shows that he is to be found in all sections of the city. This might indicate that the opinions of all classes on measures are fairly well represented in the voting, and that no different conclusions would be reached if all voters actually participated. Moreover, it appears that the passive voter is to be found in larger numbers among the poorer and unintelligent groups. The proportion of non-voters seems to be smallest in the so-called average sections representing the masses of business and professional men of small or average means, and largest in the poorest and most ignorant sections. The rich sections seem to furnish the average supply of non-voters. If the tendency thus indicated represents accurately conditions for the city as a whole, one need not be so greatly concerned about the non-voters. If we must have electoral apathy, perhaps it could not be found in more desirable quarters.

The experience of Chicago has also shown the value of proper ballot forms and methods in submitting propositions. The separate ballot, which has been used since 1900, has proved so satisfactory that no argument is needed for its retention. Propositions should be placed before the voter on their own merits. They should never be subjected to the whim of party leaders as they were prior to 1890. Nor should they be hidden from the voter's eye on a huge and cumbersome candidates' ballot as they were from 1890 to 1900. The former method may secure a requisite vote, but the process has no bearing on the ultimate function of the referendum—that of expressing public opinion. The lat-

ter may require an individual opinion from each voter, but the method discourages him from expressing it, whereas he needs encouragement.

But a separate ballot is not sufficient. When it carries a question elaborately worded in technical phrases which convey no meaning to the voter, it will very commonly be discarded without consideration and the purpose of the submission, aside from the mere legal requirement of ratification, fails. Many times the voters have shown impatience with measures presented in this fashion. If the substance of a proposal can not be reduced to simple terms, fairly worded, there would seem to be no reason for submitting it to popular vote, for its technical or complex nature would belie any assumption that the masses of voters could possibly express an intelligent opinion thereon. But most such questions that have appeared in Chicago could have been intelligently expressed on the ballot, and had they been so expressed would have undoubtedly drawn forth a much larger and more complete response from the voters.

Another factor of great importance has been that of publicity. With no legal provisions for the enlightenment of the voter during the period preceding the election, he has been compelled to resort to whatever available sources of information there were at hand if he desired to familiarize himself with the merits of measures. Since these sources were usually one-sided and seldom disinterested, the voter's conclusions were likely to be distorted. However, it should be said that the newspapers have frequently stepped into the breach and performed very valuable services in this connection. When they have given measures wide publicity the result is nearly always reflected in a large popular vote. Measures not so fortunate uniformly receive less attention at the polls. The experience of Chicago points clearly to the need for more effective measures for publicity.

Chicago voters now possess a background of years of constant experience with the referendum. Although limited by law as to the extent of the subjects on which it may be used, they have managed to invoke it in one form or another on practically every important local issue that has arisen. When such problems arise and the laws contain no provision for a popular vote, the public policy act is resorted to in order to obtain the opinion of the voters. Half-blinded as they frequently are by a lack of

adequate information and knowledge, and sometimes defective of vision even when enlightenment was furnished, their judgment has not always been of the best. Generally speaking, however, they seem, in most instances, to have acquitted themselves well. The record is probably as satisfactory as that of which any other similar community in the country may boast.

But however wise or unwise their decisions, the fact remains that popular voting on local questions constitutes in practice a very essential feature of the government and will undoubtedly continue to do so. The immediate problem is that of making the process more effective than it has been in the past. To that end are needed general provisions for direct legislation, on all local matters to be dealt with by the city authorities. In the first place, the city should be free to reorganize its own government along models best suited to its local needs, and final authority in the matter should be left to the city voters as it is in practically all "home rule" states. As already noted the principle of the referendum as applied to changes in the organic laws of the city is not a new one. Chicago voters have, from the beginning, passed judgment on all such legislation. Home rule would merely add to the power to ratify the power to initiate. With respect to local legislation by the City Council, the practice is to subject such ordinances as are deemed important to a popular vote through the public opinion law or otherwise. Complete powers of the initiative and referendum would accomplish in a direct way what is now attempted in a very indirect way, and better results should be obtained by eliminating all uncertainty as to the effect of the voting. The public opinion law has been of great value as an instrument of education in direct government. Results of its use in city affairs would indicate that the time is ripe for making popular voting not a mere expression of opinion, but a judgment with binding force. Furthermore, when propositions are to be submitted to the voters, provision should be made for official publicity pamphlets, mailed directly to the voters during the campaign, containing the measure to be voted on with arguments pro and con. Some measure of this sort would seem essential as an aid in solving the problem of inertia and lack of understanding on the part of the voters. The value of such a plan is proved by the experience of many states where it is used. Finally, when the propositions appear on the separate

ballot, they should be stated in substance in clear and concise English so that the voter need not be left in doubt about the contents of the measure on which he is voting.

In conclusion, what has been said may be briefly summarized in the following suggestions:

1. Provision should be made, by constitutional amendment, for complete home rule for the city with power to make and amend its own charter subject to ratification by popular vote;

2. Provision should be made, by constitutional amendment, for the complete initiative and referendum on all matters of local legislation, subject to the usual exceptions;

3. Publicity pamphlets should be provided for in all cases where a local proposition is submitted;

4. The separate ballot should be retained and provision made in all cases for printing thereon the substance of propositions rather than a mere reference to the title of an act.

APPENDIX

Table I.

COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF VOTING ON PROPOSITIONS IN
SELECTED WARDS WITH RESULTS IN THE
CITY AS A WHOLE

1911-1917

QUESTION	DISPOSITION OF QUESTION								
	CITY	WARD 1	WARD 2	WARD 5	WARD 6	WARD 10	WARD 21	WARD 27	WARD 31
November, 1911									
1 Amendment of Municipal Court Act.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
2 Amendment of Municipal Court Act.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
3 Bridge bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
4 Judgment bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
April, 1912									
1 Harbor bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 Bathing Beach bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
3 Hospital bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
4 Police Department bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
5 Fire Department bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
November, 1912									
1 Widen 12th St. bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
2 Hospital bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
3 Court House bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
4 Poor House bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5 Public Policy Taxation.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6 Public Policy Primary Elections	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
7 Public Policy Short Ballot.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
April, 1913									
1 General city bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
2 Annex Cicero.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
April, 1914									
1 Comprehensive Subway.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
2 Home Rule for City.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
3 Fire Department bonds.....	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
4 Police Department bonds.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
5 Hospital bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
6 Judgment bonds.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
7 Bathing Beach bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
8 Hospital bonds.....	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
9 Municipal Court Amendment..	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
10 Ordinance to increase tenure of City Clerk, etc., to 4 years..	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
11 Annex Morgan Park.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
12 Annex Cicero.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table I—Continued

COMPARISON OF RESULTS OF VOTING ON PROPOSITIONS IN
SELECTED WARDS WITH RESULTS IN THE
CITY AS A WHOLE—(Continued)

1911-1917

QUESTION	DISPOSITION OF QUESTION								
	CITY	WARD 1	WARD 2	WARD 5	WARD 6	WARD 10	WARD 21	WARD 27	WARD 31
April, 1915									
1 Hospital bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 Jno. Worthy School bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
3 Farm Colony bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
4 Garbage Red. Bldg. bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
5 Bathing Beach bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
6 Fire Department bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
7 Police Department bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
8 Annex Clearing.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
9 Annex Elmwood.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
10 Double-platoon System Fire Department.....	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
11 Annex Blue Island.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
12 Annex Caldwell.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
June, 1915									
1 County Jail bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
2 County Poor House bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
3 Court House bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
4 Annex Stickney.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
April, 1916									
1 Municipal Court Act.....	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
June, 1916									
1 Bridge bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
2 Street Lighting.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
3 Jail bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
November, 1916									
1 Incineration bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
2 Bathing Beach bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
3 Construction of Parks.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
4 Tax Amend't (Pub. Policy)....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5 Amendment Banking Laws....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
April, 1917									
1 Bathing Beaches bonds.....	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
2 Boys' School bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
3 Waste Disposal bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
4 Comfort Stations bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No
5 Hospital bonds.....	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table II

COMPARISON OF VOTES IN SELECTED WARDS WITH CITY
VOTES ON PROPOSITIONS

1911-1917

QUESTION	PERCENTAGES OF VOTES AT ELECTION								
	CITY	WARD 1	WARD 2	WARD 5	WARD 6	WARD 10	WARD 21	WARD 27	WARD 31
November, 1911									
1 Amendment of Municipal Court Act.....	64	46	56	53	81	50	69	68	65
2 Amendment of Municipal Court Act.....	62	44	52	52	80	47	67	67	64
3 Bridge bonds.....	82	70	83	81	94	71	70	91	83
4 Judgment bonds.....	77	60	75	76	89	72	67	86	78
April, 1912									
1 Harbor bonds.....	82	65	80	78	91	78	84	86	82
2 Bathing Beach bonds.....	80	64	78	77	90	76	81	83	80
3 Hospital bonds.....	80	62	75	75	89	77	81	84	79
4 Police Department bonds.....	77	61	73	72	86	73	77	82	78
5 Fire Department bonds.....	75	59	72	72	86	72	77	80	76
November, 1912									
1 Widen 12th St. bonds.....	72	56	60	69	70	72	61	78	62
2 Hospital bonds.....	70	51	58	70	69	69	61	79	62
3 Court House bonds.....	67	47	54	65	66	62	57	75	59
4 Poor House bonds.....	69	49	55	67	68	64	60	75	60
5 Public Policy Taxation.....	64	43	50	61	64	58	54	75	56
6 Public Policy Primary Elections	62	42	49	58	64	57	54	72	55
7 Public Policy Short Ballot.....	62	41	48	58	64	56	54	70	54
April, 1913									
1 General city bonds.....	87	75	89	88	95	85	50	92	89
2 Annex Cicero.....	63	51	63	52	78	46	46	69	67
April, 1914									
1 Comprehensive Subway.....	81	63	71	71	87	64	82	..	80
2 Home Rule for City.....	73	51	60	63	80	60	74	..	72
3 Fire Department bonds.....	79	59	66	70	85	62	82	80	78
4 Police Department bonds.....	77	56	64	68	84	61	80	79	76
5 Hospital bonds.....	79	57	65	67	87	60	81	79	77
6 Judgment bonds.....	72	51	60	63	80	56	74	74	72
7 Bathing Beach.....	77	56	65	64	88	57	81	77	76
8 Hospital bonds.....	66	44	52	56	71	52	65	67	64
9 Municipal Court Amendment..	42	29	35	33	52	26	43	41	38
10 Ordinance to increase tenure of City Clerk, etc., to 4 years..	73	53	59	64	80	56	74	75	74
11 Annex Morgan Park.....	76	54	63	64	83	58	76	77	78
12 Annex Cicero.....	75	52	61	63	82	58	75	77	75

Table II—Continued

COMPARISON OF VOTES IN SELECTED WARDS WITH CITY
VOTES ON PROPOSITIONS—(Continued)

1911-1917

QUESTION	PERCENTAGES OF VOTES AT ELECTION								
	CITY	WARD 1	WARD 2	WARD 5	WARD 6	WARD 10	WARD 21	WARD 27	WARD 31
April, 1915									
1 Hospital bonds.....	67	43	52	60	79	54	65	76	67
2 Jno. Worthy School bonds.....	65	41	49	57	76	52	64	73	65
3 Farm Colony bonds.....	64	43	49	56	75	49	64	72	64
4 Garbage Red. Bldg. bonds.....	63	39	48	55	74	49	62	64	63
5 Bathing Beach bonds.....	65	40	41	57	77	59	76	73	66
6 Fire Department bonds.....	63	39	48	57	72	50	62	71	63
7 Police Department bonds.....	61	38	47	55	70	48	60	69	62
8 Annex Clearing.....	58	35	44	53	68	46	56	62	59
9 Annex Elmwood.....	57	34	43	51	64	44	55	64	58
10 Double-platoon System Fire Department.....	68	47	53	69	76	52	73	74	73
11 Annex Blue Island.....	58	36	45	54	68	46	56	67	61
12 Annex Caldwell.....	56	33	41	49	63	44	52	63	56
June, 1915									
1 County Jail bonds.....	76	57	70	69	84	52	76	80	77
2 County Poor House bonds.....	74	56	70	70	86	52	77	80	78
3 Court House bonds.....	71	53	65	66	82	50	73	78	75
4 Annex Stickney.....	74	54	67	70	78	70	72	77	75
April, 1916									
1 Municipal Court Act.....	58	67	58	60	69	46	58	63	55
June, 1916									
1 Bridge bonds.....	85	74	84	84	93	80	83	92	88
2 Street Lighting.....	85	73	84	84	92	82	82	93	88
3 Jail bonds.....	68	57	68	59	79	57	65	75	69
November, 1916									
1 Incineration bonds.....	64	52	55	59	74	49	61	71	66
2 Bathing Beach bonds.....	73	61	63	66	83	56	73	80	73
3 Construction of Parks.....	65	53	54	59	74	55	64	73	67
4 Tax Amend't (Pub. Policy)....	74	43	37	42	46	46	53	53	44
5 Amendment Banking Laws....	52	32	23	25	36	29	33	39	31
April, 1917									
1 Bathing Beaches bonds.....	72	60	65	67	83	64	73	81	69
2 Boys' School bonds.....	72	58	63	66	82	65	73	82	68
3 Waste Disposal bonds.....	70	57	61	66	81	62	72	80	66
4 Comfort Stations bonds.....	71	57	61	65	81	62	71	81	66
5 Hospital bonds.....	70	56	60	62	79	62	70	81	67

Table III

**TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO**

(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
1851—							
Municipal ownership water works.....	2688	513	3201	5689	.....	56.3	.....
1855—							
Prohibition of saloons.....	2784	4093	6877	.....	.....	.....	.....
1875—							
1. Organization under cities and villages act.....	11714	10281	21995	50822①	.....	.....	.....
2. Minority representation in city council.....	1550	5554	7104	50822①	.....	.....	.....
1884—							
1. State house appropriation (state-wide).....	.....	.....	22331	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. Const. amend., separate item veto (state-wide).....	.....	.....	109119	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. Issue of county bonds.....	.....	.....	109810	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Appropriation from saloon license fund for use of police force.....	.....	.....	64802	100974	.....	64.8	.....
1886, (Nov.)—							
1. Const. amend., convict labor (state-wide).....	73028	1154	74182	77065	81641	96.2	.....
2. Adoption union ordinance..	47812	2088	49900	②	.....	.....	.....
1887, (Nov.)—							
1. Annexation bonds.....	24681	10318	34999	43213	.....	80.9	.....
2. Appointment of jury commission.....	19021	18771	37792	43213	.....	87.4	.....
1890 (Nov. 4)—							
1. Amend. to banking laws (state-wide).....	123877	1997	125874	139892	.....	89.8	.....
2. Const. amend., World's Fair bonds (state-wide).....	125863	2719	128682	139892	.....	91.9	.....
3. Annexation of Fernwood....	118586	1489	120075	138304	.....	86.8	.....
4. Annex. Washington Heights.	122072	1389	123461	138304	.....	89.2	.....
5. Annex. West Roseland.....	119533	1427	120960	138304	.....	87.4	.....

①Submitted at a special election. Vote here given is vote for city clerk in 1876.

②Does not include town of Lake as does vote on the amendment.

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	Vote for	Vote against	Total Vote on Measure	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Registration
1891, Nov. 3— Refund of county bonds.....	28872	3169	32041	102685	.....	31.2	.....
1893, April 4— 1. Annexation of Rogers Park.	33268	6962	40231	211418	274472	19.0	14.6
2. Annexation of West Ridge..	30372	6793	37165	211418	274472	17.5	13.5
1893, November 7— 1. Annex. of Norwood Park....	33179	4134	37313	151698	251189	24.5	14.8
2. Museums for Lincoln, South and West Side Parks.....	33541	3403	36944	151698	251189	24.3	14.7
1894, April 3— 1. Annex. of Evanston.....	38794	13845	52639	201712	288933	26.0	18.2
2. Annex. of Morgan Park.....	36263	13526	49789	201712	288933	24.6	17.2
1894, November 6— 1. Const. amend., labor legis. (state-wide).....	56473	21017	77490	283683	345570	27.3	22.4
2. County bond issue.....	30156	54583	84739	283683	345570	29.8	24.5
1895, April 2— Adoption of civil service law...	109353	59368	168721	265391	352274	63.5	47.8
1895, November 5— 1. Adoption Torrens land title act.....	77682	5183	82865	139178	309068	59.5	26.8
1896, November 3— 1. Const. amend. (state-wide)..	78998	21882	100880	359973	380245	28.0	26.5
2. County bond issue.....	28615	73725	102340	359973 ^③	380245	28.4	26.9
1897, June 7— Adoption Torrens land title act.....	57375	5571	62946	142492	376275	44.1	16.7
1898, November 8— 1. Amend. to state banking law (state-wide).....	42756	14589	57345	294105	325747	19.4	17.6
2. Courthouse bond issue.....	44880	18933	63813	294105	325747	21.6	19.5
3. Refunding bond issue.....	41613	20340	61953	294105	325747	21.0	19.0
4. Annex. of Cicero.....	46585	18064	64649	294105	325747	21.9	19.8
1899, April 4— 1. Estab. of kindergarten.....	92130	16866	108996	307590	363292	35.4	30.0
2. Annex. of part of Cicero....	59925	20263	80188	307590	363292	26.0	22.0
3. Annex. of part of Cicero....	59117	20036	79153	307590	363292	25.7	21.7
4. Annex. of town of Cicero....	64430	21683	86113	307590	363292	27.9	23.7
1900, April 3— Judgment bond issue.....	108247	64325	172572	230499	347811	74.8	49.6

③Presidential election year. The total vote for President of the County Board was 322,736.

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
1900, November 6—							
County bond issue.....	67779	178908	246687	379661④	402933	64.9	61.2
1902, April—							
1. Municipal ownership of street railways (public policy).....	142826	27998	170824	215857	354794	79.1	48.1
2. Municipal ownership gas and electric lighting (public policy).....	139999	21364	161363	215857	354794	74.7	45.4
3. Adoption of direct primary for city (public policy).....	140086	17654	157740	215857	354794	73.0	44.4
1902, November 4—							
1. County bond issue.....	144272	43013	187285	291211	337808	64.3	55.4
2. Initiative and Referendum (state-wide public policy)...	160102	24535	184637	291211	337808	63.4	54.6
3. Local Initiative and Referendum (state-wide public policy).....	155423	23465	178888	291211	337808	61.4	52.9
4. Direct election U. S. Senators (state-wide public policy)...	161309	23518	184827	291211	337808	63.4	54.7
1903, April 7—							
Judgment bond issue.....	162920	64574	227494	311955	374177	72.9	60.7
1903, June 1—							
County bond issue.....	101024	39251	140275	173671	374177	80.7	37.4
1904, April—							
1. Adoption Mueller law by city	153223	30279	183502	236810	360429	77.4	50.9
2. Municipal ownership (public policy).....	121957	50807	172764	236810	360429	72.9	47.9
3. Grant of franchises to private companies (public policy)...	120863	48200	169063	236810	360429	71.3	46.9
4. Election of Board of Education by people (public policy)	116617	57792	174409	236810	360429	73.6	48.3
1904, November 8—							
1. Const. amend. Chicago charter (state-wide).....	261478	18113	279591	371513⑤	404130	75.2	69.1
2. Adoption Torrens extension act.....	225787	27558	253345	371513⑤	404130	68.1	62.6
3. Adoption voting machines...	229577	27081	256658	371513⑤	404130	69.0	63.5
4. Bond issue.....	218730	28353	247083	371513	404130	66.5	61.1

④Presidential election year. Total vote for President of County Board was 368,375.

⑤Presidential election year. Total vote for President of County Commissioners was 355,817.

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	Vote for	Vote against	Total Vote on Measure	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Registration
5. Direct primary (state-wide public policy)	226221	19418	245639	371513	404130	66.1	60.7
6. Local control of legislation (state-wide public policy) . . .	213933	24556	238489	371513	404130	64.1	59.0
7. Local control of taxation (state-wide public policy) . . .	179682	53799	233481	371513	404130	62.8	57.7
1905, April 4—							
1. County courthouse bond issue (\$5,000,000)	140648	103700	244348	330935	410009	73.8	59.5
2. Adoption local transportation ordinance (public policy)	64391	150785	215176	330935	410009	65.0	52.4
3. Adoption of any ordinance granting franchise to Chicago Str. Rys. Co (public policy).	60020	151974	211994	330935	410009	64.0	51.7
4. Adoption any ordinance granting franchise to a private company (public policy)	59013	152135	211148	330935	410009	63.8	51.5
1905, November 7—							
1. Adoption proposed city charter.	102360	43851	146211	187730	362113	77.8	40.3
2. Adoption municipal courts act.	99092	18335	117437	187730	362113	62.5	32.4
3. Gas and electric lighting ordinance	127656	21099	148755	187730	362113	79.2	41.0
4. Creation forest preserve dist.	81891	55393	137284	188196	362113	72.9	37.9
1906, April 3—							
1. Municipal operation street railways	121916	110323	232239	264483	375251	87.8	61.8
2. Adoption railway certificate ordinance.	110225	106859	217084	264483	375251	82.0	57.8
3. Earliest possible municipal ownership and operation street railways (public policy)	111955	108087	220042	264483	375251	83.1	58.6
1906, November 6—							
Sale canal lands (state-wide)	94216	139472	233688	301127	345544	77.6	67.6
1907, April 2—							
1. Adoption street railway ordinance	167367	134281	301648	338924	392287	89.0	76.8
2. Annex. of Morgan Park.	171961	78063	250024	338924	392287	73.8	63.7

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
1907, September 17—							
1. Adoption city charter ^⑥	59786	121935	181721	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. Adoption amendment to municipal courts act	91628	70696	162324	.....	.....	.....	.....
1908, April 7—							
County bond issue, poor-house (\$2,000,000)	162164	65655	227819	259520	379231	87.7	60.0
1908, November 3—							
1. State const. amend. for bond issue, canal, \$20,000,000 (state-wide)	267490	45351	312841	385652 ^⑦	409431	81.1	76.4
2. Amendment to banking laws (state-wide)	190950	23934	214884	385652 ^⑦	409431	55.7	52.4
3. Annex. of Morgan Park	226647	53888	280535	385652 ^⑦	409431	72.7	68.5
1909, April 6—							
1. Estab. tuberculosis sanitarium	168716	39237	207953	254045	404940	81.8	51.1
2. Annex. of Evanston	132447	56171	188618	254045	404940	74.2	46.3
3. Annex. of Cicero	133822	52045	185867	254045	404940	73.1	45.6
1910, April 5—							
1. Annex. of Edison Park	129852	95608	225460	290578	430809	77.5	52.3
2. Annex. of Oak Park	128972	92095	221067	290578	430809	76.0	51.3
3. Annex. of Morgan Park	126745	92282	219027	290578	430809	75.3	50.8
1910, November 8—							
1. City hall bond issue	139183	110787	249970	330217	373569	75.5	66.9
2. Poorhouse hospital bond issue	144408	81088	225496	330217	373569	68.2	60.4
3. Initiative and Referendum (state-wide public policy)	152374	55438	207812	330217	373569	62.9	55.6
4. State civil service (state-wide public policy)	151351	52133	203484	330217	373569	61.6	54.6
5. Corrupt practices act (state-wide public policy)	146773	52132	198905	330217	373569	60.2	53.3
6. Annex. of Edison Park	121378	59647	181025	330217	373569	54.8	48.6
7. Annex. of Morgan Park	121054	61034	182088	330217	373569	55.1	48.8
1911, April 4—							
1. Judgment bond issue (\$900,000)	164919	68830	233749	368223	423551	63.5	55.2
2. Bridge bond issue (\$4,655,000)	211437	65104	276541	368223	423551	75.1	62.9
3. Annex. of Morgan Park	167588	64559	232147	368223	423551	63.0	54.8
4. Annex. of Cicero	168026	62442	230468	368223	423551	62.5	54.4
5. Annex. of Oak Park	211802	82598	294400	368223	423551	79.9	69.5

⑥ Submitted at a special election.

⑦ Presidential election. Vote for President of the County Commissioners was 369,981

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
1911, November 7—							
1. Adoption amendment to municipal courts act.....	34592	76737	111329	175302	423551	63.5	26.3
2. Adoption amendment to municipal courts act.....	32045	75937	107982	175302	423551	61.6	25.4
3. Bridge bond issue.....	109673	33739	143412	175302	423551	81.8	23.8
4. Judgment bond issue.....	91268	43626	134894	175302	423551	76.9	31.8
1912, April 2—							
1. Harbor bond issue.....	141378	99734	241112	294478	444901	82.2	54.4
2. Bathing beach bond issue...	119371	115674	235045	294478	444901	79.8	52.8
3. Hospital bond issue.....	132959	102306	235265	294478	444901	79.8	52.8
4. Police department building bond issue.....	99733	126219	225952	294478	444901	76.7	50.7
5. Fire department building bond issue.....	108589	113516	222105	294478	444901	75.4	49.9
1912, November 5—							
1. City bonds for widening 12th St. (\$1,750,000).....	162264	136928	299192	413826 ^⑧	441979	72.4	67.6
2. City bonds for detention hospital.....	159051	131421	290472	413826	441979	70.4	65.8
3. County bonds for courthouse (\$500,000).....	114003	161986	275989	413826	441979	66.6	62.4
4. County bonds for poorhouse (\$1,000,000).....	166054	119113	285167	413826	441979	69.0	64.5
5. Public policy question—taxation.....	180122	82386	262508	413826	441979	63.5	59.4
6. Public policy question—primary elections.....	180641	75774	256415	413826	441979	62.0	58.0
7. Public policy question—short ballot.....	177171	77726	254897	413826	441979	61.7	57.7
1913, April 1—							
1. Bond issue general city purposes (\$2,880,000).....	120512	115627	236139	270400	437346	87.3	54.0
2. Annex. of Cicero.....	121260	50186	171446	270400	437346	63.4	39.2
1914, April 7—							
1. Comprehensive subway (pub. policy).....	87102	183108	270210	314863	455283	85.8	59.3
Men	30908	89293	120201	169707	217614	70.3	55.2
Women							
Total	118010	272401	390411	484570	672897	80.5	58.0

⑧Presidential election. Vote for President of County Commissioners was 333,964.

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
2. Home rule in public utility regulation (public policy),							
Men	126140	120827	246967	314863	455283	78.4	54.2
Women	56195	51508	107703	169707	217614	63.4	49.5
Total	182335	172335	354670	484570	672897	73.2	52.7
3. Fire department bonds (\$1,000,000).....							
Men	97774	168227	266001	314863	455283	84.4	58.4
Women	34556	80428	114984	169707	217614	67.7	52.8
Total	132330	248655	380985	484570	672897	78.6	56.6
4. Police department bonds (\$2,500,000).....							
Men	80191	180679	260870	314363	455283	82.8	57.3
Women	28941	84703	113644	169707	217614	66.9	52.2
Total	109132	265382	374514	484570	672897	77.2	55.6
5. Contagious disease hospital bonds (\$470,000).....							
Men	150039	112315	262354	314863	455283	83.3	57.6
Women	69939	48289	118228	169707	217614	69.6	54.3
Total	219978	160604	380582	484570	672897	78.5	56.5
6. Judgment bonds (\$380,000),							
Men	68665	179244	247909	314863	455283	78.7	54.4
Women	22348	81007	103355	169707	217614	60.9	47.5
Total	91013	260251	351264	484570	672897	72.4	52.2
7. Bonds for acquisition of bathing beaches (\$350,000),							
Men	136449	121205	257645	314863	455283	81.8	56.5
Women	62566	52120	114686	169707	217614	67.5	52.7
Total	199015	173325	372340	484570	672897	76.8	55.3
8. Cook Co. hospital bonds (\$4,000,000).....							
Men	64303	154966	219269	314863	455283	69.6	48.1
Women	25054	74196	99250	169707	217614	58.5	45.6
Total	89357	229162	318519	484570	672897	65.7	47.3
9. Revision municipal court act,							
Men	50806	96779	147585	314863	455283	46.8	32.4
Women	18339	35298	53637	169707	216714	31.6	24.6
Total	69145	132077	201222	484570	672897	41.5	29.9
10. Four year tenure for city clerk, etc.....							
Men	81667	166902	248569	314863	455283	78.9	54.6
Women	30596	75270	105866	160797	217614	62.3	48.6
Total	112263	242172	354435	484570	672897	73.1	52.6
11. Annex. of Morgan Park,							
Men	164003	91639	255642	314863	455283	81.2	56.1
Women	73564	37311	110875	169707	217614	65.3	50.9
Total	237567	128950	366517	484570	672897	75.6	54.4

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
12. Annex. of Cicero.....	Men 164380	88388	252768	314863	455283	80.2	55.5
	Women 72483	37078	109561	160797	217614	64.5	50.3
	Total 236863	125466	362329	484570	672897	74.7	53.8
1914, November 3—							
1. Bond issue to widen North Michigan Ave. (\$3,800,000),							
	Men			350611	390805	.....	.....
	Women			123160	165168	.....	.....
	Total 237018	154668	391686	473771	555973	82.7	70.4
2. Forest preserve district,							
	Men			350611	390805	.....	.....
	Women			123160	165168	.....	.....
	Total 235062	131519	366581	473771	555973	77.4	65.9
3. Cook County Road bonds (\$2,000,000).....							
	Men			350611	390805	.....	.....
	Women			123160	165168	.....	.....
	Total 219056	151276	370332	473711	555973	78.1	66.6
1915, April 6—							
1. Bonds to complete contagious disease hospital (\$500,000).....							
	Men 208889	111226	319115	434277	486815	73.5	65.5
	Women 91459	46250	137709	250404	282291	54.9	48.7
	Total 299348	157476	456824	684681	769106	66.8	59.4
2. Bonds const. dormitories Jno. Worthy School for the House of Correction (\$60,000),							
	Men 181650	131260	312910	434277	486815	72.2	64.4
	Women 77527	53419	130946	250404	282291	52.2	46.4
	Total 259177	184679	443856	684681	769106	64.9	57.7
3. Bonds const. farm colony buildings for House of Correction and shelter house for women (\$250,000) . . .							
	Men 173038	134999	308037	434277	486815	71.0	63.3
	Women 79604	51797	131401	250404	282291	52.5	46.6
	Total 252642	186796	439438	684681	769106	64.3	57.1
4. Bonds additional buildings for garbage reduction plant (\$700,000).....							
	Men 185762	116256	302018	434277	486815	69.7	62.2
	Women 76897	48206	125103	250404	282291	50.0	44.4
	Total 262659	164462	427121	684681	769106	62.5	55.6

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
5. Bonds improvement bathing beaches and playgrounds, neighborhood centers (\$600,000)							
Men	200221	110528	310749	434277	486815	71.5	63.8
Women	85531	49916	135447	250404	282291	54.2	48.1
Total	285752	160444	446196	684681	769106	65.2	58.0
6. Bonds fire department, (\$663,000)							
Men	174793	129965	304758	434277	486815	70.2	62.7
Women	67076	58723	125799	250404	282291	50.2	44.6
Total	241869	188688	430557	684681	769106	62.9	56.0
7. Bonds police department (\$1,199,000)							
Men	154798	141595	296393	434277	486815	68.0	60.8
Women	61363	59093	120456	250404	282219	48.2	42.8
Total	216161	200688	416849	684681	769106	60.9	54.2
8. Annex. of Clearing							
Men	179454	107153	286607	434277	486815	65.9	58.9
Women	66582	45969	112551	250404	282291	44.9	39.9
Total	246036	153122	399158	684681	769106	58.4	51.9
9. Annex. of Elmwood Park, Men	170873	106941	277814	434277	486815	64.0	57.1
Women	62463	47703	110166	250404	282291	44.0	38.0
Total	233336	154644	387980	684681	769106	56.7	50.5
10. Double platoon system for fire dept.							
Men	130282	185481	315763	434277	486815	72.7	65.0
Women	53875	96278	150153	250404	282291	60.0	53.2
Total	184157	281759	465916	684681	769106	68.1	60.6
11. Annex. of Blue Is.							
Men	177122	105630	282752	434277	486815	65.2	58.2
Women	69021	47967	116988	250404	282291	46.7	41.4
Total	246143	153597	399740	684681	769106	58.4	51.9
12. Annex. of Caldwell's Reser- vation							
Men	158645	115451	274096	434277	486815	63.2	56.4
Women	56524	49335	105859	250404	282291	42.3	37.5
Total	215169	164786	379955	684681	769106	55.5	49.4
1915, June 7—							
1. Bonds Cook County jail and criminal court buildings (\$2,500,000)							
Men	50449	93819	144268	189700	486815	76.2	29.6
Women	2250	5293	7543	9372	282291	80.4	2.6
Total	52699	99112	151811	199072	769106	76.2	19.7
2. Bonds Cook County poor- house (\$1,000,000)							
Men	70348	69872	140220	189700	486815	73.9	28.8
Women	2932	4527	7459	9372	282291	79.7	2.6
Total	73280	74399	147679	199072	769106	74.2	19.2

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	1 Vote for	2 Vote against	3 Total Vote on Measure	4 Total Vote at Election	5 Total Regis- tration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Regis- tration
3. Bonds Cook County Court- house, complete 9 and 10 floors (\$200,000).....	59390	74913	134303	189700	486815	70.9	27.5
Men	2457	4640	7097	9372	282291	75.7	2.5
Women	61847	79553	141400	199072	769106	71.2	18.4
Total	61847	79553	141400	199072	769106	71.2	18.4
4. Annex. of Stickney....	92033	48470	140503	189700	486815	74.2	28.8
Men	4102	3106	7208	9372	282291	77.0	2.5
Women	96135	51576	147711	199072	769106	74.2	19.2
Total	96135	51576	147711	199072	769106	74.2	19.2
1916, April 4—							
Amend. to municipal court act.....	107458	109329	216787	326199	475187	66.4	45.6
Men	26882	26924	53806	140195	264090	38.4	20.4
Women	134340	136253	270593	466394	739277	58.0	36.7
Total	134340	136253	270593	466394	739277	58.0	36.7
1916, June 5—							
1. Bonds const. bridges (\$5,100,000).....	91234	55598	146832	172769	475187	85.0	30.9
Men	3372	2440	5812	6400	264090	90.8	2.2
Women	94606	58038	152644	179169	739277	85.3	20.6
Total	94606	58038	152644	179169	739277	85.3	20.6
2. Bonds, street lighting and ex- tension (\$3,750,000)....	83801	62998	146799	172769	475187	85.0	30.9
Men	2994	2910	5904	6400	264090	92.4	2.2
Women	86795	65908	152703	179169	739277	85.3	20.6
Total	86795	65908	152703	179169	739277	85.3	20.6
3. Bonds new county jail and criminal court buildings (\$2,000,000).....	49483	66930	116413	172769	475187	67.5	24.5
Men	1937	2921	4858	6400	264090	75.8	1.8
Women	51420	69851	121271	179169	739277	67.8	16.4
Total	51420	69851	121271	179169	739277	67.8	16.4
1916, November 7—							
1. Bonds garbage incineration (\$2,000,000).....	134501	193046	327947	487210	504674	67.2	65.0
Men	66774	104830	171604	289444	303801	59.4	56.6
Women	201675	297876	499551	776654	808475	64.2	61.8
Total	201675	297876	499551	776654	808475	64.2	61.8
2. Bonds bathing beach, etc. (\$2,450,000).....	181682	192283	373965	487210	504674	76.7	74.2
Men	87657	101894	189551	289444	303801	65.5	62.5
Women	269339	294177	563516	776654	808475	72.5	69.7
Total	269339	294177	563516	776654	808475	72.5	69.7
3. Consolidation of parks, Men	135091	203573	338664	487210	504674	69.5	67.3
Women	58701	107613	167314	289444	303801	57.9	55.2
Total	194792	311186	505978	776654	808475	65.1	62.7

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	Vote for	Vote against	Total Vote on Measure	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Registration
4. Const. amend. taxation (state-wide).....	244006	117305	361311	487210	504674	74.1	71.7
5. Amendment to banking laws (state-wide).....	183669	69607	253276	487210	504674	52.0	50.3
1917, April 3—							
1. Bonds bathing beaches (\$200,000).....	113794	121043	234837	296718	490604	79.0	47.9
Men	33613	37829	71442	128987	297931	55.3	23.9
Women	147407	158872	306279	425705	788535	72.0	38.9
Total							
2. Bonds boys' school buildings (\$250,000).....	124617	110263	234880	296718	490604	79.2	47.9
Men	36876	34501	71377	128987	297931	55.2	23.9
Women	161493	144764	306257	425705	788535	72.0	38.9
Total							
3. Bonds waste disposal equipment (\$1,000,000).....	116372	111387	227759	296718	490604	76.7	46.3
Men	32738	36208	68946	128987	297931	53.4	23.2
Women	149110	148595	296705	425705	788535	69.7	37.7
Total							
4. Bonds const. comfort stations (\$150,000).....	119653	111995	231648	296718	490604	77.9	47.2
Men	32008	37215	69223	128987	297931	53.7	23.2
Women	151661	149210	300871	425705	788535	70.7	38.2
Total							
5. Bonds contagious disease hospital (\$750,000)....	138945	88668	227613	296718	490604	76.7	46.3
Men	41874	29119	70993	128987	297931	55.0	23.8
Women	180819	117787	298606	425705	788535	70.3	37.9
Total							
1917, November 6—							
1. Bonds road improvement (\$1,000,000).....	86745	87388	174133	232276	496690	75.0	35.1
Men	5368	4275	9643	11485	301138	84.0	3.2
Women	92133	91663	183776	243761	797828	75.5	23.0
Total							
2. Bonds county hospital (\$1,000,000).....	46650	96902	143552	232276	496690	61.9	28.9
Men	2970	4510	7480	11485	301138	65.2	2.4
Women	49620	101412	151032	243761	797828	62.1	18.9
Total							

ⓄWomen not eligible to vote on state-wide questions. Figures relate to men only.

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
SUBMITTED IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO
(1851-1919)

(Figures compiled from records of the Board of Election Commissioners except where otherwise specified)

PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	Vote for	Vote against	Total Vote on Measure	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Registration
3. Bonds Pathological Research laboratory and morgue (\$1,000,000).....							
Men	37438	100227	137665	232276	496690	59.3	27.9
Women	2213	4700	6913	11485	301138	60.2	2.3
Total	39651	104927	144578	243761	797828	59.5	18.1
4. Bonds new county jail (\$3,000,000).....							
Men	33778	91778	125556	232276	496690	54.1	25.3
Women	1802	4779	6581	11485	301138	57.4	2.2
Total	35580	96557	132137	243761	797828	54.3	16.6
5. Annex. portion of Stickney,							
Men	100633	71806	172439	232276	496690	74.2	34.7
Women	4719	3612	8321	11485	301138	72.5	2.7
Total	105352	75418	180770	243761	797828	74.4	22.6
6. Annex. portion of Norwood Park.....							
Men	99085	68562	167647	232276	496690	72.1	33.5
Women	4777	3561	8338	11485	301138	72.6	2.8
Total	103862	72123	175985	243761	797828	72.3	22.0
7. Amend. municipal court act (Sec. 40, 42, 48).....							
Men	64175	52988	117163	232276	496690	50.4	23.6
Women	2856	2448	5304	11485	301138	46.3	1.8
Total	67031	55436	122467	243761	797828	50.4	15.4
8. Amend. municipal court act (Secs. 50, 62, 63).....							
Men	61954	51971	113925	232276	496690	49.0	22.9
Women	2696	2432	5128	11485	301138	44.7	1.7
Total	64650	54403	119053	243761	797828	49.0	14.9
1918, April 2—							
1. Annex. Elmwood.....							
Men	109591	49081	158672	276272	492615	57.4	32.2
Women	27186	10996	38182	121283	300026	31.4	12.7
Total	136777	60077	196854	397555	792641	49.5	24.8
2. Annex. of part of Norwood Park.....							
Men	135389	67114	202503	276272	492615	73.2	41.0
Women	44168	20370	64538	121283	300026	53.3	21.5
Total	179557	87484	267041	397555	792641	67.1	33.6
1918, November 5—							
1. Chicago traction ordinance,							
Men	145826	174725	320551	354369	393796	90.4	81.6
Women	63856	68609	132465	148142	192772	89.5	69.0
Total	209682	243334	453016	502511	586568	90.3	77.3
2. Bonds widen. Michigan Ave. (\$3,000,000).....							
Men	205986	93131	299117	354369	393796	84.3	76.0
Women	80848	39549	120397	148142	192772	81.3	62.6
Total	286834	132680	419514	502511	586568	83.4	71.5

Table III—Continued

TABLE SHOWING VOTES AND PERCENTAGES ON PROPOSITIONS
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(1851-1919)

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PROPOSITION	FIGURES					PERCENTAGES	
	Vote for	Vote against	Total Vote on Measure	Total Vote at Election	Total Registration	of Vote on Measure to Total Vote at Election	of Vote on Measure to Total Registration
3. Constitutional convention (state-wide).....	230884	67224	298108	ⓐ	ⓐ	84.2	75.8
4. Amend. to general banking law (state-wide).....	166261	24829	191090	ⓐ	ⓐ	54.0	48.5
5. Bonds for state roads (\$60,000,000) (state-wide)...	229681	67678	297359	ⓐ	ⓐ	83.8	75.5
1919, April 1—							
1. Shall Chicago become anti-saloon territory (Local public policy).....	70165	276817	346982	440069	500064	78.9	69.4
Men	77014	129373	206387	258851	306920	79.8	67.3
Women	147179	406190	553369	698920	806984	79.1	68.5
Total							
2. Bonds 12th St. viaduct (\$1,200,000).....	214257	148585	362842	440069	500064	82.4	70.6
Men	90950	69601	160551	258851	306920	61.9	52.3
Women	305207	218186	523393	698920	806984	75.0	64.7
Total							
3. Bonds, judgment (\$9,500,000).....	169887	158873	328760	440069	500064	74.7	65.8
Men	73519	70043	143562	258851	306920	55.4	46.7
Women	243406	228916	472322	698920	806984	67.6	58.5
Total							
4. County bonds for new buildings (\$600,000).....	145834	156937	302771	440069	500064	68.8	60.6
Men	83734	50760	134494	258851	306920	52.0	43.8
Women	229568	207697	437265	698920	806984	62.6	54.2
Total							

ⓐ Women not eligible to vote on state-wide questions. Figures relate to male vote only.

