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# The Elections of 1868 and 1874. By John Biddulph Martin, Esq.

### [Read before the Statistical Society, 19th May, 1874.]

THE wide difference between the circumstances under which the General Elections of 1868 and 1874 took place renders a comparison of their results, so far as they can be ascertained, peculiarly desirable: the former was rendered necessary by the passing, under Mr. Disraeli's ministry, of a Reform Bill, which in itself had occasioned many a parliamentary crisis. As soon as the electoral registers could be revised after the Bill had passed, it was obviously necessary to dissolve a parliament that no longer was representative, the questions which were then before the country being of the greatest interest and gravity. In the very first rank was the question as to the future basis of the Protestant Church in Ireland, the question of reform of the Land Laws in Ireland, of reform in the system of Promotion in the Army, of the Ballot, and of Education throughout the United Kingdom, were points of hardly inferior moment. The election accordingly took place in November, 1868, and the result, in spite of the fact that the political bias of an unexpectedly large proportion of the newly-enfranchised voters proved to be Conservative, was the return as representatives of a majority of at least a hundred members, pledged to the support of all these extensive Never, perhaps, since the passing of the measures of reform. Reform Bill of 1832, had a parliament been assembled under circumstances of greater national interest.

The election of 1874 took place under conditions widely different. Whether the work were well or ill done there might be a difference of opinion; as to the amount of work done there could not be any; but with the passing of every successive measure, the nation appeared to be less and less satisfied with the work of its hands, and to evince its dissatisfaction by the return to Parliament, as opportunity offered, of representatives hostile to the Government. When therefore Mr. Gladstone, after recovering from the shipwreck of the Irish Education Bill in 1873, abruptly dissolved Parliament at the beginning of 1874, the Parliament of 1868 had done its work, and in place of half-a-dozen measures, each in itself sufficient to warrant a dissolution, there was absolutely none before the country. The election addresses of 1868 teemed with promises of support or opposition to coming measures, those of 1874 were full of criticism or defence of measures already passed : the one was essentially prospective, the other as essentially retrospective. On the one hand a great Conservative reaction was asserted to have set in, on the other it was contended that the cry of "Our Party in danger" would at once consolidate the relaxed discipline of the Liberal forces.

It would, therefore, be interesting to ascertain. by an examination of the electoral returns, what the feeling of the nation was. Of the obvious result that instead of the Liberal majority of one hundred in 1868, there was in 1874 a Conservative majority of fifty there could be no doubt; but this bare statement does not in itself explain whether the nation had in those years become weary of sweeping legislative measures, to which it deemed that the term of "harassing" might in justice be applied, and consequently the Conservative ranks had been increased by defections from the Liberal host; or whether the dwindled appearance of the latter was merely due to the absence of stragglers whom the heat of battle had at the former election kept in the ranks; whether, in fact, the nation loved Mr. Disraeli more, or whether it merely loved Mr. Gladstone less.

The accompanying statistical table (A) has, therefore, been drawn up with the view of attempting to throw light on this question, by recording not only the political opinions of the candidates returned, but also the votes by which they were returned, and at the same time the number of unsuccessful candidates, and the number of votes which were bestowed on them. The general result of the table (which has been drawn up from the returns published in the "Times" of 18th November to 3rd December, 1868, and 19th February, 1874; from the "Standard," 23rd February, 1874; from "Hardwick's House of Commons," 1869-73; from "Dod's Parliamentary Companion," and from official returns to the Houses of Parliament) is analysed in Table B, which may be yet further analysed thus :—

		1868.				1874.			
	L.	Liberal Votes.	c.	Con- servative Votes.	L.	Liberal Votes.	c.	Con- servative Votes.	
English boroughs ,, counties	180 32	682,355 120,999	79 83	199,243 324,263	141 17	527,756 69,294	127 61	420,503 255,739	
England Scotland Ireland	212 29 <b>2</b> 6	803,354 107,429 41,194	$162 \\ 5 \\ 12$	523,506 2,612 25,841	$158 \\ 24 \\ 56$	597,050 104,107 90,614	188 12 26	676,242 28,167 72,644	
Uncontested seats Unrepresented votes	267 118	951,977 	179 94 —	551,959 354,086	238 63 —	791,771 586,227	226 125	777,053 311,479	
	385	1,422,677	273	906,045	<b>3</b> 01	1,377,998	351	1,088,532	

TABLE B 1.

### 1874.] MARTIN—On the Elections of 1868 and 1874.

From this table it results that in 1868 a grand total of 2,328,722 votes was reached; in 1874 this was exceeded by 137,808 votes, the total being 2,466,530, this majority of 137,808 votes being made up by an excess in 1874 of 182,487 Conservative, and a deficiency of 44,679 Liberal votes, and while in 1868 the Liberal majority of 112 was represented by a majority of 516,632 votes, in 1874 the Liberal minority of 50 is still represented by a majority of 289,466 votes: this being obviously due to the large preponderance of Liberal votes in the chief English boroughs, against which the Conservatives in English counties, returning a majority of 81 and 121 members at the respective elections, did not avail to turn the balance of votes, the majority in English counties of 121 in 1874 being returned by a majority of 107,253 votes only. This statement is, however, misleading, in that it includes uncontested seats, and if we regard contested seats only it will appear that in English counties contested at both elections there were given in 1868 188,549 Liberal votes to forty-nine candidates, against 198,306 Conservative votes given to fifty-two candidates; while in 1874 there were in the same constituencies 171,110 Liberal votes given to forty-four candidates, against 238,787 Conservative votes distributed among fifty-three candidates, or a Conservative majority in 1868 of 9,757, in 1874 of 67,677, the Liberals in 1874 showing a falling off of 17,439, and the Conservatives an increase of 40,481 votes. With regard to the candidates who came forward at the two elections we find their numbers and political opinions to have been as follows :---

		1868.		1874.			
	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Total.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Total.	
Successful Unsuccessful	385	273 172	658 376	301 267	351 153	652	
Unsuccessiul	205	172	370	207	100	420	
	590	445	1,035	568	504	1,072	

TABLE	C.
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being a total in 1874 of thirty-seven in excess of 1868, this total being made up of an excess of fifty-nine Conservative and a deficiency of twenty-two Liberal candidates. This total of thirtyseven would be larger but for the disfranchisement of six seats since 1868, which were occupied by an equal number of either party.

These grand totals, however available for comparison with one another, are not in themselves of much absolute value, for it is

obvious that the number of votes is only in a very few cases an index of the number of voters, the discrepancy being greatest in the large English boroughs which return more than two members; this discrepancy is modified by the operation of the minority clause, which at the same time renders it very difficult to judge of the number of voters polled in constituencies under its operation. For this reason it has been deemed unnecessary to take out in every case the number of electors on the register at each election,\* but in the following tables an attempt is made to arrive at the proportion of voters to the total electoral strength at each election, in the case of (D) English boroughs returning one member, which were contested at each election by one candidate of either party. These are among the smallest constituencies, and if the Ballot Act could be expected to operate anywhere it would be here that we should expect to find it leave its mark, and further, small boroughs are naturally more closely polled than other constituencies. (E) Large English boroughs, contested by a number of candidates of each party not exceeding the number of seats, the highest number of votes given to a candidate of either party being taken as an index of the strength of the party, a calculation which is perhaps proximately accurate. (F) English and Welsh counties, calculated in the same manner. (G) Scotch counties: (H) Irish boroughs. (I) Irish counties similarly treated: from Scotch boroughs and Irish counties there are not sufficient materials for instituting a comparison. Finally, in Table I these totals are brought together and compared :---

\* With regard to the total number of voters, it appears from the official returns, that there were in 1868 on the registers of English and Welsh Boroughs 1,203,170 voters, of whom 825,519 (=  $68\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) voted: while on the registers for English and Welsh Counties there were 791,916 voters, of whom 405,960 (=  $51\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. only) voted. The official return for 1874 has not yet been printed, but on 13th May Mr. Disraeli said in the House of Commons, that he had in his hand a return from which it appeared that there are in English and Welsh Boroughs 1,250,000 voters, and in English and Welsh Counties 800,000 voters on the register, being an increase of 4 per cent. and 1 per cent. respectively. As above stated, there is no official return for Scotland and Ireland.

	1868.			1874.		
	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative
Andover	775	377	307	758	259	395
Brecon	*814	357	372	822	353	374
Evesham	716	303	346	721	299	346
Guildford	1,220	521	515	1,252	430	673
Helston	1,029	497	374	1,074	470	420
Knaresborough		362	347	769	301	397
Lymington		199	328	705	158	453
Petersfield	750	363	222	880	361	372
Rye	1,153	499	513	1,265	539	597
Tewkesbury	745	355	279	676	350	323
Thirsk	902	390	416	934	409	410
Wallingford	944	358	453	1,099	437	575
Westbury	1,046	465	492	1,099	540	518
Woodstock	1,127	481	502	1,118	404	569
	12,667	5,527	5,466	13,172	5,310	6,422

TABLE D.

TABLE E.

	1868.			1874.		
	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.
Bolton *Bristol *Derby Greenwich *Halifax *Newcastle-on-Tyne *Norwich Oldham Oldham Salford Southampton Stockport *York	11,597 14,859 5,437 5,702	5,451 8,759 4,995 6,684 5,278 7,057 4,509 6,140 3,868 6,141 2,161 2,658 6,584 3,279	6,062 6,694 2,492 4,704 2,802 2,727 4,251 6,116 5,306 6,312 2,393 2,714 7,648 3,735	12,323 22,124 11,011 15,990 11,948 21,407 14,530 18,329 13,671 18,009 6,525 7,915 20,067 9,593	5,782 8,888 5,579 5,968 5,563 8,064 6,138 8,397 4,644 6,827 2,724 3,628 4,749 3,880	5,987 8,522 3,632 6,193 3,917 6,479 5,823 8,582 5,927 7,003 2,534 3,406 9,371 3,371
	178,933	<b>73</b> ,564	63,956	203,442	80,831	80,747

\* Indicates cases in which the number of candidates on one or both parties did not at both elections coincide with the number of seats.

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	1868.			1874.		
	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.
Cardiganshire Derbyshire, East	5,115 5,107	2,074 , 2,089	1,918 1,999	4,361 4,795	1,635 2,206	1,850 2,116
*Gloucestershire, West}	11,463	4,985	4,394	11,577	4,344	5,530
Kent, West	8,828	3,323	3,440	11,688	3,391	5,295
Lancashire, North- East	8,649	3,463	3,612	9,729	4,401	4,578
*Leicestershire, South	8,308	2,861	3,196	8,405	2,883	3,583
*Middlesex	25,196	6,507	7,850	24,496	5,623	10,343
*Suffolk, East	9,024	3,321	3,650	9,563	3,014	4,136
Surrey, ,,	10,932	4,162	3,557	12,960	4,292	5,673
*Warwickshire, South	6,205	2,472	2,581	6,270	2,170	2,832
*Wilts, North	6,857	2,600	2,769	7,093	2,358	3,195
Yorkshire, West Riding, South }	19,205	8,110	7,935	19,247	8,265	9,705
	124,889	45,967	46,901	130,184	44,582	58,836

TABLE F.

Note.—The totals of electors are subject to a slight error, in that the official return in all cases includes duplicate qualifications: no official return is made for Scotland or Ireland.

	1868.			1874.				
	Electors.*	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.		
Ayrshire, North	3,218	1,397	1,322	3,339	<b>1,3</b> 01	1,563		
Caithness	1,005	512	275	1,178	450	439		
Dumfriesshire	2,989	1,100	1,056	3,031	1,315	<b>1</b> ,453		
Edinburghshire	2,387	1,146	9°5	2,619	1,059	1,194		
Fifeshire	4,206	1,837	1,127	4,314	1,859	1,231		
Lanarkshire, South	2,800	1,328	1,107	6,548	1,326	1,347		
Porthshire	4, <sup>8</sup> 74	2,046	1,767	5,455	2,060	2,554		
	21,479	9,366	7,559	26,484	9,370	9,781		
* No official return.								

TABLE G.

		LADU	3 <b>11</b> ,			
	1868.			1874.		
	Electors.*	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Electors.	Liberal.	Con- servative.
Bandon Londonderry Newry Portarlington Youghal	295 1,488 796 134 293	141 705 386 51 127	136 599 379 69 106	363 1,679 940 136 293	$180 \\ 715 \\ 459 \\ 52 \\ 124$	175 747 455 76 106
	3,006	1,410	1,289	3,411	1,530	1,559

TABLE H.
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TABLE	T.
TUDUR	

	1868					
	Electors.	Liberals.	Conservative.	Total.		
English small boroughs , large ,, , counties Scotch ,, Irish boroughs	12,667 178,933 124,889 *21,479 *3,006	5,527 73,564 45,967 9,366 1,410	5,466 63,956 46,901 7,559 1,289	$10,993 \\137,520 \\92,868 \\16,925 \\2,699$		
	340,974	135,834	125,171	261,005		

	1874.						
	Electors.	Liberal.	Conservative.	Total.			
English small boroughs ,, large ,, ,, counties Scotch ,, Irish boroughs	13,172 203,442 130,184 26,484 3,411	$5,310 \\80,831 \\44,582 \\9,370 \\1,530$	6,422 80,747 58,836 9,781 1,559	$11,732 \\ 161,578 \\ 103,418 \\ 19,151 \\ 3,089$			
	376,693	141,623	157,345	298,968			
* No official return.							

From these tables it results that, taking the constituencies in which a fair trial of strength took place at each election, there was in every case a larger number of voters in 1874, and this in the following proportions :—

TABLE	К.		
	In	crease p	
In small English boroughs	•••••	$6\frac{1}{2}$ n	early
	••••••	171	,,
" English counties	•••••	12	,,
	••••••	13	"
" Irish boroughs	••••••	II	,,
Total increase	•••••	141	,,

While, with regard to the strength of the two parties, they had undergone variation during the interval 1868-74, as follows :----

	Liberal.	Conservative.	Perc	entage.
	Liberal.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Conservative.
English boroughs, small , large , counties Scotch , Irish , Total	-217+7,267-1,385+4+120+5,789	$ \begin{array}{r} + 956 \\ + 16,791 \\ + 11,935 \\ + 2,222 \\ + 270 \\ \hline + 32,173 \\ \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} -9\frac{1}{2} \\ +10 \\ -3 \\ - \\ +9 \\ \hline +4\frac{1}{2} \\ \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} + 18 \\ + 26 \\ + 24 \\ + 29 \\ + 8\frac{1}{2} \\ + 25\frac{1}{2} \end{array} $

TABLE L.

These figures, however, will be subject to modification when it is perceived that (Table I) there was in 1874 a considerable increase in the numbers of electors on the register in every class of constituencies. In order, therefore, to appreciate the true difference in the result of the two elections we must find the proportion of votes polled on each occasion to the total number of electors on the registers, and the distribution of this proportion between the two parties: this will be arrived at by reducing Table I to one of percentages, taking the total of electors on the registers in every case as one hundred :---

		186	88.		1874.			
	Electors.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Total.	Electors.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Total.
English small } boroughs }	100	44	43	87	100	42	48	90
English large } boroughs }	100	42	35	77	100	40	39	79
English counties Scotch " Irish boroughs	100 100 100	36 <del>3</del> 44 47	37 <del>1</del> 35 42	74 <del>1</del> 79 89	100 100 100	34 35 45	45 37 45 <sup>1</sup> /2	79 72 90 <u>1</u>
Total	100	39 <del>3</del>	36 <del>3</del>	76 <del>1</del>	100	37 <del>3</del>	41 <del>3</del>	79 <del>1</del>

TABLE	М.

From which we learn that the numbers who voted in 1874 exceeded by 3 per cent. (as compared with the total electors) those who voted in 1868, and that in every class there was a falling off in the percentage of Liberal electors, and an increase in percentage of Conservatives, the most notable alteration occurring in the English counties, where the Liberals declined  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., and the Conservatives increased  $7\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. We are left to conjecture how far these variations are due to the operation of the Ballot Act, or to the interest taken by the nation in political affairs at the respective elections; but, it may be observed, that, in small English boroughs, where the Ballot Act might be expected to show the greatest result, and the large English boroughs, where it might be expected to operate least, the percentage of increase is very nearly the same, viz., 3 and 2 per cent. respectively, and the balance of parties also suffers the least variation.

	Unsuccessful Candidates.									
		]	.868.		1874.					
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.		
Abingdon	$\begin{array}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$	vative.         I		Bervative Votes. 307 1,468 397 2,024 1,260 932 1,260 932 1,260 932 1,260 932 1,260 932 2,024 2,024 1,260 932 2,024 1,260 932 1,260 938 2,264 2,825 1,858 8,106 1,468 2,057 613 1,858 8,106 1,468 2,057 1,858 8,106 1,468 2,057 1,858 8,106 1,468 2,057 944	Liberal. $ $ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	vative.         I		servative		
Derby Devizes Devonport Dewsbury Dover Droitwich Durham	1  1 1	I I 2 I I I	321  35 603 	2,492 34 2,737 2,929 1,387 732		I 2 	2,560 3,272 2,180	3,632 366 — 401 846		

TABLE A .- English and Welsh Boroughs

Contested at Both Elections.

			S	uccessful	Candida	ites.			
1868.						]	1874.		
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
		I		396	1		439		Abingdon
	1		377			I I		395 2,612	Andover Ashton-under-Lyne
	1	I I	1,771	2,318 1,471	1	I	1,761	1,624	Aylesbury
	1	—	772	_	1	—	760		Banbury
	1	I	791	788	2	—	1,432	-	Barnstaple
	$2 \\ 1$		$2,730 \\ 941$		$\begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 1 \end{array}$	I	$2,520 \\ 947$	2,397	Bath Beaumaris
	$\frac{1}{2}$	_	2,554	_	1	ī	1,155	1,010	Bedford
	$\overline{2}$		1,278		ī	I	617	533	Berwick
		I	_	518	1	—	504		Bewdley
	—	I	—	2,935	1	I I	5,338	3,692	Birkenhead Blackburn
	1	2	424	9,867	i		464	5,532	Bodmin
	_	2		11,924	1	I	5,782	5,987	Bolton
	_	2		2,518	2	—	2,919	—	Boston Bradford
	2		19,065	372	2		22,168	374	Brecon
	_	I		548	1		701		Bridgnorth
	2		6,437	_	-	2		8,391	Brighton
	2	-	17,487		2		17,620		Bristol Buckingh <b>a</b> m
	1	_	463		$\overline{1}$	т —	3,066	589	Burnley
	li	_	2,761	-	ī		3,061	-	Bury
	1	I	703	714	1 -	2	-	1,918	Bury St. Edmunds
	2	-	3,585		-	2		3,648	Cambridge City
	$\begin{array}{c} 2\\ 1\end{array}$	-	2,695	-	1	2	2,780	2,894	Canterbury Cardiff
	$1 \\ 2$		$2,501 \\ 4,028$		1 2		4,235	_	Carlisle
	1		1,604	-	-	I	-	1,654	Carmarthen
	1	-	2,061	-		I		2,132	Chatham Chelsea
	$\begin{array}{c} 2\\ 1\end{array}$	_	$14,557 \\ 1,648$	_	1	I	7,217	7,172 2,121	Cheltenham
	l 1	I	2,275	2,219	1	i	2,134	2,356	Chester
		I	-	418		I	-	531	Chippenham
	1	-	609		-	1 1		978 896	Christchurch Clitheroe
		I	620	760			506		Cockermouth
	2	-	2,878	_	_	2		2,922	Colchester
	-	2		7,542	1	I	3,799	3,823	Coventry Cricklade
	1	I	2,844	2,452		2	1 005	4,855	
	1	-	1,789	-	1 1		1,625 1,238		Darlington Denbigh
			$   \begin{array}{c c}     1,318 \\     9,834   \end{array} $	1 =			10,517	_	Derby
	-	1	-	385	1 -	1	-	396	Devizes
	2	-	3,060	-		2	2 706	3,008	Devonport Dewsbury
	1		$3,369 \\ 1,437$	1,453	1	2	3,706	2,911	Dover
		I		781	1	1 -	787	_	Droitwitch
	2	-	1,607	-	2	-	1,803	-	Durham
	•	1					·	<u></u>	 

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P

[June,	
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	Unsuccessful Candidates.								
			1868.		1874.				
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
Evesham	1		303		1		299		
Exeter	—	2	-	4,244	2	—	4,317	-	
Finsbury	1	I	1,238	6,137	1	1	3,205	7,737	
Frome	-	I		476	1		557	-	
Gateshead		I	-	1,387		I		1,396	
Gloucester	—	2	-	3,024	1	I	1,990	1,865	
Gravesend	—	I	- 1	1,069	1		1,142		
Grimsby	1	_	1,328		1	—	1,393	-	
Greenwich		2	-	9,076	1	I	5,255	5,561	
Guildford		I	- 1	515	1		430	_	
Hackney	3	I	11,421	2,633		I	I	*6,310	
Halifax	—	1	<u> </u>	2,802		I	- 1	3,917	
Hartlepool	1	—	1,547	- 1		I	-	1,395	
Hastings		2	- 1	1,840		2	_	2,191	
Helston		I	I	374		ī	_	420	
Hereford		2		1,855	1	I	903	902	
Horsham		1		380	1	_	329	901	
Hull		2		12,327	_	I	_	7,705	
Hythe		I	l	521	1		300	1,705	
Ipswich	_	ī	I	2,044	$\hat{2}$	_	4,828		
Kidderminster		ĩ	<u> </u>	821	ĩ		1,319		
King's Lynn	1		1,012	021	$\frac{1}{2}$		1,894		
Knaresborough		I	1,012		ĩ		301		
Leeds	1	I	5,658	347	$\frac{1}{2}$		17,795	-	
Lambeth	1		0,000	5,621	4	_	17,795	_	
Leicester	1	I	2,494	7,043		I	-	11,201	
Lewes	1	-	2,494			I	FOO	5,614	
	1	I	477.4	587	1	_	500	-	
Litchfield	1		474	-	1	-	440	-	
Liverpool		_	15,017	-	1	I	15,801	2,435	
London		2	5,995	12,112	2		13,144		
Lymington	T		199		1		158	-	
Macclesfield		I		2,321	-	2		5,000	
Maidstone	-	2,	- 1	2,781	_	2		2,779	
Maldon	_	I	1	504	1		590	-	
Manchester	2	I	15,898	12,684	1	—	18,727	-	
Marylebone	2	I	9,649	3,989	2		8,176		
Merthyr	1	-	5,776		1		4,912		
Midhurst	1	—	262	) —	1	I	60	185	
Monmouth		I	-	1,449	1	-	1,447	-	
Newark	1	—	826	- 1		2	-	1,647	
Newcastle-under-Lyme	1		744	-	-	I	-	1,037	
Newcastle-on-Tyne		I		2,727	1		5,807	- 1	
Northallerton	1		372	- 1	1		379		
Northampton	2	2	1,578	3,030	2	1	3,449	2,175	
Norwich	1	_	4,364	<u> </u>	1	I	5,776	5,290	
Nottingham	3		8,751		4	_	11,103	_	
Oldham		2,	- 1	12,200	2	_	16,757		
Oxford City		ı		1,225		I		2,198	
Pembroke	1		1,049			1		1,310	
Penryn and Falmouth	2	_	1,208	-		2		1,389	
Peterborough	1	2	834	371	3	1	956	666	
5	L		1	1 3/*	, v		1 000	,	

TABLE A,-English and Welsh Boroughs

Contested at Both Elections-Contd.

Con- servative Votes. 346 4,853 642 2,132 1,355 1,534	Evesham Exeter Finsbury Frome
servative Votes. 346 4,853 642 2,132 1,355	Exeter Finsbury Frome
4,853 642 2,132 1,355	Exeter Finsbury Frome
642 2,132 1,355	Finsbury Frome
2,132	Frome
2,132	
1,355	Gateshead
1,355	Gloucester
	Gravesend
	Grimsby
6,193	Greenwich
673	Guildford
-	Hackney
	Halifax
_	Hartlepool Hastings
	Hastings
978	Hereford
529	Horsham
<u> </u>	Hull
	Hythe
5,931	Ipswich
1,509	Kidderminster
2,256	King's Lynn
397	Knaresborough Leeds
28,056	Lambeth
	Leicester
772	Lewes
571	Litchfield
39,969	Liverpool
24,933	London
453	Lymington
	Macclesfield Maidstone
632	Maldon
39,633	Manchester
9,849	Marylebone
	Merthyr
530	Midhurst
2,090	Monmouth
	Newark
1,173	Newcastle-under-Lyme Newcastle-on-Tyne
6,479	Northallerton
	Northampton
	Norwich
	Nottingham
10,000	Oldham
17,123	Oxford City
	Pembroke Bannen and Falmauth
	Penryn and Falmouth Peterborough
	Lengingu
	386 2,670 5,823 10,058

TABLE AEnglish and Welsh Borough	18
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	Unsuccessful Candidates.									
		]	868.		1874.					
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.		
Petersfield Plymouth Pontefract Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Poole Reading Readin	1   12   1   1 2       1 12   11   1			servative	Liberal.			servative		
Worcester Wycombe	$\begin{array}{c} 2\\ 1\end{array}$		<b>2,</b> 855 500		- 1	2. T	415	3,630 19		
York	1		3,038			I		2,830		
	97	107	228,239	222,946	134	91	328,910	189,632		

Contested at Both Elections-Contd.

		S	uccessful	Candida	tes.			
	1	868.			1			
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
Liberal. $\begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c} 1\\ 1\\ 2\\ 1\\ 1\\ \end{array}$	vative.       I <td><math display="block">\begin{array}{c} \hline votes. \\ \hline 363 \\ 5,151 \\ 913 \\ - \\ 3,715 \\ - \\ 3,247 \\ 375 \\ 2,764 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,855 \\ 2,764 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,855 \\ 3,504 \\ 26,988 \\ 1,840 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,935 \\ 1,189 \\ - \\ 2,476 \\ 2,658 \\ 5,712 \\ 11,138 \\ 1,959 \\ 355 \\ - \\ 17,688 \\ 683 \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,984 \\ 4,385 \\ 691 \\ 803 \\ - \\ 2,063 \\ - \\ 2</math></td> <td></td> <td><math display="block">\begin{array}{c c} \text{Liberal.} \\ \hline \\ \hline \\ \\ \hline \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ </math></td> <td>vative.         I         2         2         2         2         1         2         1         2         1         1         1         2         1         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         1         2         1         1         1         1</td> <td><math display="block">\begin{array}{c c} - &amp; &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 934 &amp; \\ 705 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 3,585 &amp; \\ 313 &amp; \\ 4,498 &amp; \\ 2,350 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 800 &amp; \\ 2,350 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 800 &amp; \\ 2,041 &amp; \\ 1,103 &amp; \\ 26,544 &amp; \\ 3,196 &amp; \\ 2,724 &amp; \\ 3,233 &amp; \\ 7,166 &amp; \\ 5,592 &amp; \\ 12,092 &amp; \\ 1,089 &amp; \\ 350 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 3,233 &amp; \\ 7,166 &amp; \\ 5,592 &amp; \\ 12,092 &amp; \\ 1,089 &amp; \\ 350 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 5,900 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 5,900 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 783 &amp; \\ 7,530 &amp; \\ 540 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 9444 &amp; \\ 873 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 9444 &amp; \\ 873 &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ - &amp; &amp; \\ 4,448 &amp; \\ \end{array}</math></td> <td><math display="block">\begin{array}{c} 372\\ 4,045\\ 861\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\</math></td> <td>Petersfield Plymouth Pontefract Poole Portsmouth Preston Reading Richmond Rochdale Rochester Rye Salford Salisbury Sandwich Scarborough Sheffield Shrewsbury Southampton Southwark Stafford Stalybridge Stockton Stockport Stoud Sunderland Tamworth Tewkesbury Thirsk Tower Hamlets Truro Wakefield Wallingford Wareham Warrington Warwick Wednesbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Wigan Winchester Windsor Woodstock Woocester</td>	$\begin{array}{c} \hline votes. \\ \hline 363 \\ 5,151 \\ 913 \\ - \\ 3,715 \\ - \\ 3,247 \\ 375 \\ 2,764 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,855 \\ 2,764 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,855 \\ 3,504 \\ 26,988 \\ 1,840 \\ - \\ 1,428 \\ 1,935 \\ 1,189 \\ - \\ 2,476 \\ 2,658 \\ 5,712 \\ 11,138 \\ 1,959 \\ 355 \\ - \\ 17,688 \\ 683 \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,558 \\ - \\ 1,984 \\ 4,385 \\ 691 \\ 803 \\ - \\ 2,063 \\ - \\ 2$		$\begin{array}{c c} \text{Liberal.} \\ \hline \\ \hline \\ \\ \hline \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ $	vative.         I         2         2         2         2         1         2         1         2         1         1         1         2         1         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         2         1         1         2         1         1         1         1	$\begin{array}{c c} - & & \\ - & & \\ 934 & \\ 705 & \\ - & & \\ 3,585 & \\ 313 & \\ 4,498 & \\ 2,350 & \\ - & & \\ 800 & \\ 2,350 & \\ - & & \\ 800 & \\ 2,041 & \\ 1,103 & \\ 26,544 & \\ 3,196 & \\ 2,724 & \\ 3,233 & \\ 7,166 & \\ 5,592 & \\ 12,092 & \\ 1,089 & \\ 350 & \\ - & & \\ 3,233 & \\ 7,166 & \\ 5,592 & \\ 12,092 & \\ 1,089 & \\ 350 & \\ - & & \\ 5,900 & \\ - & & \\ - & & \\ 5,900 & \\ - & & \\ - & & \\ 783 & \\ 7,530 & \\ 540 & \\ - & & \\ 9444 & \\ 873 & \\ - & & \\ 9444 & \\ 873 & \\ - & & \\ - & & \\ 4,448 & \\ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 372\\ 4,045\\ 861\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\$	Petersfield Plymouth Pontefract Poole Portsmouth Preston Reading Richmond Rochdale Rochester Rye Salford Salisbury Sandwich Scarborough Sheffield Shrewsbury Southampton Southwark Stafford Stalybridge Stockton Stockport Stoud Sunderland Tamworth Tewkesbury Thirsk Tower Hamlets Truro Wakefield Wallingford Wareham Warrington Warwick Wednesbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Westbury Wigan Winchester Windsor Woodstock Woocester
1 1		701 3,279	3,735	1		953 3,880	3,371	Wycombe York
 169	67	628,331	191,543	120	116	463,809	401,876	

TABLE A.—English and Welsh Boroughs	TABLE	A.—English	and	Welsh	Boroughs
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			U	nsuccessfu	l Candi	lates.			Ī
		1	868.			1	874.		
	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Liberal Vote <b>s.</b>	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Liberal Votes.	Con - servative Votes.	
Beverley	Liberal.		1	servative			Votes.	servative	
Stoke Swansea Taunton	_	— — I	_		2 	I	10,567	 2,708	
Tiverton Tavistock Tynemouth		- - I			1			605 	
Walsall Wenlock Wolverhampton Whitehaven		=	  771		1 	і 		1,721 3,628	
	11	10	4,583	22,985	15	13	19,784	22,021	

Contested at One Election only.

			S	uccessful	Candid	ates.			
		18	868.			1	874.		
L	iberal.	Con- servative.	Liberal Vote <b>s.</b>	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Con- servative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
	$\begin{array}{c} - & & \\ 3 & 2 \\ 1 \\ - \\ - \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 2 \\ - \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1$			servative	$\begin{array}{c} & & \\ & 3 \\ & 1 \\ & \\ & 1 \\ & \\ & 1$		Votes. Disfran — Disfran — 5,149 1,076 1,055 — 5,668 1,061 — 5,668 1,061 — 5,668 1,061 — 5,668 1,061 — 5,668 1,061 — 5,149 1,076 1,907 334 — 603 3,717 3,332 522 612 — — 6,700 5,215 —	servative Votes. chised.	Beverley Birmingham Bridgwater Carnarvon Chichester Cirencester Dorchester Dudley Flint Boroughs Grantham Harwich Haverfordwest Hertford Huddersfield Kendal Launceston Leominster Lincoln Liskeard Ludlow Malmesbury Malton Marlow Middlesbrough Morpeth Newport Radnor Ripon St. Ives Shaftesbury Shoreham Shields Stamford Stoke Swansea Taunton
	2 1 1	 	1,098		2 1 1		1,306 362 		Tiverton Tavistock Tynemouth Wolsoll
				  1,125	$     \begin{array}{c}       1 \\       1 \\       2 \\      \end{array} $		3,364 1,570 20,394 —	1,708 —	Walsall Wenlock Wolverhampton Whitehaven
-	87	18	53,703	7,700	31	20	63,947	18,627	

			U	nsuccessfu	l Candio	lates.		
			1868.				1874.	
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.
Cardiganshire Carmarthenshire Carnarvonshire Cumberland, East		1 2 1	  2,398	1,918 4,168 1,815	1 2 1		1,635 5,130 2,318 —	  2,622
Derbyshire, South ,, East Durham, North ,, South	$\left  \begin{array}{c} \frac{2}{-1} \\ \frac{1}{-1} \end{array} \right $	2	6,818 	3,969 6,961		I I 2 I	2,017	3,572 2,067 7,512 3,897
Gloucestershire, West	-	I	-	4,394	1	-	4,317	-
Hants, South Hertfordshire	1	I I	2,726	2,716 3,370	1 1	=	2,382 2,964	=
Kent, East ,, Mid ,, West	2 2 2		9,264 5,740 6,519	-	1 1 2		4,308 2,956 6,747	
Lancashire, North-east "South-east Leicestershire, North "South	2 2  1		6,904 13,971 	 1,750	2 2 1 1		8,698 14,917 1,997 2,883	
Middlesex	1		6,397	-	2	_	10,815	_
Norfolk, South	1	—	1,679	-	1	-	2,699	
Suffolk, East Surrey ,,	2	2	6,366 —	 7,107	1 2	_	3,014 8,407	_
Warwickshire, North ,, South Wight, Isle of Wilts, North Worcestershire, East	2 2 - 1 1	 	6,733 4,925 — 2,016 3,789	 1,118 	1 1 1 2	 	3,189 2,170 1,604 2,358 5,539	  55
Yorkshire, West Riding, East} Yorkshire, West Riding, South}	2	2	13,914 —	 15,556	2 2	-	14,503 16,413	-
	28	17	106,842	54,842	34	7	133,980	19,725

TABLE A. - English and Welsh Counties

			Successful	Candid	ates.			
		1868.				1874.		-
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
1 1 1 1		2,074 3,280 1,963 2,621			1 2 1 1	 2,943	1,850 6,650 2,750 2,629	Cardiganshire Carmarthenshire Carnarvonshire Cumberland, East
2 2 2	2	4,122 8,660 8,342	7,176	1 1 2 2		3,773 2,206 8,691 9,253	3,934 2,116 —	Derbyshire, South "East Durham, North "South
2	-	9,839	_	1	1	4,344	5,530	Gloucestershire, West
$1 \\ 2$	I I	2,797 7,318	2,756 3,396	1 1	I 2	2,946 2,974	3,878 8,997	Hants, South Hertfordshire
	2 2 2		10,313 6,490 6,818		2 2 2		10,829 7,252 10,525	Kent, East "Mid "West
	2 2 2 2		7,230 16,202 6,388 6,307		2 2 2 2		9,066 18,202 5,546 6,852	Lancashire, North-east ,, South-east Leicestershire, North ,, South
1	I	6,507	7,850		2	-	20,210	Middlesex
—	2	_	6,152	—	2	_	6,156	Norfolk, South
_	2 2	_	7,270 8,103	-	2 2	=	8,032 11,252	Suffolk, East Surrey, East
1 1 1	2 2 1 1	 1,353 2,685 4,093	8,919 5,078 2,758 4,198		2 2 1 2 2		8,994 5,633 1,614 6,324 8,580	Warwickshire, North South Wight, Isle of Wiltshire, North Worcestershire, East
2	2	 16,05 <b>3</b>	14,572	-	2 2	_	16,317 19,344	{ Yorkshire, West Riding, East { Yorkshire West Riding, South
21	35	81,707	143,464	10	46	37,130	219,062	

# Contested at Both Elections-Contd.

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Anglesea Berks	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	868. Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	1	874.							
Berks		1		servative	Liberal	1	1868. 1874.							
Berks	1		_		Liberai.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.						
Breconshire Bucks Cambridgeshire Cheshire, Mid Cornwall, East Cumberland, West Denbighshire	$     \frac{2}{1}     -     1     1     1 $		2,450 					843 						
Derbyshire, North Devonshire, North "South "East "South	$     \frac{1}{1}     \frac{1}{2}    $	I 	2,637 		  2		  5,463							
Glamorganshire Herefordshire Huntingdonshire	 		 1,878 	_	1	1 	 1,192	3,353 						
Lancashire, North "South-west Lincolnshire, South	1 2 1 1		5,296 14,354 2,714		-									
Monmouthshire Norfolk, North Northamptonshire, South}	1 2 1	- -	2,338 4,323 2,305	-		-		-						
Radnorshire			2,410 2,161 5,460 4,169 6,539 1,705 6,249 1,757 3,470  2,603  96,811	2,792 			100 	    15,545 22,991						

TABLE A .- English and Welsh Counties

Contested at One Election only-Contd.

		s	uccessful	Candida	tes.			
	1	.868,			1	.874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
1				1	-	1,630		Anglesea
1	2 I	2,747	6,402	1	2 I			Berks Breconshire
1	2		_	1	2	1,720	1,594 5,906	Bucks
1 	2 2 2 2	3,330 	7,872 6,128 —	1  1 	2 2 1 2	 3,395 	 3,276 5,052	Cambridgeshire Cheshire, Mid Cornwall, East Cumberland, West
	I I 2 2 2	2,711 2,903 3,898 	3,410 2,698 3,987 6,467 1,840 5,677	1 1 	I I 2 2 2			Denbighshire Derbyshire, North Devonshire, North ,, South ,, East Essex, East
2 2	_	_	_	2	2	 8,140	7,274	", South
1	2 2	2,273	6,692	1	2 2		3,130	Glamorganshire Herefordshire Huntingdonshire
	2 2 2		13,513 15,405 8,592		2 2 2	_		Lancashire, North ,, South-west Lincolnshire, South
	2	_	7,286	_	2	_	_	Monmouthshire
	2 2	— —	5,193 5,027	-	2 2	— —	-	Norfolk, North Northamptonshire, South
	I	—	—	—	I	-	889	Radnorshire
    1	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 1		6,815 5,217 7,735 7,328 7,687  4,773 8,899 3,000	       	2 2 2 2 1 2 2 2 2 2			Salop, North ,, South Somersetshire, East ,, Mid Staffordshire, West East Suffolk, West Surrey, Mid ,, West
1 1	I I	3,611 —	3,581	_	2 2	_	 4,092	Sussex, East Wilts, South
	2		-	-	2	-	5,464	Worcestershire, West
$\frac{1}{2}$	1 2 —	7,429 — —	7,689 11,886	$\frac{1}{2}$	I 2 —	 17,279		Yorkshire, North "East "West, N.
20	61	39,292	180,799	15	66	82,164	36,677	

			Un	successfu	l Candi	dates.		
		1	868.			1	874.	
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.
Ayr Burghs	1		1,025	_	1	—	1,683	-
Dumfries Dundee	$1 \\ 2$	=	1,083 5,633	-	2	1 1	6,632	1,123 573
Falkirk Burghs	1		16		—	I	—	1,958
Glasgow City	—	1		10,814	2	—	11,897	12,533
Kilmarnock	2		2,147	-	1	—	3,019	—
Leith	1	—	1,995	_	1	—	1,945	—
Montrose Burghs	-	1	—	1,027	—	I	—	1,875
Wick Wigton Burghs		ī	635 —		1 1	_	730 520	_
	9	3	12,534	12,205	9	4	26,426	18,062

TABLE A .--- Scotch Boroughs Contested

## Scotch Boroughs Contested

			Uns	uccessful	l Candid	lates.			
		18	368.		1874.				
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
Aberdeen		-			-	I		2,724	
Clackmannan	-			-		I		468	
Edinburgh City ,, University		 I	-	 2,067	1 	<u>г</u>	6,218 —	5,713	
Glasgow University Greenock		1 	<b>2</b> ,09 <b>3</b>	2,020 —		_	=		
Inverness	—		-	-	2	-	895	-	
Kirkaldy	-			-	-	I	-	1,228	
Paisley Perth	1	<u> </u>	921 —	421	=			 946	
Stirling	1	-	1,682	-	—	_	—	-	
	3	3	4,696	4,508	8	5	7,113	11,079	

at Both Elections-Contd.

		Su	ccessful	Candida	ates.			
	1	868.			1	874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Voteŝ.	Con- servative Votes.	
1	-	1,116	-	-	I	_	1,697	Ayr Burghs
$1 \\ 2$	=	1,100 15,399	=	1 2	_	1,420 12,643	-	Dumfries Dundee
1		1,724	-	1	-	2,583	-	Falkirk Burghs
3		53,442	-	2	I	36,357	14,134	Glasgow City
1		2,892	- '	1		3,316	—	Kilmarnock
1	-	2,916		1	-	4,489	_	Leith
1	-	<b>3,1</b> 99	-	1		3,333	-	Montrose Burghs
1 1	=	484 850	_	1	 I	857 —	522	Wick Wigton Burghs
13		83,122		10	3	64,998	16,353	

at One Election Only.

		Su	ccessful	Candida	ites.			
	1	868.			1	874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
1	-		-	1		3,910	-	Aberdeen
1		-		1	_	964	-	Clackmannan
2 1	=	2,322	_	2 1	_	20,180 —	-	Edinburgh City "University
1 1	_	2,067 2,962		— 1	<u> </u>		-	Glasgow University Greenock
1	-	-	-	1	-	1,134	_	Inverness
1	—		-	1		1,967	—	Kirkaldy
1 1	-	1,576 —		1 1	Ξ	1,648	_	Paisley Perth
1		2,201		1	—		_	Stirling
12	-	11,128		11	I	29,803	-	

			Ur	isuccessfu	l Candi	dates.			
		1	.868.		1874.				
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
Ayr, North	_	ı	_	1,322	1	_	1,301	_	
Caithness	-	I	-	275	-	I	_	439	
Dumfriesshire	_	I	—	1,056	1	_	1,315	-	
Edinburghshire	_	I	_	9°5	1		1,059	_ [	
Fifeshire	-	I		1,127	_	I	—	1,231	
Kirkudbrightshire	1	—	703	-	—	I	—	831	
Lanarkshire, South	—	т		r,107	1	~	1,326		
Roxburghshire	1	—	610	_	1	—	763		
Perthshire	—	I	-	1,767	1	-	<b>2,06</b> 0		
	2	7	1,313	7,559	6	3	7,824	2,501	

TABLE A.-Saotch Counties Contested

# Scotch Counties Contested

			Ur	successful	l Candid	lates.		
		]	.868.			]	1874.	
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Vote <b>s</b> .	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Vote <b>s</b> .	Con- servative Votes.
Ayr, South Aberdeen, West	=	I 	-	1,391	_	- I	_	326
Berwickshire Buteshire		_		=	1	Ξ	647 —	
Dumbartonshire	-	—	—	_	1	_	942	_
Elgin and Nairn	—	—	-	—	—	I	—	619
Haddingtonshire	1		340	_	—	—	_	_
Kincardineshire	-		—	_	—	I	—	553
Linlithgowshire	1	~	385	-	—	—	_	-
Orkney and Shetland	-	I	-	446	—	—	_	-
Renfrewshire	_	—	—	_		I	_	1,903
Selkirkshire	1	—	358	—	-			-
Stirlingshire		—		-	1	-	1,127	-
Wigtonshire	1		652		—	—	—	_
	5	2	2,097	1,837	3	4	2,716	3,401

1								
	]	L868.			1	.874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
1	_	1,397	_	_	1	_	1,563	Ayr, North
1		512	-	1		450		Caithness
1		1,100	-	-	I		1,453	Dumfriesshire
1		1,146		-	1	—	1,194	Edinburghshire
1	—	1,837	_	1		1,859	—	Fifeshire
1	—	932	—	1		835	-	Kirkudbrightshire
1		1,328	-		I	-	1,347	Lanarkshire, South
1		750	—	-	I		789	Roxburghshire
1	-	2,046	-	—	1	_	2,554	Perthshire
9	_	11,048	_	3	6	3,144	8,900	

at Both Elections-Contd.

## at One Election only.

	1	.868.			]	L874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
1	_	1,416	_	1	<u> </u>	2,401	_	Ayr, South Aberdeen, West
1		_		=	I I		<u>74</u> 8	Berwickshire Buteshire
—	ı	—	-	-	1	-	995	Dumbartonshire
1	—		—	1		829	—	Elgin and Nairn
	I	—	405	—	I	—	—	Haddingtonshire
1	-	—	_	1		941	_	Kincardineshire
_	τ		600	1	—	—		Linlithgowshire
1	—	715	-	1	—		_	Orkney and Shetlan
1		—	-	1	—	1,991		Renfrewshire
-	I	—	361		I			Selkirkshire
1	-	-	-	-	1	—	1,171	Stirlingshire
	I		719		I	—		Wigtonshire
8	6	2,131	2,612	6	8	6,162	2,914	

			Un	successful	. Candid	lates.			
		1	868.			1874.			
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes,	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
Athlone Bandon Carrickfergus Cork Drogheda Dundak Enniskillen Galway Limerick Londonderry Newry Portarlington Waterford Youghal		1 2 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1 	111 136 5,020 407 756 138 5,452 1 213 187 599 379 106	$ \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{2}{1} \\ \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{1}{1} \\ \frac{1}{2} \\ 1$		$ \begin{array}{r} 140 \\$	175 452 1,191 	
	11	15	7,513	13,505	18	7	11,895	3,301	

TABLE A (contd.)--Irish Boroughs

# TABLE A (contd.)-Irish Boroughs

		Unsuccessful Candidates.									
		1	868.			1	874.				
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.			
Armagh	_	_			1	-	214				
Cashel		I		84	-		-	-			
Carlow		I		150	—	—		-			
Coleraine		1	216	742		1 	_	160			
Dublin University Dungannon	1	<u> </u>		743		1	—	109			
Ennis			_	-	1	—	99	-			
Kinsale		-		-	-	I	_	47			
Mallow		-		-	2	I	73	27			
New Ross		-	- 1	-		I	-	81			
Sligo	1	-	229	-	-	-	—				
Tralee	_	-		-	1	—	139				
Wexford		-	-	-	-	I	-	73			
	2	3	445	<u>9</u> 77	5	6	525	497			

Contested at Both Elections.

1		1						
	]	1868.				1874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
$ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ 1 \\ - 2 \\ 2 \\ 1 \\ - 1 \\ 19 \\ \end{array} $	I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	$\begin{array}{c} 154\\ 141\\ 4,202\\ 669\\ 3,757\\ 371\\ 5,586\\ 155\\ 164\\\\ 1,607\\ 1,820\\ 705\\ 387\\\\ 1,378\\ 127\\ \hline 21,223\\ \end{array}$	5,975 5,587 171 ,69 ,11,802	$ \begin{array}{c} 1\\ 1\\ -\\ 1\\ 2\\ 1\\ 1\\ -\\ -\\ 2\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\ -\\$	2 1 1 1 1 1 8	$\begin{array}{c} 140\\ 180\\\\ 628\\ 3,560\\ 284\\ 4,838\\ 131\\ 257\\\\ 606\\ 1,704\\\\ 459\\\\ 1,016\\\\ 13,803\\ \end{array}$	$ \begin{array}{c} - \\ 16,588 \\ - \\ 5,213 \\ - \\ 5,213 \\ - \\ 761 \\ - \\ 761 \\ - \\ 761 \\ - \\ 76 \\ 124 \\ 23,701 \\ \end{array} $	Athlone Bandon Belfast Carrickfergus Cork Drogheda Dublin City Dungarvan Dundalk Enniskillen Galway Limerick Londonderry Newry Portarlington Waterford Youghal

Contested at One Election only.

	1	.868.			1	.874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
	I I 2 I I I		 2,233   24I 	 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	ĭ {            	Disfran- chised 227 121 115 107 86 122 Disfran- chised 142 323	<pre> }</pre>	Armagh Cashel Carlow Coleraine Dublin University Dungannon Ennis Kinsale Mallow New Ross Sligo Tralee Wexford
8	6	274	2,474	9	3	1,243	325	

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Q,

TABLE A (contd.)—Irish Counties

		Unsuccessful Candidates.									
		]	L868.		1874.						
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.			
Meath Monaghan	1 1	_	88 960	=	1	<u> </u>	2,105	<u>523</u>			
	2	—	1,048	—	1	I	2,105	523			

# TABLE A (contd.)-Irish Counties

		Unsuccessful Candidates.									
		]	868.			]	1874.				
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.			
Antrim Armagh	_	_	_		1 1	=	4,009 214	=			
Cavan Clare Cork	$\frac{-}{1}$		 3,717		1 	1	2,310 	1,240			
Donegal Down Dublin	1		 1,183		2 	1	3,583 — —	4,683			
Fermanagh		—		_	2	—	1,643				
Galway	-		—		1		1,180	-			
Kildare Kilkenny King's County					2 1 2		953 1,551 840				
Leitrim Limerick Londonderry Longford Louth					$\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{2}$	 2 	$ \begin{array}{c} 1,055 \\ 995 \\ \\ 432 \\ 872 \end{array} $	 3,103 			
Queen's County		—	_	-	1	_	993	_			
Sligo		I	_	1,129				-			
Tipperary Tyrone	=	=	_	=	<u>4</u>	I	<b>3,4</b> 09	2,752			
Waterford Westmeath Wexford Wicklow					1 2 1 2		446 738 1,332 1,480	 1,224			
	2	I	4,900	1,129	29	6	28,035	13,002			

Contested at Both Elections.

	1	.868.			1	.874.		
Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
2	2	3,405	5,915	2	2	3,425 —	4,898	Meath Monaghan
2	2,	3,405	5,915	2	2	3,425	4,898	

Contested at One Election only.

1			S	uccessful	Candida	ates.			
		]	1868.			1	.874.		
	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	Liberal.	Conser- vative.	Liberal Votes.	Con- servative Votes.	
	  1	2 2 1	-		2	2 2	6,308	8,498 7,123	Antrim Armagh Cavan
	$egin{array}{c} 1 \\ 2 \end{array}$	I 	14,621		2 2 2	_	5,660 —	_	Clare Cork
		2 2 2		 4,352		2 I 2	4,814	3,968 5,000 —	Donegal Down Dublin
	—	2				2	-	4,189	Fermanagh
	2	—			<b>2</b>	-	4,618	-	Galway
	2 2 2				2 2 2		$2,260 \\ 4,742 \\ 3,270$		Kildare Kilkenny King's Count <del>y</del>
	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{2}{2}$	I 2 —			1 2 2 2 2	I 	1,313 6,377 5,689 3,551 2,452	1,098 — — —	Leitrim Limerick Londonderry Longford Louth
	2	_	—		2		3,364	-	Queen's County
	1	I	1,671	1,298	1	I	—	-	Sligo
	2	2		_	2	2	6,658	 8,767	Tipperar <b>y</b> Tyrone
	$ \begin{array}{c} 2\\ 2\\ 1\\ - \end{array} $	 1 2		 	1 1 2 1	I I I	$1,390 \\ 2,202 \\ 6,191 \\ 1,511$	1,767 2,164  1,146	Waterford Westmeath Wexford Wicklow
	29	23	16,292	5,650	34	18	72,370	43,720	

Q 2

	18	68.	18	374.								
	Liberal.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Conservative.								
*Bridport *Calne *Cambridge University Cardigan *Eye Huntingdon *London University *Marlborough *Montgomery *Oxford University *Retford *Wilton			$\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$ $\frac{1}{1}$	2 1 1 2 1 1 1 2 1								
-	8	7	8	7								
'	* No cha	nge.	* No change.									

TABLE A (contd.)—English and Welsh Boroughs not Contested at either Election.

 TABLE A (contd.)—English and Welsh Counties not Contested at either

 Election.

	18	68.	1874.	
	Liberal.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Conservative.
Bedfordshire	1	1	1	I
Cheshire, East, , West		2		2
Cornwall, West		2	-	2
Dorsetshire	$\frac{2}{1}$	2	$egin{array}{c} 2 \\ 1 \end{array}$	
Essex, West	1	2	T	2
Flintshire	1	4	1	2
Gloucestershire, East		2	-	2
Hants, North		2	_	2
Lincolnshire, North	1	ĩ		2
	ĩ	ī		2
Merionethshire	1	_	1	-
Montgomeryshire		г		т
Norfolk, West		2		2
Northampton, North		2		2
Northumberland, North		2		2
., South	1	I	1	I
Nottinghamshire, North	1	г		2
		2		2
Oxfordshire		2	1	2
Pembrokeshire		I		I
Rutlandshire		2		2
Somersetshire, West		2		2
Staffordshire, North		I		2
Sussex, West		2		2
Westmorland	-	2		2
	12	38	8	42

	Successful	Candidates.	
	Liberal, 1868.	Liberal, 1874.	
Elgin Burghs Haddington Hawick St. Andrews	1 1 1 1	I I J I	
	4	4	

TABLE A (contd).-Scotch Boroughs not Contested at either Election.

	Successful Candidates.				
	18	68.	1874.		
	Liberal. Conservative.		Liberal.	Conservative.	
Aberdeen, East Argyleshire Banffshire Forfarshire Inverness-shire Lanarkshire, North Ross and Cromarty Sutherlandshire					
	7	I	7	I	

TABLE A (contd.)-Scotch Counties not Contested at either Election.

TABLE A (contd.)—Irish Boroughs not Contested at either Election.

	Successful Candidates.				
	18	68.	1874.		
	Liberal.	Conservative.	Liberal.	Conservative.	
Clonmel	1		1		
Downpatrick		I		I	
Kilkenny	1		1		
Lisburn		I		I	
	2	2	2	2	

TABLE A	(contd.)-Irish	Counties not	Contested at ei	ther Election.
---------	----------------	--------------	-----------------	----------------

	Successful Candidates.				
	18	68.	1874.		
	Liberal. Conservative.		Liberal.	Conservative.	
Carlow Kerry Mayo Roscommon	$\frac{1}{2}$	2  1	2 2 2	2	
	5	3	6	2	

# [June,

	1868.					
	Liberal.		Liberal Votes.	Conservative.		Conservative Votes.
English and Welsh boroughs contested at both elections	<del>9</del> 7	169 —	628,331 228,239	107	67 	191,543 <i>222,946</i>
English and Welsh boroughs contested at one election	11	11 	53,703 <i>4,583</i>	10	<u>12</u>	7,700 <b>22,985</b>
	108	180	914,856	117	79	445,174
English and Welsh counties contested at both elections	 28	21 —	81,707 106,842	17	35 —	143,464 54,842
English and Welsh counties contested at one election	 33	<u> </u>	39,2 <b>92</b> 96,811	4	<u>48</u> 	180,799 <i>11,593</i>
	169	212	1,239,508	138	162	835,872
Scotch boroughs con- tested at both elections } Scotch boroughs con- tested at one election }	9 	13  	83,122 12,534 11,128 4,696	3   3		12,205 
	181	230	1,350,988	144	162	852,585
Scotch counties con- tested at both elections Scotch counties con- tested at one election	2 5	9 -2 	1 1,048 <i>1,313</i> 2,13 1 2,097	7	5 	7,559 2,612 1,837
	188	241	1,367,577	153	167	864,593
Irish boroughs contested at both elections	 11   2   2   2	$ \begin{array}{c} 19\\ -2\\ -2\\ -3\\ -3\\ - \end{array} $	21,223 7,513 274 445 3,405 1,048 16,292 4,900	15   3     1	$     \frac{4}{3}     \frac{3}{2}     \frac{3}{3}   $	11,802 13,505 2,474 977 5,915  5,650 1,129
	205	267	1,422,677	172	179	906,045
Uncontested Seats— English boroughs ,, counties Scotch boroughs ,, counties Irish boroughs ,, counties		34 21 11 13 8 31	  		$ \begin{array}{r} 13\\ 51\\ -2\\ 5\\ 23\\ -23\\ -25\\ -23\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25\\ -25$	- - - - -
	205	385	-	172	273	-
	Note.—Unsuccessful candidates and votes					

TABLE B.---

.....

		187	74.			
Lib	eral.	Liberal Votes.	Conser	vative.	Conservative Votes.	
134	120 —	463,809 <i>328,910</i>	<del>9</del> 1	116 	401,876 <i>189,632</i>	English and Welsh boroughs contested at both elections
<u></u> 15	<u>21</u>	63,947 19,784		<u>11</u>	18,627 22,021	English and Welsh boroughs contested at one election
149	141	876,450	104	127	632,156	
	<u>10</u>	37,130 133,980	7	<u>46</u>	219,062 <i>19,725</i>	$ \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} {\rm English} & {\rm and} & {\rm Welsh} \\ {\rm counties} & {\rm contested} & {\rm at} \\ {\rm both} & {\rm elections} \end{array} \right. $
10	7	32,164 16,914	6	15 —	36,677 22,991	English and Welsh counties contested at one election
193	158	1,096,638	117	188	930,611	
$\frac{9}{3}$	$\frac{10}{7}$	64,998 26,426 29,803 7,113	$\frac{-4}{-5}$	3 — —	16,353 18,062 	Scotch boroughs con- tested at both elections Scotch boroughs con- tested at one election
205	175	1,224,978	126	191	976,105	
$\frac{-6}{-3}$	3 - <u>4</u> 	3,144 7,824 6,162 2,716		· 6 	8,900 2,501 2,914 8,145	{ Scotch counties contested at both elections { Scotch counties contested at one election
214	182	1,244,824	133	200.	998,565	
	$ \begin{array}{c c} 15 \\ \overline{8} \\ \overline{2} \\ \overline{31} \\ \hline \end{array} $	13,803 14,895 1,016 525 3,425 2,105 72,370 28,035	$\frac{7}{6}$	$ \begin{array}{c} 8 \\ -1 \\ -2 \\ -15 \\ \end{array} $	23,701 3,301 325 497 4,898 523 43,720 13,002	Irish boroughs contested at both elections         Irish boroughs contested at one election         Irish counties contested at both elections         Irish counties contested at one election
267	238	1,377,998	153	226	1,088,532	
	18 16 8 9 3 9			$     \begin{array}{r}       16 \\       93 \\       1 \\       6 \\       4 \\       5 \\       \hline       251       \end{array} $		Uncontested Seats— English boroughs ,, counties Scotch boroughs ,, counties Irish boroughs ,, counties
267	301		153	351	-	]
given to them are printed in Italics.						

### DISCUSSION ON MR. JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN'S PAPER.

MR. R. DUDLEY BAXTER said that he had prepared a series of tables on the subject, with the view of publishing them, but had not had time to complete them. He congratulated Mr. Martin upon his excellent paper, although he found some differences between his own results and those of Mr. Martin. His own calculation with regard to polling was that the votes given on the Liberal side to first candidates in the United Kingdom were 724,000, whilst the Conservative first candidates polled 681,000 votes. That differed from Mr. Martin's calculation, which was 778,000 Conservative votes, and 782,000 Liberal votes; so that there seemed to be a difference in the principle on which they were made up. But the politics of the members were taken by him from the lists accepted as correct. There were two reasons very justly put forward by Mr. Martin why the amount of Conservative votes was so much smaller than the Liberal votes. First of all there was a larger number of uncontested Conservative than there was of Liberal seats, the reason being the great preponderance of the Conservatives in the counties. The other reason was that the counties, where the Conservative strength lay, had a very much less proportion of voters than the Liberals. The great difference which that made could be judged of from the fact, that the uncontested boroughs, where the strength of the Liberal party lay, had a population of 1,772,000, while the uncontested counties, where the Conservative strength lay, had a population of 8,265,000. There was one point he should like to touch upon, which had not been mentioned in the paper; the proportion of population which was represented by members on either side. Some years ago it used to be the habit, chiefly on the Liberal side, to issue a statement, after every division, in the House of Commons, of the members representing a population of 5,000,000 voting on the one side, and those representing perhaps 3,000,000 on the other side; and yet those representing the three millions outnumbered in votes in the House those representing the five millions. There was a rough sort of justice in that way of computation. In the election of 1868 he computed the population on each side, counting the whole population where all the members were on the same side, and giving half the population to each side where they were divided. That gave, in the Parliament of 1865, constituencies represented by Liberals 17,000,000, and by Conservatives very nearly 12,000,000, being a Liberal majority of 5,000,000. In the Parliament of 1868 the population represented by Liberals was 16,817,000, and by Conservatives 12,099,000, being a majority of 4,718,000. On the same principle, the population in the present Parliament represented by Conservatives is 16,685,000, and by Liberals 14,433,000, so that there is now a Conservative majority of over 2,200,000. He should also like briefly to allude to the changes that had taken place in the representation of the different boroughs, between the last and the present election. The total Conservative gain in the last election he estimated at 83, and the total Liberal gain at 27; making a net Conservative gain of 56: and it was curious to observe how small a proportion of that was in the uncontested constituencies. In the counties there was a Conservative uncontested gain of 5, and a Liberal uncontested gain of 2. In the boroughs there was a Conservative uncontested gain of 2, and a liberal uncontested gain of 1. In the contested constituencies the gain was 76 Conservatives against 24 Liberals; but the way in which it was distributed was very curious. In boroughs under 10,000 inhabitants there was a gain of 11 Conservatives and 8 Liberals; so that there they were very nearly equally divided. In boroughs between 20,000 and 10,000 there was a Conservative gain of 14 and a Liberal gain of 7, or about 2 to 1. Between 20,000 and 30,000 there was a gain of 11 Conservatives and 2 Liberals, or 5 to 1. Between 30,000 and 60,000 there was a Conservative gain of 17 and a Liberal gain of 5; or rather more than 3 to 1. Between 60,000 and 100,000 there was a Conservative gain of 6 and a Liberal gain of 2; or three to one; and in boroughs of over 100,000 inhabitants there was a Conservative gain of 17 and a Liberal gain of nothing, showing that the Conservative element had gained in the largest proportions in the most densely populated towns.

Mr. J. T. HAMMICK regretted that Mr. Martin had not been able to state the cost of the election. He had watched some figures as they appeared in the newspapers, and he had arrived at the conclusion that, in round numbers, there was scarcely any election that cost less than 800l. or 1,000l, so that the total cost could not be less than 500,000l. He believed that a return had been called for showing the expenses of the returning officers, but the expenses of the agents had not yet been called for. All this would have been a very interesting addendum to Mr. Martin's paper; and he hoped that the facts would one day be laid before the public.

Mr. L. H. COURTNEY expressed a hope that the paper from which Mr. Baxter had quoted, would be printed and published with the others. In order to arrive at satisfactory results there should be some method of determining the relative forces of the two parties of each constituency. He thought that there was nothing more fallacious than the method adopted by Mr. Baxter of finding out the population represented by a certain number of members, and attributing to these members the whole weight of the population behind them. If that method were adopted it would convey the impression that the whole of the county of Kent, for instance, was fairly represented by its six members, whereas in each division of Kent there had been a very close contest, and the division of parties had been very nearly even. The same would apply to Manchester, where the population had been always equally divided. He could imagine a case where a balance of even ten voters would be sufficient to throw the population from one side to the other. There must be a knowledge of the proportional movement of the population before any information as to the relative strength of the two parties could be obtained, He hoped that Mr. Baxter would review his method of calculation. In answer to the statement that there seemed to be an enormous Conservative gain in the upper boroughs; he might say that in the upper boroughs the Liberals had nothing to lose. They had actually increased the whole representation of the upper boroughs, and had every thing to gain. Therefore a small turning over there would represent a great gain upon paper, whereas down below there might have been a larger proportion, and the gain would have been small. It was too soon to expect a return of the expenses of last election. He thought that the last contest would be much less expensive than that of 1868, because there was so little preparation, and no time given in which to spend money. The question of expense was one of very great importance; and unless something were done to check the excessive expenditure which grew in proportion as the constituencies were enlarged, it would, by and bye, be absolutely impossible for any but a millionaire to enter Parliament at all.

Dr. FARE thought it required mathematical skill of a very high order to solve all the questions connected with elections. The question of three-corned constituencies was a very important one, and one which Mr. Martin had not attempted to grapple with. It threw great difficulties in the way of determining the amount of voters, as did also the mode now adopted of voting by ballot. He had come to the conclusion, after looking to the matter, that the representative system of this country was not representative in the proper sense of the word. As an instance, London, up to last election, was represented almost exclusively by Liberals, although it was practically known that all the electors of London were not Liberals. But while London returned Liberal members the county of Kent, on the other hand, sent Conservatives only, and the Liberals of Kent had not been represented for the last two or three years. Although, in certain respects, the

#### Discussion

British representative body was the finest in the world, it did not fully represent the intelligence of the people. The special business of the laws was legislation, but the legislation of the country was in a very unsatisfactory state. The law nobody could understand or read. He therefore felt that the Society was indebted to Mr. Martin and others who had endeavoured to show how the country was represented, and he hoped that there would be several improvements suggested in the election of Members of Parliament. If Mr. Martin could find it convenient at some future time to give another paper embracing the topics alluded to by Mr. Hammick, he would be conferring a great benefit on the Society.

Mr. R. B. MARTIN said that in dealing with a matter of that kind it was difficult to know who were Liberals and who were Conservatives. If his brother and Mr. Dudley Baxter were to compare notes they would find that they had classed some members as Liberals who were Conservatives, and vice versá. He agreed with Dr. Farr that the great aim should be to represent the people. He did not think that any large class of people having definite views and definite interests should be entirely swamped, because they happen to reside in the neighbourhood of a party holding still larger views who could swamp them. The expenses, as Mr. Hammick had said, would have been a very interesting supplement to the paper, because the future character of the House of Commons would depend very much upon the facility which men of moderate incomes would have of getting into Parliament. He thought that the election expenses ought not to fall upon the candidate, but should be borne by the constituencies. If this were the case the expenses would very soon be cut down in a most extraordinary ratio.

Mr. H. R. DROOP said that one thing he should like to see worked out was the localities. From what he had seen of the elections, it struck him that the greatest move in favour of Conservatives was all round London, while in the North there were hardly any seats gained. The question of expense was a very important one, and it was very difficult to suggest a proper remedy. The expenses were said to be optional; but then these expenses increased the number of votes on each side, and had the effect of turning the election by a very small number of votes. It would be a curious piece of statistics that would show how many elections turned on less than 100 votes. At the last election thirty-four Conservative members were elected by less than 100 votes over the next Liberal candidate. If 100 votes had been taken off the Conservative candidate, or 100 votes added to the Liberal, or if 50 votes had been taken from the one and 50 added to the other, the balance would have been changed. So that if thirty-four seats had been taken from the Conservatives and given to the Liberals, Mr. Gladstone would have been restored to power.

Mr. LUMLEY, Q.C., said he should have been glad if Mr. Martin could have given the number of neutral voters in each constituency during the elections of 1868 and 1874, which could be obtained by subtracting the number who voted from the number on the register. That inquiry would, no doubt, involve a considerable amount of trouble, but it would give some indication of the change of sentiment and opinion in regard to a large class of the electors. The general result was well known, but it would be interesting to know the result in particular places.

Mr. JOHN BIDDULPH MAETIN said, that if the discussion had taken place a week later he would have had such a return, which, however, would have only given the constituencies of English and Welsh boroughs, and would have excluded Scotland and Ireland. Mr. Disraeli had the return in his hand on the Wednesday previous, although it had not then been printed and presented to the House. It would be possible, by a great amount of trouble, to give the number of voters, as between the elections of 1865 and 1868 who voted at one election and abstained

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from voting at the other; but he did not think it would be possible now, without violating the secrets of the ballot.

Mr. LUMLEY said, that if Mr. Martin had given the number of voters on the register in each particular borough, he could have drawn his own conclusions as to how many had voted.

Mr. HAMMOND CHUBB thought that a much fairer representation would have been obtained if the third-corner principle in counties had not been introduced. If the county of Kent had been divided into two instead of three, the minority, in each instance, might have succeeded in getting in one candidate. In the election of 1868 he found that 21,000 Liberals voted and 23,000 Conservatives, and yet the county was represented by six Conservative members, although there was really but a difference of under 1,000 voters. In 1874 there were 13,000 Liberal voters and 28,000 Conservative voters, and the county was still represented by six Conservative candidates. If the county had been divided into two, one Liberal candidate would, almost as a matter of certainty, have got into each division.

Mr. JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN, in reply, said that the discrepancy between his figures and those of Mr. Baxter might be accounted for by the fact, that it was always difficult to say what, in all cases, was the political creed of a candidate. He should have been glad to have added the cost of the election to his paper, but the returns for 1874 had not yet been issued. From the returns of 1868 he calculated that the average cost of election would be 10s. a head for the voter, and 1,500% for the candidate. As to studying localities, it was rather his object to avoid that. He only wished to give the general result.

The PRESIDENT said that he was a little surprised that no observations had been made upon the great change that had taken place in the facilities that had been given for voting, in consequence of the introduction of the Ballot Act, and the quiet way in which elections were now carried on. A great many of the more timid and older men among the better classes, who must have been prevented on former occasions, now found great facilities for voting since the introduction of the Ballot, and the change that had taken place in men's opinions. As to the question of expense, he thought it was quite possible that if men paid little or nothing for getting into Parliament, they might not make so good representatives as those who paid their expenses as they now did. He did not think that the best friends of the working classes were to be found among the working classes themselves, but were those who endeavoured to promote their interests from philanthropic motives, and who had a better knowledge of their interests than they had themselves. He was sure the members of the Society would join with him in according their sincere thanks to Mr. Martin for the valuable paper he had just contributed. and for the masterly manner in which he had treated the subject.

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## I.—General Results of the Commercial and Financial History of 1873.

FROM the Economist of the 14th March; 1874:-

"1873 has been, in most respects, a period of reaction from the high prices and excited demand of 1871, and more particularly of 1872. In the United States, in Germany, in Austria, in South America, there have been financial collapses of the most severe and extensive character. In this country there has been during the last three months of 1873, and the opening weeks of 1874, a marked and extensive fall in the prices of the great 'instrumental articles' of coal and iron, and in a large class of commodities entering into manufactures. In the United States and on the continent there has occurred since the summer of 1873 a very decided fall in wages. In this country the fall is now (February, 1874) only beginning to be felt, but all the probabilities point to a rapid decline before the end of the year.

"Foreign politics have entered scarcely at all into the mercantile calculation. The intrigue in France in the autumn for the restoration of the elder Bourbons, had but little interest out of that country. The most significant fact relative to the future—and perhaps not a very distant future—is the increasing burden of the Armed Peace maintained by France and Germany, and, as a necessary consequence, by their neighbours, Italy, Austria, and Russia; and the avowed hostility of Alsace-Lorraine to its new masters.

"The French Government have completed the payment of the war indemnity to Germany, amounting, with interest at 5 per cent., to a transfer of coin, bank notes, and bills of exchange, of 209 mil-