

according to its numbers would have resulted in the return of seventy-five Democrats and thirty-six Republicans. But the actual result was that not a single Republican was elected, and nearly one-third of the electorate was left utterly unrepresented. Then in Maine, in 1869, the Democrats polled 38,502 votes against 55,680 polled by Republicans. The Democrats, however, elected thirty-seven members and the Republicans two hundred and forty-three, whilst a return proportionate to their numbers in the electorate would have given the Democrats one hundred and fourteen and the Republicans only one hundred and sixty-six representatives.\* Then in the States' elections in 1866 the Republicans polled 2,260,882 votes, and Democrats 1,888,398. According to these figures the former were entitled to have one hundred and seven, and the latter seventy-seven representatives in Congress. But the actual Congress consisted of one hundred and thirty-eight Republicans, and forty-six Democrats, giving the former party thirty-one more than they were entitled to claim. And in the State Legislatures, on the same vote, Republicans were entitled to 2,072 members, and the Democrats to 1,460. But the actual result was the return of 2,582 Republicans, and nine hundred and fifty Democrats.† As to Canadian experience, let Mr. Blake speak. In his speech at Aurora, that gentleman expressed himself on the subject as follows:—

'In Nova Scotia in 1877 there was a bitterly fought contest on the question of union or anti-union. The result was that only Mr. Tupper was returned from the whole province, and that by a very narrow majority, as a representative of the union sentiment. I have analyzed the statistics of that election, and I find that the real strength exhibited at the polls would have given as nearly as I can estimate, seven to the union side instead of one, and only twelve to the Anti-Unionists instead of eighteen. Take Nova Scotia again in 1874. The returns gave nineteen to the Govern-

ment, one Independent, and one Opposition, Mr. Tupper again. I will give him the Independent man again, because I think he belongs to that quarter. The popular vote on that occasion would, as nearly as I can judge, have given eight out of the twenty-one to that side instead of two, and but thirteen to the Government instead of nineteen. Our principle of government is that the majority must decide. Upon what is it founded? Well, you cannot give a reason except this, that it is necessary. It is the only way in which government can be carried on at all. But if the minority must on this ground of necessity bow to the voice of the majority, the majority is all the more bound to see that the minority has its fair share of representation, its fair weight in the councils of the country. The majority must recollect that it may become the minority one day, and that then it would like to have its fair share in those councils, and such disparities as these are not likely to reduce a feeling of cheerful submission on the part of the minority. In Ontario, in the election of 1867—I cannot, of course, be precisely accurate in these matters because there were some acclamation returns, and there are other difficulties in making an exact calculation—but there were eighty-two members to be returned. The whole popular vote would have resulted in a slight majority for the Liberal party over the Government, but discarding fractions, the result would give forty-one members to each. The Government, however, carried forty-nine seats to thirty-three, and so the Liberal party did not obtain its fair share in the government of the country. A turn of four hundred and eight votes would have taken seventeen seats from the Government and given them to the Liberal party. We say we have representation by population, but we have not representation by population unless the population has a representation in the Legislature equivalent to its strength at the polls. In the late election of 1874, the popular vote, although very strongly in favour of the Government, was by no means so decided as the returns showed. And besides this, one hundred and seventy eight votes turned the other way would have changed sixteen seats, or thirty-two on a division, and this in a province where over 200,000 votes would, if

\*See Sterne's 'Republican Government and Personal Representation,' pp. 71-2.

† See Report of the Constitutional Convention of New York on Personal Representation, p. 13-14. By Simon Sterne. Published by A. Simpson & Co., 1867. Later elections would certainly show similar incongruities, but I have not got the returns.