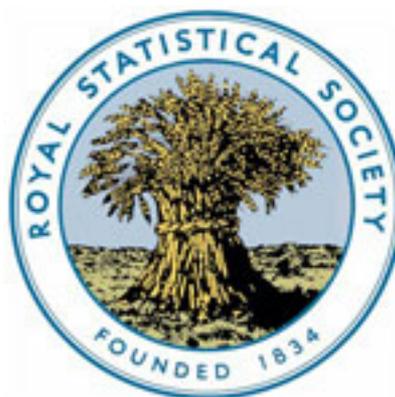


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PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION *in* ENGLAND *illustrated by the*
ELECTIONS *of* 1892 *and* 1895. *By* J. A. BAINES, C.S.I.

[Read before the Royal Statistical Society, 21st January, 1896.
The Right Hon. Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P., in the Chair.]

1. It may appear to some, perhaps, that in my selection of a subject I am trespassing upon a field of discussion from which the Society has hitherto kept studiously aloof. Those, however, who are acquainted with our proceedings will be under no apprehension on that ground, and will require from me neither explanation nor apology. It falls as legitimately within the scope of our labours to collect and discuss facts bearing upon the political, as upon the economical, life of our country, and any misconception which may arise on the subject is due, no doubt, to the generally prevailing confusion of party with politics. To many, indeed, it may seem impossible to keep the two apart. In one of Mr. Gilbert's topsyturvy plays, which I confess to being old enough to enjoy, free though it be from passion, purpose, or problem, there is an anomalous guardsman, who consoles himself for being posted where he has no business to be, at the very door of Parliament, by reflecting that we are all, boy or girl, affiliated from our very birth to one or other of the two parties then recognised. Nowadays, he would perhaps allow a wider field of choice. He is not the only one who holds this opinion, I believe, and if the conclusion be correct, we, who dabble in statistics, may take credit, without unduly flattering ourselves, for being able, within these precincts, to transfer our allegiance from faction to fact, and to discuss political subjects with strict impartiality, unweighted by the bias of party or other interests.

2. A question which naturally suggests itself at the outset of an inquiry on this subject is, how far do the facts respond to the touchstone of statistical treatment, or, in other words, to what extent are the conditions susceptible of being adequately expressed by figures? Before I answer this, it is as well to specify briefly the limits to which I conform in my survey of so wide a field. For a special reason which I give hereafter, I touch but cursorily on the question of enfranchisement, merely comparing the present circumstances with those of various periods in the past. I then pass on to the system of representation as it is seen in operation,

beginning with the question of how far the franchise was exercised on the occasions of which I treat, and proceed, finally, to the results of the voting upon the distribution of parties in the representative body, including the relation between the voting and the results. Now it is clear, I think, that in respect to all but the first topic, the test of statistics is the only one applicable, so far as my present purpose is concerned, and it was on this consideration that I made the selection. I must therefore lay special stress on the fact that in setting forth the results of the elections, I abstain from offering any explanation whatever as to the causes which produced them, and I draw no conclusions from other sources than directly from the figures. I am contented, that is, with what may appear to some to be a mere juggling with dry bones, instead of demonstrating from the live organism. As regards the first question, the relation between population and electorate, there are considerations involved, of course, of higher moment than mere arithmetical uniformity. Nevertheless, the latter, with every extension of the franchise, with every scheme of re-distribution, and with the gradual abolition of class or local privileges—and how few are now left—the arithmetical test, I say, is growing into more and more prominence as a factor in the case, and is taken into more account, not only with reference to existing circumstances, but when proposals for their modification are brought forward for consideration. It appears to me, then, that even with regard to the franchise, the figures of population and representation must form the preponderating element in practical arrangements, whilst in dealing with the results of the system adopted, statistical handling is probably the only means by which the *data* can be got to yield their full tale of the kind of information of which cognisance may here be taken.

I.—THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM.

3. The franchise, its distribution, and the proportion borne by the electorate to the population at large, are questions which have been from time to time before the Society since the latter was founded. In the very first volume of its proceedings is to be found a compilation of the electoral registers for the years immediately following the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. As the need of further extension of the franchise forced itself on public attention, the subject was twice discussed here with great fulness by that distinguished statist, the late Mr. Newmarch, who thus cleared the path of reform before 1867. Between the first and the second measures dealing with this question an interval elapsed of no less than thirty-five years. In such matters the nation moves slowly, and takes no action until full discussion and

deliberation have shown the change to be necessary, and to involve no material breach of continuity in the tendencies originating in the system already in operation. If I may be permitted to draw upon the East, where so much of my life has been spent, for a simile, I would quote, without disrespect, the conduct of the elephant as a parallel. Above other animals he has a keen appreciation of his own weight and value, together with a remarkable aptitude for, so to speak, cataloguing his experiences for ready reference whenever new and untried conditions arise in his path. The smallest stream will not be crossed until every foot of the bottom has been carefully tested for unseen traps or pitfalls. Nothing under propulsion by a steam roller, or, under favourable circumstances, the wiles of a popular favourite, generally of the fair sex, will get him to trust himself to anything which sounds hollow under his tread. Caution such as this is doubtless exasperating to a rider who looks mainly to speed, and trusts to his star for safety; but the majority prefer it to the sprawling indifference of the camel, or the reckless excitability of a mettlesome horse. To return to our own country—take, for example, the six points of the charter so strenuously pressed upon public notice in the early forties. The cud was chewed for thirty years before action was taken. Effect was then given to two of the points, and since that time a very material advance has been made in two more. This is the result of half-a-century. Of the two remaining points, one has, I believe, been modified by those who inherit the responsibility of its advocacy, and the other, though recognised by the last Parliament, has not yet secured substantial support from public opinion. So long does it take the prophet to be acknowledged by his fellows of the crowd. The necessity having become once apparent, however, the political machine moves faster. The interval between the second and the third Reform Acts was but half that which separated the first plunge of 1832 from Lord Derby's "leap in the dark" of 1867. The work previously undertaken in this Society by Mr. Newmarch, was effectively continued by Mr. John Martin, whose paper of February, 1884, turned out a remarkably close forecast of the numerical results of the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise carried out in the same year. Since that date there have been no general or well-defined demands for further extension. Such proposals, indeed, as have been made, partake rather of the nature of curtailment of the privilege. Questions of distribution and adjustment are necessarily outstanding, but as no general measure of enfranchisement has as yet entered the field of practical politics, Mr. Martin will not be required to trouble himself with a new forecast until there is imminent prospect of the removal of the barrier of sex, in

the case of those at present disqualified for that reason only. Then, indeed, his talents will again become necessary.

4. On these considerations, then, it is not necessary to discuss in the present paper the franchise question in connection with any action likely to be taken regarding a material accretion to the ranks of voters. This subject, indeed, was not included in the scheme of my analysis as first drafted. On second thoughts, however, it appeared to me advisable to preserve the continuity of the series of papers on the subject which has been begun. There is, moreover, a certain interest, as I have no special recommendations to offer or defects to point to in connection with the franchise system, in reviewing the results of the measure adopted since Mr. Martin gave us his anticipatory exposition. Before going further, therefore, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Martin for the materials he collected, and which I have incorporated in the first table appended to this paper. I have done no more than add the figures for 1892, in order to bring the statistics up to date, and to make use of those of 1871, for which I have to thank Mr. Ellis, from whose paper of 1883 I borrowed them.

5. I will now call attention to the title of my paper, from which it will be seen that I propose to treat of the statistics of England alone, to the exclusion of the three other sections of the United Kingdom. For this selection there were several reasons which seemed to me to be sufficient. Apart from the fact that England contains considerably more than double the number of seats assigned to the whole of the rest collectively, and is in other respects the predominant partner of the concern, it is more uniformly and definitely distributed between the two main shades of political opinion. In Wales the distinction of nationality has of late years been prominent enough to justify (only in connection with our present subject, of course) separate treatment. Scotland, again, presents special factors of importance which are not found further south. Over Ireland I ask leave to draw, statistically speaking, a veil. The multiplication of rivals at different elections, the number of unopposed, as compared to contested, returns, the return of a few popular members for more than one constituency, and so on, place its election figures out of line with those of England. I could give other reasons, but perhaps, as in the case of the mayor quoted the other day by Lord Salisbury, one will suffice, and that is that England is the only division of the kingdom with the political conditions of which I am personally acquainted. From the standpoint of pure statistics, no doubt, this reason may not appear adequate, but I must explain that the laborious compilation of the returns and their reduction to

proportional figures were undertaken by me for purposes other than for production here, and as but a certain time was available, I thought it better to remove from them the taint of their original failings, than to add the returns for the rest of the kingdom, possibly only half worked up. I must point out, finally, that I have not taken into consideration the five university seats, with their 17,000 or 18,000 electors, in order not to disturb the average figures of the larger constituencies.

6. The general statement which I am now about to discuss forms Appendix A to this paper, I reproduce the totals here for reference:—

TABLE I.

Year.	Population.			Electorate.			Seats.		
	Counties.	Boroughs and London.	TOTAL.	County.	Boroughs and London.	TOTAL.	County.	Boroughs and London.	TOTAL.
1831-32	8,065,846	5,024,599	13,090,445	344,564	270,119	614,683	144	323	467
'61-62	10,661,125	8,293,108	18,954,233	494,122	456,024	950,146	—	—	—
'71-72	11,270,415	10,224,716	21,495,131	738,968	1,198,394	1,937,362	172	282	454
'81-82	12,822,302	11,780,016	24,602,318	862,963	1,522,908	2,385,871	—	—	—
'91-92	13,848,370	13,362,617	27,480,987	2,554,900	1,961,565	4,516,465	234	226	460

The population is that of the decennial census. The electorate is that of the year following, except in the case of 1832, for which the new register consequent on the passing of the Reform Bill is taken. We have thus a cycle of sixty years for review, equally divided at the year 1862. Unfortunately, as I have noticed already, the dividing point does not coincide with any legislative change in the constitution of the electoral body. I have accordingly interpolated the figures for 1871, as being those in closest proximity to the Reform Act of 1867. We have next the figures for the year when further extension of the franchise was coming under consideration. Finally, I show in the last entries the results of that extension, selecting 1892, both for the sake of uniformity and also because the electoral figures are thus better comparable with the population shown at the preceding census. I must add that these figures are those of the individual electors, not of the voting power. If the two-member constituencies are considered in the light of double seats, some 358,000 must be added to the total. I will explain the bearings of this omission immediately.

7. It is out of place to enter at length into the nature of the changes effected in 1867 and 1884. Their results can be best appreciated by considering the above figures in their proportional

form, taking those of the year 1831-32 as the base line, as is done in the following table :—

TABLE II.

Year.	Population.			Electorate.			Distribution per Cent. of					
	Counties.	Boroughs and London.	Total.	Counties.	Boroughs and London.	Total.	Population.		Electorate.		Seats.	
							County.	Borough and London.	County.	Borough and London.	County.	Borough and London.
1831-32....	100	100	100	100	100	100	62	38	56	44	31	69
'61-62....	132	165	145	143	168	154	56	44	52	48	31	69
'71-72....	139	203	164	214	444	315	52	48	38	62	38	62
'81-82....	159	234	188	250	564	388	52	48	36	64	38	62
'91-92....	172	271	210	741	726	735	50·4	49·6	57	43	51	49

In making use of this table it must be borne in mind that the areas classed as county and borough respectively are not, like the totals, identical at each period. We must not think accordingly, that the population within borough limits, taken as 100 in 1831, had doubled itself by 1871. The Boundary Commissions had been at work sweeping into the Parliamentary Borough limits a considerable additional population, and the contrary process followed on the last occasion. The value of the figures lies in their indication of the number of people who were at various times living under each of the two classes of electoral privileges, as compared with their predecessors in like condition in 1832. Even before the second Reform Act the electorate showed a tendency to relatively outstrip the population, and though the growth of the boroughs was so much more marked than that of the counties, there was a wider difference between the increase of the electorate and that of the population in the former, as will be seen from the figures for 1861-62. By the end of the next decade this was changed, and the borough electorate far outstripped the population in its growth over the figures of 1832. We have then the third Reform Act of 1884. By 1892 the county population had nearly doubled itself, in spite of boundary adjustments in 1866, since against them were set off the restorations and additions of 1885. The borough population is returned as 27 where there were 10 sixty years before, and, on the whole, the population was just a little more than double the figures returned at the date of the first Reform. But let us turn to the electorate. The effect of the 1867 Act was to put 31 voters where there were only 10 thirty years before. Ten years later, again, there were 39 for every 10 of the days of the Reform Bill of Lord Grey. Since 1884 the proportion has

grown to more than 73, the counties having gained, of course, more than the boroughs by the change. If, however, we allow full voting power to the boroughs returning two members at each election, though counted as a single constituency, instead of the proportion of 1892 to 1832 being 726 to 100, it will be no less than 859. A little further consideration will show that the higher figure is, in the aggregate I mean, the more correct. For instance, the second portion of the table I am discussing gives the relative weight of county and borough respectively in point of population, electorate, and representation. Under the head of population the ratios of 1892 are all but equal, 50.4 of the inhabitants of the country being classed under county, and 49.6 under borough constituencies. The representation, again, shown in the two last columns, is in accordance with this division, but the electorate is apparently 57 per cent. against 43. By including the second votes of the electors in two-member constituencies, the proportion becomes 52 per cent. in the county, against 48 in the borough category, a result which is more harmonious with the two other factors just quoted.

8. The same consideration arises in connection with another aspect of the subject which I shall now approach, namely, the proportion borne by the electorate to the population. The latter I will first take as a whole, men, women, and children, because when comparing the different periods this is, perhaps, as efficient a method as is needed, though accuracy requires us no doubt to take into consideration the differences in the age-distribution, prevalence of pauperism and other incapacitating causes, which vary from decade to decade. By the former method we arrive at the following proportions:—

TABLE III.

Year.	Proportion of Electors per 1,000 People.				
	Counties.	Boroughs.			Total Counties and Boroughs.
		Without London.	London.	Total.	
1831-32.....	42	56	47	53	47
'61-62.....	46	52	61	55	52
'71-72.....	65	—	—	116	90
'81-82.....	67	142	97	129	97
'91-92 { single seats	184	151	129	143	164
{ double „	—	187	136	170	177

The ratio is here much smaller in the boroughs than in the counties in 1892, unless the double-vote be included. If this be

done, the franchise in the boroughs without the metropolis will be seen to be exercisable by almost identically the same proportion of people as in the counties. In London, where the conditions are different, the proportion is much lower, and, there being only one double constituency, the two ratios are nearly identical. But whichever way we look at the question of double voting, the table shows that, proportionately, the number of people who could vote in 1881 was twice that which could exercise that power in 1832. In boroughs, the proportion was nearly three times. In 1892, again, there are four voters where there was but one sixty years previously. In the boroughs, on the other hand, the results of the extension and modifications of 1884 have not produced a proportionate change, even though the metropolis be left out of consideration.

9. A more interesting calculation would be that of the number of persons legally qualified by age and sex to vote who are actually on the register. On this point I can only offer an approximation. Mr. Martin showed that under the Act of 1867 there were on the register in 1881 some 405 per 1,000 of the adult males not legally disqualified by reason of being paupers, lunatics, imbeciles, criminals, or aliens;—I see he does not include peers, but their number is immaterial to the proportional result. Adjusting the figures used by Mr. Newmarch on the same plan as he adopted for the return of 1881, Mr. Martin found that the proportion in 1857 was 206, so that the relative strength of possible voters was doubled under the operation of the second Reform Act. I find that an estimate of the corresponding proportion in 1834 gives it at $19\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., so that with the deduction of those incapacitated, the correct ratio was probably much the same as in 1857. Estimating the deductions at about 8 per cent. on the total of adult males in 1891, the proportion of voters in 1892, not counting second votes in the boroughs where they are allowed, will be about 670 per 1,000 of those not disqualified by age, sex, or other drawbacks. So that where 20 men of sound mind, supporting themselves out of jail otherwise than on tickets of leave, were competent to vote in 1832, there were 40 in 1881 and nearly 70 ten years later.

10. Another way of comparing the above figures is by placing side by side the mean constituency, or, rather, seat, at each period, as in the following table:—

TABLE IV.

Year.	County Seats.		Borough Seats.*		Total.	
	Popu- lation.	Electorate.	Popu- lation.	Electorate.	Popu- lation.	Electorate.
1831-32.....	56,012	2,392	15,556	836	28,031	1,316
'61-62.....	74,035	3,431	25,675	1,412	40,587	2,034
'71-72.....	65,525	4,296	36,257	4,249	47,346	4,277
'81-82.....	74,548	5,017	41,773	5,401	54,190	5,255
'91-92 { single seats	59,181	10,918	60,066	9,568	60,209	10,288
{ double „	—	—	60,321	10,266	59,741	10,598

* Including London.

After what has been said above regarding the effect of the growth of population and the legislative changes in the electoral qualifications, the figures here given need but little explanation. It may be pointed out, however, that whereas in 1892 the addition of London to the borough total raises the population to almost that of the county constituency, instead of leaving it at 55,450, as it would otherwise stand, the average electorate is somewhat reduced by the above combination, and in place of 10,366, becomes, as stated in the table, 100 less. The approximation of the two averages in the case of both population and electorate in 1892 is remarkable. In the two preceding decades we may note that although the average electorates were much the same, the average population was very different in the two classes of constituency.

11. In concluding this subject, I add a short table giving the distribution of the constituencies by population, according to the census of 1891:—

TABLE V.

Population (Census of 1891).	Number of Constituencies.				Percentage of each Group on the Total Number.
	County.	Borough.*	London.	Total.	
Under 20,000	—	12	—	12	2·6
20,000—40,000	5	33	2	40	8·7
40,000—50,000	48	18	3	69	15·0
50,000—60,000	85	26	9	120	26·1
60,000—75,000	74	46	21	141	30·7
75,000—100,000	20	29	23	72	15·6
100,000 and upwards	2	—	4	6	1·3
Total	234	164	62	460	100·0
Average.....	59,181	55,452	73,201	59,741	—
Percentage above 60,000	41·1	45·7	77·5	47·6	—
„ not above 60,000	58·9	54·3	22·5	52·4	—

* Including second seats of two-member constituencies.

The average, it appears, is by no means a typical one, except in the case of the counties, where the large number immediately above it neutralises to some extent the numbers below. The balance is here affected also by the two large Essex constituencies bordering on the metropolis. Conversely, in the boroughs, the 12 small seats at the bottom of the scale are balanced by the 29 at the other end. The metropolitan figures show a very material discrepancy in the opposite direction, which is to some extent due to the semi-suburban constituencies of Croydon, Wandsworth, Deptford, and the southern portion of West Ham. The agreement of the general borough average with that of the counties is therefore accidental. Thrown into a diagram of the usual construction, with the percentages vertically at right angles to the population-groups, the table presents a remarkable resemblance to the Zermatt view of the Matterhorn.

12. I may now pass on to the territorial division of the table of which the totals have been discussed above. This is based on the grouping adopted in the census and other general returns, with two comparatively trifling modifications. In the first place, Croydon and West Ham are included with the metropolis, in a separate group. In the second, the counties of Derby and Nottingham have been detached from the North Midland group in the usual arrangement, and that title is assigned to them alone, the rest of the group being termed the East Midlands. For the former innovation the reasons are obvious, as Croydon and West Ham have long been practically joined to London in all but administrative arrangements. For the second departure from custom I am indebted to recess oratory, not merely of this or last year, but for some time past, when authoritative and responsible statesmen have impressed upon their adherents the importance of remembering that England is divided politically by the river Trent. Until this distinction was so prominently brought to notice, I thought that that "smug and silver" river rained its influence, consisting, I believe, of beer and grayling, impartially on both banks. I must admit, however, that I am wrong. Either the ale is potent on one bank only, or the fish, though as Canning observed, they drink much and say little, have ceased to be a political feature. At all events, the statistics show that the difference between the two tracts is quite a recognisable one, and worth maintaining in the tables I am now submitting, though not perhaps to the extent or in the full sense in which it was understood by those whose precepts I am following in the matter. The following statement, which I will not stop to discuss, sufficiently indicates the results of the growth of the great manufacturing centres in the north. It should be compared with

the corresponding figures for the whole country already given in Table II.

TABLE VI.—*Growth of Population &c., North of Trent.*

Year.	Population.		Electorate.	
	Counties.	Boroughs.	Counties.	Boroughs.
1831-32.....	100	100	100	100
'61-62.....	144	184	159	176
'81-82.....	190	279	296	82½
'91 { single seats	211	323	{ 939	996
{ double ,,				1,222

13. Maintaining the distinctions of county, borough and metropolitan constituencies, the population, voting strength and representation of the eleven groups are summarised in Table VII.

In this table we are brought face to face with one of the main difficulties which are met with in any attempt to deal satisfactorily with the statistics of representation, namely, the weight to be assigned to the vote of the two-member constituencies, to which I must refer for a moment. Of these boroughs there are twenty-one, including the City of London. The usual method of dealing with them is to ignore the second seat, and to count the electors only. This slightly disturbs the relation between population and the franchise, still more that between electors and votes. The size of at least half the towns here included would give them, if other considerations were equal, two, and in some cases, three, seats, all above the average in point of population and electors. Others, like Derby and Southampton, are approaching this limit and, at a little distance below again, come Plymouth and Halifax. On the other side of the balance we have Ipswich and Bath, neither of which come up to the average of the single constituency on the general scale, and York, Devonport and Northampton, which do not far exceed it. On the assumption, then, that the subdivision of these larger towns into two constituencies for the purpose of compilation will, in their aggregate, counterbalance the twelve minute constituencies of less than 20,000 inhabitants, I have in every case taken the voting strength of the whole town to be double the number of individual electors, and for this reason have headed the columns in question not "electorate" but "voting strength." I shall have to enter into further explanations as to the distribution and adjustment of the votes polled on the two occasions with which I have to deal, when I reach that portion of my paper.

TABLE VII.—Territorial Distribution of Population, Voting Strength, and Seats.

Group.	Population (1891).			Voting Strength (1892).			Seats.		
	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.*	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.
Northern	1,013,896	824,483	1,868,379	194,390	188,098	382,488	18	14	32
North Western	2,136,573	2,521,181	4,667,754	351,711	443,728	795,439	31	26	57
Yorkshire	1,580,730	1,613,446	3,194,176	313,538	280,508	594,046	26	39	65
North Midlands	667,634	305,851	973,485	126,249	67,133	193,382	11	5	16
<i>Total North of Trent.</i>	<i>5,428,833</i>	<i>5,264,961</i>	<i>10,693,794</i>	<i>985,888</i>	<i>979,467</i>	<i>1,965,355</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>170</i>
West Midlands	1,665,280	1,892,773	3,558,053	326,375	295,340	621,715	30	32	62
South "	1,649,706	215,487	1,865,193	301,329	45,755	347,084	28	6	34
East "	586,376	280,754	867,130	123,464	69,360	192,824	12	6	18
Eastern	1,129,220	277,102	1,406,322	203,170	70,446	273,616	19	8	27
South Eastern	1,857,814	847,494	2,705,308	331,973	169,680	501,653	29	18	47
" Western	1,531,141	315,586	1,846,727	282,701	70,050	352,751	30	10	40
Total	13,848,370	9,094,157	22,942,527	2,554,900	1,700,098	4,254,998	234	164	398
<i>London</i>	—	4,538,460	4,538,460	—	620,160	620,160	—	62	62
Grand Total	13,848,370	13,632,617	27,480,987	2,554,900	2,320,258	4,875,158	234	226	460

* Including full voting strength of two-member constituencies.

14. Reverting to Table VII above, the best way of comparing the relative position of the different groups in respect to the three main features presented in it, is to show the figures in their proportional form, as in the following table:—

TABLE VIII.—*Distribution per Cent. of Population, &c.*

Group.	Population.			Voting Strength.			Representation.		
	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.
Northern	3·8	3·0	6·8	4·0	3·8	7·8	3·9	3·0	6·9
North Western	7·8	9·2	17·0	7·2	9·1	16·3	6·7	5·7	12·4
Yorkshire	5·7	5·8	11·5	6·4	5·8	12·2	5·7	8·5	14·2
North Midland.....	2·4	1·1	3·5	2·6	1·4	4·0	2·4	1·1	3·5
<i>Total North of Trent ...</i>	<i>19·7</i>	<i>19·1</i>	<i>38·8</i>	<i>20·2</i>	<i>20·1</i>	<i>40·3</i>	<i>18·7</i>	<i>18·3</i>	<i>37·0</i>
West Midlands	6·1	6·9	13·0	6·7	6·1	12·8	6·5	7·9	14·4
South „	6·0	0·8	6·8	6·2	0·9	7·1	6·1	1·3	7·4
East „	2·1	1·0	3·1	2·5	1·5	4·0	2·6	1·3	3·9
Eastern.....	4·1	1·0	5·1	4·2	1·4	5·6	4·1	1·7	5·8
South Eastern	6·8	3·1	9·9	6·8	3·5	10·3	6·3	3·9	10·2
„ Western.....	5·6	1·2	6·8	5·8	1·4	7·2	6·5	2·2	8·7
London	—	16·5	16·5	—	12·7	12·7	—	13·4	13·4
Total	50·4	49·6	100·0	52·4	47·6	100·0	50·9	49·1	100·0

Amid the general agreement of the three ratios with each other in the various divisions, a few cases of discrepancy stand out from the rest. For instance, London, judging by population only, is deficiently represented. On the other hand, taking as the test the voting strength, it has more than its share. In the country north of the Trent, the voting strength is above and the representation below the population ratio, especially as regards the boroughs. If we take the groups separately, it will be seen that the main disproportion is found in Yorkshire and the Lancashire division. In both, the boroughs agree fairly well in respect to population and voting strength, but, whereas Yorkshire has a representation figure of 8·5 against the voting figure of 5·8, Lancashire and Cheshire show only 5·7 for representation, against over 9 for their voting strength. The latter group falls short too in its county representation, but Yorkshire in its voting strength only. In the West Midland and the South Western groups there is an apparent irregularity, mainly traceable in the borough constituencies, and due apparently to the presence of such small seats as Shrewsbury, Hereford, Kidderminster, Stafford, and Warwick in the one, and Salisbury, Taunton, Bath, and Falmouth in the other. A similar remark is applicable, so far as I can see, to the South Midland group, certainly Bedford, Peterborough, and the two seats of

Northampton. But the most noteworthy proportions are those I have mentioned above—London, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.

15. The ratio of voting strength to population in each group is not a feature which presents great variation, so I have not burdened the record with a special table regarding it. I may cursorily mention, however, that amongst counties, Yorkshire, the West Midlands, and, above all, the East Midland groups, show the highest proportions. In the last case it reaches 21 per cent. as compared with the general mean of 18·4. The ratio is remarkably low in the Northern group, where it is but 14½ per cent., only reaching 16·4 in the Lancashire group. Amongst the borough groups London, of course, stands out pre-eminent in paucity of electors, with only 13·6 per cent. The West Midlands show only 15·6, and Yorkshire and Lancashire between 17 and 17·5. The Eastern counties, owing perhaps to two double constituencies in a small population, containing also such seats as Bury St. Edmunds, Lynn, and Colchester, has an average of 25 per cent. Leicester, again, and the North stand high, with over 22 per cent. each. On the whole, the irregularity in this ratio in the towns, as compared with the county constituencies, is not more than is to be expected, considering the diversities of conditions not only political but industrial also.

II.—THE ELECTIONS OF 1892 AND 1895.

(a) *General Considerations.*

16. I have now set forth all that appears to me to be needed to link my description of the present conditions of the franchise and distribution question to the description of its past conditions by my eminent predecessors who have dealt with that subject. I propose accordingly to henceforth consider the machine at work. It would be obviously futile to attempt to do this by analysing the results of a single election. But two elections in succession seem to form an adequate basis of comparison and average. If we look back over the contests of the last thirty years, we find that very often, one may almost say invariably, unless under conditions of special or temporary moment, one election is the complement of its predecessor. I do not mean, of course, as regards the work done, and that the process of “stealing clothes” or brooms, or what not, is the inseparable accompaniment of a change of government; I refer only to the mind of the average “wobbler,” and he it is who decides elections. His opinions are, as a rule, limited by two trials, or, in other words, the mean of two elections will probably eliminate or smooth down the fluctuations of this all-important harmonic. After a period of rest, or when some wide enfranchisement has passed into

law, the party which advocates some comprehensive measures for which it considers public opinion is prepared, generally succeeds to power with considerable support at the poll. In due course of time, assuming that they have succeeded in accomplishing their intentions, an appeal to their former adherents in the constituencies will probably teach them the relative place of gratitude and hope in the public breast. Whilst they have been labouring at supplying the old wants a new set has sprung up, and those who spend time in taking stock or in commenting with pardonable complacency on their late achievements, will only realise the fact that they have outstayed their welcome, and will have to contemplate the backs of their audience who have turned away in the absorbing anticipation of benefits to come. Thus it was in 1874, when the Government of 1868 had had its day. So again in 1880, when the services of the 1874 Government were dispensed with somewhat summarily. The elections of 1885 and the following year were fought in circumstances which I need not mention, but which most people will agree render them somewhat abnormal from the point of view we are now occupying. The contests with which I am now about to deal resemble those of 1868 and 1874 in that both in 1892 and 1895 the same protagonists, with one important and regretted exception, conducted the operations on each side; in both the franchise was the same, and, as in the case with which I am comparing them, an election of promise was followed by one of justification or review. The interval between the two being shorter, they do not, I admit, form quite so favourable a subject for analysis as their predecessors of twenty years ago, the results of which were so fully analysed by Mr. Martin in another of his contributions to the literature of this Society. But it will be conceded, I hope, that though the interval between the two appeals was brief, the late Government "lived hard," if I may be allowed the expression, and in its three years of existence allowed the public almost as wide and varied an experience of its quality as did its compeer of 1868.

17. On certain questions arising in connection with the compilation of the figures on which I work in this paper, explanations are necessary which may as well be given at the outset, in order to leave the path clear for discussion of the results. First, then, the returns I deal with are those of the two general elections only, and do not take cognisance of bye elections. Secondly, the results of petitions are not included, but recounts are entered where they have been published. In regard to those troublesome items, the two-member constituencies, it appears to me correct to include in the return the whole of the votes recorded.

The tables are built up seat by seat, and the omission of twenty seats is a serious matter. It follows that if the whole of the votes are included, it will be necessary to add, as has been done in Tables VII and VIII, to the electorate the number which makes up the full voting strength of the constituency. For instance, in Oldham, in 1892, 27,929 electors gave over 49,000 votes, and the proportion in 1895 was but little different. On each occasion both the seats were held by the same party, and on the ordinary plan of compilation, one would have been omitted. As the results of the two elections have been treated alike, the inclusion of both seats does not materially affect them, whilst comparison is not affected at all. The obvious objection arises when the voting power is being compared with the population. In the example just selected, Oldham is credited with almost as many votes as Leeds, which has twice its population, and more than double the number of seats. This is true, but in the preceding part of this review, where the figures of former years are under comparison, I have taken care to "count noses," as well as votes, and what with "plumpers," "fair splits," and splits which an election agent might perhaps qualify by another epithet, the Oldham voter, who forms one of a constituency, remember, of more than 90,000, against one of 73,000 in Leeds, is a factor in the representative system of recognisable weight when votes are in question. There are other vagaries in this class of constituency in checking which I have again deviated from the strict path of routine. Where one or other of the parties did not run a second candidate I have treated the second seat as unopposed. The same course is adopted in the single case in which the second seat was only contested by a casual adherent of some independent creed, which obtained but abnormally slender support. Two other cases of this sort occurred, I may as well mention, in larger towns, and have been adjusted in the same way.

18. Another source of error is found in the treatment of unopposed returns. Some compilers take the figures of the preceding contested election, which, at the rate changes now occur, may carry us back almost into prehistoric politics. I have followed the example of one of the first and most inveterate political weather prophets, and have dealt with these seats on a uniform principle, except in three cases which presented a more obvious solution. As a rule, a quarter of the electorate is presumed to abstain from voting, and of the rest two-thirds are credited with voting for the party in possession, and the balance is made over to the rival party. The proportion of abstainers is, no doubt, higher than the average; but on the one hand, it may be thought that in a contest in which the issue was so little open to doubt, an unusual

number of people would not take the trouble to go to the poll, and, on the other, the process I have described has the arithmetical charm of necessitating merely halving and quartering the electorate under treatment. The exceptional cases are Sheffield, where the 1892 contests were very even, and Birmingham, where they were singularly the reverse. The importance of not excluding the uncontested constituencies from our totals may be estimated from their number, which is given in the following table for the elections since the Reform of 1867. I do not profess, of course, to explain the variations in the numbers at different elections, but the results upon the aggregate voting, except in 1885 and perhaps in the following year also, are obviously considerable. For the two elections with which I am here concerned I have later on distinguished between the totals which include and those which exclude this factor.

TABLE IX.—*Unopposed Returns.*

Election.	Liberal Seats.	Conservative Seats.	Total.
{ 1868.....	118	94	212
{ '74.....	63	125	188
{ 1885.....	4	4	5
{ '86.....	24	102	126
{ 1892.....	13	27	40
{ '95.....	12	110	122

19. It will be observed that in the heading of this table I have adopted a party nomenclature which is now more or less obsolete. This brings me to the last of my preliminary explanations. The titles of parties change with each political generation. The terms Whig and Tory are now altogether abandoned by one of the existing parties, and by the other are only used impartially as terms of disparagement. Protectionist and Repealer, served their purpose and vanished, leaving Peelite to survive until absorbed into Liberal. Another turn of the wheel brought the most distinguished of the Peelites into the position of himself becoming the eponymic head of the party he conducted. It is by no means unusual for a party to accept the name of their leader as their distinguishing badge, and in the light of the Parliamentary history of the last ten years, the extent to which it has been filled by the unique and commanding personality but recently withdrawn from public life, there will be found none, I hope, who will object to be here represented under the name borne by one whom his successor has designated, *urbi et orbi*, as "the most incomparable leader that a party ever had." For one party, accordingly,

I have used the title Gladstonian, whilst for the other that of Unionist will be doubtless allowed to be applicable, whether we look to its origin or to its development under the conditions of the present time. As to the candidates standing outside these two categories and their supporters at the poll, I have included the greater number under the head of Gladstonian, except in cases where the official candidate of that party was opposed by some one other than a Unionist. The experience of the last Parliament seems to indicate that this classification is on the whole suitable to those who retain their seats as the admitted representatives of labour, and for the rest, a separate column has been reserved in the general tables, in order to indicate the apparent amount of support which the present conditions allow them. But where the returns show that such candidates received a number of votes considerably above the average of their class, against a Unionist alone, it has been assumed that their comparative success was attributable to the support of Gladstonian voters, who bestowed it upon them in default of finding a recipient of their own complexion. There are not many instances, however, of this sort. Again, to avoid having to add a column for a single item, I have included, apologetically be it understood, Mr. T. P. O'Connor under the head of the party which was favoured with his support during last Parliament to a greater extent, I believe, than that which includes Mr. Chamberlain.

(b) *The Relative Exercise of the Franchise by the Electorate.*

20. Coming now to the returns contained in Appendix B, the first point I propose to consider is the extent to which the franchise was exercised by the electorate. Here we have to take into consideration the increase or decrease in the register, as well as the variations in the number who actually went to the poll. The following table contains in their proportional form a statement of the voting and the number of registered persons who might have voted :—

TABLE X.

Group.	Percentage of Electors who Voted.				Percentage of Variation in 1895 from 1892.			
	County.		Borough.		Register.		Poll.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	County.	Borough.	County.	Borough.
Northern	78.1	78.9	74.8	75.8	+ 3.9	+ 2.8	+ 5.0	+ 4.2
North Western	84.5	81.9	84.2	80.4	+ 5.0	+ 3.1	+ 1.8	- 1.3
Yorkshire	76.9	79.0	79.2	81.9	- 1.7	+ 3.2	+ 2.3	+ 6.8
North Midlands.....	78.7	83.1	81.9	79.9	- 0.8	+ 7.9	+ 4.1	+ 5.3
<i>Total North of Trent ..</i>	<i>79.7</i>	<i>80.5</i>	<i>82.9</i>	<i>80.1</i>	<i>+ 1.9</i>	<i>+ 3.5</i>	<i>+ 2.9</i>	<i>+ 2.8</i>
West Midlands	78.3	78.0	77.9	74.6	+ 2.2	+ 2.5	+ 1.8	- 1.8
South „	76.1	78.0	82.5	83.2	+ 4.2	+ 3.3	+ 6.9	+ 4.1
East „	80.5	78.1	78.0	73.7	+ 6.1	+ 6.7	+ 3.0	+ 0.9
Eastern	80.4	75.9	80.9	87.0	+ 7.4	+ 3.8	- 1.4	+ 11.8
South Eastern	73.7	75.3	78.2	78.3	+ 1.2	+ 5.0	+ 3.4	+ 5.0
„ Western	79.7	79.3	84.3	84.8	+ 1.2	+ 5.3	+ 0.7	+ 5.4
Total	78.4	78.9	80.0	79.5	+ 2.7	+ 3.6	+ 2.9	+ 2.7
London .....	....	....	70.0	68.0	....	+ 4.9	....	+ 1.5
Grand Total.....	78.4	78.9	77.4	76.2	+ 2.7	+ 3.9	+ 2.9	+ 2.4

On the whole, the voting was in somewhat higher proportion in the county constituencies in 1895 than on the previous occasion; but in the towns the reverse was the case. Omitting London from the latter, however, the average was higher in both years in boroughs than in the counties. In a few groups less than 16 per cent. of the registered electors failed to record votes. The metropolis comes in badly last, and its figures afford a good example of what I mentioned just now, as to the need of considering the increase in the register along with the actual poll. In London both register and poll show an increase, whilst the years taken separately show that in 1895 fewer of those who might have voted went to the poll than on the previous occasion. It is the same with the county seats in the Lancashire group. Although the relative attendance fell off in several of the county groups, the actual number polled increased in all. In the boroughs the increase was a trifle less than in the counties, and in two of the divisions there was a falling off.

21. There is one point in addition to the above that is worth notice, namely, the difference in the attendance in the 105 constituencies which changed sides in 1895, as compared with that in the 355 which remained steadfast in their allegiance. The table is not a long one, as local variations may be disregarded:—

TABLE XI.—*Seats Held and Changed.*

	Percentage of Poll on Register.		Difference between 1892 and 1895.	Difference between Seats Held and Seats Changed.		Variation of 1895 from 1895.	
	1892.	1895.		1892.	1895.	Register.	Poll.
Counties held.....	77.6	77.7	+ 0.1	....	....	+ 3.0	+ 2.5
„ <i>changed</i>	81.5	84.2	+ 2.7	+ 3.9	+ 6.5	+ 1.2	+ 4.6
Boroughs held	79.8	77.3	- 2.5	....	....	+ 3.5	+ 0.2
„ <i>changed</i>	80.5	84.5	+ 4.0	+ 0.7	+ 7.2	+ 3.9	+ 5.4
London, held.....	70.1	67.0	- 3.1	....	....	+ 4.8	+ 0.6
„ <i>changed</i>	69.6	70.3	+ 0.7	- 0.5	+ 3.3	+ 3.7	+ 4.5
Total held	77.4	76.2	- 1.2	....	....	+ 3.4	+ 1.8
„ <i>changed</i> ...	79.5	82.3	+ 2.8	+ 2.1	+ 6.1	+ 2.7	+ 6.3

In the case of the county seats which did not pass over to the other side, the increased attendance in 1895 was insignificant, whilst in both the boroughs and London there was a considerable falling off in this respect. On the other hand, where the seat changed sides, the polling showed a relative increase to a considerable extent, except in London, where the Gallios held the field, and kept the increase down to very small proportions. The difference between the two classes of seats is given in the next columns of the table, and in every case indicates the keener interest of 1895 in the constituencies which were presumably considered shaky. The same story is told by the last two columns, in which the relative increase of the register is compared with that of the poll in the two sets of constituencies, the firm and the fickle. In none of the cases where the seat was held does the growth of the poll equal that of the register. On the other hand, where the seat changed sides, in every instance the polling is relatively larger than the additions to the voting power.

(c) *The Distribution of Parties.*

22. The rest of my paper is concerned with what may not unreasonably be called the practical side of the subject. I enter into no discussion on the merits of the system of government by Party, and for the present purpose it is immaterial whether we agree with the somewhat Olympian definition given by Burke that a party is “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interests upon some particular principle “on which they are agreed,” or whether we hold the view of Sir Henry Maine, that this system of government is one “whereby

“ half of the cleverest men in the country are stimulated to take “ the greatest pains to prevent the other half from governing ;” or whether, again, we steer the middle course indicated by Sir Thomas May, and attribute to the Party system much, if not most, of the advances made in our political constitution, whilst admitting, at the same time, the collateral defects which that system has called into prominence in public life. It is enough for us at present that it is in force, and forms the pivot of our representative arrangements.

23. Now, the discussion of the statistical side of a general election is limited, as a rule, to its bearings upon Party. Mr. Leonard Courtney, who has told us that he is always glad of the opportunity of “letting himself go,” as he calls it, and on our part we are, I am sure, equally glad that such opportunities have not been lacking of late, has described as one of the *sequelæ* of these hard fought contests :—

“ Such a totting up of figures ; such rows and cross rows of comparison. “ Analysis, synthesis, hypothesis, all called in aid ;— and such beaming satisfaction “ at the result ! ”

Well, I cannot deny the totting up. I have a too painful reminiscence of the rows and cross rows to ignore them ; analysis has been the breath of my nostrils for hours together. Of synthesis you are now undergoing the experience ; but hypothesis I repudiate, and the beaming satisfaction may be conveniently postponed until this paper is on its way to the *Statistical Journal*. With all deference, then, to this great authority upon the subject, I shall pursue the same course as my predecessors, though stopping short of their achievements in complacency.

24. I begin by resuming consideration of the proportional figures of the variation in the poll of 1895 from that in 1892, distributing, however, the total between the two parties. Without undervaluing the position and future of any of the independent candidates and the views they represent, I need not take their support in the constituencies into immediate consideration, side by side with that accorded to the Unionist and Gladstonian parties. The following table will serve as my text :—

TABLE XII.—Variations in Poll and Party Majorities.

Group.	A. Variation per Cent. in Poll of 1895 from 1892.				B. Net Majority per Cent. at each Election.											
	Counties.		Boroughs.		Counties.				Boroughs.				Total.			
	1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.	
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
Northern	+ 16·2	+ 0·9	+ 8·3	+ 0·4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Western	+ 8·7	- 5·8	+ 4·0	- 9·0	7·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10·4	...	...
Yorkshire	+ 15·6	- 6·3	+ 7·9	- 0·9	...	28·2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
North Midlands	+ 14·5	- 4·1	+ 19·2	- 3·7	...	11·5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<i>Total North of Trent.</i>	+ 12·6	- 4·3	+ 6·8	- 4·4	...	43·3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
West Midlands	+ 9·4	- 6·5	+ 3·8	- 10·6	12·3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19·0	...	...
South	+ 15·6	- 3·6	+ 9·2	- 11·4	22·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16·0	...	...
East	+ 4·9	+ 1·0	+ 8·6	- 16·0	0·5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Eastern	+ 9·5	- 7·0	+ 20·5	+ 3·7	4·1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·3	...	...
South Eastern	+ 10·2	- 6·6	+ 6·8	+ 1·4	47·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37·2	...	...
Western	+ 7·4	- 6·6	+ 5·8	+ 5·0	8·9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8·3	...	...
Total	+ 11·0	- 5·0	+ 6·8	- 4·8	5·1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4·1	...	...
London .....	...	...	+ 10·7	- 9·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21·8	...	...
Grand Total ...	+ 11·0	- 5·0	+ 7·8	- 6·9	5·1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·9	...	...
In { seats held	+ 8·8	- 4·8	+ 4·2	- 6·4	9·2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11·9	...	...
1895 { " changed.	+ 16·0	- 5·7	+ 18·1	- 5·2	...	11·1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
				

25. Those concerned in the results of elections must sigh for the return of the halcyon days of 1868 and 1874, chronicled by Mr. Martin, when Conservatives held the contested counties by 168 and 269 per cent., and the Liberal majority in the boroughs varied from 242 to 25. From the first portion of the table it will be seen that the general changes in 1895 were due, not to abstention from voting, but to the transfer of votes, as there was a general rise on the Unionist side, whilst on the other the polling fell off in the great majority of the groups. In county constituencies, the Gladstonian poll held its own, as compared with 1892, in the North and the East Midlands only; and even there the rise did not exceed 1 per cent. The general result, therefore, which is shown in Table X above, is due to the 11 per cent. growth of the Unionist poll. The distinction between the seats held and those which changed sides is very clearly marked in this statement. While only an 8 per cent. increase took place in the former, the corresponding figure rose to 16 in the seats transferred. In the borough groups, the Gladstonian vote, though on the whole below that of the preceding election, was not uniformly on the decline. It rose substantially in the Eastern and South-Western groups, in which I need scarcely remind you four seats were gained. In regard to seats held and transferred respectively, there is here a greater difference upon the Unionist side of the table than upon the other, as with the county seats. The reason is obvious and need not be now discussed. I would point out, in passing, that north of the Trent the same features as are shown in the general results are apparent. The increase in the Unionist poll is most marked in the groups which, as the subsequent portion of the table indicates, were, and still are, the most strongly Gladstonian. I may also mention that the slight falling off in the general borough poll in the Lancashire group, on which I remarked in connection with Table X, is not found in the Unionist return, but is strongly marked in the other. I now pass to the second section of the table under consideration. The total result is that a net Unionist majority of 59 per cent. in 1892, became in 1895 one of a little over 22 per cent. The remarkable uniformity in the figures for the boroughs and counties is due, it will be clear, to the influence of London polling on the former. Omitting the metropolis, the borough majority is but 15·2. Nevertheless, compared with that of the earlier election, it amounts to five times the latter, whilst the county majority increased $4\frac{1}{2}$ times only. The position is reversed if we take only the seats which did not change sides. In these the borough majority was higher than the county in 1892, and scarcely doubled itself, whilst that of the counties, owing no doubt to the number of unopposed returns, adjusted as explained above,

abnormally swelled the difference. Similar traces of hard fighting in the boroughs appear in the account of the seats which succumbed to the rival party, for while in county constituencies of this class the majority of 11 per cent. in favour of the Gladstonians was transformed to one of nearly the same proportions on the other side, the borough seats transferred from a Gladstonian majority of 14 were won by one of 9 only. If we omit London from the calculation, the borough stalwarts exactly doubled their Unionist majority of 9·6 of 1892, whilst the victims lost their majority on the other side, amounting to 15 per cent., to one of 7 only. The territorial details of this table must be left to speak for themselves. I will only remark in regard to the aggregate of county and borough figures, that in only one case, and that one of comparatively small numerical importance, has the majority shifted from one party to the other. There is this, however, to be noted, that in the groups where the Gladstonian majority is best established, namely, in the north, in Yorkshire, and in the Leicestershire group, the majorities of 1892 were not maintained in 1895, and in the county north of Trent, to which Lord Rosebery referred in his Devonport speech of 1894, the result of that decline, together with the increase in the Unionist majority in the Lancashire group, was to transfer the whole tract from a Gladstonian majority of 7 per cent. to one of nearly that amount on the opposite side. The Unionist majority in the other groups has everywhere increased, and except in the South-East has more than doubled in proportion, and in addition to the Derby and Nottingham group, the South Midlands and the East passed over to them in the borough contest.

26. Table XII deals with the proportion of the votes of one party to those of the other. The relation between the two may also be shown in a different way, which, though not directly applicable to the present part of my subject, will serve to explain a point on which I shall have something to say later. For example, if, instead of taking the party votes, we consider the relation of each side to the total poll, we get the following proportions, which place the Unionist majority at 10·2 only :—

TABLE XIII.

Party.	A.—Distribution of Votes Polled in 1895.				Total in 1892.	B.—Mean per Seat.		
	County.	Borough.	London.	Total.		Population.	Voting Strength.	Poll.
Unionist	55.1	52.5	59.7	54.7	51	1892 58,736	10,190	7,983
						'95 59,365	10,752	8,292
Gladstonian..	44.8	45.6	40.1	44.5	49	'92 61,083	11,142	8,751
						'95 60,856	11,520	9,133
Others	0.1	1.9	0.2	0.8	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100	1892 59,741	10,598	8,258
						'95 ,,	10,945	8,500

The second part of the above table shows that the average constituency held or won by Gladstonians was larger, both in 1892 and 1895, than that of the Unionists, in respect of population, electorate and poll, except in London. The respective figures are given in the foregoing table. The explanation is probably the concentration of the former in the north of England, and the greater number of small constituencies held by their rivals.

27. For reasons which it would be superfluous to give, I have taken the figures in their proportional form. But there are, I am aware, some people who regard percentages and the like as Macchiavellian devices for obscuring the meaning conveyed by plain and absolute figures, understood of the vulgar. To meet the wishes of such inquirers, I have added to my paper a statement of net majorities by counties, as well as by groups (Appendix C). For general statistical purposes, however, the county is a unit of too varying a size to be of use. We may produce a certain effect, no doubt, by pointing out that of the 40 county groups, with their boroughs, there are 18 which return Unionists only, and only 3 in which more than 1 seat is not allotted to that party, but this method of calculation assigns equal value to Rutland, with 4,000 electors and no town, and Yorkshire, with nearly 600,000 electors and 26 borough seats. I summarise this Appendix, therefore, by groups only in Table XIV given below. I may as well mention, moreover, that the effect of eliminating the second seat in the two-member constituencies, will be to reduce the total Unionist net majority by some 13,000 votes. The subtraction cuts both ways. For whilst Lancashire alone suffers to almost that number, the Gladstonian majority in the Leicester group falls by nearly 4,000, and that in the Northern group of boroughs disappears altogether, the omission of the second seat in Newcastle and Sunderland, converting the Gladstonian majority into an insignificant majority on the other side. But the groups most

affected are no doubt Lancashire, with its 5 double-constituencies, and the South Eastern with 3. Yorkshire gains about 600 Gladstonian votes, and the Eastern group about the same on the other side. In other respects the table may be left to speak for itself:—

TABLE XIV.—*Votes and Majorities in 1895.*

Group.	Counties.			Boroughs.			Total.	
	Total Votes Polled.	Net Majority.		Total Votes Polled.	Net Majority.		Net Majority.	
		Unionist.	Gladstonian.		Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
Northern	159,595	—	16,099	148,735	—	2,843	—	18,942
„ Western.....	302,528	32,842	—	368,542	45,854	—	78,696	—
Yorkshire	243,332	—	4,605	237,214	—	6,378	—	10,983
North Midland	103,959	3,617	—	58,712	1,808	—	5,425	—
<i>Total North of Trent.</i>	<i>809,414</i>	<i>45,755</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>813,203</i>	<i>38,441</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>54,196</i>	<i>—</i>
West Midlands	260,294	35,535	—	225,811	43,128	—	78,663	—
South „	245,015	46,851	—	39,302	337	—	47,188	—
East „	102,314	2,187	—	54,539	—	5,242	—	3,055
Eastern.....	165,648	16,960	—	63,689	2,659	—	19,619	—
South Eastern	253,059	68,551	—	139,386	16,078	—	84,629	—
„ Western.....	226,874	25,604	—	62,252	2,072	—	27,676	—
Total	2,062,618	211,443	—	1,398,182	97,473	—	308,916	—
London	—	—	—	440,925	86,853	—	86,853	—
Grand Total.....	2,062,618	211,443	—	1,839,107	184,326	—	395,769	—
In { seats held.....	1,647,817	190,376	—	1,305,885	161,397	—	351,773	—
1875 { „ changed..	414,801	21,067	—	533,222	22,929	—	43,996	—

I need not enter into the details of this table, but may anticipate further discussion by remarking that the majority of 10 per cent. on the total poll, which I have just mentioned, can be here seen to consist of nearly 12 per cent. in the seats which were held by the party in possession, and of only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. where the election resulted in a transfer. The latter figure gives, as we may easily conceive, abundant food for reflection, of which more hereafter.

28. Having satisfied my conscience in respect to absolute figures, I will now resume the consideration of their proportional reduction. It will help on the appreciation of the tables showing the relative majorities, if the general distribution of parties by votes and seats be set forth in a succinct form. In the following table, then, I take as the unit the aggregate of the votes polled and the seats held by each party separately:—

TABLE XV.

Group.	Territorial Distribution per Cent. of Unionist and Gladstonian Poll.												Distribution per Cent. of Seats held at each Election.			
	Unionist.				Gladstonian.				Total.				Unionist.		Gladstonian.	
	County.		Borough.		County.		Borough.		Unionist.		Gladstonian.		1892.		1895.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Northern	3.2	3.4	3.4	3.4	4.7	5.1	4.0	4.3	6.6	6.8	8.7	9.4	2.6	3.5	12.7	17.1
North Western	7.9	7.8	10.1	9.6	7.8	7.8	9.5	9.2	18.0	17.4	17.3	17.0	16.7	17.5	13.2	8.6
Yorkshire	5.2	5.5	5.2	5.0	7.2	7.1	6.4	6.7	10.4	10.5	13.6	13.8	6.5	7.0	17.6	24.1
North Midlands	2.4	2.5	1.3	1.4	2.8	2.8	1.7	1.6	3.7	3.9	4.5	4.4	2.3	2.6	5.2	6.1
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	18.7	19.2	20.0	19.4	22.5	22.8	21.6	21.8	38.7	38.6	44.1	44.6	28.1	30.6	48.7	55.9
West Midlands	6.9	6.9	6.6	6.2	6.5	6.4	5.5	5.2	13.5	13.1	12.0	11.6	16.4	14.9	9.6	9.5
South "	6.5	7.3	0.9	0.9	5.6	5.7	1.1	1.1	7.4	8.2	6.7	6.8	7.3	9.0	7.6	2.6
East "	2.6	2.4	1.1	1.1	2.7	2.9	1.8	1.6	3.7	3.5	4.5	4.5	2.3	2.6	6.2	7.8
Eastern	4.3	4.3	1.4	1.5	4.3	4.3	1.6	1.8	5.7	5.8	5.9	6.1	6.1	5.5	5.6	7.0
South Eastern	7.5	7.5	3.7	3.6	5.4	5.3	3.3	3.5	11.2	11.1	8.7	8.8	16.3	13.1	2.0	1.8
" Western	6.0	5.9	1.6	1.5	5.9	5.8	1.5	1.7	7.6	7.4	7.4	7.5	9.4	8.7	7.6	8.6
London	—	—	12.2	12.3	—	—	10.7	10.1	12.2	12.3	10.7	10.1	15.6	15.6	12.7	6.8
Total	52.5	53.5	47.5	46.5	52.9	53.2	47.1	46.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The general uniformity between the two elections in the matter of the distribution of votes is remarkable, and in no case does the variation amount to 1 per cent. As between the parties, the main point I need notice is the superior importance of the tract north of the Trent to the Gladstonians, confirming the high opinion of the principles of this part of the country expressed by Lord Rosebery. It will be noted that the first three groups in point of numbers include in both parties Lancashire and the West Midlands, but Yorkshire comes next to Lancashire in the Gladstonian list, and in the other ranks only fifth, its place being taken by the metropolis. It is when we come to representation that the widest differences appear, both between the elections and the parties. Amongst the Unionists, Lancashire heads the list on both occasions, but in 1895 London outstripped both the West Midlands and the South Eastern group, the last named falling from third to fourth, and the other from second to third. On the other side, the first place is occupied by Yorkshire on both occasions, without any dangerous rival. The North comes high, but Lancashire and London have descended. The most noteworthy fact shown in this part of the table is the extent to which the centre of gravity of Gladstonian representation has gradually shifted northwards, unaccompanied by material change in the distribution of the vote. In 1895 more than half the seats of this party are found north of Trent, owing to secessions in the south. The following summary to some extent shows this, though it is of course made more clear on the map prepared by Major Ross of Bladensburg, with which we are all, probably, familiar enough:—

TABLE XVI.—*Summary of XV.*

	Unionist.				Gladstonian.			
	Poll.		Seats.		Poll.		Seats.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
North	38·7	38·6	28·1	30·6	44·1	44·6	48·7	55·9
S.E., S.W., & London	31·0	30·8	41·3	37·4	26·8	26·4	22·3	17·2
S. and W. Midlands	20·9	21·3	23·7	23·9	18·7	18·4	17·2	12·1
E. and E. Midlands	9·4	9·3	8·4	8·1	10·4	10·6	11·8	14·8

In the north and east Unionism (according to the vote distribution) is under-represented, and in the two other groups over-represented. The reverse is the case with the Gladstonians. The peculiarities to which cursory reference was made in connection with Table VIII above, tend to some small extent towards this result.

29. The next step in the analysis is to treat separately the seats held by the two parties respectively. In Table XVII this distinction is observed. The number of seats, I beg leave to observe, is entered to indicate the position of the group-majority in relation to the general party aggregate, and not as connoting any relation between it and the majority of which it is the result. As this table is based upon my general compilation, the figures for unopposed seats, adjusted as I have already described, are included. The effect of the adjustment upon the total will be found discounted at the foot of the table.

30. To analyse this table in full detail would be beyond the scope of the present paper. I will comment therefore on the main features only. Taking the county constituencies first, it will be observed that the Unionists, with a gain of 38 seats, increased also their majority. The increase runs through all the groups to a greater or less degree except where one seat only was gained, namely, in the East and Northern Midlands. On the other hand the Gladstonians seem to have lost not only the 38 seats, but, to some extent, their majorities even in the constituencies which were not diverted from their allegiance. The falling off is very marked in three of the four groups north of Trent, a fact which is all the more striking alongside of the great increase in the majorities by which the seats of this party were held or won in the Lancashire and West Midland groups. The number and relative importance of the unopposed returns in the latter must be taken into consideration. In Lancashire we find Clitheroe and Rossendale; in Staffordshire, Burton; in Gloucestershire, the Forest of Dean. There are also the two divisions of Monmouth, where the majority, at least in one of the two, assumed quite Welsh dimensions. The general average is raised by these items, so that the divergence from the average of 1892 is comparatively small, although it is in marked contrast to the corresponding figure on the other side. The adjustment of uncontested seats affects, necessarily, the Unionist majority more than the other, as the latter show only 6 to 74 in possession of the former. The case is reversed in 1892, when these adjustments were of less importance to either side. Finally we have the difference in the majorities between the seats retained and those lost. Here again whilst the Unionist majority advanced from the already sufficient proportion of 40 per cent. to 66, the Gladstonian proportion, which was still more ample in 1892, fell from 47 to 29. The figures regarding the transferred seats again present interesting features. Put in one way, three seats held in 1892 by the Unionists with a majority of only 1·8 per cent., fell to the opposite party in 1895 by a majority of 4·2. Looked at from the

point of view of votes given to each separately, the Unionist poll in these seats increased by 3 per cent., whilst the Gladstonian waxed and multiplied by over 9. When we turn to the seats lost by the latter, which were 41 in number, it appears that the majorities were on a more liberal scale in both elections. In 1892 the seats were won by a majority of 12 per cent., which was transformed on the last occasion to one of nearly the same amount on the other side. In other words, the party in possession at the election of 1895 lost about 7 per cent. of its votes of 1892, and the assailant's success was due to an increase in its poll amounting to 17 per cent.

31. In the case of the boroughs the tendency was much the same. The nine seats won in 1895 by the Gladstonians by an average majority of 5·8, were held by the opposite party in 1892 by a majority of 7·5. So again the Gladstonians held in 1892 52 seats by a percentage majority of about 18, which succumbed to the Unionists on the later occasion, by a majority averaging just under 12 per cent. In the case of the first mentioned transfers, the Unionists showed a poll, deficient as compared with that of 1892 by a little under one per cent., whilst the Gladstonian poll grew by nearly 13. The difference in the other case is more marked, for the poll of the party in possession fell off by over 7 per cent., and that of the Unionists gained by $22\frac{1}{2}$. In the rest of the borough return there is a good deal more irregularity than in the county portion of the table. The general tendency of the Unionist poll was strongly upward, and that of the others slightly downward. The large Unionist majorities in the metropolis were increased, but the 8 Gladstonian seats show a falling off in this respect, amounting to one-half the proportion of 1892. In the provinces, we may compare the curious inconsistency of a gain of seats by the Gladstonians in the South West group of boroughs, with a diminished majority, and in the extreme North, an equally striking instance of the same kind on the Unionist side, indicating the closeness of the struggle, especially when we note that the other seats held by the losing party in the same groups rallied with unusual vigour to their banner. Look, for instance, at the North, where the Gladstonian poll in the 7 seats left to it, ran to a majority high above that of 1892, whilst at the other end of the country the Unionists raised their majority in their 6 seats to 16 per cent., whereas, when they held 8 seats, it was only 11. In the South Midlands, too, the Gladstonians kept by 44 per cent. 1 seat, as against 4 by 38 per cent. in 1892. There is an apparent anomaly, to which I may direct attention, in the case of the borough group of the Eastern counties, where the Gladstonians exchanged an unopposed seat in Norwich for a hard won victory

at Ipswich, whilst Yarmouth and Colchester, so far as majorities are in question, only balanced each other proportionally, though not in the actual number of votes. The difference between the voting in London and the provincial boroughs makes it advisable to show the latter separately in respect to the seats held and transferred, a point which I could not conveniently take into consideration in framing the table on which I have just been commenting. In the following statement this omission is supplied:—

TABLE XVIII.—*Boroughs, including London.*

	Unionist.				Gladstonian.			
	1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.	
	Seats.	Majority.	Seats.	Majority.	Seats.	Majority.	Seats.	Majority.
Held	86	32·6	86	46·8	34	34·7	34	27·6
Lost	9	7·5	—	—	35	20·3	—	—
Won	—	—	35	9·8	—	—	9	5·8
Total	95	30·1	121	32·6	69	27·2	43	23·2
Contested	85	24·9	96	23·4	60	17·7	37	9·1

32. Before leaving the subject of boroughs, I should like to revert for a moment to the general division of votes, irrespective of the party by whom the seat was held, in order to indicate how far the different classes of boroughs were in harmony with the territorial and general totals. Table XIX gives the main facts in the usual proportional form.

The poll shows a general increase, except in the first group, where there is a fractional falling off owing to the small opposition offered to the two Gladstonian seats in Hull and Bristol respectively, which were not contested by Unionists. Here, however, as in the rest of the groups, the Gladstonian poll alone diminished, though that of the opposite party rose by less than elsewhere. The net results of the voting are then given. Only one group showed a Gladstonian majority in 1892, and this gave place at the next election to one of a trifle more pronounced character on the other side. I am inclined to attribute this to the fact that in 1892, out of eight unopposed returns among these two-member constituencies, six were those of Gladstonians, whereas in 1895 the number, although unchanged, was equally divided between the parties. The insignificant Unionist majority in the middle-class borough constituencies rose proportionally more than the rest, though the majorities in both the largest and the smallest groups were actually larger. On the whole, excluding London, the majority on

TABLE XIX.—Borough Seats Classified by Population.

Boroughs.	A. Variation per Cent. of Poll in 1895 from 1895.			B. Net Majority per Cent.				C. Representation.					
	Total.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	1892.		1895.		Total Seats.	Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Unionist Net Gain in 1895.
				Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.		1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	
Large towns*	- 0·3	+ 3·8	- 7·3	14·7	...	28·6	...	51	31	40	20	11	9
Two-member towns ...	+ 5·7	+ 10·0	- 4·6	...	6·6	7·9	...	40	19	27	21	13	8
Middle class , †...	+ 2·1	+ 6·2	- 4·3	0·4	...	11·8	...	61	36	45	25	16	9
Small towns ‡	+ 2·2	+ 7·4	- 3·8	17·7	...	31·5	...	12	9	9	3	3	...
Total	+ 2·6	+ 6·8	- 5·2	2·2	...	15·2	...	164	95	121	69	43	26
London	+ 1·5	+ 10·7	- 9·7	21·8	...	49·2	...	62	37	54	25	8	17
Grand Total	+ 2·4	+ 7·8	- 5·9	6·9	...	22·6	...	226	132	175	94	51	43

* More than two seats.

† One seat each.

‡ Under 20,000 inhabitants.

this side was about six times the proportion of that of 1892. The small towns, though showing no change in the total results so far as representation is in question, had four changes. Two of the seats passed from Unionist to Gladstonian, and two executed a movement in the opposite direction. On the total of all groups, outside the metropolis, 10 seats in every 25 held by the Gladstonians in 1892, passed over to the enemy in 1895. The Unionists increased their representation by 27 per cent., and though their majority grew relatively more than this, it was not remarkably high.

33. The uncontested seats must now make their appearance for, I hope, the last time, at all events as a prominent feature of the returns I am discussing. I have already shown, first that they are no new incident in a general election, and again, that, though since the reconstruction of parties in 1886 they have been more numerous on the Unionist side, in the earlier days of the reforms of 1867 they varied with the wave of popular support. On the present occasion we have to deal with only 13 on one side and 27 on the other in 1892, but in the succeeding contest, the Unionists increased their number to 110, and the other party were left with one less than their former total. Of the 169 county seats held by the Unionists in the latter election, 44 per cent. would have had to be omitted from my returns had some adjustment not been made. Of the 42 borough seats uncontested, only 6 are Gladstonian, and of these, 4 represent the second seats in the two-member boroughs, and the others are those of Sheffield, where no contest took place for any one of the 5 seats. Of the Unionist borough seats of this class, 11 were in London, and the rest scattered, small and large towns alike contributing. Birmingham and Liverpool on the one hand, Taunton, Windsor, Winchester, and Bury St. Edmunds, on the other. I may mention that of the 122, 26 were left uncontested in 1892, as well as on the later occasion. Excluding these from

TABLE XX.—*Uncontested Seats of 1895.*

Majority per Cent. in 1892.	Number.		
	County.	Borough.	Total.
Under 10	2	—	2
10— 25.....	9	5	14
25— 50.....	25	9	34
50— 100.....	24	10	34
100 or more	10	2	12
Unopposed	10	16	26

consideration, over 45 seats were held at the former election by majorities of more than 50 per cent., and only 16 by less than

25 per cent. Speaking roughly, the county seats left undisturbed were held by the Gladstonians in 1892 by an average majority of 64 per cent., whilst the Unionists held theirs by some 58 only. The last named rate, however, was obtained by that party in the boroughs, also including London, but the Gladstonian majority, owing possibly to the close contests in Sunderland and Sheffield, was only 25 per cent. It is more to the purpose to point out that these uncontested seats contain an electorate amounting in the aggregate to over 1,320,000 votes, out of which 1,150,000 belonged to Unionist seats, and about 173,000 to the others. In the south and west of the country, no less than 49 county seats out of 64, scattered over 13 counties, were thus left uncontested.

34. The majorities have been considered hitherto in the aggregate, or by county groups, which to some extent obscures the true significance of the results. I shall now, therefore, classify them, without regard to territorial considerations, into six main heads; first, those of what we may hold to be of a casual character; then the precarious, in two subdivisions, according to whether the percentage of success is between 5 and 10, or between 10 and 25. We have next, the average or safe majorities, of from 25 to 50 per cent., followed by the full and the abnormal figures, the last named consisting of those in which 100 per cent. or more was touched. The uncontested seats are added to complete the total. The actual numbers will be found in Appendix D, and the proportional reduction is given below:—

TABLE XXI.—*Majorities Grouped by Percentage.*

Majority per Cent.	Percentage of Seats in each Class of Majority.									
	County.		Borough.		Total.		Unionist.		Gladstonian.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Under 5	12·0	8·1	17·3	14·6	14·6	11·3	12·5	8·1	17·3	20·7
5—10	9·0	9·8	15·5	15·0	12·2	12·4	9·9	11·1	15·2	16·4
10—25	26·9	21·8	23·4	22·1	25·2	23·5	25·5	22·1	24·9	27·6
25—50	20·9	16·7	20·3	14·6	20·6	15·7	20·5	14·2	20·8	19·8
50—100	18·4	4·7	9·3	8·9	13·9	6·7	14·8	8·7	12·7	0·9
100 and over	6·4	1·7	3·1	6·2	4·8	3·9	6·5	3·8	2·5	4·3
Total contested...	93·6	65·8	88·9	81·4	91·3	73·5	89·7	68·0	93·4	89·7
Uncontested	6·4	34·2	11·1	18·6	8·7	26·5	10·3	32·0	6·6	10·3

35. Table XVII shows that, discounting the effect of the numerous unopposed returns in 1895, mainly on the Unionist side, the general average majority fluctuates within a short distance of 25 per cent. We may therefore take this proportion as an arbitrary dividing line. The percentage of seats with

majorities above and below it is shown below. In the former category the unopposed seats are bound to be included, since in 1895 they constituted a third of the county seats, and more than a quarter of the whole. Thus distributed, it appears that in 1892 the majority of the seats were held by less than the demarcating percentage. The county and the Unionist seats generally stood

TABLE XXII.—*Majorities Divided at 25 per Cent.*

	Percentage Above.		Percentage Below.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
County	52	58	48	42
Borough	44	48	56	52
Total	48	53	52	47
Unionist	52	59	48	41
Gladstonian	43	35	57	65

above the line, but the deficiency in the Gladstonian and borough majorities pulled down the totals. In 1895 the county and the Unionist seats again appear above the surface, and to a more marked degree; the borough figure also rose slightly, though the smaller majorities still predominate. The Gladstonian seats, on the whole, exhibit here the characteristic I have already pointed out in the preceding part of this paper.

36. The groups which suffer most in 1895 from the drain of the unopposed seats have been indicated before, so I need not enter into the results upon the distribution as shown in Table XXI. Similarly, the totals given for the contested seats at the foot of Table XVII are merely supplemented by the information conveyed in Table XXI, which locates the result in the extremes of the Unionist seats, with a slight reinforcement of the majorities between 5 and 25 per cent. On the other side the falling off appears to have been general from 5 to 100 per cent., along with a certain amount of what I may call telescoping into the lowest group from those above. The general result of the interchange of seats between the groups of majorities, irrespective of change of parties, is shown in the first, or upper section of Appendix D, on which I do not propose to expend further comment, because the fluctuation of majorities seems to me to require more detailed treatment than mere quotation of the totals at each election.

37. In the first place, the groups used in that Appendix may be conveniently ignored when the general tendency of the variations within or without these artificial limits has to be appreciated. In the following table, accordingly, they should be taken merely as landmarks, and the headings denote any increase or diminution of the majority whatever without reference to them:—

TABLE XXIII.—Variation in Majorities from 1892.

Percentage of Majority in 1892.		Results of the Election of 1895 on Majorities of 1892.																		
		Unionist Seats.						Gladstonian Seats.						Total.						
		Majority Rose.		Majority Fell.		Total.		Majority Rose.		Majority Fell.		Total.		Majority Rose.		Majority Fell.		Total.		
County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.	County.	Borough.	Total.
Under 5	8	18	26	3	4	7	33	1	3	4	16	14	30	34	9	21	30	19	18	37
5—10	8	9	17	3	6	9	26	1	4	5	9	16	25	30	9	13	22	12	22	34
10—25	28	26	54	4	19	13	67	3	1	4	28	17	45	49	31	27	58	32	26	58
25—50	31	20	51	—	4	4	55	4	4	8	15	18	33	41	35	24	59	15	22	37
50—100	22	13	35	3	—	3	38	3	1	4	15	7	22	26	25	14	39	18	7	25
100 and over....	10	6	16	—	1	1	17	2	—	2	2	—	2	4	12	6	18	2	1	3
Total Con- tested	107	92	199	13	24	37	236	14	13	27	85	72	157	184	121	105	226	98	96	194
<i>Uncontested ...</i>	(9)	(14)	(23)	3	1	4	27	(1)	(3)	(6)	2	5	7	13	10	19	29	5	6	11
Grand Total..	116	106	222	16	25	41	263	15	18	33	87	77	164	197	131	124	255	103	102	205

The figures opposite the uncontested seats purporting to show a rise merely denote either that the seats were again not contested, or that, if contested, they were held by a majority greater than 100 per cent., this being the rate taken for the adjustment. We may omit these, however, from consideration, and take into account the contested seats only. Out of a total of 420, in 226 the majority rose; in 194, it fell. If we take the parties separately, however, there is a remarkable difference between them. On the Gladstonian side 85 per cent. suffered a fall in their majority, whilst on the Unionist side 84 per cent. enjoyed a rise. In both cases a transfer to the opposite party is counted, of course, as a fall. Allowing full weight to the fact that in this comparison a fractional variation, however small, is taken into consideration, the difference between the two parties is apparent from a very cursory comparison of the totals with the number of the seats in each group which show modification. In the case of majorities of 25 per cent. and upwards, 92 per cent. of the Unionist seats show an increase; but of the others, 80 per cent. were subjected to the reverse influence.

38. Our attention may now be specially directed to the seats which changed parties in 1895, the main facts concerning which are summarised in Table XXIV.

The four unopposed returns which are shown as having changed sides are in three cases merely the second seats of double constituencies, and the fourth is South Derbyshire. Of the contested seats which changed sides, 61 which were held by majorities of less than 10 per cent. in 1892 constitute no less than half the entire number in that group. The proportion is reduced to less than half by the time the list reaches the next group of majorities, but even here one in four succumbed. The rest of the record belongs to the chapter of accidents, always a long one on such occasions. If we look at the second section of the table, containing the distribution in relation to the grouping of 1895, we find general correspondence with 1892, and, since the majorities in contested seats underwent a slight but general fall, the proportion of the seats won in that year to the total held by less than 25 per cent. majorities rose from 37 per cent. to 40. It will be noticed, no doubt, on the other side of the account that the same seats are not included in the same majority group on both occasions, and the figures of mean majorities in this table indicate that up to 10 per cent. the majorities rose considerably with the transfer. As the majority of the party in possession rises, that by which it fell to the rival party decreases. The mean result, accordingly, shown at the foot of the table, is almost identical in the two elections, and for practical purposes

TABLE XXIV.—Majorities in Seats Changing Sides in 1895.

Majority per Cent.	1892.						1895.						
	Party from which Transferred in 1895.		Total.	County.	Borough.	Proportion to Group Total of 1892.	Mean Majority per Group.		Proportion to Group Total in 1895.	Distribution in 1895.		Mean Majority per Group.	
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.					County.	Borough.		County.	Borough.	County.	Borough.
Under 5.....	7	30	37	19	18	.55	2.4	2.9	.52	11	16	14.5	11.2
5—10.....	4	20	24	7	17	.43	6.1	7.7	.49	11	17	9.9	13.7
10—25.....	—	27	27	13	14	.23	16.6	17.1	.35	18	20	9.4	15.7
25—50.....	1	8	9	3	6	.09	34.6	34.6	.16	4	8	7.4	9.6
50—100.....	—	4	4	1	3	.06	68.0	59.6	—	—	—	24.5	3.0
100 and over ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	12	89	101	43	58	.24	11.1	13.9	.30	44	61	11.9	12.2
Uncontested ...	—	4	4	1	3	.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grand Total....	12	93	105	44	61	.23	—	—	.30	44	61	—	—

may be ignored, as it is a mere arithmetical expression, instead of a typical, or working, average. We may next give a passing glance at the relative effects of the contest of 1895 upon the aggregate of seats held by the two parties by small majorities in 1892. Where the majority was no more than 5 per cent., the Gladstonians lost 30 out of 34, and the Unionists kept possession of 26 out of 33. In the next group the latter party lost 4 out of 26, and the Gladstonians 20 out of 30. After this, the Unionists appear but once in the table, viz., as the losers of the Falmouth and Penryn seat, which they held in 1892 by a majority of 38 per cent. The Gladstonians, on the other hand, lost more than they held in the majority group of 10 to 25 per cent. In the higher majorities they were more fortunate, and kept all but 12 out of 59 contested. The net result is that, of the seats held by Gladstonians in 1892, 47 per cent. passed from them in 1895, and now constitute about 27 per cent. of the contingent on the opposite side. The Unionists, again, lost 4·5 per cent. of their 1892 forces, a transfer which, in the changed circumstances, amounts to 10 per cent. of the present strength of the party which won it.

39. There is a certain interest, to some, perhaps a melancholy one, in tracing the fate of some definite group of seats at the last election. The best to select for the purpose is, obviously, that held by the most slender majorities, and the limit of 10 per cent. seems to be as suitable as any. The following table, then, deals with the 123 seats coming under this category in 1892, and shows what in Ireland would be called the "scatteration" which took place amongst them at the election of 1895. The majority groups have been multiplied expressly to illustrate more clearly the glorious uncertainty of the pursuit of popular favour.

TABLE XXV.—*Distribution in 1895 of Seats held in 1892 by less than 10 per Cent. Majority.*

Majority per Cent. in 1895.	Counties.			Boroughs.			Total.			Unionist.		Gladstonian.	
	In- creased	De- creased	Total.	In- creased	De- creased	Total.	In- creased	De- creased	Total.	In- creased	De- creased	In- creased	De- creased
Under 5	—	8	8	3	13	16	3	21	24	3	9	—	12
5—10	1	10	11	10	11	21	11	21	32	7	5	4	16
10—15	7	5	12	5	6	11	12	11	23	9	2	3	9
15—20	4	3	7	5	2	7	9	5	14	8	—	1	5
20—25	2	1	3	2	3	5	4	4	8	4	—	—	4
25—30	1	—	1	4	2	6	5	2	7	5	—	—	2
30—35	1	1	2	1	3	4	2	4	6	2	—	—	4
35—40	—	3	3	4	—	4	4	3	7	3	—	1	3
Unopposed	2	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	2	2	—	—	—
Total	18	31	49	34	40	74	52	71	123	43	16	9	55

There is one point in the above which on the face of it needs explanation, namely, that in some cases the seat has entered a higher group, though in the column headed decrease. The meaning is that the seat has been transferred from the party which held it in 1892 by a small majority, to the other, by whom it was won by a larger majority in 1895. Of these there were 2 on the Unionist side, and 27 on the other. Rather less than half the 123 seats in the group of 10 per cent. majorities remained there at the end of the 1895 election. Of these 42 show a decreased majority, and only 14 increased their lead. As was seen in Table XXIII, only a few of the increased majorities belong to the Gladstonian party, which contains, however, the bulk of the majorities which fell off. The same difference is apparent in the distribution of the larger majorities. There are very few Gladstonian seats found in the higher groups of increase, whilst under the head of decrease, no Unionist seats appear above the 15 per cent. class, and very few in that of 5 to 10. The difference between county and borough does not seem to be enough to require comment.

40. Before closing this part of my subject, I should like to add a few lines of comment on the results of the two elections in the metropolis. These have hitherto been merged in the general totals, but there are special features in the conditions of London which make it worth while to deal with it separately. The main statistics connected with it are summarised below :—

TABLE XXVI.—*London Statistics.*

Constituencies.	Percentage of Poll on Register.		Percentage of Majority.				Votes Polled in 1895 compared with Poll of 1895.		
	1892.	1895.	1892.		1895.		Total.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
			Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.			
A. Unionist seats	69·5	67·5	52·0	....	59·5	....	....	....	....
(1.) <i>Retained</i>	69·5	66·5	52·0	....	80·0	....	+ 0·4	+ 7·4	- 9·3
(2.) <i>Won</i>	69·6	70·4	....	11·1	17·9	....	+ 4·9	+ 18·9	- 9·3
B. Gladstonian seats—									
(1.) <i>Retained</i>	73·7	71·3	....	46·5	....	10·8	- 0·7	+ 16·1	- 12·1
Total	70·0	68·0	21·8	....	49·2	....	+ 1·5	+ 10·7	- 9·7
Contested seats	70·1	67·1	11·6	....	34·9	....	....	....	....
(A.) <i>Unionist</i>	69·6	66·5	36·9	....	44·3	....	....	....	....
(B.) <i>Gladstonian</i>	70·8	71·2	....	21·4	....	10·8	....	....	....

With regard to the attendance at the poll, I need add nothing to what has been said already, except to note that the Gladstonians put forth their relative strength, on the whole, more than their

rivals, who, in 1895, allowed nearly a third of their adherents to abstain from exercising their rights as electors. On the other hand, the total poll in the Unionist seats increased as compared with that of 1892, while that in the Gladstonian seats rather declined. The greatest difference between the two years is in the relative distribution. In the constituencies where the Unionists remained in possession their poll increased materially, considering the variation in the register, but far less than in the constituencies won by them or held by the opposite party. Curiously enough, the Gladstonian decrease was more marked in the seats retained by them, where they had plenty to spare, than in either of the two other groups. The majorities on the Unionist side show wider variations. The seats gained in 1895 by a majority of nearly 18 per cent. were held in 1892 by a Gladstonian majority of 11. The seats already in their possession showed an addition of 28 to every 100 votes by which they exceeded their rivals three years before, and about the same proportion is placed to their credit in the seats won. The Gladstonians won no seat, and in the 8 they retained the collective majority fell off by 76 per cent. If we omit Kennington and South-West Ham from consideration, as under the circumstances we may fairly do, the most marked differences in seats which changed sides are found in Haggerston, where a majority of 56 per cent. was transformed into a minority of 1; North Camberwell, where one of 24½ was converted into a minority of 21; and South Hackney, where 35 per cent. in favour of the Gladstonians gave place to a Unionist majority of over 7. In the case of the constituencies which were already in the hands of the Unionists, the majorities rose in a most remarkable way in every instance but that of East St. Pancras, which has the distinction of being one of the only two constituencies in the metropolis, Unionist or otherwise, in which the Gladstonian poll increased. The other was the neighbouring constituency of West Islington, which remained firmly attached to its colours, though with a majority reduced from 54 to 15 per cent. The same falling off pervaded all the 7 other seats retained by that party. In 1892 the lowest poll was 29 per cent. in Whitechapel, and in 1895 that constituency occupied the same position, but with only 1·6 to its credit. Poplar, where the Gladstonian poll fell off relatively more than in any other of the seats held by them, showed a majority reduced from 68 to less than 27 per cent. The whole poll, however, was here below that of 1892 to an unusual extent. South-west Ham, it may be added, has the distinction of returning the highest proportion of abstainers from the poll of any constituency in England, and only about 56 per cent. of its register tendered their votes.

Taking the territorial distribution of the London constituencies, it will be seen that 4 of the 8 Gladstonian seats belong to the East End, where all of them show largely reduced majorities, and 7 of 11 seats held here by this party in 1892 fell to the opposing candidates in 1895. Into further detail it is unnecessary to enter, as the most prominent facts of the elections concerned have been made fairly clear in what I have said above. They may be summed up as the increase in the Unionist poll in 57 of the 62 constituencies, and the decrease in that of the opposite party in all but two. Then also the marked growth of all but one of the Unionist majorities, and the equally marked diminution of the support received by the Gladstonian party, even in the seats retained by them, must be taken with the extinction of their advantage altogether in 17 out of their 25 seats, in half the instances by a majority considerably larger than that by which they had been held in 1892. It is clear, in conclusion, that the ordinary rule that the smaller the majority the greater the danger of losing the seat, was not applicable to either party in metropolitan elections on the occasions which I have been comparing with each other. It will be very interesting to watch how far these seats fall into line with the rest of borough constituencies, when their vote is called for at the next general election.

(d) *The Results as an Expression of Public Opinion.*

41. The last branch of my subject has now been reached. I have hitherto dealt with the representative system as it exists, and have described and analysed its operation on two separate occasions which provide, it seems to me, as fair an illustration of its tendency and results as we are likely to obtain. The statistics I have quoted show that about seven out of every ten adult males, not disqualified on personal grounds, are now competent to vote, and that of these five or six exercised their privilege. There remains the question of how far the results of that exercise are an accurate reflection of public opinion? The way in which the subject has been subdivided will show, I hope, as I intended it to do, that this question has, like all others, two sides, and that these two differ very widely one from the other. We may, in the first place, take the results of the two elections in their aggregates, territorial or otherwise. I have attempted no discrimination of classes beyond that which in the present day is of much less significance than of yore, namely, between county and borough constituencies. There is one other distinction which I should have liked to have imported into my tables, and that is, between the agricultural and industrial vote. I am convinced, however, that the attempt would have been unsuccessful. It has been made on previous occasions before this

Society, and was always subjected to severe and reasonable criticism destructive of its value. None the less is it a distinction which is slowly but gradually forcing itself upon public attention, as tending towards a class antagonism which, under our present conditions of economical organisation it seems impossible to prevent from finding unmistakable expression in political contests of the near future. For the present purpose, however, that distinction cannot be drawn, so we must be content with local distribution. From the point of view which we are for the moment occupying, we have only to compare the results of the last election with those of its predecessor. We find, then, an increased attendance at the poll, outstripping in the case of county constituencies the growth of the roll of electors, and all but commensurate with it in the boroughs. This increase is spread over the whole country, and is accompanied to a corresponding extent by a general increase in the support given to one party and a general decrease in that given to the other. In connection with this factor in the case, we must take into consideration the instances in which a constituency was not called upon to exercise its right of choice. The influence of this abstention was in 1895 thrown almost entirely in favour of one party. The leader of the sufferers from the above cause has given an authoritative explanation of his omission to contest these seats, and that must suffice, although it is perhaps expressed in terms which, as Mr. Gladstone said of the proposition of another of his devoted adherents, seem "tainted with the modern sin of ambiguity." I merely wish to point to the statistical difference between 1895, when 122 candidates were thus left without "a run for their money," and 1885, when only one on the one side, and four on the other were thus allowed to walk over. When we come to look at the results of the voting, we find the same tendencies equally well defined, both as regards intensity and territorial distribution. The majority of one party rose on the whole to four times its proportion at the previous contest. That of the other was retained only in a few tracts, and there much reduced. Everywhere else it was lowered, and in about eighty instances disappeared altogether in favour of a majority not far from the same proportionate amount on the opposite side. Now, the general conclusion to be drawn from a survey of the situation from the above point of view is that a tendency so widely spread, and in a great many constituencies so forcibly expressed, must fairly be held to correspond with the real sentiment of the electorate, and to represent therefore the popular verdict on the merits of the contest. The gain in representation accordingly is, in the circumstances, no greater than that to which the victors are justly entitled.

42. But let us now take up a different position, from which we can appreciate the other side of the question. Let us turn from the elected to the electors, and weigh against the distribution of the representatives that of the votes by which that distribution is determined. Instead of quoting an aggregate majority of 6 per cent. in 1892, converted into one of more than 22 per cent. at the last election, we may consider the results with reference to the aggregate of recorded votes, as in the following table:—

TABLE XXVII.

Party.	1892.				1895.			
	Distribution per Cent.		Number of Seats.		Distribution per Cent.		Number of Seats.	
	Votes.	Seats.	Actual.	Proportional.	Votes.	Seats.	Actual.	Proportional.
Unionist	51	57	263	236	55	75	344	252
Gladstonian	49	43	196	223	44	25	116	205
Others.....	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	3
Total	100	100	460	460	100	100	460	460

In 1892 the Unionists held 27 more seats than their proportion of votes indicated as their due. By the same mode of reckoning the Unionists in 1895 held 92 more seats than the number to which the voting entitled them, and according to that test 89 ought to go to the Gladstonians and 3 to the miscellaneous candidates. Then, again, we may apply another test, and see what proportion of voters secured the return of the candidate whom they supported, irrespective of party. I need only quote the totals of Appendix F. They show that about 57 per cent. was the proportion which voted for the successful candidate, both in 1892 and on the last occasion. The majority of that candidate over his rival, however, reached nearly 37 per cent. in 1895, against 33 in 1892. On the whole, then, by this mode of calculation, some 43 per cent. of the people who voted had reason to be dissatisfied with the result of the election. These facts, in the bald way in which I have purposely set them forth, are bad enough; but if we dive below the surface of general totals, we shall find, as every student of the subject knows, still more pronounced anomalies. Take Salford, for example, where nearly 23,000 votes were given for three contested seats. One seat was won by 100, a second by 74, and the last by 6. In other words, 93 votes would have been enough, if judiciously cast, 51, 38, and 4, respectively, to have handed the whole town over to the Gladstonian side, instead of returning 3 Unionists. On

a smaller scale, we find the cases of Durham, Stafford, and St. George's-in-the-East. In Bradford, again, a majority of 7 per cent. in favour of the three Gladstonian candidates of 1892, turned in 1895 to one of 9 per cent., on which their three opponents floated into victory. In Leeds, on the other hand, the Gladstonian majority of 7 per cent. in 1892 was transformed into 5 on the other side, but the representation remained unchanged, and the majority of the seats are held by a minority of the aggregate vote. Sheffield is another instance of a small majority of votes on one side accompanied by a majority of representatives on the other. In the counties the instances are less marked; still they are to be found.

43. Anomalies such as these are no novelty. They are not only incidental to the system in force, but at first sight seem more likely to increase in number than to disappear. With the extension of interest in political matters, especially now that the tendency is towards economic rather than constitutional changes, parties will be better defined, not so much on the basis of general or fundamental difference of principle, but on grounds which touch more immediately the every-day life of the electorate. At each election, therefore, the contest will be closer and more keenly conducted. The result will be a general reduction of majorities, liable to be interrupted only on some personal or purely local grounds. Hitherto, I am inclined to think the importance of these small majorities has been exaggerated. Their elimination from the return does not lessen the inequality of representation either in 1895 or at the previous election. Subtracting all seats held by a majority less than 25 per cent., and retaining, of course, the uncontested returns, the Unionists would have had a majority of 53 in 1892, and of 161 on the last occasion. If we raise the limit of the majority to 100 per cent., and still count the uncontested as not falling below that proportion, the same party would have been in the superior position in 1892 by 26 seats, and in 1895 by 106. The number of the precarious majorities, by which I mean those of less than 10 per cent., has again not varied very greatly. In 1868 there were 96, equally divided between the two parties. In 1874 there were 98, also equally shared. In 1880 the number rose to 120, out of which 72 were on the Liberal side. I omit the elections of 1885 and the following year, and pass on to 1892, when these majorities numbered 123, the Gladstonians having 64 to the 59 of their opponents. The election of 1895 reduced them to 109, of which the Unionists held 66. Speaking roughly, the proportion of those which passed over to the enemy at the succeeding election has generally fallen just short of half. As the large gains of the Unionists comprise

many seats held by small majorities, this party is now in the position of the Gladstonians at the end of the contest of 1892. *Verbum sapientibus!* Up to the present, then, the rhythmic course of political opinion has sufficed to counteract the tendency towards diminished majorities which I have ventured to anticipate as the probable consequence of any more general extension of party feeling. But should this cease, the general prevalence of small majorities would be attended by objections of no little weight. There is, in the first place, the wider dissemination of the feeling of disappointment and resentment at the results of a keenly contested election, which would probably rankle till an opportunity arose for turning the tables. Then, again, as contests grow closer, political demoralisation becomes of more consequence. More numerous, more elaborate and more insidious will become the arts and devices put forth to keep or win the favour of the electorate, and while the legitimate cost of registration and so on grows heavier as the need of keeping the roll up to date becomes more pressing, there will be every temptation for a candidate to sail as near the wind as possible in backing his qualifications with some of the miscellaneous pecuniary inducements which even now occasionally escape detection. Then, too, we have to consider the waste of voting power and the popular opinion which it represents, involved in the prospect that at some time or other one of the two parties may be penned up in a few divisions where alone its influence is firmly enough established to resist a wave of opposite tendency. It would thus find itself in a position of antagonism to the rest of the country, and the situation would be aggravated by the fact that the rest of the party, scattered over many constituencies, would be precluded by the wider distribution of their opponents from giving or receiving practical aid or sympathy. The last election placed the Gladstonians of the north-east of England in this position, and for some years past their sympathisers in the south have found themselves thus isolated and deprived of local influence. Looking at the tendency in the present day in some quarters to exaggerate local feeling into a sort of national upheaval, it would be unfortunate if such distinctions were to get materially confirmed or accentuated.

44. The fact that any of the above objections reached an acute stage would go to prove that the system which rendered them possible required readaptation to circumstances, and the alternative is obviously to substitute for the simple majority vote, some form of proportional representation. It is not within the province of my paper to discuss in detail the merits of the schemes which have from time to time been suggested. Of the cumulative vote we have had practical knowledge for a quarter of

a century. It certainly fulfils its main purpose, namely, that of giving a chance to the minority. Indeed one of the objections raised against it is that it allows too much influence to the minority. But, apart from this, it is undoubtedly cumbrous, it wastes good votes, and it is best worked under a somewhat elaborate system of wire pulling. Then, again, it is practically, though not, of course, in theory, exercised by an electorate which excludes a class which is of great weight in Parliamentary elections, but which takes little thought of a school board contest. It is this class which would have to be taken into account in estimating the practical working of what appears to me the best alternative scheme of proportional voting, I mean the plan known as the single transferable vote, which was explained here some fifteen years ago by Mr. Droop, and has received the support of many practical statesmen of weight and experience. It is in force, in a modified and probably inferior, form in several continental States, where its working may serve as a guide in further adaptations. There are some present who can bear testimony to its practical results. It seems, from the accounts I have read, that in Denmark, apart from the comparatively small population to which it is applied, the adoption of the number of candidates as the denominator in determining the "quota" of votes, instead of one more than the number, as suggested by Sir John Lubbock, gives an incentive to "organisation" before the election, enabling the larger party, by preconcerted distribution of preferential votes, to exclude the smaller. Of Belgium I know but little beyond the fact that elections there seem to be occasionally of a sensational character, and "sweeping the board" is not an unusual experience. In Portugal the system is, I believe, more elaborate than that which has been recommended for adoption in England. At all events, I noticed in the latest returns I could get, that only a little more than half the electorate made use of the franchise at that election. This, however, is some time ago. But in such matters experience must be our guide, and it is all-important that the experience quoted should be that of similar conditions to those for which provision has to be made. We have to remember that there are more obstacles to be overcome in changing the current of an existing stream than in cutting a new canal. In the case of the School Board, there was a new departure all round, and the method of recording the vote was only an incident in the whole innovation. But the Parliamentary contest is a matter of ingrained custom throughout most of England, and the voter appreciates the simplicity of a single voting mark. I may be exaggerating the difficulties which may arise in connection with the less literate voter. Sir John Lubbock quite rightly lays stress upon the simplicity of

the question to which the voter has to supply the answer and to the trifling demand made upon his intelligence in the process. He has a better opinion of the voter than to hold him incapable of making the selection involved in the scheme. Well, my experience of simple questions has been chiefly garnered in the field of census-taking, where it has been extensive, and the result is a firm belief in the infinite possibilities of human error in assimilating even the plainest instructions regarding a very simple act, and this is coupled with the conviction that such possibilities are not confined to the less lettered of the community. Even where there are but two marks to be made, as in my statistical enemy, the double constituency, have we not heard of cases of late in which the voter not unfrequently mistook Harrison for Hubbard, or *vice versâ*? Then, too, there is the case of the fortuitous concourse towards the close of the poll of the "excited politicians" who have taken the whole day to make up their minds, and whose school learning is frequently placed temporarily in abeyance. The difficulty in distributing the excess votes, on which some have laid stress, does not appear to me, speaking again from knowledge of the somewhat similar operations at a census classification, to be likely to lead to more inaccuracy than has been proved by recounts to be found in the present system. We have also to consider the case of bye-elections, where only one of the minimum number of seats placed under the proportional system is at stake.

45. Apart from these obstacles, which, I admit, are after all of comparatively minor importance, the system of the single transferable vote seems not only the most suitable, but, if we regard the situation from a logical standpoint, to be also urgently needed. Speaking under correction, I am not aware of any of the leading arguments against the present system used by those who support the above alternative, which are not confirmed by the statistics of the last two elections. The practical question, however, as it suggests itself to my mind, is whether the conditions of the current system of simple majority voting do not, at present at all events, generally neutralize the logical objections to it. Logic and anomaly are terms which bear no message to the average Briton. We are anomalous in our commercial system as in our constitution, our industrial conditions are anomalous, so is our connection with our Indian possessions. That statesmanship and nature are alike in revolt against our colonial system is information for which we are indebted to the good offices of Mr. Secretary Olney. We bow our heads before illogical and anomalous conditions, and go on our way. Will that way be smoothed by the proposed change in our system of voting? The discrepancy between the popular suffrage and representation in the end rights

itself, or, at least, has hitherto shown a tendency in that direction. A large Parliamentary majority necessarily contains more discordant elements than a small but compact one; either compromise or detachment is therefore more frequent and rapid. Again, in respect to the greater part of the work done by the legislature, a new Government simply takes over a "going concern," and differs but in pace or method from its predecessors, whilst on the subjects which constitute the crucial tests of Party, the public voice has a way of making itself heard so as not to be misunderstood, and in the present day no Party finds it possible to exist for long in what was lately described, if I remember rightly, as the *Inferno* of place without power. To quote another of Mr. Courtney's breezy utterances, "What a jolly "awakening there will be some few years hence, when the inevitable argument of experience will show us a nation contradicting "itself through the voice of its chosen representatives!" Well, that awakening is the token to the representatives that they had outstayed their welcome, and had received notice to quit. In Party government lies the safeguard of the present system, and though I have not noticed the tendency in the writings of the leading exponents of the proportional system in this country, it is clear from those published in other parts of the world, that in the eyes of some of their colleagues this system of governing a community must disappear with the full recognition of the rights of minorities. I confess that I have not sufficient foresight to appreciate that millennium. For all I know, the statistics I have marshalled for discussion, if of any value at all, may help to hasten its coming. Once again, but not, I hope, too often, or for the last time, do I dip into the well of Mr. Courtney's sagacity:—

"We may quote to one another with a chuckle the words of the Wise Statesman, lies, damned lies, statistics, still, there are some easy figures which the simplest must understand and the astutest cannot wriggle out of."

These are the figures I have done my best to simplify and set intelligibly before you. I now leave the way clear for the wriggling.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.—Comparative Statement of

Group.	Population.			
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1891.
A. COUNTIES.				
Northern	466,381	711,540	915,297	1,043,896
North Western	865,865	1,344,973	1,930,494	2,136,573
Yorkshire	906,588	1,209,051	1,465,717	1,580,730
North Midlands	338,213	456,565	599,808	667,634
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>2,576,997</i>	<i>3,722,129</i>	<i>4,911,316</i>	<i>5,428,533</i>
West Midlands	1,091,334	1,505,443	1,616,670	1,665,280
South „	961,782	1,289,759	1,344,752	1,649,706
East „	440,346	531,576	563,594	586,376
Eastern	831,884	953,194	1,154,791	1,129,220
South Eastern	982,326	1,360,773	1,945,103	1,857,814
„ Western	1,172,177	1,298,251	1,286,176	1,531,141
Total Counties	8,065,846	10,661,125	12,822,302	13,848,370
B. BOROUGHES.				
Northern	234,137	406,244	711,953	824,483
North Western	805,380	1,589,895	2,169,062	2,521,181
Yorkshire	465,378	824,377	1,409,758	1,613,446
North Midlands	124,284	176,629	254,317	305,851
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>1,629,179</i>	<i>2,997,145</i>	<i>4,545,090</i>	<i>5,264,961</i>
West Midlands	698,709	1,155,268	1,672,812	1,892,773
South „	144,283	192,533	270,986	215,487
East „	85,732	141,176	250,243	280,754
Eastern	171,994	223,525	222,917	277,102
South Eastern	365,187	598,474	836,613	847,494
„ Western	411,829	519,014	529,005	315,586
<i>Total</i>	<i>3,506,913</i>	<i>5,827,135</i>	<i>8,327,666</i>	<i>9,094,157</i>
<i>London</i>	<i>1,517,686</i>	<i>2,465,973</i>	<i>3,452,350</i>	<i>4,538,460</i>
Total Boroughs	5,024,599	8,293,108	11,780,016	13,632,617
Grand Total	13,090,445	18,954,233	24,602,318	27,480,987

* The figures for 1892 are those of the electors, not their voting power. The

APPENDIX.

Population and Electorate at different Periods.

Electorate.				Representatives.			Group.
1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1892.*	1832.	1881.	1892.	
							A. COUNTIES.
28,394	35,102	59,482	194,390	14	14	18	Northern
27,467	48,883	113,487	351,711	8	14	31	North Western
33,154	62,635	102,597	313,538	6	10	26	Yorkshire
15,970	20,579	34,823	126,249	8	10	11	North Midlands
<i>104,985</i>	<i>167,199</i>	<i>310,389</i>	<i>985,888</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>86</i>	<i>Total North of Trent</i>
55,608	81,409	123,896	326,375	25	27	30	West Midlands
42,047	55,789	92,754	301,329	22	22	28	South „
26,169	34,181	49,284	123,464	10	12	12	East „
28,679	38,144	62,671	203,170	12	16	19	Eastern
37,884	54,964	134,159	331,973	20	24	29	South Eastern
49,192	62,436	89,810	282,701	19	23	30	„ Western
344,564	494,122	862,963	2,554,900	144	172	234	Total Counties
							B. BOROUGHES.
10,871	18,252	108,650	133,699	18	20	14	Northern
36,342	68,853	285,674	353,830	28	32	26	North Western
22,100	41,327	221,856	256,326	31	28	39	Yorkshire
10,491	12,119	41,099	51,379	8	8	5	North Midlands
<i>79,804</i>	<i>140,551</i>	<i>657,279</i>	<i>795,234</i>	<i>85</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>84</i>	<i>Total North of Trent</i>
41,238	60,969	247,627	295,340	51	46	32	West Midlands
13,692	13,460	39,090	34,575	26	19	6	South „
7,180	9,790	38,862	46,390	11	10	6	East „
11,533	13,760	35,185	44,439	21	13	8	Eastern
21,805	38,273	102,657	115,843	49	41	18	South Eastern
23,334	28,175	64,516	43,068	62	43	10	„ Western
<i>198,586</i>	<i>304,978</i>	<i>1,485,216</i>	<i>1,375,069</i>	<i>305</i>	<i>260</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>Total</i>
71,533	151,046	337,692	586,496	18	22	62	<i>London</i>
270,119	456,024	1,522,908	1,961,565	323	282	226	Total Boroughs
614,683	950,146	2,385,871	4,516,465	467	454	460	Grand Total

additional votes in the twenty-one double constituencies amounted to about 358,000.

TABLE B.—PART I. *General Summary of the*

1.	Seats.		Population (Census of 1891).		Voting Strength.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
I. Unionist Seats.						
A. <i>Counties.</i>						
Total	131	169	7,691,405	9,885,744	1,393,678	1,866,951
In 1895 {						
Lost	3	—	183,090	—	31,548	—
Held	128	128	7,508,315	7,508,315	1,362,130	1,407,972
Gained	—	41	—	2,377,429	—	458,979
B. <i>Boroughs.</i>						
Total	95	121	5,021,898	6,573,839	884,626	1,252,820
In 1895 {						
Lost	9	—	384,906	—	78,395	—
Held	86	86	4,636,992	4,636,992	806,231	830,651
Gained	—	35	—	1,936,847	—	422,169
C. <i>London.</i>						
Total	37	54	2,734,329	3,962,060	401,776	578,937
In 1895 {						
Lost	—	—	—	—	—	—
Held	37	37	2,734,329	2,734,329	401,776	423,322
Gained	—	17	—	1,227,731	—	155,615
D. Total Unionist.						
Total	263	344	15,447,632	20,421,643	2,680,080	3,698,708
In 1895 {						
Lost	12	—	567,996	—	109,943	—
Held	251	251	14,879,636	14,879,636	2,570,137	2,661,945
Gained	—	93	—	5,542,007	—	1,036,763
II. Gladstonian Seats.						
A. <i>Counties.</i>						
Total	103	65	6,156,965	3,962,626	1,161,222	757,236
In 1895 {						
Lost	41	—	2,377,429	—	454,546	—
Held	62	62	3,779,536	3,779,536	706,676	723,985
Gained	—	3	—	183,090	—	33,251
B. <i>Boroughs.</i>						
Total	69	43	4,072,259	2,520,318	815,472	509,004
In 1895 {						
Lost	35	—	1,936,847	—	406,610	—
Held	34	34	2,135,412	2,135,412	408,862	427,098
Gained	—	9	—	384,906	—	81,906

Results of the Elections of 1892 and 1895.

Votes Polled.

Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Independent.		Total.	
1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
625,292	870,445	447,969	583,532	—	448	1,073,261	1,454,425
13,386 611,906 —	— 666,810 204,135	13,145 434,824 —	— 401,044 182,488	— — —	— 448 —	26,531 1,046,730 —	— 1,067,802 386,623
406,918	561,506	312,826	423,620	3,629	13,744	723,373	998,870
34,712 372,206 —	— 383,020 178,486	32,277 280,549 —	— 261,140 162,480	2,749 880 —	— 1,796 11,948	69,738 653,635 —	— 645,956 352,914
168,447	239,589	110,819	150,183	95	1,185	279,361	390,957
— 168,447 —	— 180,910 58,679	— 110,819 —	— 100,457 49,726	— 95 —	— 191 994	— 279,361 —	— 281,558 109,399
1,200,657	1,671,540	871,614	1,157,335	3,724	15,377	2,075,995	2,844,252
48,098 1,152,559 —	— 1,230,240 441,300	45,422 826,192 —	— 762,641 394,694	2,749 975 —	— 2,435 12,942	96,269 1,979,726 —	— 1,995,316 848,936
398,024	265,739	525,483	341,209	6,510	1,245	930,017	608,193
174,373 223,651 —	— 251,940 13,799	195,583 329,900 —	— 326,830 14,379	— 6,510 —	— 1,245 —	369,956 560,061 —	— 580,015 28,178
280,769	173,411	357,366	213,824	—	12,077	638,135	399,312
145,724 135,045 —	— 138,970 34,441	175,363 182,003 —	— 177,353 36,471	— — —	— 12,077 —	321,087 317,048 —	— 328,400 70,912

TABLE B. PART I—*Contd. General Summary*

1.	Seats.		Population (Census of 1891).		Voting Strength.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
II. Gladstonian Seats						
— <i>Contd.</i>						
C. <i>London.</i>						
Total	25	8	1,804,131	576,400	218,384	70,106
In 1895 {	17	—	1,227,731	—	150,018	—
Lost	8	8	576,400	576,400	68,366	70,106
Held	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gained						
D. Total Gladstonian.						
Total	197	116	12,033,355	7,059,344	2,195,078	1,336,346
In 1895 {	93	—	5,542,007	—	1,011,174	—
Lost	104	104	6,491,348	6,491,348	1,183,904	1,221,189
Held	—	12	—	567,996	—	115,157
Gained						
III. Total Seats.						
A. <i>Counties.</i>						
Total	234	234	13,848,370	—	2,554,900	2,624,187
In 1895 {	44	44	2,560,519	—	486,094	492,230
Changed sides	190	190	11,287,851	—	2,068,806	2,131,957
Held						
B. <i>Boroughs.</i>						
Total	164	164	9,094,157	—	1,700,098	1,761,824
In 1895 {	44	44	2,321,753	—	485,005	504,075
Changed sides	120	120	6,772,404	—	1,215,093	1,257,749
Held						
C. <i>London.</i>						
Total	62	62	4,538,460	—	620,160	649,043
In 1895 {	17	17	1,227,731	—	150,018	155,615
Changed sides	45	45	3,310,729	—	470,142	493,428
Held						
D. Total.						
Total	460	460	27,480,987	—	4,875,158	5,035,054
In 1895 {	105	105	6,110,003	—	1,121,117	1,151,920
Changed sides	355	355	21,370,984	—	3,754,041	3,883,134
Held						

of the Results of the Elections of 1892 and 1895.

Votes Polled.							
Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Independent.		Total.	
1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
69,810	23,709	84,779	26,262	183	—	151,772	49,971
49,405	—	54,873	—	164	—	104,442	—
20,405	23,709	29,906	26,262	19	—	50,330	49,971
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
748,603	462,859	967,628	581,295	6,693	13,322	1,722,924	1,057,476
369,502	—	425,819	—	164	—	795,485	—
379,101	414,619	541,809	530,445	6,529	13,322	927,439	958,336
—	48,240	—	50,850	—	—	—	99,090
1,023,316	1,136,184	973,452	924,741	6,510	1,693	2,003,278	2,062,618
187,759	217,934	208,728	196,867	—	—	396,487	414,801
835,557	918,250	764,724	727,874	6,510	1,693	1,606,791	1,647,817
687,687	734,917	670,192	637,444	3,629	25,821	1,361,508	1,398,182
180,436	212,927	207,640	198,951	2,749	11,948	390,825	423,826
507,251	521,990	462,552	438,493	880	13,873	970,683	974,856
238,257	263,298	195,598	176,445	278	1,185	434,133	440,938
49,405	58,679	54,873	49,726	164	994	104,442	109,399
188,852	214,619	140,725	126,719	114	191	329,691	331,529
1,919,260	2,134,399	1,839,242	1,738,630	10,417	28,699	3,798,919	3,901,728
417,600	489,540	471,241	445,544	2,913	12,942	891,754	948,026
1,531,660	1,644,859	1,368,001	1,293,086	7,504	15,757	2,907,165	2,953,702

TABLE B. PART II (I).—Unionist Seats. (a.) County.

Group.	Population (1891).		Voting Strength.		Votes Polled.				Number of Unionist Seats.			
					Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Independent.			
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Northern.....	163,321	226,745	31,168	46,451	13,437	19,284	11,899	16,884	—	—	4	5
North Western	1,094,428	1,686,418	180,626	292,460	84,102	140,328	61,796	97,653	—	—	16	25
Yorkshire	360,928	616,205	72,383	123,360	31,724	56,080	25,466	42,906	—	—	7	11
North Midlands.....	219,214	283,030	43,026	54,925	20,187	26,244	13,640	18,299	—	—	4	5
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>1,837,886</i>	<i>2,812,398</i>	<i>327,203</i>	<i>517,196</i>	<i>149,450</i>	<i>241,836</i>	<i>112,801</i>	<i>175,692</i>	—	—	<i>31</i>	<i>46</i>
West Midlands	1,209,045	1,374,458	240,443	280,002	108,674	132,532	79,205	85,539	—	—	22	25
South	1,059,894	1,515,958	181,840	288,721	80,743	135,728	51,346	87,475	—	—	17	26
East	219,711	268,990	44,372	59,924	20,523	25,821	14,864	19,151	—	—	5	6
Eastern	658,116	824,326	113,578	157,806	49,081	69,868	38,278	48,212	—	—	10	13
South Eastern	1,857,814	1,857,814	331,973	336,070	145,891	160,805	98,776	92,254	—	—	29	29
” Western	848,939	1,231,800	154,269	227,232	70,930	104,855	52,699	75,209	—	—	17	24
Total	7,691,405	9,895,744	1,393,978	1,866,951	625,292	870,445	447,969	583,532	—	—	131	169

(b.) Borough.

Northern.....	203,325	425,801	49,839	115,118	21,727	47,591	17,946	42,743	—	—	3	7
North Western	1,752,968	2,245,301	301,564	409,840	139,805	187,079	111,777	139,260	553	2,024	28	35
Yorkshire	521,889	784,991	88,148	140,486	39,326	61,669	34,539	51,552	2,749	6,182	10	13
North Midlands.....	142,524	223,814	24,421	57,953	10,180	24,685	9,796	22,364	—	—	2	4
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>2,623,706</i>	<i>3,679,907</i>	<i>463,972</i>	<i>723,397</i>	<i>211,038</i>	<i>321,024</i>	<i>174,058</i>	<i>255,919</i>	<i>3,302</i>	<i>10,508</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>59</i>
West Midlands	1,280,558	1,547,536	201,404	249,415	96,689	114,569	58,253	67,779	327	23	21	26
South	90,128	180,051	14,838	35,841	6,575	15,252	6,200	13,425	—	—	2	5
East	17,170	80,082	2,693	14,263	1,296	6,948	1,263	5,994	—	—	1	3
Eastern	177,299	213,863	45,876	68,255	21,104	26,985	19,036	23,644	—	—	6	6
South Eastern	585,689	688,239	101,051	130,090	45,801	58,015	32,046	40,482	—	—	14	16
” Western	245,348	184,161	54,792	41,559	24,415	19,013	21,970	16,377	—	—	8	6
Total	5,021,898	6,573,839	684,636	1,252,820	406,918	561,506	312,826	423,620	3,629	13,745	95	121
London	2,734,329	3,962,060	401,776	578,937	168,447	239,589	110,819	150,183	95	1,185	37	54
Grand Total.....	7,756,227	10,535,899	1,286,402	1,891,757	575,365	801,095	423,645	573,803	3,724	14,930	132	175

TABLE B. PART II (II).—*Gladstonian Seats. (a.) County.*

Division or Group.	Population (1891).		Voting Strength.		Votes Polled.				Number of Gladstonian Seats.			
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Independent.			
					1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.		
Northern.....	880,575	817,151	163,222	155,678	48,273	52,464	75,105	71,013	3,226	—	14	13
North Western	1,042,145	450,155	171,085	76,976	69,964	27,283	81,244	80,960	—	—	15	6
Yorkshire	1,219,807	964,525	241,155	184,815	70,377	62,661	106,286	60,440	3,284	1,245	19	15
North Midlands.....	448,420	384,604	88,223	70,288	26,775	27,544	38,726	31,872	—	—	7	6
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>3,590,947</i>	<i>2,616,435</i>	<i>658,685</i>	<i>487,755</i>	<i>215,959</i>	<i>169,902</i>	<i>304,361</i>	<i>220,291</i>	<i>6,510</i>	<i>1,245</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>40</i>
West Midlands	456,235	290,822	65,932	58,784	26,486	15,382	41,104	26,841	—	—	8	5
South	580,812	133,748	119,489	25,286	45,495	10,205	51,512	11,607	—	—	11	2
East	366,665	317,386	79,092	71,144	29,265	26,430	34,666	30,912	—	—	7	6
Eastern	471,104	304,894	89,592	60,447	34,238	22,436	41,723	26,132	—	—	9	6
South Eastern	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
” Western	682,202	299,341	128,432	58,870	46,551	21,384	55,117	25,426	—	—	13	6
Total	6,156,965	3,962,626	1,161,222	757,236	398,024	265,739	525,483	341,209	6,510	1,245	103	65

(b). *Borough.*

Northern	616,158	398,682	138,259	78,296	44,516	24,204	56,335	31,895	—	—	11	7
North Western	768,213	275,880	142,164	47,502	57,632	18,358	63,640	20,323	—	1,498	11	4
Yorkshire	1,091,557	828,455	192,360	149,252	62,520	48,310	82,936	64,805	—	4,696	16	13
North Midlands.....	163,327	82,037	42,712	14,510	15,193	5,575	19,757	6,088	—	—	3	1
<i>Total North of Trent</i>	<i>2,639,255</i>	<i>1,585,054</i>	<i>515,495</i>	<i>289,560</i>	<i>179,861</i>	<i>96,447</i>	<i>222,668</i>	<i>123,111</i>	<i>—</i>	<i>6,194</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>25</i>
West Midlands	612,215	345,237	98,936	58,330	31,902	18,952	42,957	22,614	—	1,874	11	6
South	125,359	35,436	30,917	11,442	10,497	3,394	14,484	4,884	—	—	4	1
East	263,584	200,672	66,667	59,784	19,549	15,696	31,936	21,892	—	4,009	5	2
Eastern	99,803	63,239	24,570	14,876	6,407	6,489	10,379	6,971	—	—	2	3
South Eastern	261,805	159,255	68,629	48,114	26,569	19,284	28,263	20,739	—	—	4	2
” Western	70,238	131,425	15,258	31,898	5,984	13,149	6,679	13,713	—	—	2	4
Total	4,072,259	2,520,318	815,472	509,004	280,769	173,411	357,366	213,824	—	12,077	69	43
London	1,804,131	576,400	218,384	70,106	69,810	23,709	84,779	26,262	183	—	25	8
Grand Total.....	5,876,390	3,096,718	1,033,856	579,110	350,579	197,120	442,145	240,086	183	12,077	94	51

TABLE B. PART II (III)—*Total, Counties.*

	Population, 1891.	Voting Strength.		Votes Polled.				Number of Members.			
		1892.	1895.	Unionist.		Gladstonian.		1892.	1895.		
				1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.				
Northern	1,043,896	194,390	202,129	71,748	87,004	87,847	—	4	5	14	13
North Western	2,136,573	351,711	369,436	154,066	167,461	143,040	134,619	16	25	15	15
Yorkshire	1,580,780	313,538	308,175	102,701	118,741	131,752	123,846	7	11	19	16
North Midlands	667,634	126,249	125,211	45,962	53,788	52,366	—	4	5	7	6
<i>Total North of Trent.</i>	5,428,833	983,588	1,004,951	365,439	411,738	444,462	395,988	31	46	55	40
West Midlands	1,665,280	326,375	338,736	135,160	147,914	120,309	112,380	22	25	8	5
South	1,619,706	301,329	314,007	126,238	145,933	102,558	99,082	17	26	11	2
East	586,376	123,464	131,067	49,788	52,251	49,530	50,063	5	6	7	6
Eastern	1,129,220	203,170	218,253	83,319	91,304	80,001	74,344	10	13	9	6
South Eastern	1,857,814	331,973	336,070	145,891	160,805	98,776	92,254	20	29	—	—
" Western	1,531,141	282,701	286,102	117,481	126,239	107,816	100,635	17	24	13	6
Total	13,848,370	2,554,900	2,624,187	1,023,316	1,136,184	973,452	924,741	131	169	103	65

PART II (IV)—*Total, Boroughs.*

	Population, 1891.	Voting Strength.		Votes Polled.				Number of Members.			
		1892.	1895.	Unionist.		Independent.		1892.	1895.		
				1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.				
Northern	824,483	188,098	193,414	66,243	71,795	74,281	74,638	3	7	11	7
North Western	2,521,181	443,728	457,342	197,437	205,437	175,417	159,588	28	35	11	4
Yorkshire	1,613,446	280,508	289,738	101,846	109,979	117,475	116,357	10	13	16	13
North Midlands	305,851	67,133	72,463	25,373	30,260	29,553	28,452	2	4	3	1
<i>Total North of Trent.</i>	5,264,961	979,467	1,012,957	390,599	417,471	396,726	379,030	43	59	41	25
West Midlands	1,892,773	295,340	302,745	128,591	133,521	101,210	90,393	21	26	11	6
South	215,487	45,755	47,283	17,072	18,646	20,684	18,309	2	5	4	1
East	280,754	69,360	74,047	20,845	22,644	33,199	27,886	1	3	5	3
Eastern	277,102	70,446	73,131	27,511	33,174	29,415	30,515	6	6	2	2
South Eastern	847,494	169,680	178,204	72,370	77,299	60,309	61,221	14	16	4	2
" Western	315,586	70,050	73,457	30,399	32,162	28,649	30,090	8	6	2	4
Total	9,094,157	1,700,098	1,761,824	687,687	734,917	670,192	637,444	95	121	69	43
London	4,538,460	620,160	649,043	238,257	263,298	195,598	176,445	37	54	25	8
Grand Total	13,632,617	2,320,258	2,410,867	925,944	998,215	865,790	813,889	132	175	94	51

TABLE B. PART II (V).—Total County and Borough.

Group.	Population, 1891.	Voting Strength.		Votes Polled.						Number of Members.			
		1892.	1895.	Unionist.		Gladstonian.		Independent.		Unionist.		Gladstonian.	
				1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Northern	1,868,379	382,488	395,543	127,953	143,543	161,285	162,495	3,226	2,302	7	12	25	20
North Western ...	4,667,754	795,439	851,778	351,503	372,898	318,457	294,202	553	3,970	44	60	26	10
Yorkshire	3,194,176	594,046	597,913	204,547	228,720	249,227	239,703	6,033	12,123	17	24	35	28
North Midlands..	973,485	193,382	197,674	72,335	84,048	81,919	78,623	—	—	6	9	10	7
Total North of Trent	10,693,794	1,965,355	2,017,908	756,338	829,209	870,588	775,073	9,812	18,395	74	105	96	65
West Midlands....	3,558,053	621,715	636,481	263,751	281,435	221,519	202,773	327	1,897	43	51	19	11
South "	1,865,193	347,084	361,290	143,310	164,579	123,542	117,391	—	2,347	19	31	15	3
East "	867,130	192,824	205,115	70,633	74,895	82,729	77,949	—	4,009	6	9	12	9
Eastern	1,406,322	273,616	291,384	110,830	124,478	109,416	104,859	—	—	16	19	11	8
South Eastern ...	2,705,308	501,653	514,274	218,251	238,104	159,085	153,475	—	866	43	45	4	2
" Western ...	1,846,727	352,751	359,559	147,880	158,401	136,465	130,725	—	—	25	30	15	10
London	4,538,460	620,160	649,043	238,257	263,298	195,598	176,445	278	1,185	37	54	25	8
Total.....	27,480,987	4,875,158	5,035,054	1,949,260	2,134,399	1,839,242	1,738,630	10,417	28,699	263	344	197	116

VOL. LIX. PART I.

H

TABLE C.—*Majorities in 1895, by Counties.*

County.	County Seats.				Borough Seats.*				Total.			
	Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.	
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
1. Northumberland	—	4	—	4,862	3	1	27	—	3	5	—	4,885
2. Durham	1	7	—	13,175	3	5	—	2,822	4	12	—	15,997
3. Cumberland	2	2	343	—	1	1	—	48	3	3	295	—
4. Westmoreland	2	—	1,595	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1,595	—
Northern	5	13	—	16,099	7	7	—	2,843*	12	20	—	18,842
5. Lancashire	18	5	22,140	—	30	4	42,287	—	48	9	66,327	—
6. Cheshire	7	1	10,702	—	5	—	3,567	—	12	1	14,269	—
North Western ..	25	6	32,842	—	35	4	45,854*	—	60	10	78,696	—
Yorkshire	11	15	—	4,605	13	13	—	6,378*	24	28	—	10,983
8. Derby	3	4	1,761	—	2	—	1,723	—	5	4	3,484	—
9. Notts	2	2	1,856	—	2	1	85	—	4	3	1,941	—
North Midlands ..	5	6	3,617	—	4	1	1,808*	—	9	7	5,425	—

* Including both the seats in two-member constituencies.

TABLE C—Contd. Majorities in 1895, by Counties.

County.	County Seats.				Borough Seats.*				Total.			
	Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.	
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
10. Staffordshire	5	2	8,734	—	6	4	4,598	—	11	6	13,332	—
11. Warwick	4	—	6,207	—	10	—	33,190	—	14	—	39,397	—
12. Shropshire	4	—	8,395	—	1	—	1,096	—	5	—	9,491	—
13. Hereford	2	—	4,234	—	1	—	313	—	3	—	4,547	—
14. Worcester	5	—	11,244	—	3	—	2,238	—	8	—	13,682	—
15. Monmouth	1	2	—	5,437	—	1	—	—	1	3	—	5,501
16. Gloucester	4	1	2,158	—	5	1	1,847	—	9	2	4,005	—
West Midlands	25	5	35,535	—	26	6	43,128	—	51	11	78,663	—
17. Oxford	3	—	2,273	—	1	—	648	—	4	—	2,921	—
18. Bucks	3	—	6,235	—	1	—	166	—	3	—	6,235	—
19. Beds	1	1	81	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	247	—
20. Middlesex	7	—	22,926	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	22,926	—
21. Herts	4	—	10,264	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	10,264	—
22. Cambs	3	—	986	—	1	—	654	—	4	—	1,640	—
23. Hunts	2	—	1,300	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1,300	—
H 24. Northants	3	1	2,786	—	2	1	—	1,131	5	2	1,655	—
South Midlands	26	2	46,851	—	5	1	337*	—	31	3	47,188	—

* Including both the seats in two-member constituencies.

H 2

TABLE C.—*Contd.* Majorities in 1895, by Counties.

County.	County Seats.				Borough Seats.*				Total.				
	Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.		
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	
25. Leicester	1	3	—	1,165	—	2	—	—	6,015	1	5	—	7,180
26. Lincoln	4	3	2,281	—	3	1	773	—	—	7	4	3,054	—
27. Rutland	1	—	1,071	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1,071	—
East Midlands	6	6	2,187	—	3	3	—	—	5,242*	9	9	—	9,055
28. Norfolk	2	4	—	1,095	4	—	2,364	—	—	6	4	1,269	—
29. Suffolk	4	1	5,281	—	2	1	500	—	—	6	2	5,781	—
30. Essex	7	1	12,774	—	—	1	—	205	—	7	2	12,569	—
Eastern	13	6	16,960	—	6	2	2,659*	—	—	19	8	19,619	—
31. Kent.....	8	—	21,279	—	7	—	6,918	—	—	15	—	28,197	—
32. Sussex	6	—	11,499	—	3	—	6,885	—	—	9	—	18,384	—
33. Hants	6	—	13,543	—	4	2	1,199	—	—	10	2	14,742	—
34. Surrey	6	—	17,379	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	17,379	—
35. Berks	3	—	4,851	—	2	—	1,076	—	—	5	—	5,927	—
South Eastern	21	—	68,551	—	16	2	16,078*	—	—	37	2	84,629	—

* Including both the seats in two-member constituencies.

TABLE C—Contd. Majorities in 1895, by Counties.

County.	County Seats.				Borough Seats.*				Total.			
	Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.		Seats.		Net Majority.	
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.
36. Wilts	5	—	1,512	—	1	—	217	—	6	—	1,729	—
37. Dorset	4	—	8,956	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	8,956	—
38. Somerset	6	1	8,191	—	3	—	1,674	—	9	1	9,865	—
39. Devon	5	3	5,537	—	2	3	230	—	7	6	5,767	—
40. Cornwall	4	2	1,408	—	—	1	—	49	4	3	1,359	—
South Western	24	6	23,604	—	6	4	2,072*	—	30	10	27,676	—
Total	169	65	211,443	—	121	43	97,473	—	290	108	308,916	—
41. London.....	—	—	—	—	54	8	86,853*	—	54	8	86,853	—
Grand Total	169	65	211,443	—	175	51	184,326	—	344	116	395,769	—
Omitting the second seats in two-member boroughs.....	—	—	—	—	62	43	174,055	—	331	108	352,408	—

* Including both the seats in two-member constituencies.

TABLE D.—*Showing the Distribution of Seats*

	Percentage								
	Under 5%.			5—9			10—24		
	County.	Borough	Total.	County.	Borough	Total.	County.	Borough	Total.
Total number of seats in 1892 }	28	39	67	21	35	56	63	53	116
AT ELECTION OF 1895.									
A. Transferred to other groups—									
Majority raised	24	30	54	10	19	29	25	23	48
„ diminished	—	—	—	4	7	11	18	11	29
B. <i>Majority remained stationary</i>	4	9	13	7	9	16	20	19	39
C. Received from other groups—									
By increase in majority.	—	—	—	4	12	16	22	22	44
„ decrease „	15	24	39	12	13	25	16	9	25
Total in 1895.....	19	33	52	23	34	57	58	50	108
D. Seats won—									
From Unionists	3	4	7	—	4	4	—	—	—
„ Gladstonians	16	14	30	7	13	20	13	14	27
Total won	19	18	37	7	17	24	13	14	27
E. Seats retained—									
By Unionists	8	18	26	11	11	22	32	35	67
„ Gladstonians	1	3	4	3	7	10	18	4	22
Total held	9	21	30	14	18	32	50	39	89

according to the Majority per Cent. in 1892 and 1895.

of Majority.									Unopposed.			Total.		
25-49			50-99			100 and over.			County	Bo-rough	Total.	County	Bo-rough	Grand Total.
County	Bo-rough	Total.	County	Bo-rough	Total.	County	Bo-rough	Total.						
50	46	96	43	21	64	14	7	21	15	25	40	234	226	460
29	21	50	24	13	37	10	2	12	—	—	—	122	108	230
14	21	35	17	7	24	1	—	1	5	9	14	59	55	114
7	4	11	2	1	3	3	5	8	10	16	26	53	63	116
16	23	39	9	19	28	1	6	7	70	26	96	122	108	230
16	6	22	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	59	55	114
39	33	72	11	20	31	4	14	18	80	42	122	234	226	460
—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	9	12
3	5	8	1	3	4	—	—	—	1	3	4	41	52	93
3	6	9	1	3	4	—	—	—	1	3	4	44	61	105
31	23	54	25	13	38	10	7	17	11	16	27	128	123	251
16	17	33	17	5	22	4	—	4	3	6	9	62	42	104
47	40	87	42	18	60	14	7	21	14	22	36	190	165	355

TABLE E.—Statistics of Borough Seats.

Total.	Seats.				Votes Polled.				
	1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.		
	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	
								Others.	
A. LARGE TOWNS.									
9	7	2	8	1	30,583	22,845	34,055	18,599	—
6	3	3	5	1	27,357	24,366	26,667	24,058	546
5	2	3	2	3	22,850	23,938	24,433	23,239	622
4	3	2	3	2	20,691	20,773	(21,539)	(21,606)*	—
3	—	3	3	—	12,681	13,591	13,803	12,603	2,364
3	2	1	3	—	10,957	11,167	11,525	11,345	813
3	2	1	2	1	14,464	14,657	15,277	15,192	—
3	2	1	2	1	11,237	10,023	12,161	10,165	—
7	7	—	7	—	38,852	15,801	36,745	9,048	—
4	2	2	3	1	15,840	16,332	15,771	14,866	(1,874)†
3	1	2	2	1	12,171	15,315	13,096	14,304	(1,400)†
51	31	20	40	11	216,683	188,808	225,072	175,025	7,619
B. SMALL TOWNS.									
1	—	1	—	1	1,000	1,075	1,108	1,112	—
1	—	1	1	—	1,088	1,306	1,380	1,114	—
1	1	—	1	1	1,132	1,092	1,188	1,245	—
1	1	—	—	—	(1,111)	(705)*	(1,430)	(725)*	—
1	1	1	1	—	1,313	1,355	1,633	1,237	—
1	—	1	1	—	1,296	1,263	1,507	1,167	—
1	1	—	1	—	1,267	863	(1,269)	(655)*	—
1	1	—	1	—	1,319	1,308	1,395	1,326	—
1	1	1	1	—	1,213	859	(1,221)	(612)*	—
1	1	—	1	—	1,374	1,136	1,404	1,187	—
1	1	—	1	—	1,402	921	(1,495)	(77)*	—
1	1	—	—	1	1,218	880	1,101	1,150	—
12	9	3	9	3	15,033	12,763	16,154	12,277	—

† One seat contested by an Independent candidate against a Gladstonian.

* Uncontested.

TABLE E.—Statistics of Borough Seats—Contd.

	Seats.						Votes Pollcd.				
	Total.	1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.		Others.	
		Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.		
C. DOUBLE CONSTITUENCIES											
1. Newcastle	1	—	—	—	—	13,823	10,686	12,833	11,862	—	2,302
2. Sunderland	1	1	1	1	1	5,952*	10,905	12,170	11,154	—	—
3. Blackburn	1	—	—	1	—	8,394	9,711	9,833	8,185	—	—
4. Preston	1	1	1	1	1	8,002	9,554	4,116*	8,232	—	—
5. Oldham	1	1	1	1	1	9,265	7,272	9,553	6,840	—	—
6. Bolton	1	1	1	1	1	9,046	6,694	9,150	4,775*	—	—
7. Stockport	1	1	1	1	1	8,070	6,182	8,298	4,781	—	—
8. Halifax	1	1	1	1	1	7,764	3,387*	7,622	3,817*	—	—
9. York	1	1	1	1	1	12,205	12,619	13,085	12,249	—	—
10. Derby	1	1	1	1	1	11,952	12,541	12,465	12,092	—	—
11. Leicester	1	1	1	1	1	8,429	7,575	8,494	4,477†	—	2,694
12. Northampton	1	1	1	1	1	8,140	7,536	7,901	8,453	—	—
						4,986	4,876	5,410	4,938	—	—
						4,681	5,202	5,067	4,562	—	—
						4,663	6,581	5,475	4,283	—	—
						3,330*	6,461	2,572*	5,085	—	3,818
						5,076	4,846	5,516	5,214	—	—
						2,575*	5,030	2,677*	5,309	—	—
						5,546	7,507	7,907	6,785	—	—
						5,363	7,389	7,076	6,475	—	—
						5,742*	11,553*	7,654	9,752	—	—
						5,742*	11,553*	3,876*	7,753	—	4,909
						3,651	5,436	3,894	4,804	—	—
						3,235	5,161	3,820	3,763	—	2,347

* Uncontested. † Contested by Independent candidate.

TABLE E.—Statistics of Borough Seats—Contd.

	Seats.				Votes Polled.				
	Total.	1892.		1895.		1892.		1895.	
		Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Unionist.	Gladstonian.	Others.	Others.
C. DOUBLE CONSTITUENCIES —Contd.									
13. Norwich.....	1	—	1	—	7,718	6,811	—	8,166	7,330
14. Ipswich.....	1	1	1	—	3,703*	7,407	—	8,034	7,210
15. Brighton.....	1	—	1	1	4,350	4,054	—	4,293	4,250
16. Southampton.....	1	—	1	—	4,277	3,888	—	4,219	4,396
17. Portsmouth.....	1	—	1	—	7,807	5,448	—	7,878	5,082
18. Bath.....	1	—	1	—	7,134	3,567*	—	7,493	5,082
19. Devonport.....	1	—	1	—	5,449	4,920	—	5,924	3,746*
20. Plymouth.....	1	—	1	—	4,734	5,182	—	5,390	4,178
	1	1	—	1	9,185	9,643	—	9,717	10,451
	1	1	—	1	9,000	9,448	—	9,567	10,255
	1	—	1	—	3,198	2,981	—	3,445	2,917
	1	—	1	—	3,177	2,941	—	3,263	2,865
	1	1	—	1	3,012	3,354	—	3,303	3,570
	1	1	—	1	2,972	3,325	—	3,263	3,511
	1	—	1	—	5,081	4,921	—	5,575	5,298
	1	—	1	—	5,081	4,861	—	5,456	5,482
Total.....	40	21	27	13	246,219	262,551	—	270,897	250,901
D. OTHER BOROUGH.									
Total.....	61	25	47	16	209,752	203,728	327	222,794	199,241
Grand Total, without London.....	164	95	121	43	687,687	670,192	3,629	734,917	637,444

* Uncontested.

F.—TABLE showing number of Votes Polled, and the Percentage by which the Seats were Won.*

Group.	Counties.				Boroughs.				Total.			
	Total Votes Polled.		Majority per Cent. of Successful Candidate.		Total Votes Polled.		Majority per Cent. of Successful Candidate.		Total Votes Polled.		Majority per Cent. of Successful Candidate.	
	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.	1892.	1895.
Northern.....	151,940	159,595	39.6	30.3	140,524	148,735	24.9	14.7	292,464	308,330	32.3	22.5
North Western.....	297,106	302,528	25.4	41.3	373,407	368,542	19.7	28.7	670,513	671,080	22.2	34.2
Yorkshire.....	237,787	243,332	38.3	27.8	222,070	237,214	22.5	14.2	459,807	480,546	30.4	20.8
North Midlands.....	99,328	103,959	45.7	26.7	54,926	58,712	19.8	10.1	154,254	162,671	35.8	20.4
Total North of Trent	786,111	809,414	34.4	33.0	790,927	813,203	21.4	20.3	1,577,038	1,622,617	27.7	26.5
West Midlands.....	255,469	260,294	41.7	57.9	230,128	225,811	54.3	54.7	465,597	486,105	47.5	56.4
South.....	229,096	245,015	36.5	50.8	37,756	39,302	26.1	5.0	266,852	284,317	35.0	43.3
East.....	99,318	102,314	25.0	24.4	54,044	54,589	59.6	12.2	153,362	156,853	36.1	20.0
Eastern.....	163,320	165,648	25.2	34.4	56,926	63,689	23.7	11.3	220,246	229,337	24.8	27.5
South Eastern.....	244,667	253,059	47.7	74.3	132,679	139,386	26.3	29.9	377,346	392,445	39.7	56.6
Western.....	225,297	226,874	27.0	34.8	59,048	62,252	11.2	10.9	281,345	289,126	23.5	29.2
Total.....	2,008,278	2,062,618	34.9	43.5	1,361,508	1,398,182	28.1	24.5	3,364,786	3,460,800	32.1	34.9
London.....	—	—	—	—	434,133	440,928	39.9	51.8	434,133	440,928	39.9	51.8
Grand Total.....	2,008,278	2,062,618	34.9	43.5	1,795,641	1,839,110	30.7	30.5	3,798,919	3,901,728	32.9	36.6
In { Seats held.....	1,606,791	1,647,817	41.6	51.7	1,300,374	1,305,888	37.3	42.6	2,907,165	2,953,705	39.7	47.5
1895 { " changed sides.....	396,487	414,801	11.4	11.3	495,267	533,222	15.0	5.3	891,754	948,023	13.4	7.9

* Irrespective of party.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.		Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.
I. Northumberland.					V. Lancashire.				
(a) <i>County</i> —					(a) <i>County</i> —				
1. Wansbeck	—	95·1	—	132·4	1. N. Lonsdale	—	22·6	19·4	—
2. Tyneside	—	8·9	—	7·7	2. Lancaster	—	16·6	14·4	—
3. Berwick	—	12·4	—	21·8	3. Blackpool	87·4	—	*	—
4. Hexham	2·0	—	—	10·8	4. Chorley	*	—	*	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					5. Darwen	—	2·6	13·5	—
1. Newcastle (1)	29·3	—	8·1	—	6. Clitheroe	—	39·1	—	*
2. „ (2)	—	*	9·1	—	7. Accrington	—	10·0	—	5·8
3. Morpeth	—	*	—	175·6	8. Rossendale	—	39·7	—	*
4. Tynemouth	12·1	—	7·0	—	9. West Hough- ton	37·7	—	*	—
II. Durham.					10. Heywood	—	16·5	14·1	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					11. Middleton	—	2·2	17·1	—
1. Jarrow	—	203·9	—	*	12. Radcliffe	—	1·9	12·2	—
2. Houghton-le- Spring	—	29·7	—	15·4	13. Eccles	—	5·3	7·9	—
3. Chester-le-St. ...	—	58·7	—	79·1	14. Stretford	25·5	—	*	—
4. North-Western	—	77·1	—	40·3	15. Gorton	—	0·4	37·6	—
5. Mid	—	53·0	—	38·2	16. Prestwich	—	2·7	—	1·7
6. South-Eastern	—	3·0	2·1	—	17. Southport	—	14·1	—	17·3
7. Bishop's Auck- land	—	121·8	—	34·0	18. Ormskirk	119·8	—	153·5	—
8. Barnard Castle	—	82·5	—	27·9	19. Bootle	—	46·4	—	*
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					20. Widnes	—	5·6	—	14·9
1. Durham	—	7·5	—	0·3	21. Newton	—	23·4	—	39·0
2. Darlington	—	1·9	24·3	—	22. Ince	—	5·2	—	9·2
3. Gateshead	—	5·8	—	8·5	23. Leigh	—	22·6	—	15·2
4. Hartlepool	—	1·6	1·7	—	(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
5. South Shields ...	—	25·4	—	2·7	1. Ashton - under-Lyne }	4·2	—	28·1	—
6. Stockton-on- Tees	6·8	—	—	10·9	2. Barrow	—	14·6	—	35·5
7. Sunderland (1)	—	15·6	20·1	—	3. Blackburn (1)	—	27·4	—	39·6
8. „ (2)	—	19·3	—	*	4. „ (2)	—	35·1	—	*
III. Cumberland.					5. Bolton (1)	—	11·2	—	215·2
(a) <i>County</i> —					6. „ (2)	—	8·0	—	6·9
1. Eskdale	—	25·7	—	4·0	7. Preston (1) ...	—	30·5	—	73·5
2. Penrith	3·6	—	18·3	—	8. „ (2)	—	*	—	*
3. Cockermouth ...	—	20·1	—	5·0	9. Oldham (1) ...	—	3·3	—	6·8
4. Egremont	—	13·9	3·6	—	10. „ (2)	—	4·9	—	3·1
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					11. Burnley	—	28·1	—	6·2
1. Carlisle	—	5·5	—	11·0	12. Bury	—	25·5	—	20·8
2. Whitehaven ...	—	20·0	23·8	—	13. Rochdale	—	21·8	—	9·6
IV. Westmoreland.					14. St. Helens	—	2·0	—	14·8
(a) <i>County</i> —					15. Warrington ...	—	17·9	—	20·2
1. Appleby	31·3	—	42·0	—	16. Wigan	—	3·3	—	28·4
2. Kendal	28·2	—	35·2	—	17. Salford, N. ...	—	8·4	—	0·1
					18. „ W.	—	0·9	—	2·3
					19. „ S.	—	1·1	—	2·2
					20. Liverpool, Kirkdale ... }	—	35·2	—	54·7
					21. Liverpool, Walton ... }	—	51·9	—	*

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.		Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.
V. Lancashire.					VII. Yorkshire.				
<i>(b) Borough—Contd.</i>					<i>(a) County—Contd.</i>				
22. Liverpool, } Everton	82·6	—	*	—	7. Howdenshire....	9·5	—	*	—
23. Liverpool, } W. Derby	40·4	—	174·1	—	8. Skipton	—	2·0	2·9	—
24. Liverpool, } Exchange	—	2·4	9·6	—	9. Keighley	—	*	—	20·0
25. Liverpool, } Abererombie	40·7	—	*	—	10. Shipley	—	5·1	1·3	—
26. Liverpool, } E. Toxteth	68·5	—	112·6	—	11. Sowerby	—	73·1	—	45·8
27. Liverpool, } W. Toxteth	45·3	—	132·5	—	12. Elland	—	49·5	—	6·0
28. Liverpool, } Scotland	—	77·1	—	43·8	13. Morley	—	59·1	—	40·0
29. Manchester, N.	—	7·6	—	11·7	14. Normanton	—	61·3	—	39·5
30. " N.W.	*	—	41·7	—	15. Colne Valley....	—	16·5	—	14·4
31. " N.E.	3·8	—	6·4	—	16. Holmfirth	—	70·0	—	44·5
32. " E.	8·3	—	16·8	—	17. Barnsley	—	92·6	—	46·5
33. " S.	—	4·4	1·7	—	18. Hallamshire	—	*	—	17·7
34. " S.W.	—	3·9	14·2	—	19. Rotherham	—	131·3	—	*
VI. Cheshire.					20. Doncaster				
<i>(a) County—</i>					21. Ripon.....				
1. Wirral	80·5	—	*	—	22. Otley	16·7	—	18·8	—
2. Eddisbury	13·2	—	53·5	—	23. Barkston Ash...	42·5	—	*	—
3. Macclesfield ...	27·5	—	*	—	24. Osgoldcross ...	—	57·1	—	26·2
4. Crewe.....	—	39·3	11·3	—	25. Pudsey	—	12·1	—	9·2
5. Northwich	—	27·8	—	40·2	26. Spen Valley ...	—	45·4	—	21·1
6. Altrincham	18·7	—	35·4	—	<i>(b) Borough—</i>				
7. Hyde	7·2	—	23·1	—	1. York (1).....	4·7	—	5·7	—
8. Knutsford	70·2	—	*	—	2. " (2).....	—	*	—	*
<i>(b) Borough—</i>					3. Bradford, W....				
1. Birkenhead	11·7	—	3·4	—	4. " Cent.	—	10·9	1·0	—
2. Chester	24·5	—	*	—	5. " E.	—	3·7	13·7	—
3. Staleybridge ...	11·7	—	22·9	—	6. Hull, E.	—	22·2	3·6	—
4. Stockport (1) ...	2·2	—	9·6	—	7. " W.	—	79·5	—	37·0
5. " (2) ...	—	11·1	11·0	—	8. " Cent.	10·5	—	55·7	—
VII. Yorkshire.					9. Leeds, N.				
<i>(a) County—</i>					10. " Cent.				
1. Thirsk	66·3	—	*	—	11. " E.	—	25·8	—	22·6
2. Richmond	3·8	—	14·7	—	12. " W.	—	6·2	—	1·5
3. Cleveland	—	8·5	—	14·0	13. " S.	—	46·6	—	3·6
4. Whitby	28·3	—	*	—	14. Sheffield, } Attercliffe	—	28·8	—	*
5. Holderness	12·5	—	29·4	—	15. Sheffield, } Brightside	—	34·8	—	*
6. Buckrose	—	17·9	—	2·3	16. Sheffield, } Cent.	23·6	—	*	—
					17. Sheffield, } Hallam				
					18. Sheffield, Eccles				
					19. Dewsbury				
					20. Halifax (1) ...				
					21. " (2) ...				
					22. Huddersfield...				
					23. Middlesboro' ...				
					24. Pontefract.....				

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Glad-sto-nian.	Union-ist.	Glad-sto-nian.		Union-ist.	Glad-sto-nian.	Union-ist.	Glad-sto-nian.
VII. Yorkshire.					X. Staffordshire.				
(b) <i>Borough—Contd.</i>					(b) <i>Borough—contd.</i>				
25. Scarborough	8·2	—	—	1·0	8. Wolverhampton, E.	—	*	—	34·7
26 Wakefield	18·5	—	32·4	—	9. Wolverhampton, S.	*	—	*	—
					10. Wolverhampton, W.	30·5	—	20·8	—
VIII. Derbyshire.									
(a) <i>County—</i>					XI. Warwickshire.				
1. High Peak	8·6	—	12·1	—	(a) <i>County—</i>				
2. N.E.	—	71·4	—	12·5	1. Tamworth	89·7	—	*	—
3. Chesterfield	—	4·4	—	5·7	2. Nuneaton	15·0	—	33·4	—
4. West	115·3	—	*	—	3. Stratford	26·2	—	62·6	—
5. Mid	—	25·3	—	13·2	4. Rugby	—	17·9	6·9	—
6. Ilkeston	—	40·5	—	18·3	(b) <i>Borough—</i>				
7. South	—	*	17·0	—	1. Aston Manor ...	303·6	—	219·5	—
(b) <i>Borough—</i>					2. Warwick	*	—	*	—
1. Derby (1)	—	35·3	16·5	—	3. Coventry	—	3·1	7·5	—
2. " (2)	—	37·7	9·2	—	4. Birmingham, Edgbaston. }	*	—	*	—
					5. Birmingham, West	235·1	—	339·7	—
IX. Nottinghamshire.					6. Birmingham, Central	263·0	—	*	—
(a) <i>County—</i>					7. Birmingham, North	131·0	—	274·8	—
1. Bassetlaw	9·9	—	34·6	—	8. Birmingham, East	78·0	—	*	—
2. Newark	*	—	*	—	9. Birmingham, Bordesley ..	140·0	—	178·7	—
3. Rushcliffe	—	17·2	—	12·3	10. Birmingham, South	128·7	—	284·2	—
4. Mansfield	—	77·1	—	32·3					
(b) <i>Borough—</i>					XII. Shropshire.				
1. Nottingham, W.	5·6	—	—	9·2	(a) <i>County—</i>				
2. " E.	—	13·4	3·4	—	1. Oswestry	*	—	27·9	—
3. " S.	1·8	—	9·9	—	2. Ludlow	177·9	—	*	—
					3. Wellington	47·8	—	*	—
X. Staffordshire.					4. Newport	36·4	—	*	—
(a) <i>County—</i>					(b) <i>Borough—</i>				
1. Leek	8·6	—	15·0	—	1. Shrewsbury	25·8	—	*	—
2. Burton	—	*	—	*					
3. West	81·5	—	*	—	XIII. Hereford.				
4. N. West	4·3	—	12·0	—	(a) <i>County—</i>				
5. Lichfield	0·1	—	—	1·1	1. Leominster	47·9	—	*	—
6. Kingswinford ..	41·3	—	*	—	2. Ross	11·8	—	61·7	—
7. Handsworth	35·6	—	*	—	(b) <i>Borough—</i>				
(b) <i>Borough—</i>					1. Hereford	—	9·2	23·0	—
1. Stafford	—	27·3	—	0·7					
2. Hanley	—	45·9	—	5·3					
3. Newcastle-under-Lyne }	—	43·1	—	3·2					
4. Stoke-on-Trent	—	62·6	4·7	—					
5. Walsall	6·4	—	6·5	—					
6. Wednesbury	1·2	—	4·0	—					
7. West Bromwich }	30·4	—	*	—					

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Glad-stonian.	Union-ist.	Glad-stonian.		Union-ist	Glad-stonian.	Union-ist	Glad-stonian
XIV. Worcester-shire.					XIX. Hertford-shire.				
(a) <i>County</i> —					(a) <i>County</i> —				
1. Bewdley.....	*	—	*	—	1. Hitchin.....	53·4	—	*	—
2. Evesham.....	16·1	—	*	—	2. Hertford.....	51·7	—	*	—
3. Droitwich.....	16·7	—	*	—	3. St. Alban's.....	32·8	—	*	—
4. North.....	—	68·0	24·5	—	4. Watford.....	32·3	—	*	—
5. East.....	103·0	—	*	—					
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					XX. Middlesex.				
1. Worcester.....	32·0	—	51·6	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
2. Kidderminster	14·7	—	17·2	—	1. Enfield.....	50·0	—	*	—
3. Dudley.....	18·6	—	12·7	—	2. Tottenham.....	42·2	—	67·3	—
XV. Monmouth.					3. Hornsey.....	112·5	—	*	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					4. Harrow.....	76·4	—	*	—
1. North.....	—	30·0	—	18·1	5. Ealing.....	162·6	—	*	—
2. West.....	—	312·8	—	270·3	6. Uxbridge.....	154·9	—	*	—
3. South.....	15·3	—	11·7	—	7. Brentford.....	68·2	—	*	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					XXI. Bedford-shire.				
1. Monmouth Dist.	—	9·3	—	4·2	(a) <i>County</i> —				
XVI. Gloucester-shire.					1. Biggleswade.....	—	10·7	4·9	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					2. Luton.....	—	23·8	—	3·5
1. Stroud.....	—	4·6	14·6	—	(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
2. Tewkesbury.....	21·8	—	*	—	1. Bedford.....	—	36·8	9·1	—
3. Cirencester.....	—	3·7	5·0	—	XXII. Cambridge.				
4. Thornbury.....	4·5	—	23·4	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
5. Forest of Dean	—	82·1	—	*	1. Wisbech.....	—	2·9	5·3	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					2. Chesterton.....	—	10·0	10·4	—
1. Gloucester.....	—	3·0	16·9	—	3. Newmarket.....	—	36·8	8·8	—
2. Cheltenham.....	24·2	—	15·9	—	(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
3. Bristol, N.....	—	8·4	5·3	—	1. Cambridge.....	8·3	—	22·4	—
4. „ S.....	12·3	—	17·1	—	XXIII. Hunting-don.				
5. „ E.....	—	*	—	120·3	(a) <i>County</i> —				
6. „ W.....	*	—	107·1	—	1. Ramsey.....	16·2	—	46·0	—
XVII. Oxford.					2. Huntingdon.....	0·9	—	16·9	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					XXIV. Northamp-ton.				
1. Banbury.....	—	5·4	31·9	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
2. Woodstock.....	—	2·6	24·8	—	1. North.....	17·4	—	*	—
3. Henley.....	12·8	—	10·4	—	2. South.....	—	1·2	36·9	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					3. East.....	—	34·1	—	24·5
1. Oxford.....	3·8	—	21·7	—	4. Mid.....	—	10·0	5·8	—
XVIII. Bucking-hamshire.					(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
(a) <i>County</i> —					1. Northampton } (1).....	—	48·8	—	41·5
1. N. Buckingham	—	9·5	9·0	—	2. Northampton } (2).....	—	59·5	3·1	—
2. Aylesbury.....	84·3	—	*	—	3. Peterboro'.....	—	8·4	12·0	—
3. Wycombe.....	26·1	—	*	—					

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.		Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.
XXV. Rutland.	*	—	*	—	XXIX. Suffolk.				
(a) <i>County</i> —					(b) <i>Borough—Contd.</i>				
XXVI. Lincoln.					2. Ipswich (1)	7·3	—	1·0	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					3. „ (2)	1·0	—	—	4·1
1. Gainsboro'	—	22·4	—	18·0	XXX. Essex.				
2. Brigg	—	10·6	—	18·8	(a) <i>County</i> —				
3. Louth	—	24·3	—	10·9	1. Romford	21·3	—	28·4	—
4. Horncastle	19·9	—	51·0	—	2. Walthamstow ..	23·1	—	52·0	—
5. Sleaford	27·9	—	73·1	—	3. Epping	63·8	—	*	—
6. Stamford	3·1	—	10·2	—	4. Saffron Wal- } den	—	70·1	—	23·5
7. Spalding	—	7·5	8·1	—	5. Harwich	8·0	—	70·0	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					6. Maldon	—	4·0	15·0	—
1. Lincoln	—	7·0	6·0	—	7. Chelmsford	49·9	—	*	—
2. Gt. Grimsby ...	—	17·8	—	4·3	8. South-East	12·4	—	55·1	—
3. Grantham	2·6	—	29·1	—	(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
4. Boston	—	3·2	32·0	—	1. Colchester	2·8	—	—	9·0
XXVII. Leicester.					XXXI. Kent.				
(a) <i>County</i> —					(a) <i>County</i> —				
1. Melton	*	—	31·5	—	1. Sevenoaks	54·4	—	*	—
2. Loughboro'	—	18·0	—	8·5	2. Medway	44·3	—	*	—
3. Bosworth	—	39·6	—	26·6	3. Tonbridge	23·9	—	*	—
4. Harborough	—	11·7	—	18·0	4. Dartford	12·1	—	25·0	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					5. Faversham	4·3	—	25·9	—
1. Leicester (1) ...	—	*	—	27·9	6. Ashford	28·7	—	*	—
2. „ (2)	—	*	—	*	7. St. Augustine ..	*	—	*	—
XXVIII. Norfolk.					8. Thanet	36·5	—	*	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
1. North-West	—	28·4	—	36·8	1. Canterbury	*	—	*	—
2. Scuth-West	9·0	—	5·4	—	2. Chatham	11·1	—	16·6	—
3. North	—	39·1	—	13·5	3. Dover	128·1	—	*	—
4. East	—	10·2	—	4·4	4. Hythe	*	—	*	—
5. Mid	—	13·0	—	3·2	5. Gravesend	46·3	—	97·4	—
6. South	21·3	—	24·2	—	6. Rochester	23·7	—	28·6	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					7. Maidstone	50·1	—	*	—
1. Norfolk (1) ...	13·3	—	11·4	—	XXXII. Sussex.				
2. „ (2)	—	*	11·4	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
3. Yarmouth	—	9·9	21·9	—	1. Horsham	89·7	—	*	—
4. King's Lynn ...	0·8	—	5·2	—	2. E. Grinstead	69·7	—	29·8	—
XXIX. Suffolk.					3. Chichester	79·4	—	*	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					4. Lewes	142·0	—	*	—
1. Lowestoft	30·4	—	36·1	—	5. Eastbourne	9·8	—	1·4	—
2. Eye	—	37·0	—	23·1	6. Rye	17·8	—	*	—
3. Stowmarket	—	3·2	38·9	—	(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
4. Sudbury	75·9	—	*	—	1. Brighton (1) ...	43·3	—	55·0	—
5. Woodbridge ...	—	16·5	13·2	—	2. „ (2)	*	—	*	—
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					3. Hastings	17·1	—	11·9	—
1. Bury St. Ed- } munds	46·8	—	*	—					

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.		Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.
XXXIII. Hampshire.					XXXVII. Dorset.				
(a) <i>County</i> —					(a) <i>County</i> —				
1. Basingstoke.....	59·0	—	*	—	1. North.....	15·1	—	*	—
2. Andover.....	*	—	*	—	2. South.....	4·8	—	*	—
3. Petersfield.....	30·0	—	*	—	3. East.....	*	—	*	—
4. Fareham.....	33·8	—	*	—	4. West.....	31·2	—	*	—
5. New Forest.....	20·2	—	*	—					
6. Isle of Wight..	8·8	—	8·3	—	XXXVIII. Somerset.				
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					(a) <i>County</i> —				
1. Winchester.....	41·2	—	*	—	1. North.....	—	0·4	17·3	—
2. Christchurch.....	7·8	—	1·7	—	2. Wells.....	27·6	—	42·9	—
3. Southampton } (1).....	10·7	—	14·3	—	3. Frome.....	—	11·4	8·0	—
4. Southampton } (2).....	—	9·4	29·0	—	4. East.....	18·3	—	32·2	—
5. Portsmouth (1)	—	4·9	—	7·1	5. South.....	—	10·3	—	8·8
6. „ (2)	—	5·5	—	7·5	6. Bridgwater.....	35·4	—	*	—
					7. Wellington.....	25·3	—	*	—
					(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
XXXIV. Surrey.					1. Bath (1).....	7·2	—	18·1	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					2. „ (2).....	8·0	—	13·8	—
1. Chertsey.....	*	—	*	—	3. Taunton.....	52·2	—	*	—
2. Guildford.....	39·5	—	*	—					
3. Reigate.....	54·5	—	*	—	XXXIX. Devon.				
4. Epsom.....	88·3	—	*	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
5. Kingston.....	17·0	—	59·7	—	1. Honiton.....	79·0	—	*	—
6. Wimbledon.....	184·2	—	*	—	2. Tiverton.....	43·0	—	*	—
					3. S. Molton.....	—	60·8	—	46·5
XXXV. Berkshire.					4. Barnstaple.....	—	3·4	6·2	—
(a) <i>County</i> —					5. Tavistock.....	—	5·1	—	3·7
1. Abingdon.....	10·1	—	34·6	—	6. Totnes.....	101·9	—	104·5	—
2. Newbury.....	16·5	—	29·8	—	7. Torquay.....	10·4	—	4·3	—
3. Wokingham.....	82·1	—	*	—	8. Ashburton.....	—	19·5	—	10·3
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
1. Reading.....	—	7·8	8·9	—	1. Exeter.....	16·6	—	14·6	—
2. Windsor.....	*	—	*	—	2. Devonport (1)	—	11·3	—	8·1
					3. „ (2)	—	11·8	—	7·6
					4. Plymouth (1)	3·2	—	5·2	—
					5. „ (2)	4·5	—	—	0·4
XXXVI. Wiltshire.									
(a) <i>County</i> —					XL. Cornwall.				
1. Cricklade.....	—	27·9	2·1	—	(a) <i>County</i> —				
2. Chippenham.....	6·6	—	14·9	—	1. St. Ives.....	*	—	*	—
3. Westbury.....	—	15·8	3·8	—	2. St. Austell.....	—	62·0	—	35·6
4. Devizes.....	—	3·6	13·1	—	3. Camborne.....	—	16·6	17·0	—
5. Wilton.....	12·2	—	7·3	—	4. Launceston.....	—	33·7	—	22·1
(b) <i>Borough</i> —					5. Bodmin.....	6·4	—	15·5	—
1. Salisbury.....	20·9	—	18·2	—	6. Truro.....	60·0	—	9·0	—
					(b) <i>Borough</i> —				
					1. Penryn - Fal- mouth.....	38·4	—	—	4·4

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PERCENTAGE OF MAJORITIES. PART I. *Territorially—Contd.*

Constituency.	Majority per Cent.				Constituency.	Majority per Cent.			
	1892.		1895.			1892.		1895.	
	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.		Union-ist.	Gladstonian.	Union-ist.	Gladstonian.
LONDON.					LONDON.				
<i>(a) Central—</i>					<i>(d) S. River—Contd.</i>				
1. City of London (1) ... }	*	—	*	—	32. Rotherhithe ...	44·4	—	82·1	—
2. City of London (2) ... }	*	—	*	—	33. Bermondsey ...	—	17·6	9·4	—
3. Strand	*	—	*	—	34. W. Southwark ...	—	53·9	—	4·1
4. Finsbury, E.	—	13·8	13·5	—	35. W. Newington ...	—	46·9	—	16·2
5. " Cent.	—	0·1	28·9	—	36. Walworth	—	13·3	24·3	—
6. " Holborn ...	98·9	—	*	—	37. N. Lambeth ...	—	5·4	16·1	—
<i>(b) North—</i>					38. Battersea	—	38·0	—	5·3
7. Hackney, S. ...	—	34·7	7·3	—	<i>(e) East End—</i>				
8. " N.	46·3	—	92·0	—	39. Whitechapel ...	—	29·2	—	1·6
9. " Cent.	8·9	—	10·5	—	40. Mile End	14·1	—	57·1	—
10. Islington, N. ...	22·2	—	39·4	—	41. BethnalGreen, } N. W.	—	24·8	6·5	—
11. " S.	11·1	—	52·1	—	42. BethnalGreen, } S. W.	—	47·6	—	12·0
12. " E.	8·1	—	38·7	—	43. Hoxton	—	61·3	—	4·4
13. " W.	—	53·9	—	15·2	44. Haggerston ...	—	56·7	1·3	—
14. St. Pancras, N. ...	—	2·3	8·0	—	45. Bow and } Bromley ... }	—	11·5	36·5	—
15. " S.	21·4	—	98·9	—	46. Stepney	3·9	—	25·1	—
16. " E.	20·2	—	12·4	—	47. Poplar	—	68·3	—	26·6
17. " W.	1·4	—	36·5	—	48. St. George's- } in-East ... }	—	31·5	0·7	—
<i>(c) West—</i>					49. Limehouse ...	—	7·3	28·4	—
18. Westminster	85·1	—	*	—	50. S. West Ham...}	—	30·4	19·5	—
19. St. George's, } Han. Sq. }	*	—	*	—	51. N. " ...	—	0·6	14·2	—
20. Marylebone, E. ...	35·7	—	83·1	—	<i>(f) Suburbs—</i>				
21. " W.	17·6	—	64·2	—	52. Croydon	35·0	—	47·9	—
22. Paddington, N. ...	13·5	—	56·2	—	53. Norwood	60·4	—	*	—
23. " S.	*	—	*	—	54. Lewisham	83·3	—	*	—
24. Kensington, N. ...	—	6·3	31·4	—	55. Brixton	26·7	—	90·9	—
25. " S.	*	—	*	—	56. Dulwich	69·4	—	141·6	—
26. Chelsea	12·7	—	53·2	—	57. Kennington ...	—	18·6	35·9	—
27. Fulham	5·1	—	37·3	—	58. Peckham	4·9	—	20·4	—
28. Hammersmith ...	17·9	—	54·9	—	59. Clapham	14·2	—	51·7	—
<i>(d) S. River—</i>					60. N. Camberwell ...	—	24·4	20·9	—
29. Woolwich	46·1	—	72·7	—	61. Wandsworth ...	60·2	—	99·5	—
30. Greenwich	8·3	—	34·7	—	62. Hampstead ...	71·8	—	*	—
31. Deptford	11·9	—	27·7	—					

* Uncontested.

TABLE G.—PART II. *Majorities of 1895 by Groups of Percentage.*

CLASS I. UNDER 5 PER CENT.		CLASS II. BETWEEN 5 AND 10 PER CENT.	
County.	Borough.	County.	Borough.
A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.
(a)* —	(a) 1. West Salford	(a) —	(a) 1. N. E. Manchester
(b) 1. Eastbourne	2. S. Salford	(b) 1. S.W. Norfolk	2. S. Nottingham
2. Torquay	3. Wednesbury	(b) 2. Isle of Wight	3. Stockport (1)
(c) 3. S.E. Durham	(b) 4. Birkenhead	3. Wilton	4. York (1)
4. Egremont	5. Ipswich (1)	4. Truro	5. Walsall
5. Skipton	6. Christchurch	(c) 5. Eccles	6. King's Lynn
6. Shipley	(c) 7. Hartlepool	6. Ince	7. Plymouth (1)
7. Doncaster	8. S. Manchester	7. Spalding	(b) 8. S. Tynemouth
8. Otley	9. N. Salford	8. Rugby	9. Newcastle (1)
9. Biggleswade	10. Oldham (1)	9. N. Bucks	(c) 10. Newcastle (2)
10. Cricklade	11. Cent. Bradford	10. Wisbech	11. Oldham (2)
11. Westbury	12. E. Hull	11. Newmarket	12. Derby (2)
B. Gladstonian.	13. E. Nottingham	12. Mid Northants	13. Coventry
(a) —	14. Stoke-on-Trent	13. Cirencester	14. N. Bristol
(b) 1. Eskdale	15. Northampton (2)	14. Barnstaple	15. Bedford
2. Buckrose	16. Haggerston	15. Frome	16. Lincoln
3. Luton	17. St. Geo.-in-East	B. Gladstonian.	17. Reading
4. E. Norfolk	B. Gladstonian.	(a) 1. Chesterfield	18. Liverpool, Exchange
5. Mid Norfolk	(a) —	(b) 2. Tyneside	19. Rochdale.
6. Tavistock	(b) 1. Durham	3. Cockermouth	20. S. Hackney
(c) 7. Prestwich	2. South Shields	4. Elland	21. N. St. Pancras
8. Lichfield	3. W. Leeds	5. Pudsey	22. Bermondsey
	4. S. Leeds	6. Accrington	23. N.E. Bethnal Green
	5. Newcastle-under-Lyne	7. Loughborough	B. Gladstonian.
	6. Stafford	8. S. Somerset	(a) 1. Gateshead
	7. Great Grimsby		2. Portsmouth (1)
	8. Monmouth District		3. " (2)
	9. W. Southwark		4. Burnley
	10. Whitechapel		5. Hanley
	11. Hoxton		6. Devonport (1)
	(c) 12. Pontefract		7. " (2)
	13. Scarborough		(c) 9. Bolton (2)
	14. Ipswich (2)		10. W. Nottingham
	15. Plymouth (2)		11. Colchester
	16. Falmouth		
Total 19	Total 33	Total 23	Total 34

* Each class is subdivided into three groups: (a) where the majority rose, as compared with that of 1892; (b) where it fell; and (c) where the seat was won in 1895 from the opposite party.

TABLE G.—PART II. *Majorities of 1895 by Groups of Percentage—Contd.*

CLASS III. BETWEEN 10 AND 25 PER CENT.		County.	Borough.
County.	Borough.	B. Gladstonian—<i>Contd.</i>	B. Gladstonian—<i>Contd.</i>
A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.	(b) 13. Ilkeston	(b) 4. E. Leeds
(1) 1. Penrith	(a) 1. St. Helens	14. Rushcliffe	5. W. Newington
2. Richmond	2. Warrington	15. N. Monmouth	6. W. Islington
3. Ripon	3. E. Manchester	16. E. Northants	7. S. E. Bethnal Green
4. Hythe	4. Staleybridge	17. Gainsborough	(c) 8. Stockton - on Tees
5. Widnes	5. Cent. Leeds	18. Louth	
6. Southport	6. Kidderminster	19. Saffron Walden	
7. High Peak	7. S. Bristol	20. N. Norfolk	
8. Leek	8. Oxford	21. Eye	
9. N. W. Stafford	9. Cambridge	22. Launceston	
10. Thornbury	10. Chatham	23. Ashburton	
11. Huntingdon	11. Southampton (1)		
12. Chesterton	12. Bath (1)	(c) 24. Hexham	
13. Stamford	13. " (2)		
14. S. Norfolk	14. Cent. Hackney	Total 58	Total 50
15. Chippenham	(b) 15. Bury		
16. Bodmin	16. W. Wolverhampton		
(b) 17. S. Monmouth	17. Dudley	CLASS IV. BETWEEN 25 AND 50 PER CENT.	
18. Henley	18. Cheltenham	County.	Borough.
(c) 19. N. Lonsdale	19. Norwich (1)	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.
20. Lancaster	20. Hastings	(a) 1. Appleby	(a) 1. Stepney
21. Darwen	21. Exeter	2. Kendal	2. N. Islington
22. Middleton	22. Salisbury	3. Holderness	3. E. Islington
23. Heywood	23. E. St. Pancras	4. Altrincham	4. W. St. Pancras
24. Radcliffe	(c) 24. Sunderland (1)	5. Newton	5. Greenwich
25. Crewe	25. Darlington	6. Bassetlaw	6. Deptford
26. S. Derbyshire	26. Whitehaven	7. Nuneaton	7. Fulham
27. N. Worcester	27. S. W. Manchester	8. Ramsey	8. Peckham
28. Stroud	28. W. Bradford	9. Romford	9. Croydon
29. Woodstock	29. E. Bradford	10. Lowestoft	10. Blackburn (1)
30. Maldon	30. Hereford	11. Dartford	11. Grantham
31. Woodbridge	31. Gloucester	12. Faversham	12. Ashton-under-Lyne
32. N. Somerset	32. Peterborough	13. Abingdon	13. Barrow
33. Devizes	33. Ya-mouth	14. Newbury	14. Wigan
34. Camborne	34. Stockport (2)	15. Wells	15. N. Leeds
B. Gladstonian.	35. Derby (1)	16. E. Somerset	16. Wakefield
(a) 1. Berwick	36. Norwich (2)	(b) 17. Oswestry	17. Rochester
2. Cleveland	37. E. Finsbury	18. Melton	(b) 18. N. W. Manchester
3. Brigg	38. Walworth	(c) 20. Stowmarket	
4. Harborough	39. N. Lambeth	21. S. Northants	(c) 19. Cent. Finsbury
(b) 5. Houghton-le-Spring	40. N. Camberwell	22. Gorton	20. N. Kensington
6. Keighley	41. N. West Ham	23. Banbury	21. Kennington
7. Colne Valley	42. S. West Ham		22. Bow and Bromley
8. Hallamshire	B. Gladstonian.		
9. Spen Valley	(n) 1. Carlisle		
10. Leigh	2. N. Manchester		
11. N. E. Derby	3. Huddersfield		
12. Mid Derby			

TABLE G.--PART II. *Majorities of 1895 by Groups of Percentage--Contd.*

CLASS IV-- <i>contd.</i>		CLASS VI. OVER 100 PER CENT.	
County.	Borough.	County.	Borough.
B. Gladstonian.	A. Unionist--Contd.	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.
(a) 1. Northwich	(c) 23. Limchouse	(a) 1. Ormskirk	(a) 1. W. Bristol
2. N. W. Norfolk	24. Halifax (1)	2. Totnes	2. W. Birmingham
(b) 3. N.W. Durham	25. Southampton (2)	B. Gladstonian.	3. N. Birmingham
4. Mid Durham	26. Boston	(a) 1. Wansbeck	4. Bordesley "
5. Bishops Auckland	B. Gladstonian.	(b) 2. W. Monmouth	5. South "
6. Barnard Castle	(a) 1. Dewsbury		6. Liverpool, W. Derby
7. Sowerby	2. Middlesborough		7. Liverpool, E. Toxteth
8. Morley	(b) 3. Leicester (1)		8. Liverpool, W. Toxteth
9. Normanton	4. Northampton (1)		9. Bolton (1)
10. Holmfirth	5. Liverpool, Scotland		(b) 10. Aston Manor
11. Barnsley	6. E. Wolverhampton		11. Dulwich
12. Osgoldersoss	7. Poplar		B. Gladstonian.
13. Mansfield			(a) 1. W. Hull
14. Bosworth			2. E. Bristol
15. St. Austell			3. Morpeth
16. S. Molton			
(c) —			
Total 39	Total 33	Total 4	Total 14
CLASS V. BETWEEN 50 AND 100 PER CENT.		CLASS VII. UNCONTESTED SEATS.	
County.	Borough.	County.	Borough.
A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.	A. Unionist.
(a) 1. Eddisbury	(a) 1. Preston (1)	(a)* 1. West Houghton	(a) 1. Blackburn
2. Ross	2. Liverpool, Kirkdale	2. Bootle	2. Liverpool, Abercrombie
3. Stratford	3. Cent. Hull	3. Stratford	3. Liverpool, Walton
4. Tottenham	4. Worcester	4. Blackpool	4. Liverpool, Everton
5. Horncastle	5. Gravesend	5. Wirral	5. Chester
6. Sleaford	6. Brighton (1)	6. Knutsford	6. Sheffield, Cent.
7. Walthamstow	7. N. Hackney	7. Howdenshire	7. " Hal-
8. S. E. Essex	8. S. Islington	8. Thirsk	lam
9. Kingston	9. S. St. Pancras	9. Whitby	8. Sheffield, Eccles
(b) 10. Harwich	10. E. Marylebone	10. Barkston Ash	9. Shrewsbury
B. Gladstonian.	11. W. Marylebone	11. Macclesfield	10. West Brom-
(a) 1. Chester-le-Street	12. N. Paddington	12. Kingswinford	wich
	13. Chelsen	13. Handsworth	11. E. Birmingham
	14. Woolwich	14. W. Stafford	12. Bury St. Edmunds
	15. Rotherhithe	15. Newport	13. Maidstone
	16. Brixton	16. Wellington	14. Winchester
	17. Wandsworth	17. Leominster	
	18. Hammersmith	18. Eversham	
	19. Clapham	19. Lroitwich	
	20. Mile End		
	B. Gladstonian.		
Total 11	Total 20		

* In this class, (a) means contested in 1892 and won by less than 100 per cent.; (b) contested in 1892 and won by more than 100 per cent., (c) uncontested at either election.

TABLE G.—PART II. *Majorities of 1895 by Groups of Percentage—Contd.*

CLASS VII— <i>Contd.</i>		County.	Borough.
County.	Borough.		
A. Unionist—<i>Contd.</i>	A. Unionist—<i>Contd.</i>	A. Unionist—<i>Contd.</i>	B. Gladstonian—<i>Contd.</i>
(a) 20. Tewkesbury	(a) 15. Taunton	(a) 55. Tiverton	(a) 3. Sheffield, Attercliffe
21. Tamworth	16. Holborn	56. Bridgwater	
22. Aylesbury	17. Westminster	57. Wellington	
23. Wycombe	18. Norwood	(b) 58. W. Derbyshire	(b) —
24. Hitchin	19. Lewisham	59. Ludlow	
25. Hertford	20. Hampstead	60. E. Worcester	(c) 4. Leicester (2)
26. St. Albans		61. Hornsea	5. York (2)
27. Watford	(b) 21. Cent. Birmingham	62. Ealing	6. Halifax (2)
28. Enfield	22. Dover	63. Uxbridge	
29. Harrow		64. Lewes	
30. Brentford	(c) 23. Preston (2)	65. Wimbledon	
31. N. Northants	24. Birmingham, Edgbaston	(c) 66. Chorley	
32. Chelmsford	25. S. Wolverhampton	67. Bewdley	
33. Epping	26. Warwick	68. Newark	
34. Sudbury	27. Windsor	69. Rutland	
35. Sevenoaks	28. Hythe	70. St. Augustin	
36. Tonbridge	29. Canterbury	71. Chertsey	
37. Medway	30. Brighton (2)	72. Andover	
38. Ashford	31. Strand	73. E. Dorset	
39. Thanet	32. City of London (1)	74. St. Ives	
40. Horsham	33. City of London (2)	B. Gladstonian.	
41. Rye	34. St Geo. Hanover Square	(a) 1. Clitheroe	
42. Chichester	35. S. Paddington	2. Rossendale	
43. Reigate	36. S. Kensington	3. Forest of Dean	
44. Epsom		(b) 4. Yarrow	
45. Guildford	B. Gladstonian.	5. Rotherham	
46. Wokingham	(a) 1. Sunderland (2)	(c) 6. Burton	
47. Basingstoke	2. Sheffield, Brightside		
48. Petersfield		Total 80	Total 42
49. Fareham			
50. New Forest			
51. S. Dorset			
52. N. Dorset			
53. W. Dorset			
54. Honiton			

DISCUSSION *on* MR. BAINES'S PAPER.

THE CHAIRMAN (THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART., M.P.) said that he was sure that all present would join in thanking Mr. Baines for his elaborate and comprehensive paper, which must have cost him an immense amount of labour and thought. Dealing with the remarks towards the close of the paper, he (the Chairman) was not aware that he had ever said that uncontested elections were not important. What he said was that it was very difficult to reduce them to figures, because there were so many elements of doubt. The author stated that, in the opinion of many of those who advocated proportional representation, "the system of party government must disappear when the rights of minorities came to be recognised;" but, though this might be the opinion of some writers on the continent, it was not the opinion of the advocates of reform in this country. The figures of the last election were very instructive. In the non-contested seats the Unionist party had a majority of 75 seats; in the 480 contested seats the Gladstonians polled 20,000 votes more than the Unionists, but the Unionists had a majority of 77 seats. According to the votes given the Gladstonians were entitled to a majority of 2 of the contested seats, which would have reduced the Unionist majority to 73. This clearly showed how little the system of single member seats gave expression to the views of the electors. Again, at the last election of the London County Council the Moderates had a majority of some 12,000 votes, but the result was that the two parties were exactly even as far as the elected members went. At the previous election, however, the Progressives, with exactly the same majority of votes, had in this case a majority of 50 out of 124 elected members. It was clear therefore that the result of an election did not depend, under the present system of voting, upon the number of votes, but upon the way in which the votes happened to lie. If the two parties were evenly distributed, the majority (even if small) secured the whole representation; on the other hand, if the majority were too much concentrated, the minority might secure more of the representation. This at any time might lead to serious results, and they did not want to have the experience of the Swiss in the canton of Ticino, where such a state of things had finally caused a revolution. A system of proportional representation was then introduced which worked very well, and had rapidly extended to Geneva, Neufchatel, Basle, and other cantons. In Belgium also, to which country Mr. Baines had referred, proportional representation had been adopted, and was found to be working well. Proportional representation had other advantages, and was the only way of securing the two great requisites of representative government—power to the majority and a fair hearing for the minority.

MR. JOHN B. MARTIN said that the papers on electoral statistics which he had on previous occasions laid before the Society rendered him liable to be called on to open the debate. Unfortunately he had not prepared himself beforehand with any elaborate criticism of the paper which Mr. Baines had read. Knowing, as he did, the difficulty of obtaining any two sets of electoral figures which harmonised with each other, he appreciated the amount of work which Mr. Baines had thrown into his paper. It was gratifying to find that Mr. Baines looked upon him as an accurate political prophet, in spite of such small omissions as were implied by his omission to take account of the members of the House of Peers when making necessary deductions from the total adult population eligible to vote. Mr. Baines himself confessed to a similar omission in having taken no account of the constituencies which returned to parliament members representing the Universities. He would not offer any detailed criticism of the paper, or investigate the theory that the higher average degree of intelligence in the population north of the Trent entitled it, man for man, to a larger representation than should be attributed to the southern counties. Mr. Baines had suggested that when the female franchise was granted it would be proper for him to write a further statistical paper on the subject, but he would be inclined himself to leave this task, when occasion for it arose, in the more competent hands of Mr. Baines. He might be travelling beyond the sphere of strict statistics, but as the Society had been founded for the purpose of collecting facts illustrating the condition and prospects of society in its material, social, and moral relations, in accordance with the principles of the numerical method, he ventured to submit that the real question for consideration was—What progress the nation was making under successive readjustments of the franchise. Attention had been drawn to the vast number of voters enfranchised in 1884 under the "Representation of the People Act." But had this largely increased electorate shown itself capable of more intelligent legislation? Had the social position of the nation as a whole advanced? Had they improved the standard of minimum comfort or intelligence all round? This offered a wide field for inquiry. He did not despair of seeing these very important and difficult problems grappled with, not in one paper, but from various directions, by the arithmetical method. To ascertain whether the nation had advanced in material and moral prosperity, and whether it was exercising more intelligently the franchise committed to it, appeared to him to be really the object of papers such as the one to which they had just listened with so much interest.

MR. H. KIMBER, M.P., said that proportional representation was not yet well understood. Cases happened repeatedly in which a large number of the votes recorded were absolutely wasted, the voters being represented by a man of contrary opinions. Consequently their views were represented only by the mere chance of some other constituency electing a man of the same opinions as themselves—a haphazard method of representation. He would recommend a study of the plan which had been so admirably

worked out by Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Leonard Courtney, by which a large part of the 43 per cent. of electors who, under the present system, were not represented in their own constituencies or anywhere else indeed by their own votes, or otherwise than by the haphazard method referred to, would at least have the satisfaction of their votes going towards the election of somebody who would represent their opinions. It would be easy to try this experimentally, and he hoped that some day the House of Commons would study and carry out this or some other plan to give representation to minorities. But there was a still greater danger to be faced. The constituencies of this country were supposed to be represented in proportion to the number of intelligent citizens called Electors in those constituencies. But what did they find? That in some parts of the country 20,000 of these qualified citizens returned one man, and 20,000 in other parts returned six or seven men. It is true that, in the election of 1884, after the last Representation of the People Bill, the figure of error had been reduced to 8 to 1; that is to say, that the constituency having the lowest number of electors was towards the constituency having the largest number in the proportion of 1 to 8. But that figure of error was constantly on the increase; it was 8 to 1 in 1884, but it had grown to 10 to 1 in 1892, and in the last election, 1895, it was 12 to 1. They were thus repeatedly liable to have a minority of electors representing a majority of electors, which was certainly not representing the will of the people. He hoped, early in the ensuing session, to bring this matter again before the House of Commons, when he trusted that the result would be a good Representation of the People Bill, by which the people of the country would be enabled to have their true opinion represented.

Mr. JESSE ARGYLE was sorry that the reader of the paper had not been able to include the other parts of the kingdom in his figures, as the picture of the present political constitution of the country would have been more complete if Scotland, Ireland, and Wales had been taken in. While noting with interest the fact so clearly brought out by Mr. Baines, that the portion of the electorate to the total eligible male population had largely increased of late years, he thought it was not quite accurate to say that the proportion was now 670 in 1,000. That result had probably been arrived at merely by counting the population as against the number of people upon the register, but the plural vote must not be forgotten, as it was a very considerable one, many individuals having several votes in different parts of the country. The small proportion of voters as compared with the population in London was due to the migratory character of the London people; in some of the East End constituencies more than one-third of the heads of families moved every year, and so, owing to our complicated registration system, were seldom able to obtain a vote. The point as to representation and population going together, depended upon whether representation should be based on the population or on the houses and land which the people lived on at a particular time. If it was to be on the houses and land, the argument to which they

had listened would be quite right, but if they took the other side (which he contended was the right one), that it was the people who were to be represented quite irrespective of the part of the country in which they lived, it must be unfair for one side to be greatly under-represented simply because of the position in which they happened to live at the time. He believed that with trial the chief difficulties of a proportional system of representation would disappear. He had had a good deal of experience of working class voting in connection with workmen's organizations, and he found that the men were generally able to give an intelligent vote even when quite a large number of names and offices to be filled appeared on the ballot paper.

Mr. BARTLEY, M.P., said that he had been very much struck with the statement in Table XXI that, in 1895, 11·3 per cent. of the elections were won by a majority of under 5 per cent. In the election of 1895, if that 5 per cent. had been taken one way or the other, absolutely the whole of the gigantic majority of the present government would have gone. That was a serious consideration from any party's point of view, and showed how the whole policy of this country might be changed by such a small percentage. Many electors voted irrespectively of politics altogether, and in his own constituency some always voted alternately in successive elections, so as to be quite impartial. Other people he had personally known to vote simply because the candidate happened to have a certain appearance or looked like a friend of theirs. He was perfectly certain that in the south of England, at any rate, more than 5 per cent. of the electorate were swayed backwards and forwards by conditions other than those which concerned the welfare of the country. It was a point not to be overlooked, that the whole programme of an enormous empire depended upon the accident of how a majority of 5 per cent. of electors happened to record their votes. This country spent 10,000,000*l.* a year upon elementary education, and he would suggest that some portion of that should be spent in instructing people on the elementary principle of the constitution and the duties and responsibilities of the vote. He was much indebted to Mr. Baines for having compiled figures which required most careful consideration.

Mr. N. L. COHEN wished to draw attention to the defective arrangements under which the electoral lists were compiled. There was at present no statutory obligation on the officer who compiled the list to take the initiative of entering voters of any class except ratepayers. With regard to many large classes of voters—for instance, those entitled to the service and lodger franchise—the initiative of placing them on the list depended upon the energy and public spirit of private societies. Also he believed that, until the English people were prepared to have a more methodical and continuous classification of the population such as obtained in all countries on the continent, no beneficial action was possible in many directions where there was from time

to time a demand for assistance from public authorities. To his mind the logical remedy for the circumstance of a small majority of electors returning a large number of members involved this: That no one should sit in Parliament unless he had in his favour a definite majority of the electors in the district in which he was a candidate.

Mr. BAINES in reply said that, considering the late hour, he would only offer explanations on those points arising in the interesting discussion which were immediately connected with his paper. The plural vote was an inascertainable factor in the compilation, and he thought that it could be set off against, first the omission of the double vote in two-member constituencies, and secondly, the number of qualified persons who, as Mr. Cohen had stated, failed to get registered. In the aggregate, therefore, the proportion quoted was probably near the mark. As to Mr. Cohen's suggestion that registration should be independent of claim, he would only remark that where the vote was held to be of value, the claim to it would be established. He would not repeat the reasons given in the paper for selecting England alone for analysis, but as an illustration of the working of the representative system he considered it preferable to any or all of the rest of the divisions of the kingdom. The inequalities in distribution pointed out by Mr. Kimber were, in some cases, apparently inexplicable. Historical associations and sentiment no doubt retained the seats of the small cathedral towns, and perhaps something of the same sort was influential in regard to the smaller two-member boroughs. The question of one vote one value, however, involved considerations, as Mr. Kimber had shown, into which the speaker could not reasonably be expected to enter on the present occasion. The remarks of Mr. Bartley seemed amply borne out by the statistics put forward, and the prominence of the element of chance in an election had been, he hoped, clearly stated. All that could be said on the other side was that the casual majorities of which Mr. Bartley spoke were not confined to one party or one locality, and, had they been eliminated, the general results would have been but little different. This defect in the system, in fact, had no remedy, unless we fell back upon the combined action of party and the swing of the pendulum! He had finally to thank the Chairman for his kind and complimentary remarks on the paper, and to gratefully acknowledge Sir John Lubbock's testimony to the general political impartiality with which the subject had been handled. On the question of proportionate representation, of which Sir John was probably one of the clearest and most popular exponents, he had only to add one or two remarks. Referring to parliamentary elections only, a majority of votes on one side with a majority of representatives on the other, taking the country in the aggregate, was not in reality as inequitable as it might seem on first sight, because the system was one of local representation, not selection from a general list of candidates for a large area. In the next place, he was by no means inclined to draw conclusions from a return which excluded the uncontested

seats, especially in a case such as that of 1895, when one-fourth of the electorate of England was considered by the professional agents to be so biassed in favour of one party, that it was considered not worth while for their rivals to engage in what Lord Rosebery had termed a hopeless contest. He (the speaker) did not consider it statistically sound to eliminate from the return all seats where the previous majority had been abnormally large, to an extent to deter competition, and then to point to the smaller majorities of the remaining seats as evidence of inadequate public support to the party which held or won them. With regard to the effect of proportional representation in party government, he wished in conclusion to mention that he had made in his paper a special exception as regards Sir John Lubbock and his English colleagues, when asserting that the advocates of the scheme showed a tendency to declare that that system was incompatible with party government. He referred to the writers on the subject in the United States and Canada, where the division of parties was not on the same lines and under the same conditions as in this country. Perhaps it was the same in the canton of Switzerland mentioned by Sir John Lubbock, where the party system had not yet crystallised into permanent shape.
