

Lanark, North..... Lanark and Carleton.
 Middlesex, East..... Middlesex and Elgin.
 Middlesex, North..... Middlesex and Huron.
 Middlesex, West..... Middlesex and Lambton.
 Norfolk, North..... Norfolk and Oxford.
 Ontario, North..... Ontario and Muskoka.
 Ontario, West..... Ontario and York.
 Oxford, North..... Oxford and Perth.
 Oxford, South..... Oxford and Brant.
 Perth, South..... Perth and Huron.
 Peterborough, West..... Peterborough and Northumberland.
 Peterborough, East..... Peterborough and Haliburton.
 Russell..... Russell and Carleton.
 Simcoe North..... Simcoe and Muskoka.
 Simcoe South..... Simcoe and Dufferin.
 Wellington Centre..... Wellington and Dufferin.
 Wentworth South..... Wentworth and Lincoln.
 York, North..... York and Simcoe.

In this list Addington, Bothwell, West Peterborough, East Peterborough, and Russell were formed out of two counties before the Gerryman-der Act. Then there were six ridings formed out of three counties, and all but Cardwell and Monck created by the present Dominion Parliament:—

Constituency. Formed out of
 Brant, North..... Brant, Wentworth, and Oxford.
 Cardwell..... Peel, Dufferin, and Simcoe.
 Leeds & Grenville, N..... Leeds, Grenville, and Lanark (Smith's Falls).
 Monck..... Haldimand, Welland, and Lincoln.
 Victoria, North..... Victoria, Peterborough, and Haliburton (Galway).
 Wellington, North..... Wellington, Perth, and Dufferin.

While Dufferin was split up among five ridings—East Grey, South Simcoe, Centre Wellington, North Wellington, Cardwell; Lambton among three counties, Huron among three counties, Perth among three counties, and Lincoln among three counties, and the municipal boundaries of twenty-five constituencies were changed. In order to show the inequalities of population in the Ontario constituencies in the Dominion Parliament he showed that Toronto West has 38,565; Centre, 22,983; and East, 24,867, a difference of 15,582 between the highest and lowest. Addington has 23,470, and Frontenac 14,993, a difference of 8,477, and these adjoining constituencies were left alone, notwithstanding the great inequality and the announced desire for equality. Kent has 29,194; Bothwell, 22,477; West Elgin, 23,480; South Essex, 21,303. East Simcoe, 27,185; Cardwell, 16,770, a difference of 10,415. South Leeds, 22,295; North Leeds & Grenville, 12,423, a difference of 9,783. Peterborough East, 20,701; Peterborough West, 13,310, a difference of 7,391; Middlesex East, 25,107; Middlesex South, 18,833, a difference of 6,219. Monck, 15,940; Welland, 23,152, a difference of 10,212. Notwithstanding these general inequalities The Mail said:—

But what must have been the hypocrisy of the Grit leaders when, after crying out for two years that they were going to sweep this Province at the general election, they now admit in the indiscretion of despair that the slight re-arrangement of a few constituencies, some of which make their own men absolutely secure, dashes all their hopes, and gives a sure majority to what they have been calling a most unpopular party, advocating a most unpopular and ruinous policy.

And on succeeding days the same papersaid:—

It is impossible for us not to be merry on a merry subject. . . . Obviously an Act of that kind is calculated to make the Grit organs feel troubled. No party likes being trodden out of existence. . . . Who could help laughing to find Mr. Blake, after declaring for a year that the Tory party was as dead as a door nail, suddenly admitting that that party was sure to be triumphant at the elections! . . . Would not Mr. Mackenzie, as a man and a brother, admit that the return of a party to power was an "excuse" for the extinguishing of a Grit member or two? We feel certain that if Mr. Mackenzie had had the framing of this measure, the science of topography would have been called in to aid him in making his friends

AS SECURE AS POSSIBLE.

Mr. Charlton, of course, had to have his say; his feelings were deeply hurt at the prospect before him. That Mr. Charlton has no confidence in this Distribution Bill cuts us to the very heart. We had hoped at least to be spared this cruel blow!

It is always better to endure affliction with patience; race is not to be compared with calm resignation, and in the end the latter carries the palm. The bitterness of party suffering may annoy for the time, but it is better borne in suffering than in blatant wrath. If one could promise the Grits a joyous morning, he could sympathize with their grief; but it is not to be.

The Redistribution Bill will give us some advantages, of course.

So far as appears nobody is to be disfranchised by the Government Bill. All that is proposed is that he should vote where he did not vote before. The outrage seems to consist

NOT IN ANY DISFRANCHISEMENT,

for that is not pretended—but simply in a better regard for political distribution. If the Grits are so strong in Ontario, as they assert, how could any amount of gerrymandering injure them? . . . One man now voting, for example in one of the Yorks, will, in future, vote in another; pray, who is wronged thereby? He possesses his vote irrefragably as he did before, and there can be no difference where he records it. Nobody but a political trickster of the Grit sort, hard up for votes, would venture to assert that a man did not count the same wherever he lives.

In spite of these taunts and those uttered in the House, Mr. Paterson said:—"If the honourable gentleman will yet amend his Bill so as to accord with the principle to which he professes his adherence, I, for one, will not raise my voice against the Bill, no matter what may be its effects

in individual cases." Mr. Balfour quoted a number of amendments, offered to the Bill by the Liberals, all of which were in the direction of making it conform to the announced principles of the Bill. Mr. Blake moved:—

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 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 framed in utter violation and total disregard of the said principle, since it takes away territory from municipal counties 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 professed object of equalizing the population of the electoral districts.

As against the great cutting and carving in the Dominion Bill, he showed that there was only one riding in three counties—Monck—represented in the Provincial Parliament, and this was not created by the present Bill. There were four ridings in two counties—Cardwell, West Peterborough, East Peterborough, and Russell—and only Cardwell was affected by the present measure. There were several townships of ridings restored to the counties. For instance, Addington restores townships to Frontenac, Cardwell restores townships to Peel, Grenville is made one county, Leeds is made one county, Wellington gives township to Dufferin, while Toronto and Parkdale and London and London East are already practically united municipalities.

IN THE DOMINION BILL

there were 35 constituencies with under 20,000 inhabitants, and only 30 in the Provincial Bill; 42 between 20,000 and 25,000 in the former and 39 in the latter; and 14 with between 25,000 and 30,000, against 12 in the Provincial measure.

This was excluding Algoma and Muskoka and Parry Sound, which were represented on account of the extent of territory. In the Provincial Bill there were only four members representing constituencies of over 30,000, and these were for Hamilton and Toronto, and concerning such constituencies Mr. Blake had said he had "always thought that in capital cities peculiar considerations should apply." He next proceeded to show that the present Bill could not in any sense be termed a gerrymandering Bill, but that, as in the one 1874, it was

A FAIR REDISTRIBUTION BILL.

Of the seats affected in 1874 the Government held 12 and the Opposition 11. After the first election the Government held 12 of those affected and gained 2 of the new seats, while the Opposition held 11 of the former and gained 3 new seats. He proceeded to enumerate the various changes effected by the Bill of 1874. It was admitted that growing populations should be recognized. In the discussion on the Dominion Bill Mr. Bowell said:—

It was but fair and proper that these sections of country in which a great increase of population is expected should have their population so established as to give them the same representation as the counties around them.

And this they exemplified by not reducing Addington, which increased 2,132, and leaving Frontenac, which decreased 1,317. Sir Richard Cartwright agreed and said:—

The Minister of Customs said, with some degree of force, "if you find that certain constituencies from year to year are growing larger you may fairly assign to those, in some cases, a smaller number, trusting that the growth of population will soon rectify the apparent inequalities."

The two constituencies in Bruce in 1874 stood 31,000 to 17,000, and they had grown so that in 1881 the population stood at 39,803 and 25,516. This was the guiding principle which had induced the Government to give an additional member to Bruce, and with respect to Perth, Lambton, and Kent, it was clear that in the next redistribution they would have to be considered, and therefore they had now been left untouched.

Dealing with Mr. Meredith's contention that there was an inequality in the representation as between west and east, he showed that in the east, including Durham and Victoria, there was a population of 593,862. Under the Dominion representation they sent 32 members to the House, averaging 18,550, while in the Bill now under consideration they would send 30 members, with an average of 19,795. West of Victoria and Durham there was a population of 1,329,366 which in the Dominion Parliament were represented by 69, an average of 22,156, and under the present Bill they would also have 69 member with the same average population. In the 9 constituencies of the Dominion Parliament there was a population of 1,923,228, an average of 20,905, while in this House there would be 9 members, with an average of 21,369. The Eastern district then would be under this Bill 1,577 under the average, while the Western and Central district would be 787 over the average, a difference of 2,361 in favour of the East. In other words, the Centre and West with 69 members would on the basis of population be entitled to 69 as compared with the East. Dealing with the assertion that isolated and detached portions municipalities had been brought together for the purpose of "gerrymandering," he showed that there was no such "gerrymandering" as was involved in leaving the township of Scougog 6 miles from the balance of North Ontario.

HOW ESSEX FARES.

The honourable leader of the Opposition had challenged the action of the Government in not allowing his (Mr. Balfour's) own riding of South Essex to remain as it was, in order that they might pass judgment on his conduct in regard to certain matter in this House. He desired to call the attention of that honourable gentleman to the great necessity of his settling the difference between himself (Mr. Meredith) and the honourable member of North Leeds (Mr. Merrick) in regard to the same matter, before he undertook to challenge the action of the Government or to interfere between him and his constituents, or to guide them in their action. He could tell that honourable gentleman that if the Government or himself had desired to gerrymander the county of Essex, they could easily have relieved him of an adverse majority of 63, without any apparent unfairness. But what had been done? They had taken the North Riding with 25,659, and the South with 21,303, and by exchanging Tilbury West for Anderdon, the populations were equalized at 23,657, and 23,305, respectively. And what was the political effect of this? Why Tilbury West had given a Conservative majority of 95 in 1879, as compared with 108 in Anderdon. At the Dominion elections in 1882 the Conservative majorities were 109 and 92 respectively, while in the by election of 1882 Anderdon had only given 63 against him. It was true that in 1883 Anderdon had given 156 against him, and Tilbury West had only given 54 Conservative majority, but in that contest his opponent was Reeve of Anderdon, and particularly strong there, while in the north riding Mr. Plant was very popular in Tilbury West. By simply transferring Colchester North to the north riding, with a population of 1,147, and leaving the now incorporated village of Essex Centre, which is partly in Gosfield, in the south riding, the populations would be 24,795 and 22,167, nearly 2,000 nearer equalization than they are now, while he would, as stated, be relieved of an adverse majority of 63. But they had not gerrymandered for his benefit, and he did not wish them to do so, and this change had not been made, and he had not for any reason been particularly favoured.

Mr. WHITE—Why did you make the change then?

Mr. BALFOUR—Because we were equalizing the population.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

In order to show how the Government might have gerrymandered, he instanced the case of Kent. East Kent has a population of 25,306, or 3,798 less than the West Riding. Now, suppose the Government had desired to make Mr. Clancy's seat insecure, and at the same time equalize the population, they might have taken Harwich and Blenheim, with a population of 6,622, off East Kent, and put them to West Kent, and had Chatham and Wallaceburg been taken from the West Riding and put to the East, the population would then have stood at 26,116 for the East, with Mr. Clancy in a Conservative minority, and 28,184 for the West. He proceeded to show that the Dominion Bill of 1882 affected 48 constituencies and added six members, making 54 in all, while the present Bill affected in all 43. He had shown that it was better as an equalizing measure, and this proved that it carved less constituencies. It had been asked the reason why he had referred to the Dominion, and in reply he would quote the words of Sir John Macdonald, who said:—"If the principle which I laid down in 1872 is to be destroyed, the blame rest there (Ontario), and not with us." Attempts had been made to show that the Bill would shut out the member for North Grey, but, as a matter of fact, as the voting stood at the last election Mr. Creighton would still have a majority, and there was only one member—West York—who was placed in a minority by the Bill. The Dominion Bill wiped out Cornwall before this Bill did. After referring to North Ontario and East Simcoe, and justifying the course of the Government with respect to these places, he said that the county of Wellington was naturally of a tortuous configuration, and it would be impossible to make a good-looking county of it. Concluding, he said:—"The Redistribution Bill now under consideration, did not give the opportunity to any Liberal papers to speak of the Conservative party, even if they desired to, in the manner that The Mail spoke of the Liberal party on the 29th April, 1882, the day after the introduction of the Dominion Gerryman-der Bill, when speaking of the "hiding" or "hiving" of the Liberal voters. It said:—

They are "hidden" because they are few. They would have been "hidden" without any change. When the elections are over it will be necessary, perhaps, to send a special commission to search for them. Meantime they had better keep a bold front; it was the custom of the gladiators to die like men, saluting even the man who doomed them; *Ave Caesar Imperator, morituri te salutant.*

Now the Government and their supporters in this House did not ask the Opposition to salute the Honourable Provincial Secretary, because we do not believe they are going to die; we do not wish that they should die; it is far better that they should live. He believed that the present Bill was a fair, just, and equitable one; fair to the Conservative party as well as to the Liberal party, and he could confidently appeal to all fair-minded men in this House, as well as throughout the Province, as to the evident fair-