

illegally and plunder? It makes of every ward in the city a school where young men are taught that knavery is the open door to success. Under the influence of such a government the path of rectitude is covered with thorns and virtue is nailed to the cross. In every boss-ridden city, to use the language of our text, "he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

#### PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN TORONTO.

Cumulative voting will in future be used to a certain extent in the municipal elections of the city of Toronto.

Cumulative voting is proportional representation; not on as good a plan as the Hare-Spence system, but still proportional representation. It will be used at the next Toronto municipal elections in electing the 12 members of the school board and the four members of the board of control, who are to be elected by the city at large—the mayor being the fifth member.

#### THE BOARD OF CONTROL.

Cumulative voting, as applied to the board of control, means that the elector will have four votes, but that he need not give each of them to a different candidate. He may do so if he wishes; but he has also the power to give all his four votes to one candidate. This makes "plumping" four times as powerful as it was by the old "block" system, when if you "plumped" for one candidate you threw away three out of your four votes. Now you have the benefit of your full voting power, whether you plump or not. And plumping is the correct thing; in fact, proportional representation is simply effective plumping, with the addition in the best systems of a provision for transfer of votes, so as to prevent wasting too many on one candidate. However, we are dealing now with the cumulative vote. Besides permitting an elector to give all four votes to one candidate, the cumulative plan enables him to give two of his votes to one candidate, and two to another, or he may give three votes to one candidate, and his fourth to another candidate. In fact, he may distribute or cumulate his four votes as he pleases. The controllers being elected by the people at large, instead of by the council, there will be only three aldermen elected in each ward. These will be elected by the old block vote.

Let us see now what can be done in regard to the board of control. First, if one-fourth of the voters give all their votes to one candidate, they

can elect him, no matter what the other three-fourths choose to do. Suppose 24,000 voters go to the polls, then 6,000 of them can elect one controller, if they are sufficiently well organized to plump their four votes on the one candidate; or, if half the voters were so well organized that they could be depended upon to split their votes on the same two men—two votes for one, and two for the other—then they could put in two controllers.

A great deal will depend on the wise choice of candidates and good organization.

#### THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

The newly amalgamated board of education for the city of Toronto consists of 14 members, two of whom are appointed by the separate school board, and the remaining 12 elected by the city at large. The system to be used in electing these 12 is not cumulative voting to the full extent, but is a mixture of the cumulative vote and the limited vote, because each elector must not cumulate more than three of his votes on any one candidate, although he will have 12 votes at the election of 1904, and six votes at each subsequent election. The reason of this is that the 12 elective members of the board of education have all to be elected in 1904, but after that only six members will be elected every year, to take the places of the six who retire.

The practical effect of this voting method is that one-third of the electors can put in one-third of the board in 1904. That means, if 24,000 voters go to the polls, and 8,000 of them agree on a ticket of four candidates, they can elect their ticket by cumulating their 12 votes on the same four candidates, giving three votes to each. Three times four is 12. We shall probably see candidates coming out in quartettes or tickets of four each; and some careful organization will be necessary. At subsequent elections, when only six are to be elected, the tickets will be in twos, instead of fours.

#### ONE MAN'S WORK.

There is one man in the legislature who deserves special mention in this connection, and that is Samuel Russell, of Deseronto, M. P. P. for East Hastings. He is a warm friend of proportional representation, and has on three occasions introduced a bill into the house to give municipalities power to use proportional representation in their elections.

This has had the effect of familiar-

izing members with the proportional principle. Besides this, Mr. Russell's quiet and persistent work during the present session in committee and otherwise, has had much to do with the success of the daring innovation—as many consider it—of cumulative voting. The innovation is in imperfect shape at present, but its great value consists in a recognition of the proportional principle and in making a beginning in the right direction.

#### THE POPULAR VOTE.

Another piece of progressive legislation may be mentioned in this connection. The municipal council of a county, a township, a city, a town or a village of this province may now legally pass a by-law for the submission to a vote of the electors, at any annual election, of any question not specifically authorized by statute. It has been so common a thing to submit questions to a popular vote, that many readers will be surprised to learn that this was illegal, and could have been stopped by a judicial injunction, except in the case of money by-laws and others specifically named by statute. The legislature at its session just closed has removed this anomaly, and given a greater measure of popular self-government.

One effect of the change is that it is now quite practicable to obtain the referendum and initiative—sometimes called direct legislation—in municipal matters. This can be done through an organized system of pledging candidates, which has been tried in Toronto with great success. This is not the place to give details; but anyone interested in the working of the people's veto and direct initiative can obtain details by writing to Mr. James Simpson, 42 Albany avenue, Toronto. Mr. Simpson is secretary of the Toronto Federation for Majority Rule.

ROBERT TYSON.

#### SONGS OF THE SHIPYARD.

"Mother, may I go out to combine?"  
"Yes, my darling daughter;  
Sell your bonds at eighty-nine,  
And fill your stocks with water."

Lewis and Charles went up the Street,  
With forty millions of water;  
The floods swept Lewis off his feet,  
And Charles came grumbling after.

Sing a song of sixpence,  
Here's the stock to buy!  
Four and twenty shipyards  
Baked in a pie.

When the pie was opened  
There was no end of troubles;  
Nothing in that pretty dish  
But iridescent bubbles.  
—N. Y. Evening Post.