

Dominion Elections, 1882.

EDWARD BLAKE

AND

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES,

ANTI-MONOPOLY

AND

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

PAMPHLET No. 5:

Hon. Edward Blake's Address.

The Gerrymandering Act,

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THE ADDRESS

—OF THE—

LIBERAL LEADER

TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF
WEST DURHAM :

GENTLEMEN,

The Government, which but a brief space since was craving a longer trial before judgment, has prematurely dissolved Parliament, and precipitated a general election.

For what reason? Because it felt that it would be weaker next year than it is to-day, and that its only chance of victory lay in a surprise! But it has not ventured to appeal to the constituency of 1878.

IT HAS PACKED THE JURY.

By an iniquitous measure it has concentrated in a few districts large numbers of Liberal voters, in order to weaken the effective Reform strength in many ridings, to impair the prospects of election of leading Liberals, and, if possible, to turn a minority of the people into a majority in Parliament.

For these purposes it has disregarded the county bounds, disturbed the electoral districts, and violated long-standing associations of friendship, business, and convenience throughout the greater part of Ontario.

But even this was not enough.

Repealing the law which makes sheriffs and registrars the return-

ing-officers, it has taken power to appoint where it pleases its own nominees to do its work, and to re-enact the scenes of ten years ago when men defeated at the polls in Muskoka and West Peterboro' were made into members of Parliament by the will of these officials.

Such acts are subversive of those principles of justice, equality and fair play on which our constitution rests, and which give a moral sanction to the laws.

They show that Government, notwithstanding all its boasts, feels itself beaten in a fair fight, and so attempts foul play.

We are appealing to all good men, without distinction of party, to rebuke this gross abuse of power, and to show its authors that though they may exchange townships and cut up counties as they like, the votes of the electors on whom they count cannot be transferred to the supporters of iniquities like these.

We are calling not only for an enthusiastic, vigorous and organized effort on the part of Reformers, but also for the support of many, heretofore indifferent or hostile, who will yet decline to become accomplices in this transaction. And our call is answered! Such a spirit has been aroused among the people at large as I have not seen before—such a spirit as warrants the belief that the attempt will fail of its base purpose, and will recoil with just severity on the heads of the concocters and supporters of the plot!

BROKEN PLEDGES AND ADDED BURDENS.

On what do the Government ask a renewal of your confidence!

On a record of broken pledges and of added burdens.

They promised that they would not increase the rate of taxation; they have enormously increased it.

They denounced the former scale of expenditure; they have largely raised it.

They declaimed against the additions which were made to the public charge in order to carry out a policy and engagements settled under their own former rule, and left by them as legacies to their successors in 1873; they have greatly added to that charge, and have, as far as in them lay, ensured the recurrence of a period of severe financial difficulty and distress.

They boast of an increased revenue; due, so far as they are concerned, to increased taxation only.

They boast of an enlarged prosperity ; due not to them, but to the general revival of trade throughout the world, to large products at home, and high prices abroad.

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY CONTRACT.

They pride themselves on their Pacific Railway contract. I condemn that bargain as improper, being made in secret, without public tender, contrary to the existing policy of the people and of Parliament, and opposed to the provisions of the law. I condemn it as extravagant, since the enterprise will cost us sixty million dollars and twenty-five million acres of the choicest lands, while the road is to belong to the company which will realize the cost of its part of the work out of its land and money subsidies.

I condemn it as outrageous, in conferring on the company a practical monopoly, for twenty years, of the trade of our North-West Territories, and large privileges and exemptions very valuable to them and still more detrimental to the public.

I condemn it as indefensible, being consummated in the face of a tender to perform the same obligations for three million dollars less money, for three million acres less land, without the monopoly of trade without the exemptions from taxation, and on other conditions much more favorable than those of the contract.

I condemn it as premature, since the true policy was to provide for the rapid completion of the line from Thunder Bay and for the immediate construction of railways through the prairie, and by securing the early development and settlement of the North-West to give value to our lands and a traffic for the road before contracting for the completion of the eastern and western ends.

The progress of the North-West is due to the work we did and proposed to do.

The difficulties and drawbacks which exist—very serious now and far more serious in the future—are due to the obnoxious terms of the contract.

One short year has vindicated our policy ! Who can doubt that, had it been adopted, we could to-day make a bargain for the undertaking infinitely better than that to which we are now committed ? The Government and Parliament declined to give you an opportunity of

deciding on the question. We have now to ask the popular judgment on the men who refused that opportunity and consummated that contract.

THE TRADE QUESTION.

You know well that I do not approve of needless restrictions on our liberty of exchanging what we have for what we want, and do not see that any substantial application of the restrictive principle has been, or can be, made in favor of the great interests of the mechanic, the laborer, the farmer, the lumberman, the ship-builder, or the fisherman. But you know also that I have fully recognized the fact that we are obliged to raise yearly a great sum, made greater by the obligations imposed on us by this Government; and that we must continue to provide this yearly sum mainly by import duties, laid to a great extent on goods similar to those which can be manufactured here; and that it results as a necessary incident of our settled fiscal system that there must be a large, and, as I believe, in the view of moderate protectionists, an ample advantage to the home manufacturer.

Our adversaries wish to present to you an issue as between the present tariff and absolute free trade.

That is not the true issue.

Free trade is, as I have repeatedly explained, for us impossible; and the issue is whether the present tariff is perfect, or defective and unjust.

I believe it to be in some important respects defective and unjust.

We expressed our views last session in four motions, which declare that articles of such prime necessity as fuel and breadstuffs should be free; that the sugar duties should be so adjusted as to relieve the consumer from some part of the enormous extra price he is now liable to pay to a few refiners; that the exorbitant and unequal duties on the lower grades of cottons and woollens should be so changed as to make them fairer to the masses, who now pay on the cheapest goods taxes about twice as great in proportion as those which the rich pay on the finest goods; and that the duties on such materials as iron, which is in universal use, should be reduced, so as to enable the home manufacturer, to whom it is a raw material, to produce a cheaper article for the benefit of his home consumer and the encouragement of his foreign trade.

I believe that by changes of the character I have indicated monopoly and extravagant prices would be checked, a greater measure of fair play and justice to all classes would be secured, and the burden of taxation would be better adjusted to the capacity of the people who are to pay. Depend upon it, a day will come when by sharp and bitter experience we shall learn the truth; and many who even now applaud will then condemn these particular incidents of the tariff.

But I believe that our brief experience has already convinced many former supporters of the need of amendment, and that a majority of the intelligent electors are in favor of such modifications in the direction I have pointed out as may be made with a due regard to the legitimate interests of all concerned.

THE NORTH-WEST LAND POLICY.

I challenge the North-West land policy of the Government, which has in various forms given facilities for speculation, whereby great areas of the choicest lands are falling into the hands of middlemen, who will hold them till they exact from the immigrant large profits, thus at once retarding the development of the country and lessening the prosperity of the settler.

Our motto is, "THE LAND FOR THE SETTLER; THE PRICE FOR THE PUBLIC."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The Report of the Civil Service Commission shows that the existing system has resulted in bad appointments, extravagant salaries, the retention of unfit officers, the discouragement of many deserving men, and great injury to the public. It shows that the true remedy is the abolition of political patronage, the substitution of appointments by merit, and the reorganization of the system.

Agreeing in the main with these views, I believe that the new Act which proceeds on other lines, will not remedy the admitted evils.

Provision is needed to prevent improper practices in connection with tenders and contracts for public works; but the Government has thwarted such legislation.

Those who have not forgotten the events of 1872 will know the reason why.

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS.

Our provincial rights are amongst the chief jewels of our constitution; and on their preservation rest the prosperity and the permanence of the Confederation.

Of these the most valuable—that indeed on which all else depends—is the right of effective local legislation on local affairs.

This right has been grievously infringed by the disallowance of the Streams Act, which dealt with a subject purely local, and in no wise conflicted with Dominion interests.

Its disallowance, on the ground that in the opinion of the Federal Cabinet it was not a proper Act, creates a dangerous precedent, and asserts a power destructive of the autonomy of the Provinces.

The majority of the late Parliament sanctioned, while we denounced, that disallowance.

It is now for the people to decide whether they will abandon or regain their threatened liberties.

THE ONTARIO BOUNDARIES.

The respective Governments some years ago submitted the boundary question to the judgment of a commission of eminent, able, and impartial men. The fact was communicated to and discussed in Parliament, and although several sessions elapsed no adverse motion was proposed. On the contrary, Parliament without dissent voted the moneys necessary to carry on the reference, and thus adopted the policy.

It was the received opinion that the natural, reasonable and customary mode of settling an international question by arbitration would not be thereafter questioned.

The award was made in 1878; the present Government in 1879 declined to state its policy on the question; in 1880 it promoted the appointment of a partisan Committee of Inquiry; in 1881 it brought Manitoba into the controversy by its mode of enlarging her eastern limits; then it announced the opinion that Ontario did not comprise even her old settlements in the neighborhood of Fort William; and at length, in 1882, it took courage to declare to Parliament that the award should be disregarded in order to a struggle to contract, if possible, within those narrow bounds the limits of our Province.

The majority in the late Parliament has sanctioned, while we have condemned this action. It is for the people to decide whether the reference and award shall be repudiated or respected.

REFORM OF THE SENATE.

The Senate is constituted on the principle of appointment for life by the Administration of the day, thus creating a legislative body responsible to no one, without provision to secure effective Federal representation, or the necessary degree of harmony between the two Chambers.

I think this plan defective, and out of keeping with the true principles of popular government as at this time developed.

I do not propose that the Provinces should be deprived of the right, which many value, of Federal representation in the present proportions, in a second chamber; but I would advocate the reduction of its numbers, and the election by the people of its members. Our own experience in Old Canada gives proof of the wisdom of this plan.

THE TRUE NATIONAL POLICY.

I am in favor of a true national policy and of every measure tending to the real progress of our country and the fulfilment of its great destiny.

The other day I gave my heart and voice for the assertion of our right, as members of the Empire, to express our views on the subject of Ireland, a truly Imperial question, beyond our legislative competence, indeed, but in which, notwithstanding, we have from many points of view a most substantial interest; and I congratulate you on the action to which Parliament agreed.

It is a main ingredient in our national progress that we should secure a larger trade and a freer access to the markets of the world.

Our efforts in this direction have hitherto been abortive.

I believe that a fuller freedom to manage for ourselves this part of our own affairs would give a better prospect of success; and, as advocates of a truly national policy, we have recorded these views in a motion, which was defeated in Parliament, but for which I ask a verdict at the polls.

Gentlemen, the occasion is a grave one.

To the people is now remitted the opportunity of judging of the conduct of its rulers and of settling the lines on which public affairs shall be conducted, for five years at any rate, and mayhap for a much longer time.

I hope to be able, before the close of the election, to explain at greater length my opinions on public affairs; but I have thought it right, at the earliest moment, to state frankly my views on some important questions as fully as is compatible within the limits of an address.

I cannot expect every one, even of my own supporters, to concur entirely in every sentiment I express.

Men's minds are not so constituted that one can hope to secure such absolute and complete assent.

It is on a large, general, and comprehensive view that we must act. If in the main you differ from me, it is your duty to reject me as unsuited for your service; and I shall accept your decision with unfeigned respect and unabated friendship.

But if in the main you value the principles and approve the policy I have announced; if you are prepared to condemn the fraud which would cheat our people of a fair representation, the wrong which would deprive us of our Provincial rights, the injustice which would repudiate an international award, the crime which has placed our future in the North-West in the hands of a great monopoly; the additions, in breach of solemn pledge, to taxation, expenditure, and public charge; the schemes which substitute for the good of the masses and for fair taxation, the aggrandizement of the few and the rich and the oppression of the many and the poor; if you are prepared to give your voices for freedom and justice, for retrenchment and reform, for fair play and equal rights, for real progress and true national development—then I ask for your support, and will do what in me lies to justify your decision.

And in the hope and belief that such will be your verdict,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful servant,

EDWARD BLAKE.

TORONTO, May 22, 1882.

THE JOHN - A - MANDERING ACT.

A Deadly Blow Struck at Representative Government in Canada.

Sir John A. Macdonald's Crowning Villany—A Conspiracy to Make a Minority in the Country a Majority in Parliament—Ruthless Violation of Municipal Boundaries and Lifelong Associations—"Hiving the Grits."

Nothing has contributed more to the bad eminence of the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald than their reckless violation of provincial rights, and particularly those of Ontario. This province has been the chief object of their enmity ; no opportunity have they let slip when they could attack her power and restrict her liberties ; no insult has been too gross for them to offer to her people. Not content with robbing her of half her territory, or with denying her jurisdiction over her own rivers and streams, they have dared—in their last, their crowning villany—to level a deadly blow at the very basis of her free representative system.

Just before a general election, they attempt to stifle the voice of a people about to turn against them ; conscious of their guilt, they pack the jury about to try them ; afraid of the enemy, they prepare the battle-ground, hoping to take them at a disadvantage.

By concentrating the Liberal vote in a few ridings, in order to weaken it in many doubtful ones and thus to better the chances of their supporters, they hope to turn a minority in the country into a majority in Parliament. To attain this object, they have disregarded county boundaries, the convenience of the electors, and their lifelong associations of business and friendship.

The Gerrymandering Act is a dead set on Ontario ; it is levelled at her and her alone ; it applies a rule to her which it does not to any other province ; on the pretence of equalizing her population, it rearranges the bounds of over fifty of her constituencies, while all the other provinces are virtually untouched.

This in itself is a sufficient reason why the people of Ontario, even fettered as they are, should resent at the polls the insult thus put upon them, and everywhere reject the authors or abettors of it. And we believe they will.

THE REASON FOR THE BILL.

By the Act of Confederation the Province of Quebec was allotted 65 members, and the Province of Ontario 82. It was provided, however, that Ontario and the Maritime Provinces should receive such additional members, according to the population, as each census should show them to be entitled to, the representation of Quebec being fixed, and being accepted as the unit of measurement. In 1872, Ontario, on this principle, received six additional members; and the recent census having shown her to be entitled to four more, the Government brought down the Redistribution Bill with the avowed object of providing for them. But instead of simply creating four new constituencies in the more thickly settled portions of the Province, they make this opportunity the excuse for revolutionizing the entire representation of the Province, changing the face of the political map, cutting and carving up the constituencies into all shapes and sizes, violating municipal boundaries everywhere, and creating gross and glaring inequalities; all for the purpose of "hiving the Grits" in a few constituencies, and making the rest safe for Tory candidates.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF READJUSTMENT,

and the principle which commends itself to the common sense of everybody, is thus stated by Mr. Blake:

"New seats should, as a rule, be given to the population to which new seats are due. It is fit and proper that some regard should be paid to this increase, and to the use of the power given to Parliament of having additional seats to bestow, to remedy, so far as practicable, the most gross and glaring inequalities at that time existing in the representation. Adopting that principle, which I advocated ten years ago, I agreed then, as I agree to-day, that the principle from which the hon. gentleman has wholly departed, that electoral representation, was not a mere geographical term, and that it was of the last importance for various cogent reasons; that the municipal county boundaries should be respected, and that electoral districts should not be carved out of various portions of different counties."

This view was assented to by Sir John Macdonald himself in 1872, in the following words:

"With respect to the rural constituencies, the desire of the Government has been to preserve the representation for counties and subdivisions of counties as much as possible. It is considered objectionable to make representation a mere geographical term. It is desired as much as possible to keep the representation within the county, so that each county that is a municipality of Ontario should be represented, and if it becomes large enough, that it should be divided into ridings. . . . I believe the House generally agrees with me that county organization should be preserved as much as possible. I have observed this principle, and no county in Ontario has been split up."

The application of this principle in adding to Ontario the four new seats—or rather six, because the Government's proposal involved the consolidation of Niagara with Lincoln, and Cornwall with Stormont—demanded hardly a touch upon the political map of the Province. But Sir John Macdonald is never hampered by principles when he has an object to attain; and his object on this occasion was not so much to give Ontario four new members, as to rearrange the political map in such a manner as to secure for him the largest number of supporters.

ASHAMED OF THEIR WORK.

It is impossible for any one who was not an actual spectator of the scenes which attended the passage of this measure through Parliament to realize the conscious guilt which the Government and their sup-

porters displayed every time they were obliged to acknowledge the paternity of the monster. From beginning to end their chief effort was to smuggle it through as quietly and quickly as possible. It was kept hidden away until within a few days of the close of the session; it was then introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald, with only as many words of explanation as he could not avoid; on its second reading he did not offer a single word in its defence, and forced the House to sit all night to carry it through: the amendments of the Opposition, aimed at the more glaring iniquities of the measure, were voted down, one after another, in silence; some of the Government's supporters, however, could not swallow it, and shirked the votes; and only the more brazen members of the party, such as Bowell, Plumb, Rykert, and Orton, dared to do more than swallow the nauseating dose in silence.

HOW THE BILL WAS CONCOCTED.

No wonder they were all heartily ashamed of the vile thing, and anxious to get it out of sight as quickly as possible. For months previously the Government had been concocting it in secret, with the assistance of Tory members, Tory candidates, Tory manipulators and Tory wire-pullers, from all parts of the Province. Day after day during the session these men were infesting the corridors of the House of Commons, pushing their little schemes; deputation after deputation saw the Ministry in secret conclave, and chalked out their maps so as to best secure their party ends; the measure was submitted to caucus, and carefully canvassed there; and finally it was presented to the light. But after it was introduced, the Government were found to have blundered in some instances; and forthwith there was another hastening of the Tory wire-pullers and manipulators to Ottawa; the secret conclaves were renewed; complaints came from many hands; and the Government made a large number of changes more satisfactory to the Tories and more drastic upon the Grits.

ONTARIO MADE THE SCAPEGOAT.

The plea, and the only plea, set up for the wholesale violation of the municipal boundaries of counties—for detaching townships, towns or villages from the counties they naturally belong to, and adding them to others which are foreign to them—is an alleged wish to equalize the population.

But the Government's nice sense of justice, strange to say, does not extend beyond Ontario. There is, it appears, to be one law, one standard, for her, and another for the rest of the Dominion. Ontario is to come under the rigorous hand of the equalizer, while all the other provinces are to be left in a most appalling condition of inequality—such is this paternal Government's tender solicitude on Ontario's behalf.

Let us just see how the case stands. According to the last census, every 20,908 people are entitled to one representative. How are the other Provinces "equalized" according to this standard?

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The county of Queens, with a population of 42,111, returns two members, or one member for 24,055; Kings, with a population of 26,433, returns two members, or one member for 13,216; Prince, with a population of 34,347, returns two members, or one member for 17,173.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Inverness returns a member for 25,651 people ; the adjoining county, Victoria, returns one for 12,470 ; Halifax, city and county, with a population of 67,917, returns two members ; Lunenburg, with a population of 28,583, returns one ; and Queens, with a population of 10,577, returns one. Thus one man in Queens has nearly three times as much political power as a man in Lunenburg, and more than three times as much as a man in Halifax. Shelburne, with a population of 14,913, returns one member ; thus, Shelburne and Queens together, with 25,490, have two members, while Lunenburg, with 28,583, has only one !

NEW BRUNSWICK.

The County of York, with 30,397 people, returns one member ; Westmoreland, with 37,719, one member ; Charlotte, with 26,089, one member ; Northumberland, with 25,909, one member. On the other hand, Queens gets one member, with 14,027, or less than half of York or Westmoreland ; Sunbury gets one, with 6,651 ; and Restigouche gets one, with 7,058. Thus two members are returned by 13,709, against one by 37,719 in Westmoreland, and one by 30,397 in York. Add Sunbury, Restigouche, and Queens, and you have 28,026 returning three members, against one by 37,719 in Westmoreland !! Nowhere in Ontario have such inequalities as these existed.

QUEBEC.

Rimouski, with 33,791 people, returns one member ; Beauce, with 32,020, one ; Drummond and Arthabaska, with 37,360, one ; Chicoutimi, with 32,409, one ; Ottawa, with 49,452, one ; making a total of six members returned by 225,091, or an average of 37,515 to a member. Now, let us look at the other side of the picture. The following counties have each one member: Montmorency, with 12,322 ; Three Rivers, with 9,296 ; St. Maurice, with 12,986 ; Montcalm, with 12,766 ; Jacques Cartier, with 12,345 ; Laval, with 9,462 ; Sherbrooke, with 12,221 ; Chambly, with 10,858 ; Napierville, with 10,511 ; Soulanges, with 10,230 ; and others showing similar results. We find thirteen constituencies in the Province of Quebec, with an average of 11,421 to a member, and thirteen others, with an average of 31,422 to a member !

Sir John A. Macdonald's sense of justice, and of the political rights of the people, is not comprehensive enough to touch these glaring inequalities. He does not, evidently, fancy that the people of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, will not be content that the blessing of "equalization" should be lavished on Ontario alone.

ONTARIO PUNISHED FOR DEMANDING REP. BY POP.

"Oh," says Sir John Macdonald, "Ontario is the only province that demanded representation by population, and we are giving it to her." To call this vile thing representation by population, is to add insult to injury. It is almost enough to make those noble men who struggled long and hard for that glorious principle, against the opposition of the Tory party, turn in their graves. Sir John Macdonald, as everybody knows, was the inveterate enemy of rep. by pop. until popular opinion forced him to accept it ; by this gerrymandering outrage he hopes to obtain a miserable revenge ; he hopes to chastise Ontario for displaying such a free and independent spirit ; and he taunts her by saying, "I am giving you what you demanded."

HOW ONTARIO IS "EQUALIZED."

Has he done so? If Sir John Macdonald thinks representation by population a good thing, a glance at the population references will show that he has made a highly successful attempt to resist the dictates of his conscience.

Take eight of the small constituencies—South Grenville, with a population of 13,526; North Leeds, 12,423 (having actually been reduced by about 500 from its previous population); Brockville, 15,207; Frontenac, 14,993; Kingston, 14,091; West Peterboro', 13,310; Ottawa, with two seats, 27,412; making a total of 110,962 persons with eight seats, or an average of 13,870. In the same district is to be found Russell, with 25,000; Lennox, with 16,314; Addington, with 23,470; and Frontenac, with 14,993.

Take seven other small seats so as to get a larger average—South Wentworth, 15,599 as readjusted; Monck, 15,940, which has been readjusted by being reduced; Peel, 16,387; Cardwell, 16,770; Lennox, 16,314; East Hastings, 17,315; West Hastings, 17,400; total, 115,665, to which add the population for the eight smaller seats, and you have a total of 226,627 for fifteen seats, or an average of 15,108.

Now take eight of the largest constituencies—Kent, 28,112; East Simcoe, 27,185; South Wellington, 26,618; East Elgin, 26,303; North Perth, 26,538; North Simcoe, 26,120; North Huron, 26,098; North Wellington, 23,094; a total for the eight of 212,998, an average in the eight largest of 26,624, against an average in the eight smallest of 13,870!

Taking the seven next highest constituencies, we find the following: West Bruce, 23,618; South Grey, 25,703; East Grey, 25,909; Russell, 25,802; South Oxford, 24,793; North Oxford, 24,390; East Middlesex, 24,552, or a total of 176,023; to which add the eight already quoted, and you have an aggregate for the fifteen ridings of 369,050, as against 226,627 for the other fifteen, or an average of 25,936 each (almost 26,000 persons) against an average of 15,108 persons in the smallest constituencies! No less than 162,423 persons are left unrepresented in the fifteen large districts as compared with the fifteen smaller ones!!

SPECIMEN GERRYMANDERS.

Let us glance at some of the changes made in particular counties. Two Tory townships are taken from Carleton, a strong Tory county, and added to North Lanark, to convert a Government minority into a majority. South Lanark is strengthened by taking away Smith's Falls, which in 1878 polled a majority of ninety-seven Reform votes, and adding it to North Leeds, which in turn is made to give up the Reform township of Kitley. To effect these changes the "Grits" are "hived" in Brockville.

In the Yorks, the Ontarios, and the Simcoes, the municipal boundaries have been utterly disregarded. West Ontario is made up of two municipalities from North York, one partly from North York and partly from East York, one from South Ontario and two from North Ontario. South Ontario is changed by adding the township of Pickering to West Ontario, and by taking Reach and Port Perry from North Ontario; and North Ontario is changed by adding Port Perry and Reach to South Ontario, by adding Uxbridge and Uxbridge Village to West Ontario, and by taking Oakley, Macaulay, Morrison, Ryde, Maclean and Bracebridge from Muskoka, and leaving Scugog Island, whose electors will have to travel seven

miles through South Ontario to reach their own division! East Simcoe is made up of seven municipalities from North Simcoe, and five from Muskoka. South Simcoe has transferred Bradford and West Gwillimbury to North York, and the old North Riding of Simcoe has transferred seven municipalities to East Simcoe. North York has transferred Newmarket, Stouffville, and Whitechurch to West Ontario, and has added West Gwillimbury and Bradford from South Simcoe; and East York has transferred Stouffville to West Ontario.

HOW THE GRITS ARE "HIVED."

Thus the whole face of these constituencies is changed in order to strengthen the Government in all except where the "Grits" are "hived." The political effect hoped for, on the basis of 1878, is to weaken the Reform interest in South Ontario by 198 votes, in North Ontario by 260, in Muskoka by 163, in East York by 42, in North York by 184, and in North Simcoe by 237! East Simcoe is composed of twelve municipalities from North Simcoe and Muskoka, of which eleven had Reform majorities and one a tie, giving a total Reform majority of 558; and West Ontario is composed of six Reform municipalities, giving a majority of 583!

Let us next look at the changed complexion of another group, comprising Lincoln, Niagara, Monck, the Wentworths, the Brants and Haldimand. Niagara being abolished, is of course added to Lincoln, and then the manipulation begins. Lincoln and Niagara are made 23,400 instead of 22,963; Monck is reduced from 17,145 to 15,940; South Wentworth is increased from 14,993 to 15,539; South Brant is changed from 21,975 to 20,482; North Brant is changed from 11,894 to 17,645; and Haldimand, which is below the average, numbering 18,619, is still further reduced to 17,660! What is hoped to be effected by this "equalization?" From Lincoln, Grimsby Village, with a Reform majority of 6, and Grimsby Township, with a Reform majority of 64, are withdrawn, and Niagara, with a Tory majority of two, is added, making a net weakening of the Reformers by 68 votes. From Monck, Caistor is taken and Cayuga is added, the Reformers being weakened by 32 votes. From South Wentworth, Ancaster has been withdrawn and Grimsby and Caistor added, the Reform majority being thus weakened by 177. In South Brant the Reform majority is weakened, by the addition of Tory townships, by 241 votes. The "Grits" of this group are "hived" in North Brant, already safe, where the Reform majority is increased to 723!

MORE MASTERLY "HIVING."

The next group is composed of North and South Norfolk, North and South Oxford, and North and South Perth. What are the actual results of the changes in the population here? Old North Norfolk had 17,219 of a population, as against the new population of 20,293; old South Norfolk had a population of 16,294 against the new of 19,039. South Oxford was too large before, having a population of 24,732. It is equalized by being increased to 24,778! North Oxford had 25,361, which is reduced to 24,390. South Perth's old population was 20,778; it is increased to 21,608. North Perth had 34,207, and it has no less than 26,538! To accomplish this, municipal bounds are, as in all other cases, wantonly violated. The result intended by these changes is to strengthen the Government in South Norfolk and North Perth, and to weaken the Opposition members in North Norfolk and South Perth.

the "Grits" being "hived" in North and South Oxford. In North Oxford, which in the last contest gave a majority of 903 Reform votes, that majority is increased to 1,165 !!

In the Wellingtons, the North Riding is strengthened for the Government by the addition of Wallace from North Perth, and by the transference of Maryborough from the North to the Centre Riding, where the "Grits" are "hived" in this case.

THE MANIPULATION IN WESTERN ONTARIO.

In the Middlesexes and London, we find the following change : North Middlesex, of which the old population was 21,239, has a new population of 21,265 ; East Middlesex has its old population of 30,600 reduced to 24,552 ; West Middlesex, whose former population was 21,494, has now but 19,491 ; and South Middlesex is given 18,889 ; while London is left as it is. The political effect of these changes was to increase the Tory strength in North Middlesex by 120 votes and in East Middlesex by 258 votes, to weaken the Reform majority in the West, and to "hive the Grits" in South Middlesex, with an aggregate majority of 581 ! Evidently fearing to hazard the North Riding with so small an increase as 19 votes, as in the first draft of the bill, the Government, before the third reading, detached the village of Exeter from South Huron, where the "Grits" are "hived," and added it to North Middlesex, thus benefitting the Tory candidate there by over 100 more votes ! !

In Essex, Kent, Elgin and Lambton, townships and villages have been traded about with the purpose of weakening the Reform vote in Bothwell by 478, and in East Elgin by 41, by decreasing the Tory strength, supposed to be superabundant, in Essex and Kent ; and Lambton has been divided into two constituencies in such a way that it is hoped to return two supporters of the Government !

Huron and Bruce have both been most ruthlessly gerrymandered. Bruce has been divided into three Ridings, in the hope that the North and the East Ridings will return Conservatives, while the Reform strength, which they give up for the purpose, is "hived" in the West Riding, with a net majority of 966 ! The same rule is applied in the Hurons, where the Ridings have been entirely rearranged, and where a Reform majority of about 800 is given to the South, while the West is expected to return a Conservative with a majority of 108, and the East another, with a majority of 174.

THE NET POLITICAL RESULTS.

With regard to violations of municipal bounds, the following are the net results : Townships are removed from Carleton and added to North Lanark ; one township is removed from Lanark to Leeds and Grenville ; townships are removed from North York to West Ontario ; townships are taken from Muskoka to North Ontario ; from Muskoka to West Simcoe ; from South Simcoe to North York ; from Monck to Wentworth ; from Wentworth to Brant ; from Brant to Oxford ; from Oxford to Brant ; from Haldimand to Monck ; from Perth to Oxford ; from Huron to Perth ; from Perth to Wellington ; from Oxford to Norfolk ; from Elgin to Middlesex ; from Kent to Essex ; from Oxford to Middlesex ; from Kent to Bothwell ; from Bothwell to Elgin ; from Huron to Middlesex ; making in all over twenty changes of municipal county boundaries ! !

HOW THE REFORMERS HAVE BEEN WEAKENED AND THE TORIES STRENGTHENED.

In the following "fighting ridings," where contests may be expected to take place, the Reformers are weakened and the Tories strengthened by the gerrymander: North Lanark, South Lanark, Lincoln, Brockville, Monck, South Wentworth, North Ontario, South Ontario, Muskoka, North York, East York, North Simcoe, North Norfolk, South Norfolk, North Perth, South Perth, North Middlesex, East Middlesex, West Middlesex, South Wellington, Centre Wellington, North Wellington, East Huron, West Huron, North Bruce, East Bruce, South Grey, Bothwell, East Elgin, and Haldimand.

The Tories are weakened where they think it will do them no harm, because they are so strong—in Carleton, South Simcoe, East Grey, North Simcoe, and Kent—in order to help other ridings, which are weak.

The Reformers are given, for the purpose of "hiving" them, West Bruce, South Middlesex, West Ontario, and East Simcoe; and their strength is uselessly concentrated in North Brant, South Oxford, North Oxford, West Ontario, East Simcoe, South Middlesex, West Bruce, South Huron, and West Elgin. The Reform majorities, applying the figures of 1878 to these ten constituencies, are as follows: North Brant, 723; South Oxford, 688; North Oxford, 1,165; West Ontario, 583; East Simcoe, 558; South Middlesex, 581; West Bruce, 956; South Huron, 446; West Elgin, 463—a total of 6,155, or an average of 615 for ten ridings!!

TORIES WHO HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED.

As one of the purposes of this nefarious scheme was to fortify some of the present Tory members in their seats, and as the work could not very well have been done without their assistance and advice, it will be well to see who these gentlemen are, and what they have done for themselves. The following are some of the more prominent instances:

John Haggart, M.P., South Lanark, with a majority of 324, had Smith's Falls taken off his riding because it gave a Reform majority of 87, making his position, of course, that much stronger.

Darby Bergin, M.P., of Cornwall, with 27 of a majority, had the county of Stormont added to his riding, with a Conservative majority of 197.

George Jackson, M.P., South Grey, with a majority of 81, receives an additional strength of 153 votes.

Thomas Farrow, M.P., North Huron, with a majority of 84, is made stronger by detaching two villages from his riding, that gave a Reform majority of 41.

Timothy Coughlin, M.P., of North Middlesex, with a majority of 8, is supposed to be made quite safe by removals and additions of townships, giving a net Reform majority of 271.

L. McCallum, M.P., of Monck, with a majority of 32, is strengthened by 23 additional votes.

W. Wallace, M.P., of South Norfolk, with a majority of 17, is strengthened by 94 votes.

Mr. Hesson, M.P., with a majority of 83, is further strengthened by the addition of Conservative votes.

Dr. Orton, of Centre Wellington, with a majority of 6, in spite of all his kite-flying, had to look for the substantial addition of 66 votes in order to make it comfortable to face the music.

Jamez Drew, M.P., North Wellington, with a majority of 108, was further secured by 84 votes; and yet, with this added strength, he has deserted the field and sought the surer repose of the bench!

Dr. Strange, of North York, with a majority of 10, had nearly 200 added to his strength, but he also has shown the white feather.

A. Boulton, M.P., with a majority of 66, is strengthened by 43 votes.

James Shaw, M.P., of South Bruce, with a majority of 75, is strengthened by 461 votes.

REFORMERS WHO HAVE BEEN WEAKENED.

The cowardice and petty spite of Sir John Macdonald were never more thoroughly displayed than by the special efforts he made in this bill to strike down many of the most prominent and useful Liberal members of Parliament. We give a few instances :

Mr. Patterson, South Brant, with a majority of 198 in 1878, is placed in a minority of 43.

Mr. Glen, with a majority of 206, has 198 of that majority taken off.

Hon. David Mills, of Bothwell, with a majority of 286, is placed in a minority of 249.

Mr. Trow, of South Perth, with a majority of 77, is placed in a minority of 118.

Mr. Charlton, of North Norfolk, and Mr. Ross, of West Middlesex, have their positions weakened.

Sir Richard Cartwright's constituency, Centre Huron, has been abolished altogether by the splitting up of the county into three ridings entirely different from those existing before.

Mr. McDonnell, of North Lanark, is to be swamped by adding two Tory townships from the county of Carleton to his riding.

Mr. Gillies, of North Bruce, with a Reform majority of 156, is placed in a minority of 321.

The Riding of Muskoka, with a Reform majority of 63, is placed in a minority of 93.

The Riding of South Huron, with a majority of 165, has this majority swept away.

The Riding of South Wentworth, with a majority of 74, is placed in a minority of 94.

The Riding of North Ontario, with a majority of 54, is placed in a minority of 146.

A CONFESSION OF FEAR.

Now, why was this bill—concocted in secret, kept concealed for weeks and months, hastily introduced in the closing hours of the session, smuggled through the House undefended, and with as little opportunity for discussion as possible, tinkered and re-tinkered at every stage—why was this bill, merely because four seats were to be given to Ontario, made the pretext for reconstructing the political map of the Province? Why this midnight attack on the Liberal party of Canada? Why this conspiracy to deprive the electors of Ontario of their right of representation? Why this loading of the dice just before the election?

Is there any need to answer? Is not the bill itself the answer? If the Government believed, as they have all along boasted, that they enjoyed the confidence of the people of Ontario, would they be unwilling to appeal to the same people who returned them in 1878? No; it is because they are convinced that these people would repudiate them that they create a new set of constituencies; because they feel guilty, that they pack the jury; because they are afraid to meet the enemy on the old battle-ground that they prepare a new one. On this point Mr. Blake said :

"I am amused at this commentary upon the boasts of those hon. gentlemen for the last four years, and at this testimony to the sincerity of these boasts. Why, all the time they have been telling us how proud

they were to consider that the day was approaching on which they would go back to their constituents and invite them to endorse their action. All the time they have been telling us they were growing in strength, growing in popularity, particularly in Ontario. All the time they have been telling us about their superior strength in Ontario under the returns, and they say they are stronger to-day. I do not know in what way they lead themselves to this belief, but I know it to be an unfounded belief. I know this bill proves, and they have a shrewd suspicion of it, that they cannot carry their present seats and retain their present majority; and this bill is designed, so far as they can, to make up by legislation for the strength they have lost by their misdeeds for the last four years, and by the results to which they have led now they confess that they expect to be strengthened by it."

In fact, this bill is intended to legislate the Government into power again, to enable them to secure by foul means what they cannot obtain by fair, to help them to sneak back into office instead of getting there by means of a fair, open, honorable encounter. This is not the act of a Government, but of a conspiracy.

WILL SNEAK GOVERNMENT SUCCEED ?

Will the people of Ontario submit, supinely and without murmur, to such a violent outrage upon their liberties? Will they cease to govern themselves, and yield the Empire Province up to be ruled by a despotic, selfish and reactionary clique of Tories in the Province of Quebec? We believe they will not; we believe there are fair-minded, independent men enough in Ontario to resent such an insult; and we believe, consequently, that this measure will fail of its obvious, though thinly, disguised intention. As Mr. Blake said in Parliament:

"A measure so treacherous, unjust, and indefensible as this will arouse, as it has aroused to the uttermost, the indignation of those whom it is intended to oppress; besides, there are a considerable number in every constituency of fair-minded persons, who do not take a very active part in politics, who are not very much enamoured of party, but who will punish party as upon a former well-known occasion they did, when they believed that an abuse of a high trust had been committed. Again they will give their voices in favor of those who are sought to be oppressed, and against the shameless oppressors. And lastly, I believe that even in the ranks of the Conservative party there are to be found, if not in this House, at any rate in the constituencies cut and carved, many men who will repudiate the claims of party if the cost of allegiance to party be the support of a measure of this description; who will prefer the recognition of the just and sounder principles to which I refer, which the hon. gentleman himself propounded in 1872—of adherence to the county and municipal boundaries—who will recognize the fact that, without cause, without reason, without any just pretence, the hon. gentleman has departed from his own views publicly expressed as the leader of the Government and endorsed by Parliament in 1872, to tear asunder men who are solemnly associated together as one community for electoral purposes, to break up cherished associations of business, of friendship, of local and municipal interests."

DID MR. MOWAT GERRYMANDER ?

One significant circumstance has marked all the discussions which have taken place on the gerrymandering villany—the discussion has been all on one side; it has been all attack, never once has Sir John Macdonald made even a pretence seriously to defend the measure. A common trick on the part of the Government and their supporters, however, is to declare that Mr. Mowat did the same in what they are pleased to call his gerrymandering bill of 1874.

When these gentlemen say this, they make a candid confession of their own motives, at any rate. They say, in other words "Mr. Mowat gerrymandered; we gerrymander; you did not complain of Mr. Mowat's bill; therefore you should not complain of ours." That style of argument is too absurd to require a moment's attention.

If it were true that Mr. Mowat did gerrymander, what could we say? Why, simply that Mr. Mowat did wrong. How utterly preposterous to cite that as a justification for this great infamy! As though a wrong action on the part of a Local Legislature could only be rectified or corrected by another wrong action, only greater in degree, on the part of the Federal Parliament. It is an insult to common sense to raise such a plea.

But the chief weakness in this argument is that it is based on an entire misapprehension of the facts.

Mr. Mowat's measure did not disturb the municipal boundaries of counties, except in the one instance in which it was necessary to do so in order to create the new county of Dufferin. We find that it altered the boundaries of twenty-nine constituencies; in the majority of cases the changes being trivial. Previous to the dissolution, these constituencies were represented by 16 supporters of Mr. Mowat and 13 of his opponents. As rearranged by Mr. Mowat's alleged Gerrymandering Act, these same constituencies, with their representation increased to 35 members, gave 16 for the Government, 18 against, and in one case (Lincoln) the election remained in dispute during the whole life of the Parliament!

The following table shows the changes made by Mr. Mowat's Redistribution Bill:

	Political complexion in				Loss to Gov't.	Gain to Gov't.
	1874.		1875.			
	M.	O.	Min.	Opp.		
Lambton	1	—	2	—	—	1
Huron	2	—	3	—	—	1
Essex	1	—	—	2	2	—
Dufferin	—	—	—	1	1	—
Cardwell	1	—	—	1	1	—
Grey	—	2	1	2	—	1
Simcoe	—	2	—	3	1	—
Wellington	2	1	2	1	No change.	—
Muskoka	—	—	1	—	—	1
Victoria	—	1	—	1	No change.	—
East Peterboro'	—	1	—	1	"	—
West Peterboro'	1	—	—	1	1	—
South Renfrew	1	—	1	—	"	—
Brockville	—	1	1	—	—	1
Niagara	—	1	—	—	—	1
Lincoln	—	1	Dispute.		—	—
East Northumberland	1	—	1	—	No change.	—
West York	1	—	1	—	"	—
North Lanark	1	—	—	1	1	—
South Bruce	1	—	1	—	No change.	—
Bothwell	1	—	Abolished.		—	—
Kent	1	—	1	1	1	—
North Renfrew	—	1	—	1	No change.	—
South Leeds	—	1	—	1	No change.	—
East York	1	—	1	—	No change.	—
South Lanark	—	1	—	1	No change.	—
	16	13	16	18	8	6

Mr. Mowat's "gerrymandering" then resulted in his losing eight seats and gaining six, showing either that he did not gerrymander, or if he did, that the attempt failed most miserably, and should be a warning to the Ottawa conspirators of what their evil doings is likely to bring upon their own heads.

MR. BLAKE'S PERORATION.

The following is the closing portion of Mr. Blake's magnificent speech on the second reading of Sir John's gerrymander :

"Now, sir, will any man outside of this House pretend that this is all accident, that this is the result of an honest and fair effort to discharge the duty of giving four, or at most six, new seats to the Province of Ontario? Will any man pretend, inside or outside, that such a concatenation of circumstances as I have pointed out here does not make plain and conclusive, that the intent and object of this bill is not to equalize the constituencies in point of population, not to equalize them in point of voting strength, but to use as a miserable pretence some attempted equalization in order that the hon. gentleman can convert

A MINORITY OF TORIES AMONGST THE PEOPLE INTO A MAJORITY OF TORIES IN THE HOUSE.

I say, sir, honest men cannot afford to vote for such legislation. I say this legislation is dishonest and fraudulent, a disgrace to those who propose it, and a disgrace to those who support it. I say it is an insult to the people of Ontario, whether Conservatives or Reformers; to the people of Ontario, whose legislation you want to disallow; to the people of Ontario, whose bounds you wantonly and improperly refuse to concede to them; to the people of Ontario, whose municipal arrangements most cherished amongst them, whose legitimate aspirations in connection with those arrangements, whose cherished associations in connection with representation, you are about wantonly to interfere with and to violate. I say you

DARE NOT DO THIS WITH THE OTHER PROVINCES ;

you dare not propose that with reference to the men from the other Provinces, who would resent this bill if administered to themselves; and they are not behaving as upright and honest men should behave if they support an Administration enforcing upon one Province what they would resent and resist if attempted to be imposed upon themselves. I ask them to judge as they want us to judge them; I ask them to consider what their feeling would be if such a measure as this were proposed with reference to them. I ask them to realize how they would denounce such a measure, with what vehemence they would declaim against it, with what obstinacy they would declare it was an outrage, and that they would not submit to it; and if these be the feelings with which the Province of Quebec, the Province of Nova Scotia, the Province of Prince Edward Island, the Province of New Brunswick, would view a measure of this kind applied to them; I ask them in all fairness, candor, and decency to deal with us as they would desire to be dealt with; to look at us as they would look at themselves in a like case; to reject a Bill based upon principles which they must know in their hearts are principles which they would not permit to be applied to themselves; based upon professions which I have proved are dishonest; based upon pretences which I have proved are false, and which aim at results—and they tell us this themselves—which are iniquitous and fraudulent. You hope to have the unanimous support of your friends from the other Provinces in forcing on Ontario a measure which you know you dare not ask them to support in the case of their own Provinces—and you hope for more; you hope the Ontario Tory may exhibit

SIGNS OF BEING A PATIENT ANIMAL;

you hope that he may not resent this measure; you hope to get his acceptance of it by telling him, "It is quite true it is a bad business to cut up the counties, to carve up the municipal organizations, to destroy all their old associations and arrangements; we know it is a cowardly thing; it looks cowardly to us, because we have been telling you that we are strong enough to carry the country as it stands; but mark you—come closer and let me whisper in your ear—it was necessary in order to win at all. Pardon it and forgive it; forgive it for the good of the cause; smother your emotions, conceal your disgust, and go to the polls like a man in the new constituency of what's-its-name, made up of I-don't-know-what municipalities; go to the polls in your new associations, in your new arrangements, and vote for the man who did all these things in order that he might convert a minority of Tories in the country into a majority of Tories in the House." Why, sir, this proposal which, as I have told you before, you are

MISTAKEN IN SUPPOSING WILL ACCOMPLISH ITS ENDS;

which I have told you I believe the people will revolt against, which I believe the honest sense of the people in all the provinces will revolt against whatever the members from the other provinces may do or say, or whatever restraints they may wish to impose, or whatever fetters and shackles they may wish to place upon Ontario; this is a proposal, I say, which I believe their constituents, the people of their counties, will look upon as one they ought to be very jealous of. I believe they will say, "This comes close to our doors; we know not, if this rule is adopted, on what principle it can be confined to one Province; if the representation in the largest Province is to be disposed of in this way, how soon may it not be that the same rule will be applied, wholesale, to the country, and with what force can we reject it after we have sustained you in imposing it upon our neighbors?" I believe they will say, "We decline to be responsible for this." Up to this moment the Government is responsible for it; if it passes in this shape the House will be responsible for it, and if the people endorse it at the polls they become responsible, and those who endorse it must do so on the principle that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander; and if municipal bounds are to be swept aside on the flimsy pretence of an attempt at redistribution of the representation, that cannot be confined to the Province of Ontario, but must be extended over the whole Dominion. But one would have thought only this bill was enough. One would have thought that the boasters and the braggarts who talk of going to the polls to increase their strength, who say that the constituents who sent them here would send them again with an enhanced majority, would have been satisfied with cutting and carving these constituencies up. One would have supposed that their attempt by this audacious, this outrageous measure to smother the popular sentiment which is against them to-day, as they boast it was for them in 1878, would have been enough. But it is not enough.

PARTISAN RETURNING OFFICERS.

The hon. gentleman does not trust in that alone. He knows that it is necessary in taking a step of this kind to go still further, and so that great reform which, after many efforts, the Reform party was able to achieve in 1874, of providing that the returning officers, with their large, important and delicate duties, their judicial and administrative duties, their duty of choosing the deputies, of seeing to the count, of seeing fair play, should be chosen from amongst persons who had a stake and a position in the community, whose duty it was obviously from their station so to demean and comport themselves as to win the respect and confidence of all classes of the community in which they lived—I say that great reform is now to be repealed, and without one word of explanation or

defence upon the first reading or the second reading. The hon. gentleman has asked us to assent to a bill which contains a clause repealing that clause in the Act of 1874, and providing once more that the returning officers shall be chosen at the sole discretion of the Government, that the hon. gentleman may do once more what he did in 1872; that he may appoint his creatures to return the minority candidates as they were returned in 1872 in Muskoka and in West Peterboro'; to re-enact the outrages which were enacted under the hon. gentleman's discretion and responsibility. Sir, these are

THE TWO CARDINAL PRINCIPLES

of this measure: first, to mar the face of the constituencies and alter the municipal bounds, and if by any means in the Liberal Province of Ontario it can be done, to destroy or weaken the Liberal strength, and give strength by force of law to the Tories; and second, by what the law cannot do, by executive authority—administered as the hon. gentleman formerly administered that authority—with the result which he formerly produced, to use his discretion to appoint returning officers, in order that he may no longer have men restrained by the considerations to which I have referred, to act as such ought to act in such a position, but to appoint his creatures to do his dirty work. Sir, we saw an account the other day in the newspapers of a great banquet at which there were flowers and sumptuous meats and costly wines and great enthusiasm—

THE BANQUET OF THE "OLD GUARD."

It is not a very numerous body as represented in this House. I do not think anything can more strikingly tell us what the precarious tenure of a Canadian politician's life is than these figures. The hon. gentleman was, I suppose, 125 strong in this House in 1873, and he is about 150 strong here to-day; but of his 125 of 1873 I see here to-day in his majority of 150 about 38 souls, while of us, who were in a minority of about 80 then, and are in a minority of about 60 now, there remains so large a percentage that we appear about 30 strong. These are the mutations of a Canadian political life, and I do not doubt when the hon. gentleman looked at these figures and saw in the midst of his triumph that among his majority to-day those who supported him in 1873 were under 40, he must have felt that there are chances in the future as there were chances in the past.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL.

I wonder whether at that great feast, brilliant as it was, the Belshazzar of the feast did not at some period see a mysterious handwriting in unknown characters on the wall. I wonder was there any Daniel there to decipher those unknown characters, and tell him that the "Mene, mene, tekel upharsin," being interpreted, was "God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." Ay, whether it was at the banquet or before it, the hon. gentleman saw that handwriting on some wall; and what did he say? "I know that according to the feeling of the constituencies that elected me, my kingdom is gone. I know that according to the views of those who sent my supporters here, and who are to return them again if there be a change, I am weighed in the balance and found wanting. But like the unjust steward, he said, "I will readjust the numbers; I will falsify the weights: I will arrange for trusty enumerators and carvers of the work, who shall give a proper account of the result, and so by adjusted provisions and falsified balances, and by counties of my own making and my own legislation, I will do what in me lies to defeat the characters which are written on the wall. So will I continue my kingdom and return still again to power." But the handwriting on the wall is not reversible by any such fraudulent, impotent attempts. The shadows have deepened, the

handwriting is darker and more dark, and words are plainer to be seen. They are to be read in our honest English tongue to-day, and they tell us that an indignant and honest people, of whatever political complexion, is about to resent at the polls the fraud which is attempted to be perpetrated upon it, and to tell the hon. gentleman that the handwriting is true, and his kingdom is indeed finished. I believe this measure deserves our attention at this stage, and that it is at this stage we ought to be called on to record our opinions. This bill may or may not be rejected. The hon. gentleman thinks it will pass; he knows the views of his friends better than I do; but if it pass it shall pass over such amendments as shall enable those who vote for it to give a sound reason for their votes if they can, and shall enable those who vote against it to vindicate the votes we are prepared to give. I move in amendment:

MR. BLAKE'S AMENDMENT.

"That the said bill be not now read a second time.

"That it be resolved that in dealing with the representation of the people in Parliament, the municipal county organization has been observed in all the Provinces save Ontario, and that in Ontario the said organization, modified by the division of the municipal counties into ridings, has been generally observed.

"That on the occasion of the readjustment of 1872 the soundness of the said plan of observing the municipal county organization, and the evil consequence of a departure therefrom, were recognized by Parliament, and on that occasion the First Minister of the day, Sir John A. Macdonald, announced, with approval from all sides, the policy of the Government to the following effect, viz.: 'With respect to the rural constituencies, the desire of the Government has been to preserve the representation for counties and subdivisions of counties as much as possible. It is considered objectionable to make representation a mere geographical term. It is desired as much as possible to keep the representation within the county, so that each county that is a municipality of Ontario should be represented, and if it becomes large enough, that it should be divided into ridings. That principle is carried out in the suggestions I am about to make. That rule was broken in 1867 in three constituencies, viz., Bothwell, Cardwell, Monck; and I do not think on the whole that the experiment has proved a successful one. I do not think it was successful as far as the representatives of these new constituencies themselves were concerned, as they are well and ably represented by the gentlemen who now hold seats for the constituencies, and I hope that if I am returned again to the next Parliament I shall meet these hon. members. But it is obvious that there is a great advantage in having counties elect men whom they know. Our municipal system gives an admirable opportunity for constituencies to select men for their deserts. They all know the process which happily goes on in Western Canada. A young man in the country commences his public life by being elected, by the neighbors who know him, to the Township Council. If he shows himself possessed of administrative ability he is made a reeve or a deputy-reeve; he becomes a member of the County Council, and as his experience increases and his character and abilities become known, he is selected by his people as their representative in Parliament. It is, I think, a great system that the people of Canada should have the opportunity of choosing for political purposes men in whom they have most confidence, and of whose abilities they are fully assured. All that great advantage is lost by cutting off a portion of two separate counties and adding them together for electoral purposes only. Those portions which are cut off have no common interests. They do not work together, and they have no common feeling except that once in five years they go to the polls in their own townships to vote for a man who may be known in the section and

not in another. That tends towards the development of the American system of caucuses, by which wire-pullers take advantage, for their political ability only, and not for any personal respect for them ; so that as much as possible, from any point of view, it is advisable that counties should refuse men whom they do not know, and when the representation is increased, it should be by subdividing the counties into ridings. I believe the House generally agrees with me that county organization should be preserved as much as possible. I have observed this principle, and no county in Ontario has been split up.

“ That the said principle of observing as far as possible the limits of the municipal counties in adjusting the Parliamentary representation is sound, and should be followed in the said bill for the reasons so given by Sir John A. Macdonald and approved by Parliament, and also because it affords some safeguard against the abuse of power by the party in office to adjust the representation unfairly towards their opponents.

“ That the said bill is formed in utter violation and total disregard of the said principle, since it takes away territory from the municipal counties for electoral purposes, and conjoins for electoral purposes territories having no municipal county relations with each other in a very large proportion of the constituencies of Ontario, while at the same time it does not effect the proposed object of equalizing the population of the electoral districts.”

THE AMENDMENT VOTED DOWN.

The amendment was defeated by a vote of 51 Yeas to 111 Nays, the Tory members voting as one man for the John-A-Mandering Act.

THE SENATE.

ITS PARTISAN AND IRRESPONSIBLE CHARACTER—SHALL IT BE REFORMED?

In the working out of our federal system of Government, no greater element of weakness has revealed itself than an irresponsible and partisan Senate. Constituted on the principle of appointment for life by the Administration of the day, it has been degraded into a comfortable asylum for decrepit political hacks ; and to-day it presents the spectacle of legislative imbecility, existing only to thwart the popular will.

In this respect the Canadian Senate is unlike any other body in the world. It is the representative of no hereditary class, the guardian of no special privileges ; no fair principle of representation is observed in its composition, an overwhelming proportion of its members being appointees of Sir John A. Macdonald—men who, having become worn out in his service, are transferred there to spend their dotage in ease and calm. Its only task is faithfully to register his decrees.

No measure proposed by Sir John Macdonald is too outrageous for this partisan Senate to accept ; no measure, however wise or beneficial, emanating from the Liberal party, does it hesitate to reject, if only he bids it.

It has aided the present Government in imposing on the country all the grievous monopolies which have distinguished its rule ; it sanctioned the creation of the Pacific Railway monopoly, without depriving it of one of its odious provisions ; it has approved of the Government's foolish and unjust land policy, the effect of which is to retard the settlement of the North-West, and to make it the prey of speculators ; it swallowed the John-A-Mandering infamy *holus bolus*.

This institution—useless and mischievous as it is now constituted—costs the country nearly a quarter of a million dollars a year.

What are the positions of the two parties now appealing for popular support on the Senate question ?

Sir John Macdonald would leave the Senate as it is. He knows that his interest and that of his party lies in maintaining it in its present partisan and dependent character, because he can use it to accomplish his base designs, and to thwart Liberal legislation.

Mr. Blake, on the other hand, thus defines his position :

“Some would favor the abolition of the Senate ; but we must not forget that on this subject the other Provinces are differently circumstanced from Ontario ; and that the Senate was established as a part of the Federal system in the professed interest of the smaller Provinces.

“I do not propose that the Provinces should be deprived of the right, which many value, of Federal representation, in the present proportions, in a second Chamber ; but I would advocate the reduction of its numbers and the election by the people of its members. Our own experience in Old Canada gives proof of the wisdom of this plan.”

Can any one who desires to establish in Canada the principle of rule by the people's will, and who wishes to secure the harmonious working of our representative system, hesitate between which party to choose ?

THE CONTRACT BROKERS.

Numerous instances have occurred during the late Parliament in which friends of the Government interested themselves in procuring public contracts for parties by whom they were employed. Those friends of the Government were known as “contract brokers,” and through their operations frauds were perpetrated upon the country. Their business was known to Ministers, and although its nefarious character was frequently exposed, they continued to ply it—if not with the connivance of Ministers, at least without disapprobation.

Some of those contract brokers were members of the Civil Service ; others were members of Parliament supporting the Government ; and others were equally active supporters outside of Parliament.

Last year Mr. Casgrain introduced a Bill the object of which was to prevent such frauds in connection with the expenditure of money on public contracts. It was referred to a special committee, which reported it unanimously to the House ; but the Government refused to take it under their own patronage, as any honest-minded Government would. On the contrary, they opposed it, and gave Mr. Casgrain no opportunity of proceeding with it. The Bill was introduced again this year, and again it was destined to meet the same fate.

One would suppose, at a time when large sums of money were voted for public contracts, that the Government would seek by proper means to prevent brokerage in connection with the contracts, and to provide that if Ministers, employés of the Government, or contractors, were proven guilty of any fraud, they should be punished. But the Government absolutely refused to provide any measure of redress, or to take any steps for the prevention of fraud and scandal; and the following resolution, moved by Mr. Casgrain, was defeated by the whole strength of Government supporters :

"That it is not expedient, nor in the interest of the public service, to vote any money for expenditure on public contracts, without some adequate measure of legislation to prevent and punish frauds in contracts involving expenditure of public moneys, and that this House regrets that the Ministry did not bring and carry such measure before Parliament."

The Government, therefore, must be regarded as friendly to the brokerage system in the letting of public contracts, and that the contract brokers would be allowed to prosecute their baneful business in the future just as they have done in the past.

What honest man can say that such a Government is deserving of public confidence?

Let any one who desires to establish in Canada the principle of choice by the people's will, and who wishes to secure the permanent working of our free institutions, beware of the influence which party to

THE CONTRACT BROKERS.

During the past year have occurred during the late Parliament in which the friends of the Government interested themselves in procuring public contracts for the people by whom they were employed. These friends of the Government were known as "contract brokers," and through their operations funds were distributed upon the country. Their business was known to Ministers, and although its nature and character was during the exposure, they continued to ply it—illicitly with the connivance of Ministers in their own disposition.

Some of these contract brokers were members of the Civil Service; others were members of the Legislature representing the Government; and others were equally active and influential outside of Parliament.

As it was Mr. Casgrain's intention and a Bill the object of which was to provide more fully in connection with the expenditure of money on public contracts. It was referred to a special committee which reported in favour of the Bill; but the Government refused to pass it. It is not known how far the Government intended to go in this respect. On the other hand, Mr. Casgrain presented a Bill on the subject, which was opposed by the Government. The Bill was introduced again in the year, and again it was deemed to meet the same end.