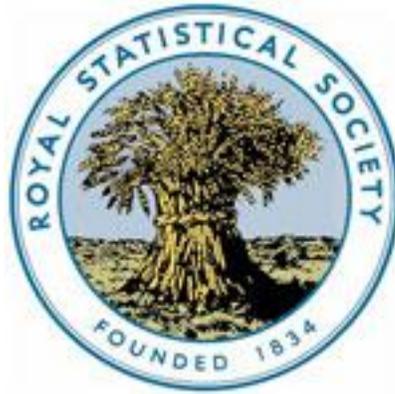


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ELECTORAL STATISTICS: *a REVIEW of the WORKING of our REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM from 1832 to 1881, in view of PROSPECTIVE CHANGES therein.*

By JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN, ESQ., M.A.

[Read before the Statistical Society, 19th February, 1884. The President, Robert Giffen, Esq., LL.D., in the Chair.]

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I.—*Introductory.*

It will be conceded that the present time is eminently opportune for bringing under the notice of this Society facts and figures relating to the representative system of our country. A little more than fifty years have elapsed since that system was laid down on its existing principles: it is almost exactly fifty years since the Statistical Society was founded for the purpose of “the careful collection, arrangement, discussion, and publication, of facts bearing on and illustrating the complex relations of modern society in its social, economical, and political aspects.” In spite of the exclamation of the poet—

“How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!”

good government is generally held to be directly contributory to the general happiness, and next after the pursuit of wealth there is

perhaps no subject that commands greater attention and interest than that which under the comprehensive style of "politics" embraces not merely party questions, but every topic relating to the government of the country. Representation may be said to be the foundation stone and the key-stone of our political fabric, and our representative system is naturally the theme of constant consideration and criticism.

Our Society has not been backward in its recognition of the importance of the subject, and of its claims to investigation: our first volume has a note on the electoral statistics of the time, and the field of the present inquiry has been worked in already more than once. In 1857 and again in 1859 the late Mr. William Newmarch elaborately reviewed the electoral statistics of the preceding twenty-five years; in 1874 I was permitted to lay before the Society a comparison of the elections of 1868 and 1874; a year ago Mr. Arthur Ellis submitted a comparison of the electoral statistics of 1871 and 1881. Mr. Thomas Hare, working on another branch of the subject, laid before us in 1860 a paper on the theory of representative elections. Mr. Droop in 1881 contributed to our *Journal* an essay of similar nature. [See Appendix C.] The scope of the present paper is distinct from that of the two last mentioned writers, but I may at once acknowledge my indebtedness to those who, either as contributors to our *Journal* or otherwise, have gone before me, by whose labours in the collection and grouping of statistics my own have been lightened, and from whom I have perforce occasionally borrowed.

On one point I hope to follow closely the example of Mr. William Newmarch; namely, in laying down to myself the law that whatever be the opinion of the writer, his paper should be neutral and colourless. I purpose to limit myself to first a very brief historical account of the changes which fifty years have brought about in our representative system, and next to a contrast of the present state of that system with the epoch from whence the inquiry starts, as foreshadowing the course which events may be reasonably expected to follow in the future.

II.—*Historical Sketch.*

a. The Distribution of Seats.—The Reform Act of 1832 restored to the House of Commons the character of a representative assembly, a character that it had altogether ceased to deserve. Its operation, so far as regards the redistribution of seats, may be shown tabularly thus:—

SEATS LOST.		SEATS GAINED.	
<i>Boroughs—</i>		<i>Boroughs—</i>	
England—		England	22 @ 2 each } 44
55 @ 2 each = 110	} 111	(Schedule C)	} 19
1 „ 1 „ = 1		(Schedule D)	
(Schedule A)		Wales.....	2 @ 1 each... 2
30 @ 1 each = 30	} 30	Scotland.....	8 „ 1 „ ... 8
(Schedule B)			Ireland
Weymouth and	} 2	<hr/>	
Melcombe-Regis		77	
(amalgamated)		<i>Universities—</i>	Ireland
			1
		<i>Counties—</i>	England
		England	25 @ 2 each } 50
		(Schedule F)	} 7
		7 @ 1 each	
		(Schedule F2)	
		Yorkshire.....	} 2 @ 2 each 4
		Lincolnshire ..	
		Isle of Wight	1
		Wales	3 @ 1 each 3
			65
			<hr/>
	143		143

After this sweeping measure the constituencies remained undisturbed until the second Reform Act of 1867, save for the reallotment of the seats forfeited by Sudbury and St. Albans. By the latter Act 4 boroughs were totally, and 42 half disfranchised, 11 new boroughs were created in England, and 2 in the metropolis; 1 seat was attributed to London University, and 25 seats to 13 English counties. In the following year (1868) 11 seats lapsed owing to corruption in 9 English boroughs, of which 7 only were reallotted under the Scotch Reform Act of 1868, viz., 1 each to the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, 3 to boroughs, and 3 to counties (Selkirk and Peebles at the same time losing one member by consolidation). Save for the forfeiture of the two seats of the boroughs of Sligo and Cashel, no change has taken place in the balance of representative power in Ireland; the franchise in Ireland has indeed been subject to alteration, but with this we are not at the moment concerned. In Appendix D will be found a chronological statement in full of the changes which have thus been briefly referred to, and which may be summarised thus:—

Seats lost, 1832-81, counties	1	
„ boroughs	62	
		63
Seats gained, 1832-81, counties	31	
„ boroughs }	26	
„ universities }		57
		<hr/>
Net loss	6	
Total seats, 1881	652	
„ '32	658	

These changes may be presented tabularly in another form and in greater detail,* thus:—

TABLE 1.—*Showing Seats Gained and Lost by Counties, Boroughs, and Universities, 1832-81.*

	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	+	—	+	—	+	—	+	—
England and Wales .	28		20	60	1		49	60
Scotland	3	1	3		2		8	1
Ireland				2				2
Total	31	1	23	62	3		57	63

β. The Electorate.—It is evident from the historical facts briefly touched on in the preceding remarks, that the period of forty-nine years that we have under review is divisible into two unequal

* Subjoined is a table, taken in great measure from the very interesting paper contributed by Mr. Benjamin Whitworth to the Manchester Reform Club Debating Society in 1876 (William Porter and Sons, Manchester), wherein these changes are numerically shown thus:—

TABLE 2.

	1832.	1833.	1868.	1881.
<i>England—</i>				
Counties	82	144	172	172
Universities	4	4	5	5
Boroughs	403	323	286	281
Total	489	471	463	458
<i>Wales—</i>				
Counties	12	15	15	15
Boroughs	12	14	15	16
Total	24	29	30	31
<i>Scotland—</i>				
Counties	30	30	32	32
Universities	—	—	2	2
Boroughs	15	23	26	26
Total	45	53	60	60
<i>Ireland—</i>				
Counties	64	64	64	64
Universities	1	2	2	2
Boroughs	35	39	39	37
Total	100	105	105	103
Grand total	658	658	658	652

See also Table A 5.

parts: viz., the thirty-five years 1832-67, the fourteen years 1867-81. The break in continuity caused by the Act of 1867, affecting as it did not only the distribution of seats, but also the franchise, prevents us from comparing directly the years 1832 and 1881. With modifications that have been made in the electoral qualification for counties or boroughs it is not proposed here to deal, and the occupation franchises into which Mr. Newmarch elaborately examined have for us but an historical interest. Yet in dealing broadly with the changes that have taken place in the population and the electoral body of the realm, it is necessary not to ignore this intermediate point of new departure, and to select as a middle term some point of time on this or that side, or both, of the Act of 1867, for the purposes of comparison with 1832 on the one hand, and 1881 on the other. The rapid growth of our large cities (represented during the decade 1871-81 by an increase of 21,000 electors in the county of Lancaster alone) renders it desirable that this middle term should coincide as nearly as may be with the decennial census, and as the addition of a fourth column of population and electors would have made the tables of Appendix A still more voluminous than they are, I decided on selecting the year 1861 as my intermediate point for the purposes of these tables.

If we briefly summarise the evidence afforded by the totals of 1832 and 1862, we see at once the gravitation of population towards the boroughs throughout the United Kingdom, the relative variations showing as follows:—

TABLE 3.

	1832.	1861-62.	
	Population and Electors.	Population.	Electors.
<i>Counties—</i>			
England and Wales	100	133	144
Scotland	100	121	150
Ireland	100	71	289
<i>Boroughs—</i>			
England and Wales	100	165	182
Scotland	100	144	166
Ireland	100	108	106

Thus in both England and Scotland the number of electors on the registers has more than kept pace both in counties and boroughs with the population. Ireland, however, presents, not for the first time, anomalous features: a small relative decrease in the electors of boroughs being recorded, while on the other hand there is an enormous increase in the electors on county registers, a phenomenon of which no explanation seems apparent.

Before passing to the consideration of the Act usually spoken of as the Reform Act of 1867, we may briefly glance at the result of the labours of the Boundary Commissioners, which bore fruit in the "Boundary Act" of 1868. By this Act the boundaries of 59 existing boroughs in England, and of 10 existing Welsh boroughs were enlarged. The alterations effected in the case of English boroughs were not on a very radical scale, the total area of the 59 boroughs being enlarged from 421·2 square miles to 500·7 square miles, or say a total increase of 18·7 per cent. The alterations in the Welsh boroughs, from their general character as district boroughs, were more sweeping, but owing to the absence in several instances of boundary maps in 1832, the increase of area is less easily ascertainable. In the aggregate of cases that are comparable the increase is 62 per cent. A more considerable change was effected by constituting as boroughs the important constituencies of Burnley, Chelsea, Darlington, Dewsbury, Gravesend, Middlesborough, Stalybridge, Stockton, and Wednesbury, with an aggregate area of $73\frac{3}{4}$ square miles, and a population and electorate (in 1881) of 838,850 and 100,833 respectively; to the depletion, *pro tanto*, of the electoral strength of their respective counties.

But the effects produced by the redistribution clauses of this Act were of small account as compared with those brought about by its franchise clauses, the number of electors on the registers before and after the passing of the Act showing the following very considerable contrasts:—

TABLE 4.

	Counties.		Boroughs.*	
	1865-66.	1869.	1866.	1869.
England and Wales ..	542,521 †	791,916	458,368	1,167,473
Scotland	49,979 ‡	76,077	53,498	149,134
Ireland	172,010 §	170,460	31,721	45,524
	764,510	1,038,453	543,587	1,362,131

* Parl. Paper, No. 381 of 1874. Mr. Butt. † Dod, 1866.

‡ Parl. Paper, 3651 of 1866.

§ Parl. Paper, 448 of 1865.

|| Parl. Paper, 388 of 1879.

The figures of this table, both as regards the increase of county and borough electors at the two periods, and the relative increase of borough electors as compared with those of the counties, may be left to speak for themselves. It must however be borne in mind that in the case of Ireland no alteration was made in the county franchise by the Irish Reform Act of 1868, while the borough

franchise was reduced from an 8*l.* to a 4*l.* qualification only. The dates above cited, and the figures corresponding thereto, may serve as stepping stones between the two extreme points of our course, viz., the years 1832-81, and we may now compare the figures afforded by the returns of these years, and set out in detail in Table A, and summarised in Tables A1—A7. Table A2 renders more easily comparable the bare figures given in A1, by reducing them to two places of decimals, in other words to the percentage of every 10,000 inhabitants. We see herein that for every 10,000 souls there was an increase in the English counties of 319, and in English boroughs of 1,346; a small decline of 27 in Scotch counties, but an increase of 113 in Scotch boroughs; the whole of this net increase of 1,751 being at the expense of Ireland, in the proportion of 1,702 in the counties, and 49 in the boroughs.

In Tables A3 and A4 the number of electors on the registers at the two periods are similarly treated, and we find a notable transfer of electoral power from the English counties to the boroughs; in Scotland the same effect is produced in a less marked manner, the net gain in both these divisions of the kingdom being again at the expense of Ireland. But the total gain or loss in each of the three countries is much less than the gain or loss in gross population, as will be more readily apparent from the following tabular statement:—

TABLE 5.—*Showing the Increase or Decrease in the Total Population, and Number of Electors per Ten Thousand in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland respectively from 1832-81.*

	Population.		Electors.	
	Increase or Decrease.	Net Increase or Decrease.	Increase or Decrease.	Net Increase or Decrease.
<i>England and Wales—</i>				
Counties	+ 319		- 1,524	
Boroughs	+ 1,346		+ 1,710	
Universities			- 14	
		+ 1,665		+ 172
<i>Scotland—</i>				
Counties	- 27		- 93	
Boroughs	+ 113		+ 269	
Universities			+ 39	
		+ 86		+ 215
		+ 1,751		+ 387
<i>Ireland—</i>				
Counties	- 1,702		- 199	
Boroughs	- 49		- 174	
Universities			- 14	
		- 1,751		- 387

Table A 6 shows in detail as regards England and Wales the increase in the total population and number of registered electors at such periods between 1882 and 1881 as are available for comparison. Unfortunately the Census Returns of 1841 do not distinguish the population of the registration districts in the manner which is now the case, and the table is so far incomplete. It appears that the population of the counties in 1881 was nearly as large as that of the entire kingdom in 1831, but the urban population having in the same interval much more than doubled itself, it is now approaching in volume to that of the rural districts; so that whereas in 1881 the rural population was to the urban as 100 to 60, it is now in the proportion of 100 to 89.5 only. As regards the number of electors it will be seen that this increased during the thirty years 1832-62 rather faster than did the population, the increase of electors being 54 per cent. as against an increase of 44 per cent. of population; but owing to the Reform Act of 1867 the county electors increased during the following decade by 50 per cent., and its borough electors to 166 per cent.

Finally, in Table A 7 is shown the population of the rural and urban inhabitants and of rural and of urban electors in every 100 of the respective totals at the same date; from this table the dwindling importance of the counties, and the growing preponderance of the boroughs is seen at a glance.

III.—*The Present Position and the Conditions of the Problem.*

The inquiry has now been brought down to the present time, and we are in a position to survey the state of affairs to which the lapse of fifty years has brought us, as well as to consider what is before us, and the probable effect of any alterations in the electoral system. The difference in the social phenomena presented by the different divisions of the realm, as well as their dissimilar laws, constitutional rights, and disabilities, renders it desirable to treat of them separately, and especially so as regards England and Ireland. The field of inquiry is a large one, and one in which it is equally difficult to be assured that exploration has been complete, or that the survey, so far as it is carried, has been correct; it is therefore permissible to express at the outset my sense of the imperfect manner in which, with every intention of being painstaking and accurate, I have succeeded in dealing with so intricate a matter as the one under consideration.

a. England and Wales.—We have seen from Table A 1 that the total population of England and Wales consists of 25,960,276* souls, or (according to the slightly differing total of the Census Report) of 25,974,439, made up of—

* From "Parliamentary Reformer's Manual."

Males over 20 years.....	6,643,167 =	25·6 per cent.
„ under 20 years	5,996,735 =	23·1 „
Females	13,334,537 =	51·3 „
	25,974,439 =	100 „

this total of over six millions and a half of adult males having apparently (Table A3) among their number 2,537,810 (say 38 per cent.) of registered electors. But these gross totals are subject to considerable modification before we can arrive at an approximate estimate of the true total in each case. From the total adult population we have to deduct those who are in any way incapacitated from the exercise of civil rights; that is, those who are mentally, socially, or legally, disqualified: the (1) lunatic, (2) paupers, (3) criminals, and (4) foreigners.

(1). From the Census Returns of 1881 (General Report, vol. iv, p. 67) it appears that in England and Wales 39,789 males were recorded as lunatics, idiots, or imbeciles, of whom there were of the age of 20 years and over 33,958 (Census Returns of 1881, vol. iii, Table XVIII). Of this number 20,205 (=59·5 per cent.) are returned as lunatics, and 13,753 (=40·5 per cent.) as idiots and imbeciles. But while the former total is taken as fairly accurate, the latter is subject to very considerable modification, chiefly owing to the natural reluctance of parents or relatives to make a true return in this particular, especially in milder cases. Following then the calculations of the census report, we must add 9,527 unreturned imbeciles, making a total of 43,350 adult males labouring under mental disability.

(2). In estimating the number to be deducted from the total population under the head of paupers there is always an element of uncertainty, since the total number in receipt of relief at any one date is naturally very far from representing the number of persons relieved during a period of twelve months. From the Report of the Local Government Board (1882-83, p. xvii) we find the following figures:—

TABLE 6.—*Showing Mean Number of Paupers and Adult Male Paupers in England and Wales, 1881-82.*

	Year.	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.	Per 1,000.
Mean total {	1881	183,872	607,065	790,937	30·0
	'82	183,374	604,915	788,289	30·0
Mean of adult males }	1881	22,516	82,485	105,000	4·0
	'82	22,251	79,957	102,208	3·9

But from the total at any given date a deduction of about 14·5 per cent. must be made in respect of lunatics and idiots

already taken into account, so that after making this allowance from the mean total of the two years, an average remains of 88,582 to represent the adult male recipients of public charity. It is evident that good or bad times, fine or rigorous seasons, &c., would considerably modify this estimate. Whatever the total arrived at as the average number of paupers at any one time, it evidently does not represent the number of persons relieved during the year. Any receipt of charitable relief would presumably under any circumstances be held as a temporary disqualification, and we must take the usually received estimate of three times the *average* number as representing the *total* number of persons annually relieved. Assuming this calculation not to apply to pauper lunatics, whose pauperism would naturally be more permanent, we have a total of 265,746 adult males other than lunatics who are annually relieved from public funds.

(3). From the Report of the Commissioners of Prisons, 1881, it appears that on 31st March in that year there were in the local prisons of England and Wales, of 14,089 male prisoners, 10,777 males of 21 years and over; and if we assume a similar ratio to exist among those discharged from prison during the year, we must add 99,735 to this number, making a total of 110,502 adult males under legal disqualification in respect of sentences of imprisonment. It is less easy to estimate from the Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons the number of adult males who, being under sentences of penal servitude, or released on licence or under police surveillance, would be disqualified from civic rights; but from such data as are available, and making such allowances as have been suggested to me, the number can hardly be less than 9,000. This forms, with the total given above, what we may call for the purposes of the present inquiry a criminal class of 119,502.

(4). From the Census Returns of 1881 (vol. iii, summary, Table XII) it appears that the number of adult male European foreigners enumerated was 55,097, and if we may assume a similar ratio in the case of foreigners other than Europeans (whose ages are not tabulated), of whom more than 90 per cent. are from the United States, the total of adult male aliens will be 64,057.

It must also be borne in mind that there is always a certain, or more properly an uncertain number of men, who from insufficiently long residence, negligence on their own part or on that of election agents, want of fixed abode, &c., are not registered as electors, and the apparent proportion of unenfranchised male citizens relatively to their total number is subject to further reduction.

(5). If we now turn to the number of registered electors, it is evident that the gross total is subject to revision, in order that we may take into account the holders of duplicate qualifications. These

duplicate qualifications, within the limits of a single constituency, whether county or borough, and arising either naturally in respect of separate qualification or from ancient rights, are ascertainable with comparative ease. But it is no less easy to imagine the interminable cross-examination of registers that would be necessary before arriving at an exact statement of the holders of qualifications to vote in different constituencies; of these the reverend gentleman lately quoted by Mr. Bright as holding twenty-four votes, and exercising seventeen at the last general election, may be cited as an extreme instance. Mr. Newmarch in 1852 (*Journal*, June, 1857, p. 175) estimated that from the then total of 920,000 county and borough electors a deduction of 6 per cent. was necessary in order to arrive at the total number of *persons*; but it is natural to suppose that the percentage of holders of duplicate qualifications among the large class enfranchised by the Act of 1867 would be comparatively insignificant, while the ancient right voters are necessarily diminishing in number. It is estimated that at the present time a deduction of 10 per cent. should be made from the total county register, and not more than 1 per cent. from the borough electorate.

The estimated deductions from the gross number of adult males and of registered electors may now be summed up thus, in round numbers:—

TABLE 7.—*Population.*

Adult males	6,643,000
Less lunatics, idiots, &c.	28,000
" " (paupers)	15,000
" paupers (other than lunatics).....	266,000
" criminals	120,000
" aliens	64,000
	<hr/>
	493,000
	<hr/>
" adults 20—21 years = 3 per cent.....	184,500
	<hr/>
Net total males 21 years and over.....	5,965,500

TABLE 8.—*Electors.*

Total number of electors on register, 1881	2,537,810
Less university electors	13,499
	<hr/>
County electors.....	932,860
Borough "	1,591,451
	<hr/>
	2,524,311
Less 10 per cent. county electors.....	93,286
" 1 " borough " 	15,914
	<hr/>
	109,200
Total number of persons on registers ..	2,415,111

and we find that of the net number of adult males 40·48 per cent., or rather more than two in every five, are at present registered as electors. Comparing this percentage with that of 18·33 per cent. as estimated by Mr. Newmarch in 1857 (an estimate that must be raised to 20·63 if allowances and deductions be made similar to those of the present paper), it appears that the electoral body has now almost exactly twice the importance (relatively to the total adult male population) that it had twenty-five years ago.

We have now arrived at the conclusion that of the whole adult male population, 60 per cent., or three out of five, are at present without electoral rights. The changes that lie in the immediate future will undoubtedly enfranchise a certain proportion of this residue, and it remains to consider in what direction and how far such prospective changes, as far as we are able to forecast them, are likely to take effect. We have seen that the population of England and Wales may for parliamentary purposes be divided thus:—

Counties	13,688,902 = 52·78 per cent.
Boroughs	12,285,537 = 47·29 „
	<u>25,974,439 = 100</u>

And if we assume for the moment an uniformity in the distribution of adult males of 21 and over, we shall find these, and the present quota of electors in the two divisions to be as follows:—

	Adult Males.	Electors.
Counties	3,112,000 = 52·71	932,860 = 36·95
Boroughs	2,793,000 = 47·29	2,591,451 = 63·05
	<u>5,905,000 = 100</u>	<u>2,524,311 = 100</u>

and it would therefore follow that other things being equal, the assimilation of the county franchise to that of the boroughs would raise the county electorate to 1,836,500, and their relative strength would undergo the following modification:—

	Adult Males.	Electors.
Counties	3,112,000 = 52·71	1,773,715 = 52·71
Boroughs	2,793,000 = 47·29	1,591,451 = 47·29
	<u>5,905,000 = 100</u>	<u>3,365,166 = 100</u>

But the assumption of equality in other things is a large one, and may require to be modified by a variety of considerations

which it is difficult to appraise at their true respective values. The comparative density of population in town and country, the differing social conditions under which they live, and difference in the tenure of their homes, must affect the percentage of adult males in the two divisions of the population; but it is by no means easy to assign to each disturbing cause its proper effect.

The population of England and Wales is lodged in 4,831,579 dwellings, which for census purposes are reckoned as "inhabited houses;" of which 2,733,000 are scheduled in registration counties, and 2,098,000 in boroughs; and assuming an equal proportion of adult males in each case, the proportion would stand thus:—

	Adult Males.	Inhabited Houses.	Adult Males.	Inhabited Houses.
Counties	3,112,000	2,733,000	= 1,000	878
Boroughs	2,793,000	2,098,000	= 1,000	751

The ratio may be shown in another form by comparing the number of persons to each house in different divisions of the country:—

All England.....	1 inhabited house to 5'38 inhabitants.
Registration counties	1 " 5'01 "
" boroughs	1 " 5'85 "
Nineteen large cities of 100,000 inhabitants and over—	} 1 " 5'58 "
Maximum, London = 7'85	
Minimum, Leeds and Hull 4'76	
178 small towns in county constituencies	1 " 5'42 "

But the fact that the large towns of Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester, and Oldham, are apparently less thickly crowded than the average of counties, while such constituencies as East Retford, with an area of 207,000 acres, or Cricklade, covering 157,000 acres, are counted as boroughs, shows the extreme difficulty of giving with any certainty the number of electors likely to be found or created in any given parliamentary area. A little light is thrown on the subject by the Census Returns (vol. iii, summary Table 2) of the population of the sanitary districts; whence we learn that the adult males of urban districts are in the proportion of 2,541 per 10,000 inhabitants, against 2,593 per 10,000 inhabitants of rural districts. So that at least we may conjecture that if the parliamentary constituencies could be divided into *bonâ fide* urban and rural areas under an equal franchise, there would be

presumably a proportion of electors per 10,000 greater by 52 in the case of the rural than in that of the urban districts.

There are moreover considerations outside the province of statistics that would no doubt affect the total number of electors who might become eligible to vote under an assimilation of the county to the borough franchise. The agricultural labourer occupies his dwelling under conditions very different from those which affect the city artizan; he is notoriously more under the supervision and control of his landlord, and the greater difficulty attendant on removal renders him less willing to incur the risk of disturbance. The extension of an occupation franchise to county constituencies might apparently enable any powerful landlord to suppress or manufacture votes in a way that would not be practicable in towns. Nor must we omit to remember, as indeed we have been frequently reminded of late, that the county franchise rests on a different basis from that of the boroughs. The former is in theory a property qualification, the latter is one of occupation; and it is difficult to support by logical argument the retention of plurality of votes for counties, if the county vote be made an occupation franchise. How far it may be possible to reconcile the constitutional and time honoured rights of the 40s. freeholder in half-a-dozen counties with a logical rearrangement of the franchise is a matter of expediency and of practical, perhaps of party statesmanship, but, as has been seen, the result would practically be that unless remedied by some simultaneous compensation, the county electorate, already dwindling in strength relatively to that of the boroughs, would suffer an immediate reduction of 10 per cent. of its strength. It must also be borne in mind that any attribution of members to boroughs at present unrepresented, or union of any such with boroughs at present represented, would act in the same direction. The removal of the 178 unrepresented towns of 10,000 inhabitants and over which are scheduled in the Financial Reform Almanac, from their respective county constituencies, and their formation or adoption into parliamentary boroughs, would not only deprive the counties of their quota of electors, but add to the borough constituencies a force of electors which if we may compare them with the 180 boroughs of not more than 50,000 inhabitants that now return 231 members to Parliament, may fairly be estimated at 477,000, or an increase of more than 15 per cent. of their existing strength.

β. Ireland.—As compared with England and Wales, Scotland exhibits, both in respect of population and electorate, changes similar in their direction, but very much modified in degree; when we turn to Ireland we have to record contrasts rather than comparisons. In place of the great numerical increase in the population

of our counties, and a still greater increase in that of our boroughs, we see a great falling off in the inhabitants of Irish counties, and an increase in her borough population, insignificant as compared with that of England and Scotland. Were it not for the strong conviction of most impartial observers, that the general condition of Ireland has decidedly improved, it would be melancholy indeed to contrast the decrease of more than 50 per cent. in her total population, with the increase of more than 75 per cent. in the case of England and Wales. As far as the figures of 1801 may be trusted,* the population of Ireland was then much what it is now, say 5,100,000 out of a total of 15,629,000, or 30·5 per cent., but the astonishing increase of the Irish population during the subsequent forty years (total, 8,199,000 in 1841) only gave to the country a relative increase of less than 2 per cent. (see Table A 2) as compared with the whole. But in 1832 the electoral strength of Ireland (Table A 4) was only 11·32 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom. Since that time her county electors have been reduced in relative importance by 27 per cent., and her borough electors by nearly 50 per cent., so that Ireland has now only 7·45 per cent. of the voting power of the realm. But before we can institute an effective comparison between the growth in electoral importance of England and Scotland with the decline observable in Ireland, we must bear in mind that the conditions of the social body in the case of the one are not precisely identical with those that affect the other; in the administration of the poor laws, in the character of the crimes that have recently stained her soil, in the disposal of her superfluous population, Ireland is affected in a manner peculiar to herself, and the wide divergence of race, character, and religious belief that marks different parts of Ireland, makes it difficult to treat even of Ireland itself as an homogeneous nation. In endeavouring to ascertain the possible electoral strength of Ireland, I have found it impossible to make, province by province, the allowances and deductions that I have attempted in the case of England and Wales, and I have been compelled to content myself with a comparison of the total adult male population in either case. It is surprising in the first place to find that the ratio of males of 20 and over to total population is in Ireland only fractionally different to that which we find in England, viz., 25·84, as against 25·6 or 24 per 10,000. But this similarity disappears if we look into it more closely, and if we examine province by province the ratio of adult males, the number of electors furnished by each, and the ratio of these to the number of members returned to parliament, we find very wide divergencies. These are best shown in a tabular form thus:—

* Thom's "Official Directory," 1883, p. 565.

TABLE 9.—*Showing the Population in Counties and Boroughs in Ireland, the Number of Adult Males, the Number of Electors, the Ratio of Electors per Ten Thousand Adult Males, the Number of Electors per Member, and Number of Members Returned to Parliament, 1881.*

Province.	Population.	Ratio of Males 20 and over.	Total Males over 20.	Number of Registered Voters.	Number of Electors per 10,000 Adult Males.	Number of Electors per Member.	Number of Members.
Ulster Cos.	1,437,690	} 25·28 {	363,400	65,794	1,810	3,655	18
<i>Boros.</i>	301,852		76,300	29,688	3,890	2,699	11
Leinster Cos.	932,853	} 27·92 {	260,400	41,949	1,610	1,748	24
<i>Boros.</i>	350,028		97,700	15,943	1,632	1,594	10
Connaught Cos.	794,600	} 24·16 {	191,900	16,982	885	1,698	10
<i>Boros.</i>	18,906		4,500	1,146	2,546	573	2
Munster Cos.	1,093,242	} 25·63 {	280,200	43,492	1,552	3,624	12
<i>Boros.</i>	230,668		59,500	10,720	1,801	765	14
Total Cos.	4,258,385	} 25·84 {	1,095,900	168,217	1,535	2,628	64
Total <i>Boros.</i>	901,454		238,000	57,497	2,415	1,553	37
Grand total, } Ireland }	5,159,839	25·84	1,333,900	225,714	1,692	2,234	101
England Cos.	13,698,493	} 25·6 {	3,505,000	932,860	2,659	4,988	187
<i>Boros.</i>	12,261,783		3,138,000	1,591,451	5,070	5,358	297
Grand total, } England }	25,960,276	25·6	6,643,000	2,524,311	3,798	5,215	484

We see from this table that the ratio of electors to the total adult males in Irish counties is but 1,535 per 10,000, as against 2,659 per 10,000 in English counties, a fact that we must set down as being mainly caused by the greater wealth of the latter country. In Irish boroughs the ratio is 2,415 per 10,000, as against 5,070 per 10,000 in English boroughs, an effect due not merely to greater wealth in the one case, but also to the difference in the qualification for the franchise in Irish boroughs. In noting the differences observable between the figures afforded by the provinces of Ireland, it must be remembered that Connaught has but one borough, Galway City, and the figures in this line can therefore hardly be brought fairly into account. It must also be borne in mind that the character of Irish county constituencies is more distinctly

rural, and of Irish boroughs more decidedly urban, than is the case in England. There are in Ireland no towns crying for distinct representation; on the other hand the area of Irish boroughs averages 9·8 square miles, against 15·8 in the case of English boroughs. Against East Retford, with an area of 325 square miles, and Cricklade with 248, Ireland can show Carrickfergus = 26, Cork = 74, Galway City = 37, Kilkenny = 26, and Limerick = 52; the remaining 26 Irish boroughs have an aggregate area of 88 square miles, or very little more than 3 square miles on an average. This circumstance, taken in connection with the insignificance of several of the boroughs, and the fact that the boroughs at present have 37 out of 101 members, while they only have 18 per cent. of the electors of Ireland, seems to point towards an increase of the already preponderating majority of country members in Ireland, should a redistribution only of seats be deemed advisable.

Note.—The following table, in part recapitulating Table 9, will bring the above facts into more clear relief:—

	Percentage of Adult Males to Electors.		Percentage of Electors to Total Electors.		Number of Members.	
Ulster Counties	18·1	—	27·3	—	18	—
	—	38·9	—	5·7	—	11
Leinster Counties	16·1	—	19·5	—	24	—
	—	16·3	—	7·3	—	10
Connaught Counties	8·8	—	14·4	—	10	—
	—	25·5	—	0·3	—	2
Munster Counties	15·5	—	21·0	—	12	—
	—	18·0	—	4·5	—	14
Total	15·35	24·15	82·2	17·8	64	37

Of the effects of an assimilation of the Irish borough franchise to that of England, or of the establishment of an uniform occupation franchise in both, it is very difficult for one who is not an expert to speak with any confidence. An occupation franchise in boroughs, if it raised the constituencies of the English level, would enfranchise some 63,000 electors, making the total borough electors in all 120,000, against the present 168,000 in the counties, while I am informed that the creation of a 40s. freehold vote would not enfranchise more than 10,000 voters in all Ireland. But a franchise that would take in the mass of agricultural labourers would create some 135,000 votes, and thus more than restore the preponderance of the county constituencies.

Whether the number of 100 members allotted to Ireland in her

union with England is sacred or inviolable is a constitutional question with which I will not here presume to meddle; many things have happened since then: the disestablishment of the Irish Church was hardly contemplated under the Act of Union, still less the existence of a party in the English Parliament avowedly pledged to its repeal. The problem is complicated by grave considerations of practical politics and expediency, and I do not do more than hint at the alternative of establishing an equilibrium by adding to the number, already unwieldy enough, of the English and Scotch members of Parliament.

IV.—*Conclusion.*

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages, imperfect and inadequate in many respects, and apparently inconclusive, to trace the steps by which our representative system has reached its present stage of development. An endeavour has been made to show the proportion of the population which is at present in the enjoyment of electoral rights, the manner in which this proportion is distributed, and the power which it exercises in the election of its representatives; and some slight indication has been suggested of the effect which may be produced by alterations that the immediate future may bring forth. It has not been within the scope of the present paper to enlarge on the anomalies in which our existing system is prolific; to set forth the grievances of unrepresented towns, or the tyranny of the favoured landowning class; to denounce the deference to the feelings of minorities that has equalised the influence in Parliament of Leeds or Manchester with that of Portarlington or Downpatrick; or to dilate on the wrongs of the unenfranchised householder who is on the wrong side of the municipal boundary line. These are for the ardent reformer to expound, or for his antagonist to defend or excuse, but I trust that I shall not be held to stray from the path of strict impartiality by recording in a summary form, the manner in which the voice of the individual elector is weakened in county and borough proportionately to the importance of his constituency.

TABLE 10a.—*Showing the Population, Electors, Ratio of Population to Members, and Ratio of Electors to Members, in Counties and Boroughs (United Kingdom), Classified according to Population. Counties.*

Constituencies.	Limits of Population.	Gross Population, 1881.	Number of Electors, 1881.	Number of Members.	Ratio of Population to Members.	Ratio of Electors to Members.
19	Under 50,000	609,235	39,116	21	2,911	1,863
28	50,000 to 75,000 .	1,762,134	110,121	43	30,980	2,561
22	75,000 ,, 100,000 .	1,947,490	140,902	41	47,499	3,436
23	100,000 ,, 125,000 .	2,631,433	167,287	47	55,988	3,559
27	125,000 ,, 150,000 .	3,554,281	202,706	54	65,838	3,755
15	150,000 ,, 175,000 .	2,427,399	136,835	29	83,303	4,718
25	200,000 and over	7,105,149	400,680	48	148,024	8,347
159		20,037,121	1,197,647	283	—	—

TABLE 10β.—*Boroughs.*

Constituencies.	Limits of Population.	Gross Population, 1881.	Number of Electors, 1881.	Number of Members.	Ratio of Population to Members.	Ratio of Electors to Members.
42	Under 7,000	248,990	30,913	42	5,928	736
30	7,000 to 10,000 .	250,317	33,662	30	8,344	1,122
48	10,000 ,, 20,000 .	713,137	91,826	72	9,904	1,275
22	20,000 ,, 30,000 .	569,953	74,265	32	17,811	2,320
38	30,000 ,, 50,000 .	1,543,466	207,721	55	28,063	3,776
34	50,000 ,, 100,000 .	2,309,614	334,961	53	43,577	6,320
18	100,000 ,, 200,000 .	2,430,047	340,340	33	73,637	10,313
19	200,000 and over	6,745,594	736,789	43	156,874	17,134
251		14,811,118	1,850,477	360	—	—

This table may furnish a text to the advocate of more equal distribution of power between town and country, or of the formation of electoral districts: but it is obvious that in a country whose population is not only constantly on the increase, but is also perpetually changing its centre of gravity, the formation of anything like a symmetrical arrangement is not only practically unattainable, but if attained would be constantly liable to derangement: a temporary symmetry would be dearly bought at the cost of periodical disturbance. Nor would any apparent symmetry of arrangement be free from drawbacks: an ideal electoral district would presumably contain within itself a due proportion of every interest to be represented, and the *reductio ad absurdum* of the system would be the ultimate vesting of the destiny of the country in the vote of a single labourer or a single artizan; or to come down to the realm of practical politics, the manipulation of electoral boundaries, an art known in the United States as “gerrymandering,” is an

abuse which such a system would tend to foster, and from which this country has hitherto fortunately been exempt.

When we speak of the importance of the adequate representation of class interests we are apt to forget that class representation may tend to class legislation: surely the theory of our House of Commons is that it is a judicial, not a forensic body: its members are not elected as the advocates of their particular constituencies, or of their particular class, but for deliberation of matters that affect the nation and kingdom as a whole. If the House of Commons is anything better than a vestry, this object must be the aim of any alterations which it may undergo, and the sole *mandat imperatif* that its members can hold from their electors is that their labours shall be for the common interest and the general good.

APPENDIX.

TABLE A.—*Showing the Population, Number of Registered Electors, and Number of Members in the United Kingdom from 1831 to 1881.*

I. ENGLAND.—*The Metropolis.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
London (City)	122,531	112,063	50,526	18,584	18,039	25,310	4	4
Westminster	206,547	254,623	228,932	11,576	12,624	21,774	2	2
Chelsea	—	—	366,516	—	—	30,601	—	2
Marylebone	240,294	436,254	498,311	8,901	22,426	34,687	2	2
Finsbury	234,629	387,278	524,480	10,309	22,636	44,166	2	2
Hackney	361,783	647,845	417,191	9,906	30,269	45,130	2	2
Tower Hamlets			438,910			40,681		
Lambeth	154,613	294,883	498,967	4,768	23,944	49,040	2	2
Southwark	134,117	193,593	221,866	4,775	12,027	23,566	2	2
Greenwich	63,172	139,436	206,651	2,714	9,081	22,737	2	2
	1,517,686	2,465,973	3,452,350	71,533	151,046	337,692	18	22

TABLE A Contd.—Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.
II. ENGLAND.—The South-Eastern District.

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
Surrey..... E.	—	—	227,208	—	—	20,438	—	2
”..... E.	106,217	209,345	—	3,150	9,181	—	2	—
”..... M.	—	—	308,134	—	—	23,449	—	2
”..... W.	81,249	109,546	151,408	2,912	3,948	7,972	2	2
Sussex..... E.	103,744	126,234	163,363	3,437	6,368	10,635	2	2
”..... W.	54,523	53,025	62,279	2,365	2,717	3,881	2	2
Kent..... E.	130,256	165,261	209,249	6,678	7,092	13,551	2	2
”..... M.	—	—	137,637	—	—	9,139	—	2
”..... W.	187,335	277,058	—	7,026	9,420	—	2	—
”..... W.	—	—	208,260	—	—	15,764	—	2
Hants..... N.	96,387	131,634	141,042	2,424	3,522	5,973	2	2
”..... S.	82,358	112,652	126,720	3,143	5,502	10,206	2	2
Isle of Wight.....	28,731	47,428	64,542	1,167	2,218	5,044	1	1
Berkshire.....	111,526	128,590	145,260	5,582	4,996	8,107	3	3
	982,326	1,360,773	1,945,103	37,884	54,964	134,159	20	24
BOROUGHES A.								
Reigate.....	3,397	9,975	—	152	737	—	1	—
Midhurst.....	5,627	6,405	7,277	252	365	1,074	1	1
Shoreham.....	25,008	32,622	42,442	1,925	1,866	5,598	2	2
Horsham.....	5,105	6,747	9,552	257	372	1,263	1	1
Rye.....	7,360	8,202	8,409	422	383	1,366	1	1
Lymington.....	5,361	5,179	5,462	249	335	800	2	1
Christchurch.....	6,077	9,368	28,537	206	379	2,827	1	1
Andover.....	4,966	5,430	5,871	246	244	869	2	1
Petersfield.....	4,391	5,655	6,546	234	322	822	1	1
Wallingford.....	7,352	7,794	8,194	453	347	1,229	1	1
	74,644	97,377	122,290	4,396	5,350	15,848	13	10
BOROUGHES B.								
Guildford.....	5,286	8,020	11,593	342	716	1,454	2	1
Gravesend.....	—	—	31,355	—	—	3,486	—	1
Maidstone.....	15,790	23,058	29,662	1,108	1,689	3,899	2	2
Canterbury.....	16,112	21,324	21,701	1,511	1,758	3,238	2	2
Dover.....	15,645	25,325	28,486	1,651	2,207	4,326	2	2
Sandwich.....	12,183	13,750	15,566	916	1,074	2,207	2	2
Chatham.....	21,124	36,177	46,806	677	1,754	5,641	1	1
Hythe.....	8,911	21,367	28,066	469	1,117	3,080	1	1
Rochester.....	10,585	16,862	21,590	973	1,584	2,938	2	2
Hastings.....	10,097	22,910	47,735	574	1,513	4,282	2	2
Lewes.....	9,027	9,716	11,199	878	650	1,445	2	1
Brighton.....	41,994	87,317	128,407	1,649	5,476	12,657	2	2
Chichester.....	7,356	8,059	9,652	852	597	1,253	2	1
Southampton.....	19,324	46,960	60,235	1,403	4,124	7,419	2	2
Winchester.....	9,292	14,776	17,469	531	901	1,937	2	2
Newport.....	6,700	7,934	9,110	421	643	1,332	2	1
Portsmouth.....	50,389	94,799	127,953	1,295	4,302	17,912	2	2
Reading.....	15,595	25,045	42,050	1,001	1,647	5,312	2	2
Windsor.....	7,071	9,520	19,080	507	619	2,115	2	1
Abingdon.....	5,259	5,680	6,608	300	307	876	1	1
Arundel.....	2,803	2,498	—	351	185	—	1	—
	290,543	501,097	714,323	17,409	32,923	86,809	36	31

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*III. ENGLAND.—*The South Midland Division.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
Middlesex	192,546	368,424	393,948	6,939	14,312	33,173	2	?
Hertford	131,213	166,511	194,434	4,245	5,778	10,186	3	3
Buckingham	104,422	119,073	117,823	5,306	5,811	8,159	3	3
Oxford	118,516	125,379	122,054	4,721	6,047	7,642	3	
Northampton N.	74,189	91,294	108,954	3,363	3,980	5,996	2	2
S.	81,555	89,553	82,091	4,425	5,126	6,042	2	2
Huntingdon	47,779	57,996	50,926	2,647	3,008	3,927	2	2
Bedford	88,524	121,874	129,929	3,966	4,730	7,335	2	2
Cambridge	123,038	149,655	144,593	6,435	6,997	10,294	3	3
	961,782	1,289,759	1,344,752	42,047	55,789	92,754	22	22
BOROUGHS A.								
Aylesbury	23,434	27,090	28,899	1,654	1,297	4,440	2	2
Buckingham	7,418	7,626	6,859	300	366	1,135	2	1
Great Marlow	6,175	6,496	6,779	457	334	909	2	1
Woodstock	7,115	7,827	7,027	317	316	1,071	1	1
	44,142	49,039	49,564	2,728	2,313	7,555	7	5
BOROUGHS B.								
Hertford	5,860	6,769	8,556	700	539	1,101	2	1
St. Albans	5,771	—	—	657	—	—	2	—
Wycombe	6,299	8,373	13,154	298	478	1,907	2	1
Oxford (City)	20,649	27,560	40,862	2,312	2,980	6,242	2	2
Banbury	6,411	10,216	12,072	329	608	1,873	1	1
Northampton	15,351	32,813	57,553	2,497	2,690	8,185	2	2
Peterborough	6,511	11,735	22,394	773	586	3,550	2	2
Huntingdon	5,413	6,254	6,417	327	393	1,061	2	1
Bedford	6,959	13,413	19,532	1,572	1,042	2,601	2	2
Cambridge (Borough)	20,917	26,361	40,882	1,499	1,831	5,015	2	2
	100,141	148,494	221,422	10,964	11,147	31,535	19	14
UNIVERSITIES.								
Cambridge	—	—	—	2,319	5,095	6,250	2	2
London	—	—	—	—	—	2,090	—	1
Oxford	—	—	—	2,496	3,744	5,159	2	2
	—	—	—	4,815	8,839	13,499	4	5

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*
IV. ENGLAND.—*The Eastern Division.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
Essex..... N.E.	—	—	123,067	—	—	6,622	—	2
„ N.	146,747	162,441	—	5,163	5,223	—	2	—
„ S.	—	—	296,290	—	—	13,911	—	2
„ S.	145,401	207,270	—	—	—	—	—	—
„ N.W.	—	—	113,240	4,488	7,130	5,876	2	2
Suffolk E.	135,072	146,833	161,869	4,265	6,741	9,885	2	2
„ W.	113,673	126,634	121,818	3,326	4,325	5,621	2	2
Norfolk N.	—	—	116,714	—	—	6,495	—	2
„ E.	144,315	148,798	—	7,041	8,089	—	2	—
„ S.	—	—	113,091	—	—	7,454	—	2
„ W.	146,676	161,218	—	4,396	6,636	—	2	—
„ W.	—	—	108,702	—	—	6,807	—	2
	831,884	953,194	1,154,791	28,679	38,144	62,671	12	16
BOROUGHS A.								
Eye	7,015	7,088	6,293	253	322	1,020	1	1
Thetford	3,462	4,208	—	146	232	—	2	—
	10,477	11,246	6,293	399	554	1,020	3	1
BOROUGHS B.								
Maldon	4,895	6,261	7,128	716	912	1,485	2	1
Colchester	16,167	23,809	28,395	1,099	1,340	3,762	2	2
Harwich	4,297	5,070	7,810	214	388	801	2	1
Bury St. Edmunds....	11,436	13,318	16,211	620	694	2,231	2	2
Sudbury	5,500	—	—	509	—	—	2	—
Ipswich	20,201	37,950	50,762	1,219	1,996	7,535	2	2
Norwich	61,116	74,891	87,843	4,238	5,454	15,502	2	2
King's Lynn	13,370	16,170	18,475	836	887	2,849	2	2
Great Yarmouth	24,535	34,810	—	1,683	1,535	—	2	—
	161,517	212,279	216,624	11,134	13,206	34,165	18	12

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Pop., Registered Electors, and No. of Members, 1831-81.*—V. ENGLAND—*South-Western Division.*

COUNTIES.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1831.	1881.
Wilts N.	79,940	79,362	80,313	3,614	4,305	7,301	2	2
" S.	74,155	73,932	64,760	2,450	3,270	3,673	2	2
Dorset	114,716	135,695	137,294	5,632	6,221	7,478	3	3
Devon E.	—	—	165,372	—	—	10,780	—	2
" N.	151,997	150,178	—	7,453	8,716	—	2	—
" N.	—	—	122,460	—	—	9,487	—	2
" S.	192,606	220,209	98,331	5,348	9,628	8,329	2	2
Cornwall E.	114,948	136,998	125,546	4,462	5,791	9,471	2	2
" W.	137,220	169,614	140,958	3,353	4,619	6,952	2	2
Somerset E.	—	—	118,863	—	—	8,487	—	2
" E.	160,610	172,712	—	8,996	11,174	—	2	—
" M.	—	—	115,319	—	—	8,722	—	2
" W.	145,985	159,551	—	7,884	8,712	—	2	—
" W.	—	—	116,960	—	—	9,130	—	2
	1,172,177	1,298,251	1,286,176	49,192	62,436	89,810	19	23
BOROUGHS A.								
Malmesbury	6,136	6,881	6,866	291	350	1,057	1	1
Chippenham	5,270	6,075	6,776	304	390	1,015	2	1
Calne	4,795	5,179	5,272	191	175	862	1	1
Wilton	7,753	8,657	8,639	214	264	1,415	1	1
Cricklade	28,494	36,893	51,956	1,546	1,739	7,469	2	2
Marlborough	4,186	4,893	5,180	240	281	658	2	1
Westbury	7,324	6,495	6,014	185	285	1,101	1	1
Shaftesbury	8,969	8,983	8,479	634	484	1,372	1	1
Wareham	5,596	6,694	6,192	339	361	1,073	1	1
Ashburton	4,165	3,062	—	198	378	—	1	—
Tavistock	5,602	8,857	6,909	247	422	870	2	1
Tiverton	9,766	10,447	10,462	462	516	1,405	2	2
Liskeard	4,094	6,585	5,591	218	452	759	1	1
Bodmin	5,228	6,381	6,866	252	411	895	2	1
Helston	7,115	8,497	7,919	341	355	1,021	1	1
Launceston	5,414	5,140	5,675	243	431	852	1	1
St. Ives	7,115	10,353	8,705	584	524	1,012	1	1
	127,022	151,072	157,501	6,489	7,818	22,836	23	18
BOROUGHS B.								
Salisbury	11,672	12,278	15,659	576	669	1,962	2	2
Devizes	6,367	6,638	6,645	315	331	921	2	1
Dorchester	4,940	6,823	7,568	322	455	886	2	1
Bridport	6,684	7,719	6,790	426	461	1,070	2	1
Poole	8,216	9,759	12,303	412	546	1,949	2	1
Weymouth, &c.	8,439	11,383	13,704	475	875	1,694	2	2
Exeter	33,552	41,749	47,098	2,952	2,580	7,562	2	2
Plymouth	31,080	62,599	77,401	1,461	2,869	6,366	2	2
Barnstaple	9,272	10,743	12,494	720	738	1,785	2	2
Devonport	44,454	64,783	63,870	1,777	2,758	3,917	2	2
Truro	8,291	11,337	10,663	405	655	1,522	2	2
Penryn, &c.	11,881	14,485	17,561	875	842	2,307	2	2
Taunton	12,148	14,667	16,611	949	827	2,326	2	2
Bath	50,800	52,528	53,761	2,853	3,288	6,017	2	2
Frome	10,370	9,522	9,376	322	399	1,396	1	1
Bridgwater	7,279	11,320	—	484	610	—	2	—
Lyme Regis	3,345	3,215	—	212	245	—	1	—
Dartmouth	4,597	4,444	—	243	277	—	1	—
Honiton	3,509	3,301	—	511	272	—	2	—
Totnes	3,308	4,001	—	217	357	—	2	—
Wells	4,603	4,648	—	338	308	—	2	—
	284,807	367,942	371,504	16,845	20,357	41,680	39	25

TABLE A Contd.—Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.
VI. ENGLAND.—The West Midland Division.

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.		
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1831.	1881.	
COUNTIES.									
Gloucester	E.	87,566	108,804	88,631	6,437	7,514	8,599	2	2
"	W.	119,982	143,410	177,509	6,521	9,329	12,544	2	2
Hereford		94,327	102,321	95,083	5,013	7,233	9,004	3	3
Salop	N.	98,384	114,247	119,119	4,682	5,197	7,764	2	2
"	S.	64,094	69,346	68,420	2,791	3,964	5,760	2	2
Stafford	E.	—	—	138,824	—	—	11,125	—	2
"	N.	120,319	162,986	—	8,756	10,344	—	2	—
"	N.	—	—	132,634	—	—	11,276	—	2
"	S.	129,447	260,262	—	3,107	10,787	—	2	—
"	W.	—	—	85,740	—	—	11,829	—	2
Worcester	E.	83,151	129,690	208,348	3,122	7,042	12,343	2	2
"	W.	56,536	67,256	67,081	5,161	4,973	6,680	2	2
Warwick	N.	81,336	117,127	169,270	3,730	6,646	11,769	2	2
"	S.	71,651	90,938	99,470	2,550	3,469	6,586	2	2
		1,006,793	1,361,387	1,450,129	51,870	76,498	115,279	23	25
BOROUGHES A.									
Stroud		39,932	35,517	40,573	1,247	1,400	6,331	2	2
Leominster		5,249	5,658	6,042	779	360	901	2	1
Bridgnorth		6,517	7,699	7,216	746	662	1,208	2	1
Wenlock		17,435	21,590	20,143	691	1,011	3,462	2	2
Tamworth		7,182	10,192	14,098	586	463	2,260	2	2
Droitwich		5,949	7,086	9,858	243	380	1,445	1	1
Bewdley		7,939	7,084	8,677	337	365	1,261	1	1
		90,203	94,826	106,607	4,629	4,641	16,868	12	10
BOROUGHES B.									
Bristol		104,408	154,093	206,503	10,315	13,548	25,744	2	2
Gloucester		13,000	16,512	36,552	1,427	1,817	5,320	2	2
Cheltenham		22,942	39,693	46,844	919	2,576	5,134	1	1
Cirencester		5,420	6,336	8,431	604	489	1,157	2	1
Tewkesbury		5,780	5,876	5,100	386	383	757	2	1
Hereford		10,934	15,585	19,822	920	1,096	2,821	2	2
Shrewsbury		21,297	22,163	26,478	1,714	1,501	3,821	2	2
Ludlow		5,870	6,093	6,663	359	407	996	2	1
Stafford		7,583	12,532	19,901	1,176	1,520	3,344	2	2
Newcastle-u.-Lyme		8,192	12,938	17,506	973	977	3,152	2	2
Stoke-on-Trent		51,589	101,207	152,457	1,349	2,591	19,824	2	2
Lichfield		6,499	6,893	8,360	861	698	1,379	2	1
Wolverhampton		67,514	147,670	164,303	1,700	4,517	23,259	2	2
Walsall		14,420	37,760	59,415	597	1,250	9,538	1	1
Wednesbury		—	—	124,438	—	—	19,561	—	1
Dudley		23,430	44,975	87,407	670	1,051	14,947	1	1
Kidderminster		16,000	15,399	25,634	390	531	3,774	1	1
Worcester		25,659	31,227	40,421	2,366	2,731	6,393	2	2
Evesham		3,991	4,680	5,112	359	340	821	2	1
Birmingham		143,986	296,076	400,757	4,000	10,823	63,909	2	3
Coventry		27,298	41,647	47,366	3,285	5,206	8,263	2	2
Warwick		9,109	10,570	11,802	1,340	660	1,729	2	2
		594,921	1,029,865	1,521,272	35,710	54,662	225,643	38	35

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*VII. ENGLAND.—*The North Midland Division.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.		
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.	
COUNTIES.									
Leicester	N.	84,079	92,078	109,250	3,658	4,745	6,796	2	2
„	S.	72,285	77,278	89,417	4,125	6,081	9,127	2	2
Rutland		19,385	21,861	21,434	1,296	1,842	1,763	2	2
Lincoln	N.	—	—	122,472	—	—	11,061	—	2
„	M.	155,282	193,757	99,689	9,134	12,296	9,287	2	2
„	S.	118,315	146,602	121,332	7,956	9,217	11,250	2	2
Nottingham	N.	65,403	88,886	143,001	2,889	4,006	7,364	2	2
„	S.	59,267	71,443	73,302	3,170	3,480	5,040	2	2
Derby	N.	—	—	139,910	—	—	6,271	—	2
„	N.	102,236	159,044	—	5,541	5,072	—	2	—
„	E.	—	—	97,582	—	—	7,246	—	2
„	S.	111,307	137,192	—	4,370	8,021	—	2	—
„	S.	—	—	146,013	—	—	8,902	—	2
		787,559	988,141	1,163,402	42,139	54,760	84,107	18	22
BOROUGHES A.									
Retford		40,880	47,330	50,031	2,312	2,537	8,183	2	2
BOROUGHES B.									
Leicester		40,639	68,056	122,351	3,063	4,561	18,977	2	2
Stamford		7,062	8,047	8,995	851	525	1,321	2	1
Boston		12,798	17,893	18,867	869	1,056	3,043	2	2
Grantham		7,427	11,121	17,345	698	735	2,383	2	2
Lincoln		11,217	20,999	37,312	1,043	1,659	6,182	2	2
Grimsby ..		6,589	15,060	45,373	656	1,254	6,956	1	1
Nottingham		50,220	74,693	111,631	5,220	6,306	17,555	2	2
Newark		9,557	11,515	14,019	1,575	751	2,194	2	2
Derby		23,627	48,091	77,636	1,384	2,525	13,167	2	2
		169,136	270,475	453,529	15,359	19,372	71,778	17	16

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*

VIII. ENGLAND.—*The North-Western Division.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
Chester E.	—	—	104,953	—	—	7,177	—	2
” N.	123,584	182,347	—	5,105	6,174	—	2	—
” Mid.	—	—	135,365	—	—	9,433	—	2
” S.	119,432	160,481	—	5,130	6,804	—	2	—
” W.	—	—	161,104	—	—	12,270	—	2
Lancaster N.	259,444	374,489	273,417	6,593	12,765	17,621	2	2
” N.E.	—	—	238,544	—	—	12,964	—	2
” S.E.	—	—	534,963	—	—	26,841	—	2
” S.	363,405	627,656	—	10,639	23,140	—	2	—
” S.W.	—	—	482,148	—	—	27,181	—	2
	865,865	1,344,973	1,930,494	27,467	48,883	113,487	8	14
BOROUGH A.								
Clitheroe	9,890	10,864	14,463	306	491	1,958	1	1
BOROUGHS B.								
Stockport	41,000	54,681	59,544	1,012	1,529	8,158	2	2
Macclesfield	30,406	36,101	37,620	718	1,012	5,447	2	2
Chester	21,344	31,110	40,342	2,028	2,705	5,804	2	2
Birkenhead	(4,195)	51,649	83,324	—	3,464	9,107	1	1
Liverpool	201,751	443,938	552,425	11,283	16,476	63,221	2	3
Wigan	20,774	37,658	48,196	423	845	5,937	2	2
Warrington	18,184	26,947	45,257	456	778	6,222	1	1
Bolton	42,245	70,395	105,973	1,020	2,220	14,250	2	2
Bury	19,140	37,563	49,746	535	1,326	6,859	1	1
Salford	50,810	102,449	176,233	1,497	5,137	23,928	1	2
Manchester	187,022	357,979	393,676	6,726	21,880	58,712	2	3
Ashton-under-Lyne..	14,035	33,917	43,389	433	1,170	5,893	1	1
Oldham	50,513	94,344	152,511	1,131	2,386	21,383	2	2
Rochdale	19,041	38,184	68,865	687	1,448	10,788	1	1
Burnley	—	—	63,502	—	—	7,414	—	1
Blackburn	27,091	63,126	100,618	626	1,809	13,160	2	2
Preston	33,871	82,985	93,707	6,352	2,818	11,748	2	2
Stalybridge	—	—	39,671	—	—	5,685	—	1
Lancaster	14,066	16,005	—	1,109	1,359	—	1	—
	795,490	1,579,031	2,154,599	36,036	68,362	283,716	27	31

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*IX. ENGLAND.—*The Yorkshire Division.*

COUNTIES.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881
York, E. Riding.....	107,292	127,053	141,451	5,559	7,127	11,126	2	2
„ N. „	160,555	201,004	221,937	9,539	15,167	20,212	2	2
„ W. „	638,741	880,994	—	18,056	40,341	—	2	—
„ „ „ E.	—	—	303,713	—	—	22,194	—	2
„ „ „ N.	—	—	301,048	—	—	22,315	—	2
„ „ „ S.	—	—	497,568	—	—	26,750	—	2
	906,588	1,209,051	1,465,717	33,154	62,635	102,597	6	10
BOROUGHS A.								
Thirsk	4,672	5,350	6,306	254	441	976	1	1
Richmond	4,722	5,134	5,542	273	315	708	2	1
Malton	6,802	8,072	8,750	667	595	1,396	2	1
Beverley	8,263	10,686	—	1,011	1,224	—	2	—
Northallerton	4,839	4,755	5,445	232	396	918	1	1
	29,298	33,997	26,043	2,437	2,971	3,998	8	4
BOROUGHS B.								
Ripon	5,700	6,172	7,390	341	342	1,132	2	1
Knaresborough	5,936	5,402	5,000	278	265	758	2	1
Huddersfield	19,035	34,877	87,146	608	1,876	13,268	1	1
Halifax	21,552	37,014	73,653	531	1,570	12,055	2	2
Bradford.....	43,527	106,218	180,459	1,139	4,292	27,437	2	2
Leeds	123,393	207,165	309,126	4,171	7,616	49,414	2	3
Dewsbury	—	—	69,531	—	—	10,060	—	1
Wakefield	15,932	23,150	30,573	722	1,062	4,087	1	1
Pontefract	9,999	11,736	15,329	956	674	2,360	2	2
Sheffield	91,692	185,172	284,410	3,308	8,389	42,402	2	2
York	28,244	45,385	59,596	2,893	4,581	11,108	2	2
Hull.....	51,911	97,661	161,519	3,863	5,789	26,581	2	2
Scarborough	8,760	18,377	30,484	431	1,233	4,301	2	2
Whitby	10,399	12,051	14,554	422	667	2,145	1	1
Middlesborough.....	—	—	54,965	—	—	10,750	—	1
	436,080	790,380	1,383,715	19,663	38,356	217,858	23	24

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*
 X. ENGLAND.—*The Northern Division.*

COUNTIES.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
Durham N.	78,151	169,543	298,111	4,269	5,333	13,233	2	2
„ S.	75,862	170,412	181,304	4,336	6,989	11,603	2	2
Northumberland N.	60,356	65,892	67,960	2,322	3,088	4,469	2	2
„ S.	79,889	106,855	129,576	5,192	5,410	8,957	2	2
Cumberland ... E.	72,544	75,972	72,690	4,035	5,374	7,928	2	2
„ W.	56,115	73,988	115,168	3,848	4,716	7,640	2	2
Westmoreland	43,464	48,788	50,488	4,392	4,192	5,652	2	2
	466,381	711,540	915,297	28,394	35,102	59,482	14	14
BOROUGH A.								
Cockermouth	6,022	7,057	7,189	305	415	1,100	2	1
BOROUGH B.								
Darlington	—	—	33,426	—	—	5,214	—	1
Stockton	—	—	55,446	—	—	8,062	—	1
The Hartlepoons.....	—	—	46,998	—	—	7,017	—	1
Durham	10,135	14,088	15,372	806	1,153	2,390	2	2
Sunderland.....	40,735	85,797	124,960	1,378	2,837	15,297	2	2
South Shields	18,756	35,239	56,922	478	1,199	10,112	1	1
Gateshead	15,617	33,587	65,873	454	992	11,685	1	1
Newcastle-on-Tyne...	53,613	109,108	145,228	3,905	6,838	24,261	2	2
Tynemouth	23,206	34,021	43,863	760	1,117	5,731	1	1
Morpeth	6,766	13,794	33,402	321	440	5,749	1	1
Berwick	13,129	13,265	13,995	705	799	1,989	2	2
Carlisle	18,865	29,417	35,866	977	1,418	5,504	2	2
Whitehaven	15,716	18,842	19,717	458	638	2,582	1	1
Kendal	11,577	12,029	13,696	327	406	1,957	1	1
	228,115	399,187	704,764	10,566	17,837	107,550	16	19

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*
XI. *The Welsh Division.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
Monmouth	84,541	144,056	166,441	3,738	4,911	8,617	2	2
Glamorgan	65,457	143,305	234,115	3,680	6,501	12,889	2	2
Carmarthen	85,381	89,439	93,389	3,887	4,241	8,656	2	2
Pembroke	61,193	63,847	55,019	3,700	4,162	5,219	1	1
Cardigan	56,519	62,354	58,956	1,184	3,228	5,024	1	1
Brecon	40,967	53,531	48,800	1,668	2,503	4,184	1	1
Radnor	18,371	18,305	16,888	1,046	1,599	2,398	1	1
Montgomery	49,572	48,883	45,756	2,523	3,375	5,270	1	1
Flint	44,118	50,892	55,153	1,271	3,084	4,789	1	1
Denbigh	67,049	82,890	86,100	3,401	5,203	7,415	2	2
Merioneth	35,315	38,963	54,793	580	1,475	3,836	1	1
Carnarvon	50,530	72,787	90,500	1,688	2,167	6,976	1	1
Anglesea	37,638	41,334	36,722	1,187	2,425	3,241	1	1
	696,651	910,586	1,042,632	29,553	44,874	78,514	17	17
BOROUGHES A.								
Merthyr Tydvil	27,281	83,875	91,347	502	1,322	14,200	1	2
Flint	16,126	18,845	24,234	1,359	723	3,798	1	1
Radnor	6,400	7,106	6,700	529	350	947	1	1
	49,807	109,826	122,281	2,390	2,395	18,945	3	4
BOROUGHES B.								
Monmouth	13,585	30,577	44,933	899	1,666	5,116	1	1
Cardiff	8,240	35,541	82,573	687	1,911	8,831	1	1
Swansea	27,134	57,488	105,949	1,307	1,923	14,321	1	1
Carmarthen	14,340	21,439	30,529	684	853	5,752	1	1
Pembroke	11,150	21,773	25,309	1,208	1,545	3,361	1	1
Haverford West	8,359	9,821	9,176	723	671	1,555	1	1
Cardigan	10,003	11,646	14,517	1,030	658	2,074	1	1
Brecknock	5,296	5,639	6,623	242	315	879	1	1
Montgomery	17,272	18,036	20,042	723	933	3,089	1	1
Denbigh	15,616	17,888	22,831	1,131	863	3,084	1	1
Carnarvon	16,288	22,907	28,695	855	992	4,093	1	1
Beaumaris	10,687	13,275	14,242	329	525	2,559	1	1
	157,970	266,030	405,419	9,818	12,855	54,714	12	12

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*
SCOTLAND.

COUNTIES.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832.	1862.	1881.	1832.	1881.
Aberdeen { W. } { E. }	113,130	149,539	148,119	2,271	4,170	{ 4,721 } { 4,139 }	1	{ 1 } { 1 }
Argyll	93,507	83,859	63,479	995	1,962	3,426	1	1
Ayr { N. } { S. }	114,156	115,109	162,851	3,150	4,689	{ 3,711 } { 3,920 }	1	{ 1 } { 1 }
Banff	44,076	56,020	51,819	498	1,007	2,646	1	1
Berwick	32,973	36,488	34,415	1,053	1,227	1,869	1	1
Bute	14,151	16,331	17,489	279	500	1,364	1	1
Caithness	24,679	25,205	30,763	221	511	1,147	1	1
Clackmannan and } Kinross	23,801	{ 20,122 } { 8,731 }	32,342	879	{ 747 } { 457 }	2,105	1	1
Dumbarton	29,588	54,179	61,394	927	1,634	3,041	1	1
Dumfries	52,759	52,908	53,113	1,123	2,071	3,409	1	1
Edinburgh	45,454	60,555	86,748	1,298	1,569	3,870	1	1
Elgin and } Nairn	32,402	{ 17,447 } { 8,347 }	38,629	{ 536 } { 106 }	{ 701 } { 162 }	1,958	1	1
Fife	78,425	114,768	101,333	2,185	2,720	4,789	1	1
Forfar	53,944	66,788	67,479	1,241	2,099	3,634	1	1
Haddington.....	23,703	24,484	29,084	617	688	1,067	1	1
Inverness	80,473	64,522	72,787	669	909	1,894	1	1
Kincardine	30,294	34,854	33,350	763	1,019	1,866	1	1
Kirkcudbright	36,772	42,495	39,095	1,059	1,345	2,223	1	1
Lanark { N. } { S. }	85,873	245,580	372,172	2,705	5,202	{ 10,475 } { 3,707 }	1	{ 1 } { 1 }
Linlithgow	19,420	39,045	37,567	600	764	1,266	1	1
Orkney and..... } Shetland	55,183	{ 32,395 } { 31,670 }	57,492	272	{ 433 } { 232 }	1,727	1	1
Peebles and..... } Selkirk.....	{ 10,578 } { 6,833 }	{ 11,300 } { 10,410 }	20,862	{ 307 } { 281 }	{ 466 } { 514 }	1,217	1	1
Perth	121,390	107,948	99,647	3,180	3,754	6,005	1	1
Renfrew	66,367	79,242	127,223	1,347	2,316	6,185	1	1
Ross and Cromarty ..	65,604	82,427	72,486	516	{ 887 } { 43 }	1,739	1	1
Roxburgh	40,046	53,722	33,858	1,321	1,618	2,026	1	1
Stirling	51,315	15,831	83,106	1,787	1,924	3,399	1	1
Sutherland	25,014	24,157	22,806	84	191	325	1	1
Wigtown	28,177	31,710	28,735	845	1,113	1,700	1	1
	1,500,087	1,818,188	2,080,243	33,115	49,644	96,570	30	32

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*SCOTLAND—*Contd.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832.	1862.	1881.	1832.	1881.
BOROUGHES.								
Aberdeen	58,019	73,805	105,003	2,024	3,442	14,152	1	1
Ayr	20,272	34,578	41,731	631	1,203	4,267	1	1
Dumfries	23,701	22,996	25,583	967	971	2,999	1	1
Dundee	45,355	90,417	140,054	1,622	2,441	15,825	1	2
Edinburgh	136,294	168,121	228,190	6,048	8,347	28,644	2	2
Elgin	15,529	26,771	32,845	776	978	3,829	1	1
Falkirk	39,709	41,530	49,346	969	1,540	5,353	1	1
Glasgow	202,426	394,864	487,948	6,989	18,711	57,882	2	3
Greenock	27,571	42,098	63,899	985	1,524	7,373	1	1
Haddington	17,134	13,142	13,755	545	652	1,880	1	1
Hawick	—	—	34,708	—	—	4,909	—	1
Inverness	22,813	20,380	26,427	715	887	3,118	1	1
Kilmarnock	34,482	49,376	65,650	1,155	1,449	8,240	1	1
Kirkcaldy	11,780	23,476	31,831	507	778	4,518	1	1
Leith	37,597	45,417	72,851	1,624	2,139	10,377	1	1
Montrose.....	41,444	49,545	59,676	1,494	1,627	8,278	1	1
Paisley	31,460	47,406	55,642	1,242	1,370	4,979	1	1
Perth	20,016	25,250	28,948	780	966	4,059	1	1
St. Andrew.....	18,377	16,777	19,406	621	739	2,693	1	1
Stirling	30,992	30,777	36,793	956	1,224	4,904	1	1
Wick	20,827	16,995	17,456	366	657	1,830	1	1
Wigtown	9,209	10,885	10,139	316	506	1,420	1	1
	865,007	1,244,106	1,647,881	31,332	52,151	201,529	23	26
UNIVERSITIES.								
Edinburgh and St. Andrew's }	—	—	—	—	—	6,039	—	1
Glasgow and Aber- deen	—	—	—	—	—	6,080	—	1
	—	—	—	—	—	12,119	—	2

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*

IRELAND.

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832.	1862.	1881.	1832.	1881.
<i>Ulster.</i>								
COUNTIES.								
Antrim	263,467	283,063	218,123	3,487	9,910	11,570	2	2
Armagh	210,664	176,176	148,078	3,342	5,893	6,855	2	2
Cavan	227,933	153,906	129,008	2,248	6,319	5,898	2	2
Donegal	289,149	237,395	205,443	1,448	4,643	4,542	2	2
Down	334,163	285,646	233,422	3,130	11,470	12,718	2	2
Fermanagh	143,647	99,948	78,791	1,429	4,469	4,544	2	2
Londonderry	206,130	157,098	129,083	2,172	5,654	5,696	2	2
Monaghan	195,536	126,482	102,590	2,139	5,370	5,297	2	2
Tyrone.....	300,953	234,506	193,152	1,151	8,357	8,674	2	2
	2,171,642	1,754,220	1,437,690	20,546	62,085	65,794	18	18
BOROUGHS.								
Belfast.....	48,224	78,344	207,671	1,659	3,570	21,989	2	2
Lisburn	5,218	8,585	10,834	91	610	798	1	1
Carrickfergus	8,706	9,417	10,009	1,024	1,158	1,500	1	1
Armagh	9,470	9,320	8,797	444	428	652	1	1
Downpatrick	4,784	4,317	3,902	517	229	319	1	1
Newry	13,065	13,108	15,085	1,017	572	1,216	1	1
Enniskillen	6,116	5,820	5,842	212	279	414	1	1
Londonderry	10,130	20,875	28,947	611	875	2,078	1	1
Coleraine.....	5,752	6,286	6,684	207	271	443	1	1
Dungannon.....	3,515	3,994	4,081	154	200	279	1	1
	114,980	160,016	301,852	5,936	8,192	29,688	11	11
<i>Leinster.</i>								
COUNTIES.								
Carlow.....	72,874	49,716	40,640	1,246	2,520	2,127	2	2
Dublin.....	176,012	146,501	145,088	2,025	6,126	4,991	2	2
Kildare	108,424	90,946	76,102	1,122	3,092	2,746	2	2
Kilkenny.....	169,945	106,570	83,810	1,246	5,295	4,741	2	2
King's	144,225	89,072	71,867	1,310	3,449	3,211	2	2
Louth	97,403	63,727	60,790	863	2,461	2,070	2	2
Longford.....	112,558	71,694	86,301	1,294	2,861	2,595	2	2
Meath	176,826	109,495	51,272	1,520	4,327	3,838	2	2
Queen's	142,760	87,195	69,805	1,471	3,604	3,066	2	2
Westmeath	125,466	87,606	68,303	1,395	3,653	3,462	2	2
Wexford	167,029	125,381	105,196	2,907	6,629	5,823	2	2
Wicklow	121,557	86,479	73,679	1,566	3,498	3,279	2	2
	1,615,079	1,114,382	932,853	17,955	47,515	41,949	24	24
BOROUGHS.								
Carlow.....	9,114	8,973	7,036	278	274	295	1	1
Dublin.....	204,155	263,751	273,064	7,008	10,847	12,490	2	2
Kilkenny.....	23,741	17,713	14,964	562	578	663	1	1
Drogheda	17,365	17,436	14,662	560	587	721	1	1
Dundalk	10,078	10,428	12,294	318	293	546	1	1
Portarlington	3,091	2,874	2,426	137	108	142	1	1

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*IRELAND—*Contd.*

	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832.	1862.	1881.	1832.	1881.
BOROUGHS—<i>Contd.</i>								
Athlone	11,406	6,227	6,901	243	222	337	1	1
Wexford	10,673	11,673	12,055	269	326	488	1	1
New Ross	5,011	7,132	6,626	130	191	261	1	1
	294,634	346,207	350,028	9,505	13,426	15,943	10	10
UNIVERSITY.								
Dublin.....	—	—	—	2,073	1,780	3,742	2	2
<i>Connaught.</i>								
COUNTIES.								
Galway	381,564	246,317	222,756	3,061	5,572	4,807	2	2
Leitrim	141,524	104,744	89,795	1,318	2,417	2,294	2	2
Mayo	366,328	254,796	243,030	1,350	4,033	3,087	2	2
Roscommon	249,613	154,318	128,064	1,776	3,932	3,602	2	2
Sligo	156,613	112,280	110,955	695	3,139	3,192	2	2
	1,295,642	872,455	794,600	8,200	19,093	16,982	10	10
BOROUGHS.								
Galway	33,120	25,161	18,906	2,062	1,161	1,146	2	2
Sligo	15,152	12,565	—	418	375	—	1	—
	48,272	37,726	18,906	2,480	1,536	1,146	3	2
<i>Munster.</i>								
COUNTIES.								
Clare	251,211	156,804	134,908	2,518	5,633	5,413	2	2
Cork	669,394	419,668	373,202	2,835	16,407	14,945	2	2
Kerry	253,558	191,445	190,784	1,161	5,182	5,202	2	2
Limerick	248,801	162,801	128,957	2,565	6,274	5,797	2	2
Tipperary	380,476	232,507	188,537	2,369	9,388	9,067	2	2
Waterford	141,706	96,817	76,854	1,448	3,611	3,068	2	2
	1,945,146	1,260,042	1,093,242	13,896	46,495	43,492	12	12
BOROUGHS.								
Cork.....	107,016	102,526	97,526	4,322	3,169	4,813	2	2
Bandon	9,917	6,419	6,045	266	243	434	1	1
Kinsale	7,823	4,850	5,560	206	130	190	1	1
Youghal	9,608	6,514	6,040	297	136	266	1	1
Mallow	6,974	4,841	4,437	458	169	288	1	1
Ennis	7,111	7,175	6,302	237	184	254	1	1
Tralee	9,568	10,355	9,664	180	256	380	1	1
Limerick	66,554	56,802	48,246	2,868	1,888	1,906	2	2
Clonmel	15,116	11,143	10,519	521	341	416	1	1
Waterford	28,821	28,790	28,952	1,241	1,138	1,469	2	2
Dungarvan	6,527	8,645	7,377	677	267	304	1	1
Cashel	6,971	5,458	—	277	149	—	1	—
	282,006	253,518	230,668	11,550	8,070	10,720	15	14

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*

SUMMARY I.—*England and Wales.*

Registration Districts.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
COUNTIES.								
II. South-Eastern	982,326	1,360,773	1,945,103	37,884	54,964	134,159	20	24
III. South-Midland	961,782	1,289,759	1,344,752	42,047	55,789	92,754	22	22
IV. Eastern	831,884	953,194	1,154,791	28,679	38,144	62,671	12	16
V. South-Western	1,172,177	1,298,251	1,286,176	49,192	62,436	89,810	19	23
VI. West-Midland	1,006,793	1,361,387	1,450,129	51,870	76,498	115,279	23	25
VII. North-Midland	787,559	988,141	1,163,402	42,139	54,760	84,107	18	22
VIII. North-Western	865,865	1,344,973	1,930,494	27,467	48,883	113,487	8	14
IX. Yorkshire	906,588	1,209,051	1,465,717	33,154	62,635	102,597	6	10
X. Northern	466,381	711,540	915,297	28,394	35,102	59,482	14	14
XI. Welsh	696,651	910,586	1,042,632	29,553	44,874	78,514	17	17
Total	8,678,006	11,427,655	13,698,493	370,379	534,085	932,860	159	187
BOROUGHS A.								
II. South-Eastern	74,644	97,377	122,290	4,396	5,350	15,848	13	10
III. South-Midland	44,142	49,039	49,564	2,728	2,313	7,555	7	5
IV. Eastern	10,477	11,246	6,293	399	554	1,020	3	1
V. South-Western	127,022	151,072	157,501	6,489	7,818	22,836	23	18
VI. West-Midland	90,203	94,826	106,607	4,629	4,641	16,868	12	10
VII. North-Midland	40,880	47,330	50,031	2,312	2,537	8,183	2	2
VIII. North-Western	9,890	10,864	14,463	306	491	1,958	1	1
IX. Yorkshire	29,298	33,997	26,043	2,437	2,971	3,998	8	4
X. Northern	6,022	7,057	7,189	305	415	1,100	2	1
XI. Welsh	49,807	109,826	122,281	2,390	2,395	18,945	3	4
Total	482,385	612,634	662,262	26,391	29,485	98,311	74	56
BOROUGHS B.								
I. Metropolis	1,517,686	2,465,973	3,452,350	71,533	151,046	337,692	18	22
II. South-Eastern	290,543	501,097	714,323	17,409	32,923	86,809	36	31
III. South-Midland	100,141	143,494	221,422	10,964	11,147	31,535	19	14
IV. Eastern	161,517	212,279	216,624	11,134	13,206	34,165	18	12
V. South-Western	284,807	367,942	371,504	16,845	20,357	41,680	39	25
VI. West-Midland	594,921	1,029,865	1,521,272	35,710	54,662	225,643	38	35
VII. North-Midland	169,136	270,475	453,529	15,359	19,372	71,778	17	16
VIII. North-Western	795,490	1,579,031	2,154,599	36,036	68,362	283,716	27	31
IX. Yorkshire	436,080	790,380	1,383,715	19,603	38,356	217,858	23	24
X. Northern	228,115	399,187	704,764	10,566	17,837	107,550	16	19
XI. Welsh	157,970	266,030	405,419	9,818	12,855	54,714	12	12
Total	4,736,406	8,025,753	11,599,521	255,037	440,123	1,493,140	262	241
Universities	—	—	—	4,815	8,839	13,499	4	5
Grand total } England and } Wales	13,896,797	20,066,042	25,960,276	656,622	1,003,693	2,537,810	500	489

TABLE A *Contd.*—*Population, Registered Electors, and Number of Members, 1831-81.*
SUMMARY II.—*Scotland.*

Registration Districts.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1831.	1881.
Counties	1,500,087	1,818,188	2,080,243	33,115	49,644	96,570	30	32
Boroughs	865,007	1,244,106	1,647,881	31,332	52,151	201,529	23	26
Universities	—	—	—	—	—	12,119	—	2
Total	2,365,094	3,062,294	3,728,124	64,447	101,795	310,218	53	60

SUMMARY III.—*Ireland.*

Registration Districts.	Population.			Electors.			Number of Members.	
	1831.	1861.	1881.	1832-33.	1862-63.	1881.	1832.	1881.
<i>Counties—</i>								
Ulster	2,171,642	1,754,220	1,437,690	20,546	62,085	65,794	18	18
Leinster	1,615,079	1,114,382	932,853	17,955	47,515	41,949	24	24
Connaught	1,295,642	872,455	794,600	8,200	19,093	16,982	10	10
Munster	1,945,146	1,260,042	1,093,242	13,896	46,495	43,492	12	12
Total	7,027,509	5,001,099	4,258,385	60,597	175,188	168,217	64	64
<i>Boroughs—</i>								
Ulster	114,980	160,016	301,852	5,936	8,192	29,688	11	11
Leinster	294,634	346,207	350,028	9,505	13,426	15,943	10	10
Connaught	48,272	37,726	18,906	2,480	1,536	1,146	3	2
Munster	282,006	253,518	230,668	11,550	8,070	10,720	15	14
Total	739,892	797,467	901,454	29,471	31,224	57,497	39	37
<i>University—</i>								
Dublin.....	—	—	—	2,073	1,780	3,742	2	2
Grand total.....	7,767,401	5,798,566	5,159,839	92,141	208,192	229,456	105	103

TABLE A 1.—*Showing the Population in Counties and Boroughs respectively of the United Kingdom, 1831 and 1881.*

	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.
England and Wales	8,678,006	13,698,493	5,218,791	12,261,783	—	—	13,896,797	25,960,276
Scotland	1,500,087	2,080,243	865,007	1,647,881	—	—	2,365,094	3,728,124
Ireland	7,027,509	4,285,385	739,892	901,454	—	—	7,767,401	5,159,839
	17,205,602	20,037,121	6,823,690	14,811,118	—	—	24,029,292	34,848,239

TABLE A 2.—*Showing the Distribution of the Population of the United Kingdom in 1831 and 1881.*

	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.	1831.	1881.
England and Wales.....	36·12	39·31	21·72	35·18	—	—	57·84	74·49
Scotland	6·24	5·97	3·60	4·73	—	—	9·84	10·70
Ireland	29·24	12·22	3·08	2·59	—	—	32·32	14·81
	71·60	57·50	28·40	42·50	—	—	100·00	100·00

TABLE A 3.—*Showing the Number of Electors in the United Kingdom, 1832 and 1881.*

	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	1832-33.	1881.	1832-33.	1881.	1832-33.	1881.	1832-33.	1881.
England and } Wales	370,379	932,860	281,428	1,591,451	4,815	13,499	656,522	2,537,810
Scotland	33,115	96,570	31,332	201,529	—	12,119	64,447	310,218
Ireland	60,597	168,217	29,471	57,497	2,073	3,742	92,141	229,456
	464,091	1,197,647	342,231	1,850,477	6,888	29,360	813,110	3,077,484

TABLE A 4.—*Showing the Distribution of Electors in the United Kingdom in 1832 and 1881.*

	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.
England and Wales.....	45·56	30·32	34·60	51·70	0·58	0·44	80·74	82·46
Scotland	4·07	3·14	3·87	6·56	—	0·39	7·94	10·09
Ireland	7·45	5·46	3·61	1·87	0·26	0·12	11·32	7·45
	57·08	38·92	42·08	60·13	0·84	0·95	100·00	100·00

TABLE A 5.—*Showing the Distribution of Seats in the United Kingdom in 1832 and 1881.*

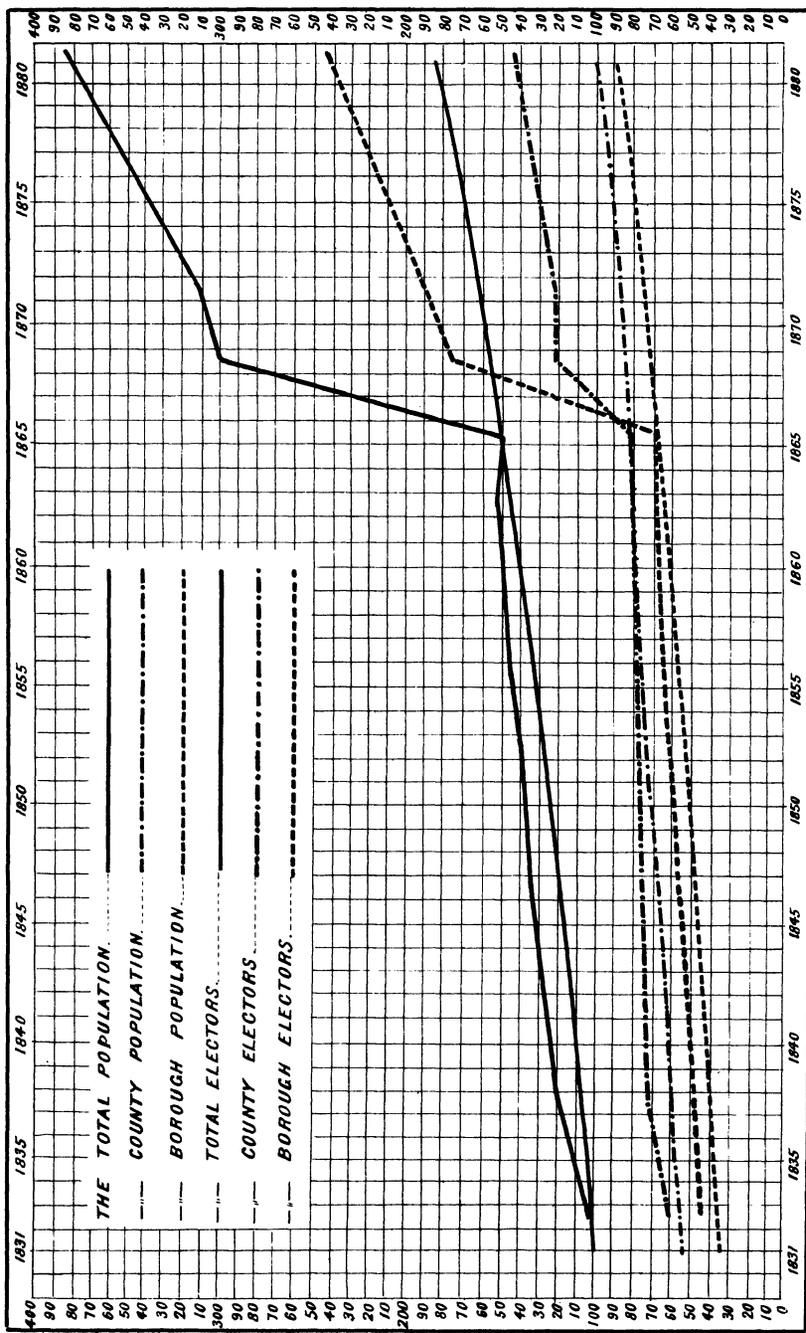
	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.		Total.	
	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.	1832.	1881.
England and Wales.....	159	187	337	297	4	5	500	489
Scotland	30	32	23	26	—	2	53	60
Ireland	64	64	39	37	2	2	105	103
	253	283	399	360	6	9	658	652

TABLE A.6.—Showing the Increase of Population, and Total Number of Electors on Registers in Counties and Boroughs (England and Wales), 1831-81.

Year.	Population. [000's omitted.]			Increase per Cent.			Year.	Total Electors on Register.			Increase per Cent.		
	Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.	Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.		Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.	Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.
1831.....	8,678,	5,218,	13,896,	62·5	37·5	100·0	1832-33....	370,879	281,428	651,807	56·8	43·2	100·0
'51*	10,488,	7,433,	17,921,	75·5	53·5	129·0	'37-38*	473,502	321,369	794,871	72·6	49·3	121·9
'61.....	11,427,	8,638,	20,065,	82·2	64·2	144·4	'46-47*	510,523	372,258	882,781	78·3	57·1	135·4
'71.....	12,059,	10,650,	22,709,	86·8	76·6	163·4	'52-53*	509,890	404,398	914,288	78·2	62·1	140·3
'81.....	13,698,	12,262,	25,960,	98·6	88·2	186·8	'62-63....	534,085	469,608	1,003,693	81·9	72·1	154·0
							'65-66....	542,521	458,368	1,000,889	83·2	70·3	153·5
							'68-69....	791,916	1,167,473	1,959,389	121·5	179·1	300·6
							'71-72....	804,294	1,250,019	2,054,313	123·4	191·8	315·2
							'81-82....	932,860	1,591,451	2,524,311	143·2	244·1	387·1

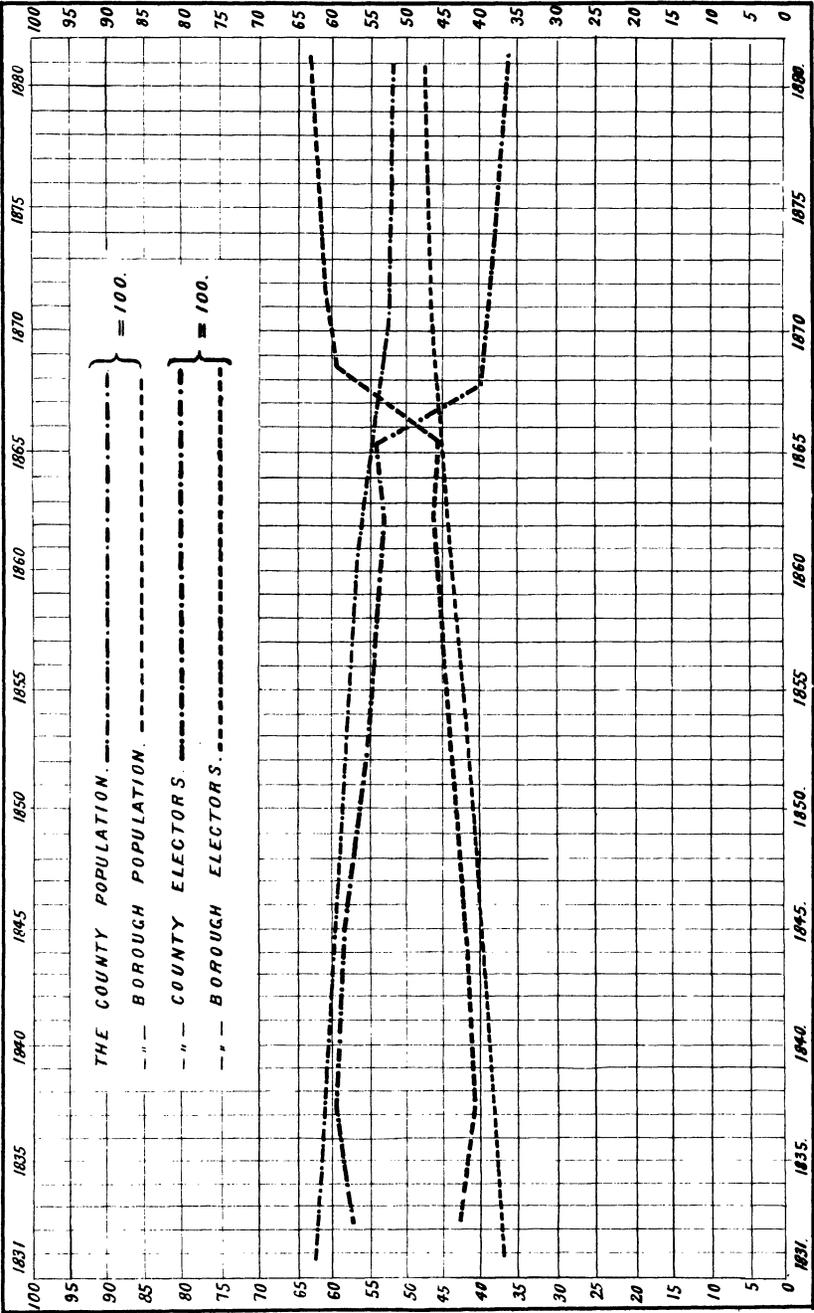
* From Mr. Newmarch's tables.

DIAGRAM (SEE TABLE A. 6) SHOWING THE INCREASE FROM 1831 TO 1881 OF



Harrison & Sons, Lith. G. Martins Lane, W.C.

DIAGRAM (SEE TABLE A. 7) SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE FROM 1831 TO 1881 OF



Harrison & Sons Lith. Co. Martins Lane, W.C.

TABLE A 7.—*Showing the Proportion per Cent. of County and Borough Population, and County and Borough Electors, 1831-81.*

Year.	Population.			Year.	Total Electors on Register.		
	Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.		Counties.	Boroughs.	Total.
1831.....	62·5	37·5	100	1832-33...	56·8	43·2	100
				'37-38*	59·6	40·4	100
'51*	58·5	41·5	100	'46-47*	57·9	42·1	100
'61.....	56·9	43·1	100	'52-53*	55·8	44·2	100
				'62-63....	53·2	46·8	100
'71.....	53·1	46·9	100	'65-66....	54·2	45·8	100
'81.....	52·8	47·2	100	'68-69....	40·4	59·6	100
				'71-72....	39·1	60·9	100
				'81-82....	36·9	63·1	100

* From Mr. Newmarch's tables.

APPENDIX B.

Memorandum of Authorities whence the Figures in the foregoing Tables are derived.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

1831-32 } '61-62 }	Counties and boroughs	<i>Population, number of electors, and number of Members.</i> Return to House of Commons, 283 of 1864 (See also Summary of 259 Electoral Returns (Blue Book), 1866.)
'81	" " "	"Parl. Reformer's Manual," John Noble. Published by the London and Counties Liberal Union, London, 1883.

SCOTLAND.

1831-32....	Counties and boroughs	<i>Population, number of electors, and number of Members.</i> Report of Select Com. on Election Expenses, 1834, p. 196.
'61	" " "	<i>Population.</i> Census Returns of 1861.
'62	Counties	<i>Number of electors.</i> Parl. paper, 252 of 1863.
'62	Boroughs	<i>Number of electors.</i> Dod's Parl. Companion, 1863. (No official return.)
'81	Counties and boroughs	<i>Population, number of electors, and number of Members.</i> "Parl. Reformer's Manual" (see above).

Memorandum of Authorities—Contd.

IRELAND.

1831-32....	Counties and boroughs	<i>Population, number of electors, and number of Members.</i> Report of Select Committee on Election Expenses, 1834, pp. 197 and 198.
'61	” ” ”	<i>Population.</i> Parl. paper, 236 of 1868.
'62	” ” ”	<i>Number of electors.</i> Parl. paper, 350 of 1864.
'81	” ” ”	<i>Population, number of electors, and number of Members.</i> “Parl. Reformer's Manual” (see above).

APPENDIX C.

Papers, &c., on Electoral Statistics, &c., in the “Journal of the Statistical Society.”

	Year.	Vol.	Pag.
1. Electors registered in the United Kingdom; number and percentage to population, 1834-36	1838	i	122
2. Newmarch, William. On the Electoral Statistics of the Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales during the twenty-five years from the Reform Act of 1832 to the present time	'57	xx	169 and 315
3. Newmarch, William. Electoral Statistics of England and Wales, 1856-58. Part 2. Results of further evidence	'59	xxii	101
4. Hare, Thomas. On the Application of a new Statistical Method to the ascertainment of the Votes of Majorities in a more exhaustive manner	'60	xxiii	337
5. Parliamentary Elections in England and Wales. (<i>Note</i>)	'66	xxix	160
6. Parliamentary Constituencies in 1832-68. (<i>Note</i>)	'68	xxx	346
7. Elections. Proportion of the Elective Classes in England. General Election, 1868 [from “Standard” and “Daily News”]	'69	xxxii	102
8. Martin, John B. The Elections of 1868 and 1874.....	'74	xxxvii	193
9. Droop, Henry R. On Methods of Electing Representatives	'81	xliv	141
10. Ellis, Arthur. The Parliamentary Representation of the Metropolitan, Agricultural, and Manufacturing Divisions of the United Kingdom, with suggestions for its re-distribution	'83	xlvi	59

APPENDIX D.

Table showing the Redistribution of Seats between 1832-81.

Year.	ENGLAND AND WALES.	Counties.		Boroughs.		Universities.	
		Gained.	Lost.	Gained.	Lost.	Gained.	Lost.
1844	Sudbury.....	—	—	—	2	—	—
'52	St. Albans	—	—	—	2	—	—
'62	Birkenhead	—	—	1	—	—	—
	Yorkshire, W. Riding (2), S. Lancashire (1)	3	—	—	—	—	—
'67	Totnes (2), Reigate (1), Great Yarmouth (2), Lancaster (2)	—	—	—	7	—	—
	Manchester (1), Liverpool (1), Birmingham (1), Leeds (1)	—	—	4	—	—	—
	Andover, Bodmin, Bridport, Bridgnorth, Bucking- ham, Chichester, Christchurch, Chippenham, Chipping Wycombe, Cirencester, Cockermouth, Devizes, Dorchester, Evesham, Guildford, Great Marlow, Harwich, Hertford, Honiton, Hunting- don, Knaresborough, Leominster, Lewes, Lich- field, Ludlow, Lymington, Malton, Marlborough; Newport, I.W.; Poole, Richmond, Ripon, Stam- ford, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Thetford, Wells, Windsor (1 each)	—	—	—	38	—	—
	Darlington (1), Burnley (1), Dewsbury (1), Hartlepool (1), Staleybridge (1), Merthyr Tydfil (1), Stockton (1), Wednesbury (1), Salford (1), Gravesend (1), Middlesborough (1)	—	—	11	—	—	—
	Hackney (2), Chelsea (2)	—	—	4	—	—	—
	E. Cheshire (2), E. Derbyshire (2), E. Devon- shire (2), W. Essex (2), W. Kent (2), N. Lan- cashire (2), S.E. Lancashire (1), Lincoln (2), Norfolk (2), Somersetshire (2), Staffordshire (2), E. Surrey (2); Yorkshire, W. Riding (2).....	25	—	—	—	—	—
	London University	—	—	—	—	1	—
'68	Beverley (2), Bridgwater (2).....	—	—	—	4	—	—
	Arundel, Ashburton, Dartmouth, Honiton, Lyme Regis, Thetford, Wells (1 each)	—	—	—	7	—	—
	Total England and Wales	28	—	20	60	1	—
	SCOTLAND.						
1868	Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (1), Edin- burgh and St. Andrew's Universities (1)	—	—	—	—	2	—
	Glasgow (1), Dundee (1), Hawick (1)	—	—	3	—	—	—
	Aberdeen (1), Ayr (1), Lanark (1)	3	—	—	—	—	—
	Selkirk and Peebles (consolidated)	—	1	—	—	—	—
		3	1	3	—	2	—
	IRELAND.						
1868	Cashel (1), Sligo (1)	—	—	—	2	—	—
	Grand total.....	31	1	23	62	3	—

DISCUSSION *on* Mr. J. B. MARTIN'S PAPER.

MR. DAVID CHADWICK, after congratulating Mr. Martin on his very able paper, said, as a statistical inquiry, he held that the redistribution of seats was worthy of their most attentive consideration. It was a very old subject with him, for twenty-four years ago he published a pamphlet, entitled "Suggestions for the Equitable Distribution of Parliamentary Seats." He did not quite agree with the last portion of Mr. Martin's paper, where he said, "Nor would any apparent symmetry of arrangement be free from drawbacks," if this was intended to disparage an equitable adjustment of representation. As members of the Statistical Society, they were perfectly aware that in the consideration of the relative claims of counties or boroughs, all parties based their suggestions upon statistical facts. They could not move a step without them. In his pamphlet he made an analysis of the alterations effected by the Reform Bill of 1832, and showed that the whole of those alterations were based upon statistical facts. The principle that he laid down was that the franchise, or right to vote, should be the same in boroughs and counties, and when that is done it will be possible to adjust on something like an equitable basis the various claims to send representatives to parliament. These claims rested mainly on population and property. Since writing that pamphlet he had had the advantage of being twelve years in parliament, and he had never heard any sound argument against it. He had recently revised and adapted his suggestions to the present increase in population and value of property. No standard could be applied to small and large boroughs alike, but they could apply a standard, and say that such a population and such a value of property shall jointly be the minimum right to one representative for all small boroughs alike, and they could agree that all counties and large towns and districts shall be entitled to equal representation on the same scale as compared with each other, and should be adjusted every ten or twenty years. He suggested the minimum claim to one member should be a population of 15,000, and property of the gross annual value of 50,000*l.* He worked that out in this way: he took the value of 10,000*l.* property as one parliamentary unit, and 1,000 population as one unit, so that 15,000 population gave fifteen units, and 50,000*l.* property, five units, and together, they got a parliamentary claim of twenty units, which was his standard for the return of *one* member. In the same way a population of 30,000 and an annual value of 100,000*l.* would give a claim of forty units, or two members. Then he took 100,000 population and 500,000*l.* annual value, or 150 units, as the claim for three members; 200,000 and 1,000,000*l.*, or 300 units, the claim to four members; 400,000 and 1,500,000*l.*, showing 550 units, to have five members; and 600,000 and 2,000,000*l.*, showing 800 units, to have six members. The result would be that where a district had a

population of 18,000, with an annual value of only 20,000*l.*, it would still give his parliamentary standard of twenty units to be entitled to one member; and on the other hand, in the case of a small borough, with a population of only 12,000, but property of the value of 80,000*l.*, they would still have twenty parliamentary units, and be entitled to one member. The actual result would be this: twenty-five small boroughs could be brought up to the parliamentary standard for one member by grouping adjoining town districts or parts of counties; twenty-five members could be appropriated for new boroughs of one member each, and to increasing the number of members in large towns, while thirty-one members could be added to the county representation. In Ireland there would be twenty adjustments required by the disqualification of twenty-two members for small boroughs, and he proposed that the whole of those should be added to the Irish counties. That would give an alteration or adjustment of 103 members, and would cause very little disturbance. He held that population and property combined formed the best and the only practicable standard for equitably adjusting parliamentary representation.

Mr. R. B. MARTIN, M.P., said the real interest of the paper lay in its bringing to their notice a question which was rapidly coming into very serious political importance, viz., whether the basis of votes of the different constituencies shall be local, *i.e.*, by cities and boroughs or counties, or whether they shall be based on equal electoral districts. Though he had some misgivings at even hinting at equal electoral districts, because it would be a totally new departure in English history, yet the difficulties that surrounded anything with a proportional representation except on a purely numerical basis, seemed to increase every moment. When he referred to a proportional representation, he meant not any of those elaborate schemes which had been put forward with a great deal of cleverness and ability, but simply that party politics rendered the weight of that floating population who had no certain politics, so much out of proportion to their real value, that the question had been forced upon the minds of a great many thoughtful men of both parties whether the time had not come either for the reduction of every constituency to portions, each returning one member, or by giving only one vote to each elector, or by some other scheme, it might not be possible to arrange for the adequate representation of the minority. He knew there were gentlemen like Mr. Bright who considered that this was a subject almost to be looked upon with scorn; but when they considered the operation of the present system in counties like Kent, where, out of 18 members, 16 were returned one way and two the other, an altogether anomalous result, considering the actual numbers of electors recording their votes, he thought that the time had come when figures like those which Mr. Martin had placed before them would be found of great value in enabling them to form an accurate idea of the line that the future Reform Bill ought to take. If, as Mr. Chadwick had said, property was at all to be represented, it seemed necessary that the various franchises, such as the 40*s.*

freehold, should be retained; but if, on the contrary, it was to be absolutely excluded, they at once came upon a different basis, and could lay their foundation upon figures such as those placed before them. He hoped the results would be pointed out that would accrue from all these ways of looking at it, whether they were to consider property to be entirely excluded, whether they were to consider it to have a certain weight, or whether it was to have every weight. The latter alternative was practically excluded, and it remained to be seen whether it was to have any weight, and if any weight, what proportionate weight?

Mr. WILLIAM FOWLER, M.P., said about a year ago he gave a lecture to his own constituents on this question, and then there arose the delicate question of how it would affect them, and they were very sensitive on that point. No members would be very anxious to vote for a Bill which was to extinguish their own boroughs, but at the same time they must be willing to adopt some scheme which should be fair all round, and, if necessary, to deprive themselves of some of the power which they now possessed. There were several very great questions involved. He thought that practically the question of property would have to be eliminated. He did not believe that parliament would consider property as a basis of representation; they would take the citizens, who had certain qualifications laid down by parliament, and which were in themselves no evidences of property of any consequence. The habitation of a house was not the evidence of property in their sense of the word; it was an evidence of sufficient means and sufficient position to judge whether any man was fit to represent the occupier in the House of Commons, and that was the conclusion parliament had come to. It laid down a certain qualification in order to get rid of unsuitable persons, but having got the suitable person, it did not ask any questions as to the aggregate amount of property. Then they came to the question of the franchise, whether it was to be residential or a property franchise as well. He was perfectly satisfied himself that parliament would insist on a residential franchise, and would get rid of faggot votes altogether. The main point was what was to be done with the little boroughs? A great many of them would have to go or to be absorbed. No doubt absorption was impracticable in a great many cases, for if they were to try and get electors out of some of the counties to furnish forth all the little boroughs in those counties, they would not find enough for the purpose, and in several cases when they had furnished forth all the boroughs, the poor county would be left with hardly any electors at all. Therefore the scheme, although in some cases it would work very well, in a good many others would be absolutely unworkable. Parliament would not be disposed to have a very symmetrical plan; a number of small boroughs would be absorbed, a number would be given to the counties, and new boroughs would be created from districts that were really towns, though they were not called so. For instance, West Ham, with its 128,000 people, was a town to all intents and purposes, but was now treated as part of a county. Croydon was another case in

point, and St. Helens, in Lancashire. There were 178 urban places, with about 3,700,000 people, which had no separate representation. Several of those he thought would be made into boroughs, and then the great anomalies now existing would be got rid of, and they would have a good working system which would last for a good many years to come. He did not think they would have a grand cut and dried new plan which was to last for ever; he did not believe in it, and was not anxious for it. His own personal feeling was that it was a good thing to have a great variety of constituencies, because there was no other reasonable way in which they could get a variety of interests represented. The object of representation should be that all sorts and conditions of men should be properly represented in parliament, and he knew no other way of doing it but by having a real variety of constituencies. They had been a good deal exercised of late by what was called proportional representation and minority representation. There might be some scheme which he had not seen, but as at present advised he did not like any of the plans proposed. He did not like the three-cornered constituencies for this reason, that he considered that the minority in Cambridge was just as important as far as it went as the minority in Leeds. If the minority principle was correct, it should apply in every borough, so far as he could understand. He was told that the three-cornered boroughs had done great things for them since 1867. He was anxious to be convinced if it was so, but as at present advised he did not like them. Then there was the cumulative vote. He had seen something of that in school board elections, and liked it still less than the other. It was a very nice piece of machinery for giving small cliques of people immense power, but it would not answer in parliamentary representation. If they were to seek for a more uniform system they must have something like a division, so that there should not be more than two members for any place, and they should not have the possibility of having seven members sent for a great borough all of one complexion. They had tried this kind of division in the metropolis, and it worked fairly well. A scheme of that kind would be more practical in its working than anything else that he had seen. He wished it, however, to be understood fully that his mind was in a state of hesitation at the present moment, and he was desirous of every kind of light that he could find on this great and difficult question.

Mr. H. D. POCHIN said he should have been very glad if Mr. Martin had given them the principles on which he thought representations ought to be founded. Mr. Fowler had dwelt very much upon what parliament could and would do, but that was hardly within the province of the Statistical Society; they had to tell parliament, what on the basis of correct principles, it ought to do, and then parliament should find out how far it could carry out those principles. The question of population and the distribution of population were not alone to be considered, property was a very important element, and one which he hoped would be taken into account by the House of Commons. There were also

some statistics lately given to the country by Professor Leone Levi which ought to be taken into account, for if they were to get a representation that would give them the best men in the House of Commons, and the best government by those best men, he was satisfied that they must take into account not only population and property, but also education and morality. The last three elements contributed far more to the high standing and prosperity of the nation than the mere numbers of the population. He was sorry to find that Mr. Martin thought that mere numbers should settle the question of the future distribution of the suffrage, for that was not by any means the only element to be taken into account in a country such as theirs, if they were to have a government of the best character, and one best suited to the conditions and circumstances of the people.

Mr. GEORGE HOWELL thought the very element in the paper to which Mr. Pochin objected was the very best that it contained, viz., where Mr. Martin had indicated that population should be the basis of any redistribution of seats. Going back a little anterior to the Reform Bill, they found a time when property had rather more than its full share of representative power, there being an instance in which eleven electors sent twelve members to the House of Commons; they did not want to see that time occur again, and they would agree that under that régime they had not any very brilliant legislation. Another thing that seemed to be altogether forgotten by those who advocated some system of property representation was that practically population and wealth went together, and if they adjusted the representation of the country upon the lines of the population, they practically adjusted it upon the lines of wealth also. He thought therefore that they would be perfectly safe in having a distribution of seats based upon population. He objected to the plan of cutting up large towns such as Manchester, Liverpool, or Leeds, into wards, each sending one member, and would prefer to see each of those great centres having its proportion of representatives, allowing every elector to vote for one of those members, but not for the entire six or seven as the case might be. He was also in favour of getting rid of different qualifications of electors; if they had one uniform qualification it would not be very difficult to redistribute the seats, so that each vote would have approximately its proportionate value throughout the entire country.

Mr. H. C. BURDETT said any one who came to consider or to draw comparisons from the electorate as it at present stood, must bear in mind that it did not represent actually what it purported to do in figures, and that was on account of the enormous number of duplicates. Another point to be borne in mind was the difference between the day and night populations in large towns, and so important was this factor becoming, that it was really a question as to what would be the result politically of the next election in Birmingham owing to the fact that its population was retreating to the suburbs. It would therefore be found that in making a

change and redistribution they were dealing largely with unknown quantities, and nobody would be able to tell exactly what result was likely to occur. He believed that the question of the representation of minorities would be at once solved if they were to decide that every elector should be entitled to one vote and one vote only.

Mr. H. T. W. ELLIOTT said Mr. Martin had carefully refrained from giving any precise estimate of the number of voters who would be added to the constituencies in the event of the assimilation of the county and borough franchise. He mentioned that possibly the county electorate would be raised 1,800,000, but proceeded to explain that this number might require to be considerably qualified. It was very easy to see that any scheme for the redistribution of seats would involve the transfer of a very considerable number of members from the present borough constituencies to the counties. Assuming that 1,000,000 voters were added to the county constituencies, it would appear that whilst 5,140 electors in the present borough constituencies return one member, it would, under the new *régime*, require 7,765 electors to return a county member; so that the voters in boroughs would possess one and a-half times the weight in the reformed parliament of the new county voters. If they added 2,000,000 to the county constituencies the value of a county vote would be about half the value of a vote in a borough in the event of the addition of 2,000,000 voters to the present county electorate. The result would be that instead of there being 360 members representing boroughs and 283 members representing counties, the counties ought to return 407 members and the boroughs 236; and if they only added 1,000,000 the county members would be 349 and the borough 294. These figures seemed to show that it was possible that great changes might come over the character of their representation, and pointed to the absolute necessity of considering the effect that any assimilation of borough and county suffrages would have upon the redistribution of seats.

Mr. S. BOURNE said he differed from the statement that population and wealth generally speaking go together; that was not a very accurate statement of the case. He also differed from the idea that it was the business of the Statistical Society to tell parliament what it ought to do in this matter, because this was a question which must be regulated by considerations entirely outside those which entered into the scope of their usual discussions. He rather thought that property and education might be said to go together to a very great extent, meaning, not such an education as a board school might give, but that education which leisure for thought and study afforded to qualify a man for exercising his judgment maturely upon the subject of choosing a representative. Property ought not to be left out of consideration, because they must remember that one of the functions of the legislature was to raise a revenue, and it was not fair that those who had to pay a very small proportion comparatively towards the revenue should

have an equal voice with those who were its largest contributors. He agreed that the extension of the franchise and redistribution must be considered together. He thought they might distribute the seats ranging over a considerably large area in proportion to the income of the district, because it was out of the income that the revenue was raised. They might then very safely within those areas give an equality of voting simply according to the population. In that way they would get both property and numbers represented in something like a fair proportion, and some such system as that might possibly solve the difficulty. He was glad to hear Mr. Fowler state his approval of a variety of qualifications, because he (Mr. Bourne) believed that a variety of qualifications was a very desirable element. He really could not see why, because the system of giving votes according to the existence of property had been abused in the creation of faggot votes, they should altogether abolish such voting because the owner did not happen to reside within the electoral district in which his property was situated. He joined in thanking Mr. Martin for the good service he had done in bringing these figures together. They would be none the less valuable if some time elapsed before legislation took place. This measure was one which the exigencies of party politics had brought to the front, but it might well be retarded until other more important and pressing business had been transacted.

Mr. F. HENDRIKS asked whether the gentlemen who talked of property qualification had considered the effects of restricting it wholly to real property? He thought that was a very fallacious test of the ways and means of a country like England. There were a host of interests, shipping, manufacturing, mining, and so on that were not so immediately represented in Schedule A of the income tax or in the poor law ratings; and consequently he saw a very great difficulty in any schemes of qualification for the franchise that were based upon one kind of property, to the exclusion of other kinds of earnings from personal property, whether permanent or temporary.

Mr. S. BOURNE said he referred to the distribution of the district according to the income of the voters, because it was the income out of which the revenue was raised.

The PRESIDENT in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Martin for his very able and interesting paper, said a subject like this was very suitable for discussion in their Society, not from the point of view of political parties, but from the point of view of information to both sides. By looking at the figures and looking at the effects of what had been done in the past, they might furnish a great deal of information upon which public men might act. Looking at the matter from this point of view, there was one thing which appeared to be brought out by the paper, and which all parties must admit, whatever might be their theories as to what the basis of representation ought to be, viz., that what had made the difficulty as regards representation in this country and many others for the

last fifty years was this, that whatever might be the representation fixed upon at a particular time to give certain members to certain constituencies at a given date, they found after a comparatively short lapse of time that the arrangement no longer secured a representation of the country as it formerly did. This was conspicuously the case at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832. By the year 1866 they also found that the constituencies established in 1832 no longer represented the country as they had done at that time ; the fact was that in a growing country like England, growing in population and wealth, they must from time to time, if they were to have representation at all, adjust that representation to the places where the population and the wealth happened to exist. That was the real interest of the paper, the proof as shown by Mr. Martin that at certain periods the population and wealth of the country had been transferred to districts which were not represented, as they would have been with the same proportion of population and wealth at the time when the previous Reform Bill was settled. If they understood this they would quite see that both Conservatives and Liberals might agree that there ought to be Reform Bills from time to time, because whatever they fixed at a particular date, they found ten or twenty years after that circumstances had changed, and they must adapt the constitution to the new circumstances. That was a principle upon which all parties might be agreed, and in stating the facts and applying them a Society like theirs would be of great service, without their intermeddling in any way in the strife of parties. Speaking from the statistical point of view, one peculiarity which they ought to bring to the notice of their public men was this, that in fixing the representation at a particular date, they ought to have regard to the drift of the facts ; they should not merely adjust the representation to the facts as they stood at the time of the last census, which might have been two or three years before the time of the Reform Bill, but they should endeavour to adjust the representation in some respects to the proportions of population and wealth as they were likely to be in a few years after that. If they found that a place like London was growing rapidly in population and wealth, and they made population and wealth the basis of representation, they ought to take into account the fact that in the next ten years such a place was going to have a much larger amount of population and wealth than it had. That was a point which had been altogether overlooked in the last Reform Bill ; things were then adjusted to the state of facts at a certain time, and then they found perhaps in ten years that the representation no longer adjusted itself to the country as it had been intended. What they ought to take into account therefore was the probable amount and proportion in the immediate future, not in the past, of those things with reference to which they meant to adjust the representation, and if they were to do this, the adjustment would be something very different from what it would be if they were to make it relate to a past state of circumstances alone. He had very much pleasure in moving the vote of thanks to Mr. Martin for his very able paper.

Mr. JOHN B. MARTIN, in responding, thanked the Society very sincerely for the kind way in which they had received his paper. He could honestly say he had taken a great deal of trouble with it, and he could say with equal honesty that in no paper which he had prepared for that or any other Society, had the results been to his own mind so inadequate to the labour which he had bestowed on it. He had laboured under two difficulties: first, the difficulty of bringing everything up to the latest possible date; and secondly, the knowledge that the Government were at the earliest possible moment of the present session about to introduce a Reform Bill, the exact provisions of which were as yet unknown. But for the events in the Soudan and elsewhere, he should possibly have had the wind taken out of his sails by the introduction of the Government measure previous to the reading of his paper, and it would have been excessively disappointing if he had laid down any principle as to what parliament ought to do if the Government had a fortnight beforehand stated what they were going to do. That was the reply he would make to Mr. Pochin when he regretted that he (Mr. Martin) had not laid down the principle on which he should advocate the redistribution of electoral power. Mr. Chadwick had asked why he made no allusion to property. He perhaps ought to have stated in the paper that he thought that subject had been sufficiently ventilated elsewhere. It was most fully elaborated before that Society by Mr. Arthur Ellis in the early part of last session, when he strongly insisted on the anomalous manner in which representation was at present distributed if they took the proportionate distributions of wealth, and showed that the apparent wealth of a district was by no means its real wealth. They all knew the apparently gigantic wealth shown in large centres such as London, owing to the payment of income tax or foreign loans, and so forth, so that the real wealth of London was not of that overwhelming nature in proportion to the whole as it appeared to be by the income tax returns. Mr. Elliott had stated that his figures showed an apparent increase of two million county electors. That was a slight misapprehension of his calculations. He calculated that on a bare rule of three the county electors would be raised from 932,000 to 1,836,000, so that they would be apparently doubled, less various modifications that he suggested, but there would not be the increase that was suggested by Mr. Elliott. He had now only to thank the meeting for the kind way in which they had received his paper.
