

THE PARLIAMENTARY  
REFORMERS' MANUAL.

*A revised edition of "Representation, Population, and  
Taxation," based upon the Census of 1881, and the  
latest Parliamentary Returns.*

BY

JOHN NOBLE.

*Author of "National Finance," "Fiscal Legislation," "Local  
Taxation," "Fifty-three Years' Taxation and Expenditure,"  
&c., &c., &c.*

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The RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., wrote the Author in April, 1875, as follows:—"I wish to thank you for the public service you are rendering by your books on these questions."

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.

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SIR,

I avail myself of your kind permission to associate your name with the following pages, in the belief that there is no living statesman to whom a work dealing with the anomalies and defects of our representative system can be so appropriately dedicated.

Your eminent services to the cause of Parliamentary Reform have long been acknowledged with gratitude by your political friends, and are admitted by your political opponents. In 1849 you spoke and voted in the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Hume's motion for extending the franchise to all householders. According to a high Conservative authority, the late Mr. R. Dudley Baxter, the revival of public interest in the question which led to the introduction of measures by successive Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, was largely owing to the fact that "the great voice of Mr. Bright wandered up and down the country crying for Household Suffrage." Your voice is, happily, still heard pleading earnestly for the full enfranchisement of all householders.

It is, however, with the distribution of political power that the following pages especially deal, and this, as you have declared, is the very soul of the question. Speaking at Birmingham, in October, 1858, you said, "We want to substitute a real and honest representation of the people for that fraudulent thing which we call a representation



now." Facts show that our representation is far more fraudulent now than it was then, not by intention or design, but by reason of important changes in the distribution of the population.

In view of the controversies which are certain to arise when the distribution of political power becomes the subject of legislation, the advice you gave in 1858 becomes important. It is contained in these words, "Whenever a Reform Bill is brought into the House of Commons by any Government, be as watchful and exacting as you like on the subject of the franchise, but never, I beg, take your eye for one moment from the question of the distribution of the Members, for in it lies the great subject of dispute, and unless you guard your rights you will have to fight your battle over again, and to begin it the very day after the next Bill has passed."

In the hope that you will soon witness the fruit of your labours in the enactment of a satisfactory measure of Parliamentary Reform, and that your life and health may be long spared to take part in the deliberations of a House of Commons in which the whole nation will be fairly represented,

I am, Sir,

Your obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN NOBLE.

18, WALBROOK, LONDON, E.C.,

*June 30th, 1883.*



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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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A SUMMARY of the following work was read at the Electoral Reform Conference, held in London, in November last, when a general desire was expressed for its publication. The tables of population have been since revised, as far as regards Great Britain, by the final Census Report issued during the present session of Parliament. In the case of Ireland this was not possible, the final report not being yet issued. For all practical purposes, however, the preliminary figures are substantially accurate.

The recent motion of Sir Charles Dilke was resisted mainly upon two grounds: first, that there is no pressing necessity for a redistribution of Electoral Power; secondly, that there is no strong public feeling in its favour.

The author believes that he has, in the following pages, collected an abundance of facts amply demonstrating the necessity of redistribution, and it cannot be doubted that, when these facts are widely known and thoroughly understood, the great centres of population will claim to exercise their legitimate influence in the House of Commons.

LONDON, *May*, 1873.



## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE question of the Parliamentary franchise and redistribution of seats has reached the category of "practical politics" since this work was first published. It has been out of print for some years, and the author has complied with the request of many earnest advocates of Electoral Reform by preparing a new edition, completely revised in accordance with the last Census. The figures showing the population, number of electors, number of members, area in square miles, and amount of property and profits charged to income-tax, are taken from a Parliamentary return, moved for by Mr. Rylands, and issued in April, 1882; for other figures the authorities are given. The present edition contains much additional information, including a classification of the counties and boroughs according to population, with figures showing the increase or decrease in the case of every constituency; a list of unrepresented towns; and a summary of facts relating to the migration of population within the United Kingdom. It has been the aim of the author to set forth the facts of our representative system, clearly, fully, and with impartiality, so that his work may be found to fulfil the promise of its name, and prove itself to be a valuable PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS' MANUAL in the controversies that must shortly arise respecting the great question with which it deals.

18, WALBROOK, LONDON, E.C.

*June, 1883.*







THE  
PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS' MANUAL.

“The question of distribution is the very soul of the question of reform.”—*The Right Hon. John Bright at Bradford, January, 17th, 1859.*

IT appears to have been the invariable aim of Tory or Conservative Policy, in dealing with the question of Parliamentary Reform, to make the House of Commons non-representative of the people. It may represent classes, sections, interests, if in due subordination to the one great interest which has long predominated in both Houses of the Legislature, the landed interest, but not the people. The *beau ideal* of a House of Commons, according to the Tory view, is a miniature House of Lords, and in order to perpetuate this ideal, an effective redistribution of seats, so as to bring representation into harmony with the existing distribution of population was omitted from the Reform Act of 1867, although in the previous year the absence of such a scheme was made the pretext for rejecting Mr. Gladstone's Bill for extending the Franchise, not, as the speeches then delivered show, with any desire to secure an effective measure of redistribution, but from an apprehension that a Parliament, elected under a popular franchise, would deal with the question in a manner that would be unsatisfactory to the upholders of minority government. In 1868, however, the principle upon which this omission was defended,—that no constituency, however small and insignificant, should be disfranchised—was abandoned in order to provide, in some degree, for the pressing demands of Scotland. That which was not granted, for the sake of justice, to the more populous districts of England, was conceded to the united and energetic action of the Scotch representatives, for the sake of peace and quietness. They were successful on precisely the same grounds as the importunate widow in the parable of the unjust Judge. The necessity for a complete redistribution of seats is greater now than it was then, for there can be little question that the inability of the House of Commons to deal with the political problems of



the day, arises from the fact that small and decaying constituencies have an undue preponderance of power.

The late Lord Beaconsfield claimed credit for the Conservative Government, in a speech delivered at Manchester on the 3rd of April, 1872, for having dealt with Reform "in a manner which was conclusive, because it placed the franchise on a distinct principle and basis." Both statements are inaccurate. The franchise is not placed upon any distinct principle or basis, excepting in the boroughs. The principle to which Lord Beaconsfield referred, that of Household Suffrage, was ignored in the case of the counties; for the agricultural labourer there is no representation, nor for the artisan, unless he resides in a Parliamentary borough. Neither can a Reform Act be deemed "conclusive" which neutralises the influence of great centres of industry and intelligence by a host of insignificant Parliamentary boroughs, consisting mainly of small and decaying towns, thus perpetuating the domination of a minority of the electoral body, and violating the sound principle of Government by the majority. Whether we regard the Reform Act of 1867 in relation to the franchise, or to the distribution of members in proportion to population, taxation, and intelligence, it will be found to be equally defective.

The present distribution of political power is confessedly an anomaly, defended by its upholders on the ground that "it works well." It was condemned by Lord Beaconsfield, who complained, in his Speech on the Redistribution of Seats Bill, 1866\*, that 11,500,000 of the population of England and Wales were represented by 162 county members, while 9,500,000 of people living in boroughs were represented by 334 members. This alleged inequality was, in his opinion, redressed by the fact that 84 members represented the landed interest by means of its influence in the smaller boroughs, the result being, according to his estimate, 246 members representing county interests, against 250 representing the boroughs. It is evident that, in this calculation, it was assumed that landowners are the appropriate representatives of tenant farmers and agricultural labourers, thus reviving the old idea of virtual representation. In the smaller boroughs referred to it is the landlords who have influence; and in the counties the farmers had not then that great security

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\* "Speeches on Parliamentary Reform." Longman and Co., p. 455.



of political independence, the ballot. If the extension of the franchise to the labourers would make no change in county representation, it is difficult to understand on what ground it can be resisted by the Conservative party. It may, however, be reasonably assumed that the members elected by the wage-receiving voters of the borough constituencies are far more representative of the same class in the agricultural districts than the relatives of peers and the country squires who have hitherto formed the vast majority of county representatives. If agricultural labourers are to be enumerated for the purpose of adjusting representation, let them have votes. If they are not to have votes, let us hear no more complaints of the deficiency of county representation, based upon returns of the population, and, therefore, including men who have no more voice in the election of representatives than if they were sheep or cattle upon the estates of the great landed proprietors.

*Do Existing Arrangements secure fair Representation?*

Not less important than the question of adjusting representation to population is that of ascertaining with accuracy the opinion of the electoral body. The arrangement of representation, even in populous districts, may be so contrived as to misrepresent the opinions of the majority of the electors. The late Mr. R. Dudley Baxter, the Conservative statistician, in a pamphlet on the results of the general election of 1868, entered into elaborate calculations in order to show the progress of Conservative opinion among the population; by way of testing at once the accuracy of his calculations, and showing the importance of securing a more complete reflex of the electoral body, the county of Lancaster may be taken as an illustration. He estimated the Conservative population of Lancashire, at 1,752,700, and the Liberal population at 665,600, basing his calculations upon the fact that, in 1868, Lancashire returned 22 Conservatives and 11 Liberals, the proportion in the previous Parliament having been 13 Conservatives and 14 Liberals. The aggregate voting, however, shows that the representation of 1865 was a more accurate representation of the opinion of Lancashire in 1868. Mr. Baxter condemned the method of estimating the strength of parties frequently adopted, viz., that of adding together all the votes given on each side, preferring, as more accurate, to take the votes given to the candidates on each side who stand first on the



poll. This plan, however, may be equally fallacious. There are not unfrequently special reasons, irrespective of party considerations, which influence voters in favour of particular candidates, and secure for those who, on each side, head the poll a considerable number of votes in excess of the real strength of the party. Where two members are returned, a candidate locally popular frequently receives a considerable number of votes from electors of opposite politics. A more accurate test is to be found by taking the second candidates. The following table, compiled from the Official Returns, gives both; in Manchester, where there were four Liberal candidates and two Conservatives, the votes given to the third Liberal have been added; in North-West Lancashire there was only one Liberal candidate, and his poll necessarily appears in both columns in order to obtain an accurate comparison; the constituencies returning one member also appear in both columns.

DISTRICT.	CONSERVATIVES.		LIBERALS.	
	First.	Second.	First.	Second.
Lancashire—North-East .. ..	3,612	3,594	3,463	3,441
North .. ..	6,832	6,681	5,296	5,296
South-East .. ..	8,290	8,012	7,024	6,953
South-West .. ..	7,729	7,676	7,415	6,939
Ashton* .. ..	2,318	2,318	2,109	2,109
Blackburn .. ..	4,907	4,829	4,399	4,164
Bolton .. ..	6,062	5,848	5,451	5,436
Burnley* .. ..	2,238	2,238	2,620	2,620
Bury* .. ..	2,264	2,264	2,830	2,830
Clitheroe* .. ..	760	760	693	693
Liverpool .. ..	16,766	16,222	15,337	15,017
Manchester .. ..	15,486	12,684	14,192	13,514
Do. (third Liberal) .. ..	..	..	10,662	10,662
Oldham .. ..	6,116	6,084	6,140	6,122
Preston .. ..	5,812	5,726	4,681	4,639
Rochdale* .. ..	3,270	3,270	4,455	4,455
Salford .. ..	6,312	6,181	6,141	6,018
Stalybridge* .. ..	2,405	2,405	2,078	2,078
Warrington* .. ..	1,957	1,957	1,984	1,984
Wigan .. ..	1,920	1,875	2,219	2,166
	105,056	100,624	109,189	107,136

The Constituencies marked \* return only one member.



It is clear from this analysis that, whether we take Mr. Dudley Baxter's mode of calculation, by selecting the first candidates, or take the second candidates, the result does not materially differ from the one he condemns of lumping all the votes together on each side. In either case we have a majority of voters returning a minority of members, and a county, which, in the aggregate, supported the Liberal party, returning two Conservatives for every Liberal elected to the Parliament of 1868. It is impossible to conceive a more striking illustration of Mr. Bright's declaration in 1866, at the Reform Banquet at Manchester, "You may have suffrage—  
"this or that, but you may have a distribution of power so and  
"such that even your present representation, bad as it is, may be  
"made something even worse." The representation of Lancashire in 1868, affords a remarkable example of the failure of existing electoral arrangements to secure an accurate expression of public opinion. The result of the election of 1874 was equally defective. It is true the Conservatives had a majority in the contested constituencies on that occasion, the gross first polls being Conservative 107,319, Liberal 98,065; but that was no warrant for a representation in the House of Commons of only 7 Liberals against 22 Conservatives. If members had been properly apportioned, the representation of the Lancashire constituencies contested in 1874 would have been 14 Liberal and 15 Conservative. The same delusive system prevails in other parts of the United Kingdom. In 1874 according to a summary of the polls published in the Financial Reform Almanack, the aggregate vote in contested constituencies was 1,384,697 Liberal, and 1,080,035 Conservative; this should have given a return for those constituencies of 263 Liberal and 206 Conservative members, whereas the actual return was 242 Liberals and 227 Conservatives. If, moreover, the minority vote had been applied in the counties that were formed into three divisions in 1868, the result, as affecting the counties that were not contested in 1874, would have been the return of 20 Liberals and 42 Conservatives, instead of 2 Liberals and 60 Conservatives. But the Liberal minorities of these counties were ignored, in accordance with the well-known practice of Conservative politicians of accepting principles so far as it suits their purpose.

Every Liberal desires to see minorities represented, but such attempts as have hitherto been made are very unsatisfactory. Mr. Hare's proposal seems quite unworkable; in fact, it appears impossible to make it understood by the ordinary



elector. A Bill containing a modification of it was introduced into Parliament in 1872, a summary of which appears herewith (Appendix VIII.), but even that scheme seems too complicated to be readily understood. The plan of dividing existing constituencies into smaller constituencies, each returning one member, advocated by Richard Cobden, has the great advantage of simplicity, while there can be little doubt that it would secure a fair representation of minorities. The present three-cornered constituencies have undoubtedly tended to crush out political life in the counties where they have been created, for the occupant of a safe minority seat is naturally averse to a contest, and the interest of the voters in politics has ceased.

The great want, moreover, of our electoral system is to establish the principle of government by the majority, by such a redistribution of representation as will secure an adequate share of power for the populous districts of the United Kingdom. In the Parliament of 1874 the majority of the House of Commons was elected by a minority of the electoral body, and there is no safeguard, under existing arrangements, against the recurrence of such a catastrophe. In fact the Conservatives are already anticipating that result at the next general election; again and again it has been urged as an incentive to activity that the transfer of a small number of votes in the small constituencies would return a Conservative majority to the House of Commons; and this it no doubt would do, whatever might be the opinion of the majority of the electors of the kingdom. It may be expected that those who defend the principle of government by the minority will spare no effort to preserve a system which carries out that principle so completely; it will, therefore, be necessary for the advocates of the principle of government by the majority to be equally determined and energetic in their efforts to secure such a change as will place our electoral system upon the sound basis which it is the aim of all real Parliamentary Reformers to establish.

#### *Analysis of Boroughs and Counties.*

The inequalities of the present system of distribution are clearly shown in the following analysis of the return of Parliamentary Constituencies (No. 149, Session 1882), moved for by Mr. Rylands; for details, see Appendix III. :—



UNITED KINGDOM

COUNTIES

POPULATION.	No.	Population.	No. of Electors.	Payments to Income Tax.	No. of Members.
Under 50,000 each ..	19	699,235	39,116	£ 112,738	21
Between					
50,000 and 75,000 each	28	1,762,134	110,121	293,775	43
75,000 „ 100,000 „	22	1,947,490	140,902	349,326	41
100,000 „ 125,000 „	22	2,631,433	167,287	522,479	47
125,000 „ 150,000 „	27	3,554,281	202,706	548,596	54
150,000 „ 200,000 „	15	2,427,399	136,835	360,741	29
Over 200,000 each ..	25	7,105,149	400,680	1,054,741	48
	158	20,037,121	1,197,647	3,242,396	283

CITIES AND BOROUGHES.

POPULATION.	No.	Population.	No. of Electors.	Payments to Income Tax.	No. of Members.
Under 7,000 each .. ..	42	248,990	30,913	£ 44,132	42
Between					
7,000 and 10,000 each	30	250,317	33,662	45,177	30
10,000 „ 20,000 „	48	713,137	91,826	125,267	72
20,000 „ 30,000 „	22	569,953	74,265	107,108	32
30,000 „ 50,000 „	38	1,543,466	207,721	312,280	55
50,000 „ 100,000 „	34	2,309,614	334,961	1,530,703	53
100,000 „ 200,000 „	18	2,430,047	340,340	521,445	33
Over 200,000 each ..	19	6,745,594	736,789	2,714,123	43
	251	14,811,118	1,850,477	5,400,235	360

These figures speak for themselves, and disclose a condition of the representation perfectly inconsistent with the old constitutional principle of government by the majority. It appears upon the face of these tables that the population of the counties exceeds that of the boroughs by 5,226,003; the boroughs had 652,830 more electors than the counties; and paid £2,157,839 more to the income tax. It must, however, be remembered that all the unrepresented towns are included in the counties. The argument of Lord Beaconsfield,



respecting the inadequacy of the direct representation of the English counties was based solely upon the question of population; the agricultural labourers were treated, for the sake of making out a case, in like fashion to the black population of the Southern States of America when slavery existed: increased representation was given to the planters in proportion to the number of their slaves; Lord Beaconsfield claimed increased representation for the landed interest in proportion to the number of their unenfranchised labourers. In passing his Reform Bill he was very careful to exclude the agricultural labourer from the franchise, except, indeed, in such boroughs as contained an agricultural population. Elsewhere the English labourer is still denied the privilege long since granted to the emancipated slaves of the United States. There must have been some reason for this exclusion; if the agricultural labourer is, as a rule, not qualified to vote, upon what principle is he to be counted in adjusting the representation? The electoral body once constituted, the distribution of members ought to be in accordance with the voting population of the constituencies; it should be based upon those who have, not upon those who have not, votes.

*Does the Present System "Work Well?"*

Apart from the question of the due proportion of Borough and County Members, these tables reveal a series of startling anomalies. Dividing the borough representation at the limit of 50,000 inhabitants, it appears that below that line 438,387 electors return 231 representatives, while above the line 1,412,090 return only 129; each member representing in the former case 1,897, and in the latter 10,946 electors. A similar anomaly exists in the counties. Taking the constituencies below 150,000, we find that 660,132 electors return 206 members, the average number represented by each member being 3,204; while above the limit 537,515 electors return only 77 members, the average constituency per representative being 6,980. Upon what principle can such a condition of representation be defended? It will no doubt be said that the system "works well." The same argument was adduced at the time of the Reform agitation of 1830-32 in support of rotten boroughs; it was again relied upon by both Whigs and Tories in their resistance to further reform of the electoral system; it is the stock argument employed in defence of every abuse, however flagrant and unjust. In



what respect, however, can such an unequal distribution of electoral power be said to "work well?" It may be the case as respects the interests of that small class which has no reason to desire any change in the condition of affairs, either social or political; but in so far as the interests and aspirations of the great body of the people are concerned, the assertion cannot be maintained. That no system can work well which is inherently unjust was abundantly demonstrated by the history of two great measures of the Parliament of 1868—the Education Act, which was modelled in accordance with the interest of sectarianism, and not of popular education; and the Ballot Act, which it was the earnest endeavour of a considerable section of the then House of Commons to render inoperative. There is little doubt that both these measures would have been passed in a more perfect and satisfactory form if the great centres of population and of political life had been fairly represented in the House of Commons. Is the assertion that the system works well corroborated by the fact that two Sessions of that Parliament were to a great extent wasted by the opponents of army reform and of freedom of election?

But the inherent evils of our present representative system received more conclusive demonstration in the history of the Parliament of 1874. It has already been shown that that Parliament was elected by a minority of the Electors of the United Kingdom, and it amply verified the character that might reasonably be expected from a House of Commons so constituted. The Government it placed in power endeavoured to reverse some of the salutary legislation of the previous Parliament; its so called measures of reform were delusions, of which the Agricultural Holdings and Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, both absolutely inoperative, are examples. It involved the country in costly and unnecessary wars and warlike enterprises, increasing taxation, and adding to the debt; and it provided a legacy of mischief for its successors, which has since culminated in the present difficulties in Egypt. These were the doings of a minority Parliament, and they constitute a powerful argument in favour of Parliamentary Reform.

The history of the present Parliament affords a still more cogent demonstration of the necessity for a redistribution of political power. In August, 1878, Mr. Gladstone wrote\* :—

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\* "England's Mission"—*Nineteenth Century*, September, 1878.



"With respect to domestic policy, the accession of energy, imparted to our Parliamentary system by the first great struggle of Reform, appeared to endow it with the faculty of grappling with every public need as it arose. But for the last twenty years, in despite of the exertions of Governments and Parliaments, there has been a great, if not a constant accumulation of arrears, and we have now reached the point at which it may almost be termed hopeless. It is unquestionably a point at which the discovery has been made, that the merest handful of men may, if they have a sufficient stock of personal hardihood and indifference to the opinion of those around them, avail themselves of the impeded state of the political traffic to stop altogether the chief of all the Queen's highways."

This grave and serious evil has become intensified during the present Parliament. While there never was a House of Commons containing so many earnest men, anxious to render good service to the people, there never was a House of Commons whose good intentions have been so completely frustrated through wanton obstruction, not merely on the part of Irish members, but also from members sitting on the Conservative benches, and acting in apparent disregard of the wishes of their leaders. And when we inquire who the obstructives are, and what constituencies they represent, we find that the most active of them are mainly the representatives of constituencies that would have no separate existence if our electoral system were founded on a rational basis. While the reform of parliamentary procedure may to some extent meet this evil, it cannot be expected that vigour will be restored to Parliament without a complete reform of our representative system. Conservatives who sit for large constituencies are not found in the ranks of the habitual obstructives; the members who perform that function are elected by about 500 voters, and it is quite time, in the interest of the community, that their power of mischief should cease. If the work of to-day is to be done, we must have a Parliament representing the England of to-day.

The assertion that the existing system "works well" has been invariably employed by the opponents of reform. It was used in defence of rotten boroughs, and to prevent the enfranchisement of Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and other large towns. It is now used to deprive them of their full and legitimate influence in the Legislature. If the allegation were true that existing arrangements "work well," it would be no valid reason against a complete readjustment, in harmony with the existing distribution of the population. "It is not enough that a political institution works well "practically: it must be defensible; it must be such as will



“bear discussion, and not excite ridicule and contempt.”\* Can it be said that the present distribution of electoral power will bear discussion? Is it not somewhat ridiculous, for example, that the 2,091 electors of Eye and Woodstock, who contribute £1,651 to the income-tax, should have the same electoral weight as the 49,040 electors of Lambeth, who contribute £110,525? Similar examples of disproportionate representation are to be found in every part of the country.

*Many small Boroughs are really Divisions of Counties.*

Among the anomalies of our electoral system, one of the most striking is the fact that in England and Wales a number of so-called parliamentary boroughs are really small divisions of counties, in which, contrary to the usual county practice, there is household suffrage; and agricultural labourers, who are householders, are consequently electors. In some few instances, these districts have been created by the addition to a town constituency of a large section of the surrounding rural district, on the pretext of counteracting proved corruption in the original boroughs; in others, because the towns, or, as Mr. Bright once appropriately designated them, villages, are too small and insignificant to have even a colourable claim to independent representation. The question is often asked “What’s in a name?” In this case, there is a great deal. Call a certain constituency a borough, the superficial observer straightway concludes that it is a town district. If deception were intended, the delusion could not be more complete. An illustration of this fact may be found in an article on “Redistribution,” by Lord Brabourne, in which he assumes† that the words Borough and Town have the same meaning. Hence he observes, “Men do not become better or wiser in proportion to their concentration in towns. If they did so, our great centres of population, as will be presently shown, are cruelly wronged by the present distribution of political power. But a man is no better or worse an elector because he lives in a town; why then should his urban propensities vest him with so much greater electoral privileges than those possessed by the man who shuns the din of cities and resides in the country?” It is probably not a matter of choice with the vast majority of our town population that they live amid the din of cities,

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\* Sydney Smith’s Works, Longman and Co., 1854, page 571.

† *Macmillan’s Magazine*, November, 1872.



and it certainly is not the choice of the large proportion which resides in unrepresented towns that they have no voice in the election of Members of Parliament. But the great centres of population are cruelly wronged, quite irrespective of the question whether they are better or wiser than the inhabitants of the rural districts; and this wrong can only be redressed by a complete redistribution of political power. It is the rural voters that have greater electoral privileges, not the urban: for example—the 63,221 voters of Liverpool, who pay £289,992 to the Income-tax, have the same number of representatives as the 8,107 voters for Berkshire, who pay £32,262; the 19,561 voters of Wednesbury, who pay £14,797 Income-tax, are on a level with the 1,020 voters who dwell in the eleven parishes that form the constituency of Eye, and pay only £383. Are the few electors of Berkshire and Eye “better or wiser,” to use Lord Brabourne’s own words, than the many electors of Liverpool and Wednesbury, that they have so much additional voting power?

A complete list of the small Parliamentary “Boroughs” that have thus been converted into county constituencies with household suffrage is given in the Appendix, with a description of each of them, taken from the Report of the Boundary Commissioners, appointed by the Representation of the People Act, 1867. (Appendix IV.) In describing these boroughs, the very words of the Commissioners have been, as far as possible, employed, and it must be apparent that such extensive areas, consisting, with few exceptions, mainly of agricultural land, and including within their limits only small market towns and agricultural villages, are fairly to be classed among the county constituencies. The largest is East Retford, with an area of 325 square miles, a population of 50,031, and 8,183 electors; its assessment to the Income Tax for Schedule B (farmers’ rents) is £298,730, and for Schedule D (trades and professions), £149,654. The smallest is Marlborough, with an area of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  square miles, a population of 5,180, and 658 electors; its Income Tax Assessment is—Schedule B, £9,871, Schedule D, £40,435. The population of Liverpool, 552,425 in number, occupy only 8 square miles, while 5,180 in Marlborough occupy  $7\frac{1}{4}$ . The entire number of these boroughs is 47, and there are only six in which there is any extensive manufacturing interest: Stroud, a cloth-making district; Merthyr, noted for its collieries and ironworks; Flint for its chemical works; and Clitheroe, Tavistock, and Tiverton, in each of which the



towns are manufacturing, but are associated, for purposes of representation, with large tracts of farming land. The remainder are agricultural, with the exception that the extensive area of Cricklade, embracing 248 square miles, contains the Great Western Railway works at Swindon, and Christchurch contains that growing watering-place, Bournemouth. A true insight into the real character of these constituencies will be seen by contrasting their area with that of the larger boroughs. The area of only two of them is under 5,000 acres, while the more extensive rival counties in their dimensions. If we look at the boroughs proper, we find a very different result, of which the following will suffice as example:—Ashton-under-Lyne, 1,305 acres; Bath, 3,539 acres; Bolton, 1,887 acres; Bradford, 6,508 acres; Brighton, 2,237 acres; Bristol 4,452 acres; Chelsea, 6,861 acres; Liverpool, 5,110 acres; Manchester, 6,359 acres; Marylebone. 5,462 acres. Further illustration is unnecessary. The existing system may indeed bear some proportion to acreage, but certainly not to population. In this respect it no doubt harmonises with the Conservative desire to secure a preponderance of representation for the “landed interest,” but as a system of popular representation it is self-condemned.

Further evidence as to the real character of these boroughs will be found in the table of population, electors, area, &c., which follows the descriptions of the Boundary Commissioners (Appendix IV.), from which it appears that the urban population of these constituencies is about half their total population, the inhabitants in urban sanitary districts being 347,133, and those beyond such districts, 316,129; the area inhabited by the total population of 663,262, is 2,016½ square miles, while the 3,452,350 inhabitants of the Metropolitan constituencies occupy only 70¾ square miles; the amount assessed for income under Schedule B, the rent of agricultural land, nearly equals the assessment under Schedule D, trade and professional profits. If the mining and manufacturing districts of Flint, Merthyr, Stroud, Tiverton, and Christchurch, which includes the growing watering-place Bournemouth, are excluded, the assessment is as follows:—Schedule B, £1,727,447; Schedule D, £1,658,333. The aggregate assessment of cities and boroughs in England and Wales, under these schedules was, B, £3,423,085; D, £170,128,989. It will be seen, therefore, that £1,888,686, or more than 55 per cent. of the whole borough assessment under Schedule B, belongs to these forty-seven constituencies. If Flint, Merthyr, Stroud, Tiverton,



and Christchurch are excluded, the assessment of the remaining forty-two will be found to be £1,727,627, or more than 50 per cent. of the gross amount. In eighteen of these "boroughs" the assessment under Schedule B exceeds the assessment under Schedule D.

*Boroughs with Agricultural Land attached.*

In addition, there are eighteen cities and boroughs returning 26 members, to which considerable tracts of agricultural land are annexed, sufficient to exercise a material influence upon the character of the representation, although it cannot be said to make them purely county constituencies, like the boroughs already enumerated. In these boroughs (for details, see Appendix V.), the urban population is 270,069, the Parliamentary population 317,087, the electors 46,418, the area 227 square miles, the assessment to Schedule B, £339,692, and to Schedule D, £1,882,112.

If the assessment under Schedule B in these eighteen boroughs is added to that of the forty-seven previously enumerated, the total reaches to £2,228,378, being 65 per cent. of the entire assessment of cities and boroughs under that schedule, the balance, amounting to £1,194,707, being apportioned among the remaining one-hundred and thirty-three. The assessment for Schedule D is, for the sixty-five boroughs £4,405,549, and for the remainder £165,570,218.

It appears, therefore, that of the sixty-five boroughs, the ratio of the assessment of Schedule B, compared with Schedule D, is above 50 per cent., while the ratio in the case of the one-hundred and thirty-three is 0.72 per cent. In Scotland there are no boroughs similar in character to either of these classes; and in Ireland there are only five in which the assessment to Schedule B bears any similar proportion to Schedule D. This, however, may arise from the number of small holdings not liable to the tax, as the area of these Irish boroughs is very considerable in proportion to the population. They are as follows:—

	Population.	Area in Sq. Miles.	M.P.'s	Schedule B.	Schedule D.
				£	£
Carrickfergus .. ..	10,009	26	1	14,653	14,462
Dungarvan .. ..	7,377	13	1	8,669	15,366
Galway .. ..	18,906	37	2	16,852	35,623
Kilkenny .. ..	14,964	26	1	15,656	45,756
Limerick .. ..	48,246	52	2	38,322	197,029
Total .. ..	99,502	154	7	94,152	308,236



*Is County Representation Inadequate?*

By the Reform Act of 1867 the number of county representatives for England and Wales was increased from 162 to 187, and it is an interesting study to trace the mode in which this increase was effected. Six seats from the disfranchised boroughs of Lancaster, Totnes and Yarmouth were transferred to Lancashire, Devonshire, and Norfolk; and the disfranchised borough of Reigate and one of the seats for Guildford were made available to secure two additional members for Surrey. Thirteen seats were obtained by depriving each of the following small boroughs of one member, all of them belonging to the class which includes extensive areas of agricultural land: Andover, Bodmin, Bridgnorth, Buckingham, Chippenham, Cockermouth, Leominster, Lymington, Malton, Marlborough, Marlow, Richmond and Tavistock. Three seats were obtained from similar constituencies, which have since been entirely disfranchised—Honiton, Thetford and Wells—and one seat by depriving Huntingdon of a member. It appears, therefore, that of the 25 seats transferred in 1867 from boroughs to counties, 16 were from boroughs which in reality were small county constituencies, 2 were from boroughs in which the landed interest had a predominating influence, and 7 from small constituencies which had been disfranchised on account of their corruption. Nineteen other seats were transferred from small to large boroughs, and one to the London University. The measure made no real alteration in the proportions of borough and county representation.

The alleged inadequacy of the county representation was made a frequent subject of Conservative complaint during the debates of 1867. Lord Beaconsfield's figures of the previous year were quoted again and again by his followers, and he himself re-affirmed them in the following words:—"The population of the counties is 11,500,000; that of the boroughs is 9,500,000. The counties return 162 members; the boroughs return 334. These figures cannot be too often repeated." There is no doubt that a fallacy may be repeated so often that at last it comes to be widely believed, at all events by those who do not probe it to the bottom. This appears to have been the case with Lord Beaconsfield's figures respecting county representation; his followers omitted all reference to the 84 seats, which he confessed were secured for county interests by the influence of landed proprietors in the small boroughs, and thus gave the semblance of reality to a grievance which he had shown to be



fictional. By county interests he was, moreover, careful to explain that he did not mean the "agricultural interest," he repudiated the phrase; his care had always been for the "landed interest," including everything agricultural or mineral which was the source of revenue and influence to the "great landowners." If this be the interest on account of which he was so anxious, it is quite certain that he had no reasonable ground for complaining of deficient representation. The great landowners have never failed to secure a more than adequate representation in the House of Commons, while tenant farmers have been content with an infinitesimal share of political power. The landlords have had the substance, the tenant farmers the shadow of representation. During the last few years there have been signs that the tenant farmers are becoming restive under the yoke they have borne so long and so patiently; tenant-farmer candidates are now more frequent than formerly, and the result of some contests has shown that when the farmers are in earnest they have the power to return their own representatives at a comparatively trifling cost. The return of Mr. Hunter Rodwell for Cambridgeshire was one of the first examples; although a Conservative, he opposed, in the interest of the tenant farmers, the candidate of the landlord-caucus, who withdrew. Every true friend of really representative government will rejoice at the growing independence of the cultivators of the soil.

If representation is to be adjusted between boroughs and counties in the mode suggested by Lord Beaconsfield, it is necessary to inquire accurately into the proportion of town and rural population. According to the principle of the Reform Act of 1867, householders in towns appear to be qualified to exercise the franchise, while householders in rural districts are carefully excluded from electoral privileges, unless they can prove their capacity by occupying a dwelling assessed at £12 per annum. Notwithstanding this distinction, the scheme of redistribution embodied in the Reform Act of 1867, was so inadequate and delusive that the householders of many large town populations are entirely excluded from the franchise; while householders in many rural districts, erroneously designated boroughs, are admitted. Are the householders in the non-represented towns inferior to those in the Parliamentary boroughs? And are the agricultural labourers of Andover, Aylesbury, and other similar constituencies better qualified to exercise the franchise than the agricultural labourers in the counties proper? If not, why



should the franchise be conferred upon the one and refused to the other?

*Town and County Population.*

The following interesting table from the Census returns of 1871 and 1881, shows the increase in the population of the Parliamentary boroughs and counties of England and Wales during the past thirty years:—

---	POPULATION AS ENUMERATED IN		
	Parliamentary Boroughs.	Counties outside Parliamentary Boroughs.	Total.
1851 ..	7,438,679	10,488,930	17,927,609
1861 ..	8,638,569	11,427,655	20,066,224
1871 ..	10,649,997	12,059,843	22,709,840
1881 ..	12,261,783	13,698,493	25,960,276
INCREASE IN THREE PERIODS EACH OF TEN YEARS.			
Between			
1851-61 ..	1,199,890	938,725	2,138,615
1861-71 ..	2,011,428	632,188	2,643,616
1871-81 ..	1,611,786	1,638,650	3,250,436

The proportions of the respective increase in boroughs and counties during the second decade are affected by changes of electoral area as well as by the natural growth of the population; but from whatever cause the increase has arisen, it is evident the boroughs have grown much more rapidly than the counties, the increase of the boroughs during the last thirty years being 64 per cent., while of the counties it is only 30 per cent.

These figures, however, do not accurately represent the respective numbers of the town and rural population. It has been already shown that forty-seven Parliamentary boroughs, with an aggregate population of 662,262, are in reality county constituencies. On the other hand, the counties contain a large number of unrepresented towns, a list of which appears in a paper laid before Parliament in 1881. (See Appendix VI.) This Return contains the names of 151 Urban Sanitary Districts, having a total population of



2,916,402. All Urban Sanitary Districts co-extensive with Parliamentary boroughs have been excluded; also all Urban Sanitary Districts wholly or partly included in any Parliamentary borough.

There is, moreover, a large unenfranchised town population within the limits of the Metropolis, including Battersea and Hampstead. The population resident within the limits of the Metropolis Local Management Act in 1881 was 3,832,441, while the population of the Parliamentary boroughs was only 3,452,350; showing that, in the Metropolis alone, a town population of 380,091 has no distinctive representation in the House of Commons.

The respective proportions of the town and rural population of England and Wales, with the increase of each since 1851, are very clearly exhibited in the following table, from the Census Reports of 1871 and 1881:—

	Years.	Population enumerated.	Decennial Increase.	Decennial Increase per cent.	Annual Rate of Increase per cent.
ENGLAND & WALES	1851	17,927,609			
	1861	20,066,224	2,138,615	11·93	1·19
	1871	22,704,108	2,637,884	13·14	1·31
	1881	25,968,286	3,264,178	14·37	1·43
URBAN SANITARY DISTRICTS	1851	9,155,964			
	1861	10,930,841	1,774,877	19·38	1·93
	1871	12,900,297	1,969,456	18·01	1·80
	1881	17,285,026	4,384,729	34·76	3·47
RURAL DISTRICTS	1851	8,771,645			
	1861	9,135,383	363,738	4·14	·41
	1871	9,803,811	668,428	7·31	·73
	1881	8,683,260	Decrease. 1,120,551	Decrease. 11·42	Decrease. 1·14

The above figures, which were not collected with a view to any electoral controversy, but merely to record the facts of the nation's growth and change, show that the urban population of England and Wales is growing steadily and, during the last decade, at a greatly increased ratio, while the smaller growth of the rural population has not only been



arrested but converted into an actual decrease. The present proportion of urban to rural population is as nearly as possible 2 of the former to 1 of the latter.

If there be any virtue in the test so frequently insisted upon by Lord Beaconsfield, that population ought to be the basis of borough and county representation, it must be admitted that these figures are far more accurate for the purpose of framing such a representative system, than the population returns of the Parliamentary boroughs and counties as at present constituted. The latter may, no doubt, be very effective, if allowed to pass without inquiry, for the purpose of bolstering up an anomalous and unfair system of representation, but they will not stand the test of a close and accurate investigation.

If all urban districts were included in borough constituencies, as, according to Lord Beaconsfield's argument, they ought to be, the boroughs would be entitled, with their population of 17,285,026, to 322 representatives; while the counties, having a population of 8,683,260, would be entitled to 162. Under existing arrangements, and including among the county members the 56 members elected by those boroughs which are in reality small county districts, the numbers are—boroughs, 241; counties, 243. The necessity for an increase in the number of county members, in order to secure the due representation of county interests, is a point warmly insisted upon by the Conservative party whenever a redistribution of seats is under discussion; they cannot, therefore, consistently oppose the logical application of one of their favourite dogmas. Adopting Lord Beaconsfield's formula, and applying it to a real, not an imaginary grievance, advocates of redistribution should never lose sight of the fact that in England and Wales the town population of 17,285,026 is represented by 241 members, while the rural population of 8,683,260, is represented by 243. "These figures cannot be too often repeated," and the more especially as the county representation has hitherto been almost exclusively in the hands of the great landlords.

In Scotland the town population in 1881 was 2,524,909, and the rural population 1,209,532. The number of members fixed by the last Reform Bill is 26 for the boroughs, and 32 for the counties. If representation were fairly apportioned to population, it would be altered to 39 borough and 18 county members. In the preliminary report on the census of Ireland, no statistics are given as to the comparative numbers of urban and rural population.



In the above observations, no justification has been attempted of the distinction between borough and county members. Whatever may have been its importance in earlier periods, it has now lost its significance; the true principle upon which to base representation is that of equality of suffrage and the due apportionment of members to population, whether they be urban or rural. To maintain the existing distinction perpetuates the idea that the interests of town and country are not identical, but hostile; it divides the people into two nations, and practically affirms that inhabitants of the towns have no interest in the well-being of the rural districts, nor those of the rural districts in the well-being of the towns. The distinction cannot be defended in the interests of either, but only in that of a small proportion of the population, who see that other monopolies will be in danger if the monopoly of representation is broken down. The foregoing comparisons of urban and rural representation are based upon the existing representation of the three great divisions of the United Kingdom; but there is another important question which demands attention.

*The Apportionment of Representatives between England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland.*

In discussing the question of the distribution of seats, one of the first considerations that presents itself is the number of members to be allotted respectively to England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Unless we are prepared to admit that the interests of the three divisions of the United Kingdom are diverse, and to treat them as three foreign countries forming an alliance for certain purposes, we must adjust their representation upon the principle that they constitute one realm. If the representation of England is excessive, there should be as little hesitation in parting with members from over represented districts of England to increase the representation of Scotland or Ireland as there would be to a transfer of representatives from one part of England to another. If the unity of the kingdom is to be maintained, it will not do to fall back upon adjustments of representation, based upon a condition of affairs which is now obsolete. It might be the fact formerly, that Scotland and Ireland were, in some sense, considered inferior to, and dependent upon, England, but in the present day they should be regarded as portions of the same kingdom, having an equal interest in the common welfare. The only sound



basis of representation is that of perfect justice for every portion of the kingdom. This principle was partially recognised by the Scotch Reform Act of 1868, when seven seats were transferred from England in order to increase the representation of Scotland.

The House of Commons, as at present constituted, including the Universities and disfranchised boroughs, consists of 493 members from England and Wales, 60 from Scotland, and 105 from Ireland. The following return, moved for by Mr. McLaren, and laid before Parliament in June, 1879, is intended to show the number of members to which each country was then entitled in proportion to its population, and its contributions to the revenue:—

		POPULATION.		REVENUE.	
		Estimated Population in the middle of 1879.	Proportional Number of Members of Parliament, if the 658 Members were allotted according to Population.	Total Net Produce* of the Revenue derived from Taxation, according to Parliamentary Paper, No. 382, of Session 1878.	Proportional Number of Members of Parliament, if the 658 Members were allotted according to the Amount of Revenue derived from Taxation.
				£.	
England	..	25,165,336	485(484·79)	52,192,297	516(516.15)
Scotland	..	3,627,453	70(69·88)	7,844,252	78(77·57)
Ireland	..	5,363,324	103(103·32)	6,499,353	64(64·27)
Total	..	34,156,113	658	66,535,902	658

\* The amounts relating to the Post Office and Telegraph Services are omitted, because the information concerning those amounts cannot be furnished for England, Scotland, and Ireland separately. (See the Parliamentary Paper here referred to.)

If the mean between population and taxation were taken as the basis of representation, the number of members would be: England and Wales 500, Scotland 74, Ireland 84—a loss in the case of Ireland of 21 members, a result which might not satisfy the Irish people. There are, however, several valid reasons against the adoption of this method of adjusting representation. It



partakes too much of the character of those fancy franchises introduced into the original Conservative Reform Bill of 1866 in order to counteract the effect of household suffrage. If the principle of basing the number of representatives for a district upon its contribution to the revenue is sound, why not apply it to the case of individuals? Mr. Disraeli proposed that payers of direct taxes to the amount of £1 should have an extra vote, and it is difficult to see in what material respect this differs from the plan of apportioning members to the various parts of the United Kingdom in proportion to the mean of population and taxation. If the principle is to be adopted it must not stop at the three great divisions of the kingdom, but be extended throughout its entire area. London has as valid a claim for increased representation upon this account as Scotland, and so have Lancashire, Yorkshire, and other parts of the kingdom in which high wages enable the population to consume an increased quantity of dutiable articles. As the revenue is now levied, representation in proportion to taxation might increase the number of members for the districts which consumed the largest quantity of malt and spirits, and decrease that of the more sober localities, "a consummation" *not* "devoutly to be wished."

It is true that a similar principle is acted upon in the case of Joint-stock Companies, but Government exists for very different purposes, and cannot be carried on upon joint-stock principles. A similar plan has had a trial in local administration, plurality of votes having been created by Sturges Bourne's Act, but it cannot be denied that it has caused great discontent among the vast majority of the rate-payers, and has been considered satisfactory only by the select few (not always the most capable) who have secured increased influence through their increased number of votes. It has frequently happened, under this arrangement, that the will of the majority of the parishioners has been overridden by the minority, property, in addition to its undoubted influence over many of the smaller ratepayers, having secured a direct accession of voting power by the representation of mere bricks and mortar. Moreover, the districts which contribute least to the revenue are frequently those which most require their full proportion of representatives in accordance with their population. Their smaller means of payment may have been caused by bad legislation, they may have grievances which are less likely to be redressed if their representation in Parliament is diminished, and they may be



quite as capable, from an intellectual point of view, as the more wealthy districts. The owner of an income of several thousands a year contributes more to the revenue than the citizen whose earnings are less than £100 per annum, but it has not been admitted that the former should have plurality of votes because of his higher taxation, unless he own or occupy property in more than one constituency.

It is, moreover, impossible to apportion, with any approach to accuracy, the incidence of taxation upon different districts. The places at which Customs and Excise Duties are paid are not the places at which the whole of the commodities taxed are consumed. It is true that allowance is made for this fact in Mr. McLaren's return, but only "in so far as accounts of such transfers exist," which is the case to a very limited extent. Even with respect to the Income Tax, an accurate adjustment is impossible, the tax upon railways, banks, and large companies being assessed where the head offices are situated, while the shareholders may be, and generally are, located in every part of the kingdom. The only test which can be applied with any approach to accuracy is either that of population or the number of electors, and this test must be applied fairly and impartially throughout the kingdom. Referring to the opposition of Mr. Disraeli and the Conservative party to the transfer of seven seats from England to Scotland in 1868, Mr. Bright observed, with his usual force—"Nothing could be more unconstitutional, and nothing more unfortunate, than to deal with this question as if we were giving some portion of our power as English members to another and scarcely a friendly power which dwells in the northern part of the island."

The real objection, however, is not merely to a transfer of seats as affecting the three great divisions of the United Kingdom; the adjustment of representation between small constituencies and large centres of population, trade, and employment will be strongly opposed by those who defend the present system, whatever may be the localities affected. Whether the transfer is to be made to places north of the Thames, north of the Humber, or north of the Tweed, it will be regarded with equal disfavour. Vested interests have been created in the House of Commons, and experience shows that such interests invariably combine to resist change; it will need the strongest and most determined efforts of the people out of doors to ensure a just and equal system of representation. It matters not, if past experience may be taken as a precedent, whether the small constituencies are



represented by Liberal or Conservative members, the result is the same, unless there is an unusual expression of public opinion in favour of the change; in proof of this fact, the debates upon the last Scotch Reform Bill afford ample evidence. By that measure seven English boroughs, having a population under 5,000 each, were disfranchised; they were represented in the Parliament of 1865 by eight members, four of them Liberals and four Conservatives; with one exception, a Conservative member who was absent, they all voted against disfranchisement. This fact affords good evidence that strong efforts will be required to secure a thorough measure of redistribution. It is not now merely seven seats that have to be transferred, but more than ten times that number, and the resistance of Members of the House of Commons whose seats are affected will therefore be increased more than tenfold, and a corresponding effort must be made by those who support a just system of representation. In 1832 the wave of public opinion in favour of reform was so great, that there were representatives of pocket boroughs who voted for the extinction of their constituencies. Surely Liberal members for small boroughs will not be less patriotic now, seeing that no extinction of their right of voting is proposed, but merely that they should call the remainder of their countrymen to share equally in their councils. The right of voting of the present electors will not be destroyed under an equitable distribution of political power, but will be placed upon the safe ground of justice, instead of resting, as it now does, upon the insecure basis of privilege.

Liberals in the smaller boroughs will no doubt also bear in mind that the possession of a vote is not an end but a means; and as the aims of the Liberal party are the same in every part of the kingdom, they will be prepared to support such a Parliamentary Reform as will give the best security for the accomplishment of the other reforms they have at heart. It can be no consolation to a genuine Liberal that he possesses a franchise of greater power than his fellow Liberals who live in the large communities, if the existence of the small constituencies that confer that greater power is the one hindrance to his securing the reforms that he and his fellow Liberals want. That which is just is also the most beneficial; Liberals in small constituencies will receive full compensation for any individual loss of *prestige* that may seem to be involved in a just distribution of political power, by the more speedy and certain enactment of sound laws. In this, as in all other things, Liberal policy will



prove advantageous to the whole community, and, consequently, to every portion of that community, whether of smaller or greater extent.

*The Case of the Metropolis.*

No greater illustration of the necessity of a thorough revision of the constituencies can be adduced than the deficient representation of the Metropolis. The City of London, and the nine Parliamentary boroughs included within the limits of the Metropolis, have a population of 3,452,350; their aggregate assessment to the income tax is £119,860,688, the amount of Customs duties collected every year at the port of London is about £10,000,000, and forms one-half the entire revenue from that source. If the Metropolis were represented in Parliament according to its population, including the 380,091 persons resident outside the limits of the Parliamentary boroughs, but within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, it would return 71 members; at present it returns 22, showing a deficiency of 49 members. The Reform Act of 1867 increased the number of the Metropolitan members from 18 to 22, while Scotland, in the following year, with a population almost the same, and having already 53 members, obtained an increase of its number to 60. The great objection urged against the due representation of London appears to be that a certain section of the House of Commons does not like Metropolitan members. Possibly not; the inhabitants of the Metropolis, on the other hand, may not like many of the members elected by small constituencies. The fact, however, that the country squires do not like town representatives, is no reason for depriving a vast body of the population of their due influence in the Legislature. So far as the qualification of Metropolitan members for Parliamentary work is concerned, London has no reason to be ashamed, and will bear comparison with other districts. It appears that, in order to satisfy the opponents of a genuine reform of the representation, constituencies must have a limited choice, and be either very large or very small. In the case of the former, they frequently become the appanage of the rich, from the very fact that the legal expenses alone of a contest are necessarily heavy, and the further amount required for public meetings, and other expenses, is overwhelming to men of small means; in the case of the latter, local influence produces a similar result.



Under existing arrangements, men of brains, without money, are heavily handicapped in either class of constituency. It is of little consequence that a man may have spent his life in the investigation of political science, or in the service of the public; unless he has the means of meeting excessive expenses he has no chance of securing his election to the House of Commons. If he present himself to a large constituency, under the present system, he finds the legal expenses favour a far inferior rival, who has command of the purse; if he seeks to represent a small constituency, he is unable to meet the irresistible influence which large subscriptions to local objects array on behalf of a wealthier candidate. Occasionally a constituency may rise to the occasion and return an eminent representative free of expense; but there is always the danger that some wealthy candidate, desirous of gratifying his personal ambition, may step in, and, by the length of his purse, demoralise a sufficient proportion of the electors to gain his end, and thus deprive the constituency of invaluable services which the best among them had made considerable sacrifices to secure.

The prejudicial effect of the deficient representation of London upon the political well-being of its inhabitants is apparent in the mode in which its interests are year by year neglected. Would it have been possible to defer from time to time the pressing question of Metropolitan Municipal Government if London had been adequately represented in Parliament? The favourite idea of the permanent officials of Downing Street appears to be that London ought to be governed by themselves. It is considered quite incapable of managing its own police, of regulating its own cabs, or of fulfilling functions which are elsewhere entrusted to local governing bodies; its interests are confided to the hands of the Home Secretary, already overburdened with the legitimate duties of his office. The results of entrusting such an official with petty details of local administration have in many instances been ludicrously apparent. The municipal disability of the largest town population in the empire could not have been continued so long if the Parliamentary representation of the Metropolis had not been so utterly inadequate. Why should 1,800,000 of population in the South-Western counties, with 154,326 electors, have 66 members, and 3,400,000 in the Metropolitan Boroughs, with 337,692 electors, have only 22? The injustice, moreover, becomes more aggravated every year in consequence of the change of population. Since 1871 the former have decreased.



in numbers, while the latter show an increase of more than 430,000.

*The Small Constituencies Represent the Past, not the Present.*

The maintenance of small constituencies has also a serious effect upon the constitution of the House of Commons which cannot be overlooked. It gives undue weight to the past at the expense of the present. Small decaying towns, with or without an adjacent district of agricultural land, and boroughs whose growth is almost stationary neutralise the legitimate influence of the important and populous districts which embody the energy and vitality of the country. The legislative needs of the people relate mainly to the growing centres of trade and employment; the legislative power of the country is largely located in boroughs and small districts which, centuries ago, may have been important centres of industrial and commercial activity, but which have long since entered upon the stationary or declining state. Taking the Parliamentary boroughs with a population less than 25,000 (see Appendix II.), we find that in twenty-two there was an actual decrease of population during the twenty years ending 1881, and that in forty-eight the increase was only eleven per cent., the average of the kingdom being twenty-nine per cent.; while in thirty-four of the larger boroughs the average increase was forty-eight per cent. The following summary of these Tables presents a remarkable and startling contrast:—

	Aggregate Population 1861.	Aggregate Population 1871.	Aggregate Population 1881.	Increase or Decrease in Population since 1861.	No. of Members.
22 Boroughs under 25,000 population	187,640	183,395	172,433	Decrease. 15,207	24
48 Do. do.	401,443	425,586	446,866	Increase. 45,423	57
70 Do. do.	589,083	608,981	619,299	30 216	81
35 large Boroughs.	3,437,563	4,292,578	5,093,045	Increase. 1,655,482	64

It will be seen from these figures that the increase between 1861 and 1881 of the thirty-five large boroughs was 1,655,482,



or 1,036,183 in excess of the whole population of the seventy small boroughs. The constituencies which manifest vitality have a population of 5,093,045, and have sixty-four members allotted to them, while those which are either in the declining or stationary state, with their population of 619,299, have eighty-one. With a House of Commons constituted on such a basis, it is quite natural that the progress of sound legislation is impeded; that every measure calculated to benefit the people is obstructed in its passage through the House, and seriously mutilated in Committee; that proposals inadequate to the emergencies which demand legislation are frequently introduced in order to conciliate the weak representatives of weak constituencies, sitting not only on the Conservative, but sometimes also on the Liberal benches. If the House of Commons is ever to represent the English people—if legislation is to overtake the demands of the country, those portions of the kingdom in which the energy and determination of the people are most manifest must have their adequate share of representation. Adam Smith says, in his great work on the "Wealth of Nations," "The progressive state is in reality the cheerful and the hearty state to all the different orders of the society. The stationary is dull; the declining, melancholy." This is equally true as applied to legislation; what can be more "dull" and "melancholy" than the manner in which the most important and pressing legislative problems are treated by the representatives of the "stationary" and "declining" constituencies? And it is not at all surprising, when these constitute so large a proportion of the House of Commons, and are able to neutralise the influence of the great centres of trade, industry, and intellectual activity, that the progress of useful legislation is seriously impeded.

In order to preserve and perpetuate the influence of the "landed interest," the English Reform Bill of 1867 was based upon the principle that no existing centre of representation should be destroyed, thus preserving every small borough. Although abandoned in the following year, in deference to a vote of the House of Commons on the Scotch Reform Bill, it enabled the Conservatives and Adullamites, who had violently opposed Mr. Gladstone when he proposed to deal with the franchise and redistribution questions separately, to pass a measure of redistribution utterly inadequate to the necessities of the country, and which every earnest reformer was convinced could not be long maintained. If, by preserving existing centres of representation, it is meant



that every small constituency, although its population may be diminishing and its trade in a state of decay, is to continue to be directly represented, the effective representation of large centres of population is impossible, unless the number of the House of Commons is largely increased. This is an alternative which experience shows will not be tolerated, and is universally held to be undesirable; if any change is needed, it is in the direction of decreasing rather than of increasing the number of members. It follows, therefore, that if there is to be any effective reform of our representative system, the small centres of borough representation must be content to forego their present exclusive privileges, and to share their political power with the rest of the community, in due proportion to their population. If it is considered desirable to preserve the distinction between borough and county representation, even under uniform household suffrage, it may be done by the principle of grouping, examples of which abound both in Scotland and Wales. But there remain the two questions, first, whether the distinction is now worth preserving; and, secondly, whether it is desirable to continue the existing electoral severance between urban and rural voters, and thus perpetuate the theory that their interests are antagonistic. It would seem to be a wiser policy to treat the whole population as one by making such boroughs as have not a sufficient town population for separate representation centres, as far as practicable, of constituencies in which urban and rural householders will work together for the common good. This is, however, one of the questions upon which there may be difference of opinion among reformers, and upon which further discussion may be desirable before arriving at a definite conclusion. It has been made tolerably certain, by recent controversies upon agricultural questions, that the inhabitants of the towns have a real sympathy with the cultivators of the soil in their endeavours to obtain such amendments in the law as are necessary to enable them to reap the full fruit of their capital and skill; the idea that there is any antagonism between "trade and spade" may now be regarded as an exploded fallacy.

*Districts of Boroughs.*

In Scotland there are 79 parliamentary cities and boroughs, only 7 of which—Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, and Perth—have separate



representation in the House of Commons. The remaining 72 are grouped into 15 districts of boroughs, each returning one member. In Wales there are 55 contributory boroughs, formed into 12 constituencies, the two remaining boroughs being Merthyr Tydvil and Brecon, the former of which, it has been already shown, is really a county constituency. The only avowed district of boroughs in England is Monmouth, but the principle has been adopted in several other cases, in which several towns have been united for the purpose of forming borough constituencies. Stoke-upon-Trent, for example, having six towns within its boundary, and Wednesbury four, each of which has a greater claim to separate representation than the numerous small and decaying villages technically called boroughs, which still maintain an influence in the House of Commons out of all proportion to their population or their commercial importance.

#### *The Universities.*

Nine members are returned by the following Universities : Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, two each ; London, Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, and Glasgow and Aberdeen, one each. As these constituencies are not local in their character, the electors being distributed throughout the United Kingdom, they are omitted from the following analysis of borough and county representation. It is a noteworthy fact that the elder of these learned constituencies have frequently displayed, in dealing with their representatives, the very characteristics which opponents of Reform attribute to popular constituencies. More than one of their most brilliant representatives have been dismissed because their views upon political topics have become wider and more enlightened than those of their constituents. Sir Robert Peel, for example, was rejected for Sir Robert Inglis, Sir Roundell Palmer for Sir John Mowbray, Mr. Gladstone for Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone, however, was not defeated by the resident electors of the University ; they were about 250 in number, of whom 155 voted or paired for him, whilst only 89 voted or paired against him. None of these constituencies, however, consist entirely of the resident members of the Universities, but mainly of those who have received their education at these institutions, and, in the case of the elder Universities, mainly of the clergy of the Established Church, whose hostility as a body to reform of every kind has long been notorious, and who in these days appear to carefully avoid selecting their



members, on account of their eminence in science or the arts. The conditions attached to these seats appear to be incompatible with the independence which is usually the attribute of eminent men. Tory principles have now much greater weight with the bulk of University electors, than a distinguished intellectual career. The whole question of University representation deserves consideration. There is already a new University in Ireland and another at Manchester, and probably the number will be increased before long, with a claim equal to that of the Universities now represented. The days of privilege are past, all must be represented or none; but the legitimate place in which men having had a University training should exercise their influence seems to be in the constituencies in which they reside. It would, moreover, be difficult to show that the majority of the representatives of our seats of learning have, in recent years, vindicated the only claim of their constituencies to separate representation by throwing any powerful intellectual light upon the difficult problems which have been considered in Parliament. The rôle has usually been very different, for they have been found among the most narrow-minded defenders of class privileges. "Sweetness and light" have not been among their characteristics.

*The Registration Divisions of England and Wales.*

For purposes connected with the registration of births, deaths and marriages, England and Wales has been formed into eleven registration divisions, and as this plan enables a clear and concise view to be obtained of the state of our electoral system, it has been adopted in the first table of electoral statistics appended herewith. These divisions do not exactly correspond with the areas of the counties, so that the divisions formed by grouping Parliamentary counties vary somewhat from the registration divisions formed in 1851 for the purposes of the census. The principle is, however, equally applicable for the purposes of the present inquiry, and has therefore been adopted as the best means of forming the fifty-two counties of England and Wales into convenient districts, and thus constructing an accurate and easily understood synopsis of the distribution of Parliamentary Representation in that portion of the United Kingdom. The following is a list of these divisions, with the counties or districts comprised in each :—



1. The Metropolis, including the City of London and the parliamentary boroughs within the Metropolitan boundary.
2. The South-Eastern Division—Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire.
3. The South-Midland Division—Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire.
4. The Eastern Division—Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk.
5. The South-Western Division—Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, Somersetshire.
6. The West-Midland Division—Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire.
7. The North-Midland Division—Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire.
8. The North-Western Division—Cheshire, Lancashire.
9. Yorkshire.
10. The Northern Division—Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland.
11. The Welsh Division—Monmouthshire, and North and South Wales.

The number of English representatives before the passing of the Scotch Reform Act of 1868, was 500; by that Act it was reduced to 493. Since that time, Beverley and Bridgewater have suffered the penalty of disfranchisement for corrupt practices, still further reducing the number of English representatives to 489. Of these, five represent universities; so that the total number of county and borough representatives is now 484. These, it has already been shown, are not distributed with any regard to population or wealth. The great centres of trade and industry have a very inadequate representation, while many small and decaying towns, whose only merit is that they were formerly places of trade and resort, monopolise an undue share of Parliamentary influence. These are the constituencies in which the least exalted political motives are at work. In some few instances they have been represented by able and distinguished men; as a rule, however, they become either the appanage of some great resident family, or the means by which men of great wealth, with no particular aptitude for politics, enter Parliament. They usually return the most Conservative Liberals, and the most re-actionary Conservatives. The following summary of the statistics detailed in the appendix gives a very interesting illustration of the manner in which this distribution of electoral power operates to the disadvantage of the most enterprising portions of the kingdom—



ENGLAND AND WALES, 1871.			Present No of Members.	No. of Population per Member.	No. of Members according to Population.	Excess.	Deficiency.
Divisions.	Population. 1871.	Electors. 1871.					
Metropolis ..	3,020,871	263,991	22	137,312	64	..	42
South -Eastern	2,344,131	186,709	65	36,063	50	15	..
South Midland	1,458,749	111,760	41	35,579	31	10	..
Eastern ..	1,253,961	84,420	29	43,240	27	2	..
South-Western	1,852,226	142,316	66	28,064	40	26	..
West Midland	2,766,660	306,205	70	39,523	59	11	..
North Midland	1,428,055	139,310	40	35,701	30	10	..
North-Western	3,381,672	319,327	46	73,514	72	..	26
Yorkshire ..	2,429,385	260,715	38	63,931	52	..	14
Northern ..	1,363,968	115,865	34	40,116	29	5	..
Welsh ..	1,410,162	123,695	33	42,732	30	3	..
	22,709,840	2,054,313	484	46,921	484	82	82

ENGLAND AND WALES, 1881.			Present No. of Mem- bers.	No. of Popula- tion per Member.	No. of Members according to Population.	Excess.	Deficiency.
Divisions.	Population. 1881.	Electors. 1881.					
Metropolis ..	3,452,350	337,692	22	156,925	64	..	42
South-Eastern	2,781,716	236,816	65	42,795	52	13	..
South Midland	1,615,738	131,844	41	39,408	30	11	..
Eastern .. ..	1,377,708	97,856	29	47,507	26	3	..
South-Western	1,815,181	154,326	66	27,502	34	32	..
West Midland	3,078,003	357,790	70	43,971	57	13	..
North Midland	1,666,962	164,068	40	41,674	31	9	..
North-Western	4,099,550	399,161	46	89,120	77	..	31
Yorkshire ..	2,875,475	324,453	38	75,670	54	..	16
Northern ..	1,627,250	168,132	34	47,860	30	4	..
Welsh .. ..	1,570,332	152,173	33	47,585	29	4	..
	25,960,276	2,524,311	484	53,636	484	89	89

It will be seen from these figures, that the three populous and important divisions, comprising the Metropolis and the great manufacturing counties of Lancashire (the north-



western district includes Lancashire and Cheshire) and Yorkshire have a very inadequate representation. With 10,427,381 inhabitants, or 40·16 per cent. of the entire population, they have only 21·90 per cent. of representative power. The Metropolitan boroughs contain 13 per cent. of the population, but have only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the representation; while 380,091 persons residing within the Metropolis are outside the Metropolitan boroughs, and therefore not directly represented. In marked contrast with this deficiency is the representation of that part of England which lies mainly south of the Thames, comprising the south-eastern and south-western registration divisions, and having within its limits 17 per cent. of the population; it absorbs 27 per cent. of the representation. The whole of the 42 members of which the Metropolis is deficient are allocated to this favoured district, and it has a further excess of 3 members. Of its representatives, 28 sit for boroughs, which are merely so nominally, being in reality small divisions of counties, having only a population of 279,791, being 57,901 less than the registered electors of the Metropolis. In these highly favoured constituencies, the average population represented by each member is, in round numbers, 9,990; while the average number for which the metropolitan members are responsible is 156,925. If the representation were proportioned to population, these twenty-eight insignificant constituencies would have to be content with five members. The total number of their electors is only 38,684, an average of 1,381 for each member; while the 337,692 electors of the Metropolis give each of its members an average of 15,349. The amount of the income-tax assessment of these small agricultural boroughs is £3,925,693, while that of the Metropolis is £119,860,688. The increase alone of the population of the London boroughs between 1871 and 1881 was 431,479, or 151,688 in excess of the entire population of these twenty-eight constituencies at the date of the last census. Is there any valid reason why they should have such an utterly disproportionate excess of representation, to the detriment of the vast, enterprising, and industrious community which inhabits the chief city of the Empire?

The two remaining districts in which there is a marked deficiency of representation, comprise the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, including the seats of great coal, iron, cotton, and woollen industries. The disparity of these districts is not so great as in the case of the Metro-



polis; they are, however, entitled to 47 additional members, on the principle of apportioning representation to population. In addition to the transfer of Members required to rectify this great disparity of representation, there would require within each district a complete readjustment of constituencies, in order to make the power of an elector in any one constituency, equal, as far as practicable, to the power of an elector in every other.

*The Metropolis, Lancashire, and Yorkshire.*

The inadequate representation of the Metropolitan boroughs and of the important counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire, arises from the fact that an allocation of seats made under a different distribution of population has been maintained without any substantial alteration. Our present representative system belongs, so far as the allotment of members is concerned, to a past century, not to the present. When the numerous boroughs of the southern portion of the kingdom were created, that district was the great centre of trade and manufactures. In those days Liverpool had no existence; Bristol was the great western port. The cotton manufacture had not been created; the woollen trade centred mainly in the west of England, not in Yorkshire; and the great iron and coal industries of Lancashire and North Yorkshire were awaiting development. In 1661 the population of the Metropolis was estimated at 460,000; in 1801 it was found to contain 864,035 inhabitants, and in 1881 it reaches 3,832,441, an increase of 343 per cent. In 1831 the population of the Metropolitan boroughs was 1,529,000; in 1871 it reached 3,020,871, and in 1881, 3,452,350, an increase of 125 per cent. over 1831. Since 1801 the limits of the Metropolis have been widely extended, but when every allowance is made for this extension, the increase of population in the district now comprised within the boundaries of the ten metropolitan cities and boroughs has been more than 200 per cent. since 1801. In 1801, the population of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire was 1,723,374; in 1831 it was 3,042,560; in 1871 it reached 5,811,057; and in 1881, 6,975,031; being an increase over 1831 of 129 per cent, and over 1801 of 304 per cent. The gross population of England and Wales for the four periods including 2,426 persons in 1871, and 8,010 in 1881, who do not appear, for some reason not explained, in the Parlia-



mentary Return from which the population of the counties and boroughs is taken, was as follows—

1801	...	...	...	8,892,536
1831	...	...	...	13,896,797
1871	...	...	...	22,712,266
1881	...	...	...	25,968,286

Increase over 1801, 17,075,750, or 192 per cent.; and over 1831, 12,071,489, or 86 per cent.

These figures show that the increase of the population of the Metropolis, including the unrepresented districts, between 1801 and 1881 was 151 per cent. in excess, and of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire 112 per cent. in excess of the average increase of England and Wales. For the period commencing 1831 and ending 1881 the excess above the average was, in the case of the Metropolitan boroughs, 39 per cent., and in the case of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire 43 per cent. The returns of the Poor Rate Assessment give similar results. The entire rateable value of England and Wales in 1841 was £62,540,030; and in 1881 it was £139,636,307, showing an increase of £77,096,277, or 123 per cent. In the five counties of Kent, Lancaster, Middlesex, Surrey, and York, the returns were £22,047,637 in 1841; and £66,643,143 in 1881, the increase being £44,595,506, or 202 per cent., an excess of 79 per cent., above the average increase.

Notwithstanding these facts, there has been no substantial change in the distribution of political power. By the Reform Act of 1867 the representation of the metropolis was increased from 18 to 22, its due proportion of representatives, according to population, being 64. The representation of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, was increased from 77 to 86 (since reduced by the disfranchisement of Beverley to 84), the real number to which these counties are entitled in proportion to their population being 124.

#### *Population, Income Tax Assessment, and Representation of English Counties.*

It would be an almost endless task to expose every anomaly of the existing distribution of seats. The more fully it is investigated the more glaring do its inconsistencies and inequalities become. They are shown very clearly in the following analysis of the population of the English Counties,



including the Parliamentary Boroughs and arranged according to the number of members:—

TWO MEMBERS.				ELEVEN MEMBERS.	
Rutland .. .. .	21,434	Somerset .. .. .	430,890	Surrey .. .. .	1,419,176
THREE MEMBERS.				Warwick .. .. .	728,665
Huntingdon .. .. .	57,343	Worcester .. .. .	452,538	THIRTEEN MEMBERS.	
Monmouth .. .. .	211,374			Cornwall .. .. .	329,484
Westmoreland .. .. .	64,184			Durham .. .. .	878,412
FOUR MEMBERS.				Gloucester .. .. .	610,143
Bedford .. .. .	149,461			FOURTEEN MEMBERS.	
Hertford .. .. .	202,990			Chester .. .. .	661,923
FIVE MEMBERS.				Lincoln .. .. .	471,385
Cambridge .. .. .	185,475			FIFTEEN MEMBERS.	
SIX MEMBERS.				Sussex .. .. .	490,316
Hereford .. .. .	120,947			Wiltshire .. .. .	258,080
Leicester .. .. .	321,018			SIXTEEN MEMBERS.	
SEVEN MEMBERS.				Southampton .. .. .	593,487
Oxford .. .. .	182,015			SEVENTEEN MEMBERS.	
EIGHT MEMBERS.				Devon .. .. .	604,397
Berkshire .. .. .	221,192			EIGHTEEN MEMBERS.	
Buckingham .. .. .	173,514			Middlesex .. .. .	2,918,814
Cumberland .. .. .	250,630			NINETEEN MEMBERS.	
Derby .. .. .	461,141			Stafford .. .. .	917,676
Northampton .. .. .	270,992			TWENTY-ONE MEMBERS.	
NINE MEMBERS.				Kent .. .. .	985,029
Suffolk .. .. .	356,953			THIRTY-TWO MEMBERS.	
TEN MEMBERS.				Lancaster .. .. .	3,437,633
Dorset .. .. .	192,330			THIRTY-EIGHT MEMBERS.	
Essex .. .. .	575,930			York .. .. .	2,875,475
Norfolk .. .. .	444,825				
Northumberland .. .. .	434,024				
Nottingham .. .. .	391,984				
Salop .. .. .	248,039				

It is difficult to understand upon what ground these anomalies can be defended. Upon what principle have the counties of Huntingdon and Monmouth three members each? Why has Surrey, with more than three times the population of Somerset, only the same number of representatives? A similar question arises in respect to each group in the table. Why should York, with 2,800,000 population, have 38 members, while Lancashire, with 3,400,000, has only 32? The question is not answered by urging that property should be represented, for the returns already referred to show that



the growth of population and the growth of property are concurrent. Why should Wiltshire, with 258,000 population, have 15 members; Devon, with 604,000, have 17; Stafford, with 917,000, have 19; and Kent, with 985,000, have 21; while Surrey, with 1,419,000, has only 11; and Middlesex, with 2,918,000, has only 18 representatives? Are these great constituencies less intelligent than the numerous small boroughs which monopolise so large a share of the representation; have they a smaller interest in the welfare of the commonwealth and the enactment of "just and righteous laws;" or have they committed some flagrant offence against the public weal which renders it necessary to deprive them of that share of the representation which justly belongs to them, and place it in the hands of constituencies whose stationary or declining population is an unmistakable evidence that enterprise and vigour have passed from them?

An examination of the Poor Law Valuation fully corroborates the Population and Income Tax Returns. For example, Middlesex, with a population, including the cities and boroughs, of 2,918,814, an Income Tax Assessment of £110,412,473, and a Gross Estimated Rental of £27,778,840, has 18 representatives; while Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, with a population of 450,410, an Income Tax Assessment of £6,754,069, and a Gross Estimated Rental of £2,860,644, have 25, or 7 more than Middlesex. Berkshire and Buckingham, with a population of 394,706, an Income Tax Assessment of £5,886,965, and a Gross Estimated Rental of £2,708,025, have 16 representatives; while Surrey, with a population of 1,419,176, an Income Tax Assessment of £20,465,577, and a Gross Estimated Rental of £9,411,659, has only 11, or 5 less than Berkshire and Buckingham. Examples of this kind may easily be multiplied from the returns of every county in England and Wales.\*

### *Taxation and Representation.*

The present distribution of seats cannot be defended upon the ground that a balance ought to be maintained between taxation and representation. The large proportion of imperial taxation levied by duties upon articles of consumption renders it impossible to show in actual figures the amount

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\* See Appendix VII. The population of the counties is compiled from the Parliamentary Return No. 149, Session 1882, "Parliamentary Constituencies." It differs in some respects from the Census Returns of the Territorial Counties, as boroughs situated in more than one county are given in the counties in which the largest part of them is located. The Income Tax Returns in this table have been compiled in the same manner.



paid in each constituency. It is, however, certain that, inasmuch as the operative classes of the large town constituencies are better paid than those of the smaller towns and rural districts, their consumption of taxed commodities and their consequent contribution to the revenue are much higher. If the income tax returns are taken as a basis, it will be found that they more than corroborate the results of the tables of population. The entire assessment for England and Wales, exclusive of £262,644 on the property of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and £13,982,534 on Public Offices, is £432,592,804, of which Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Lancaster and York, contributed £238,219,950, or £21,923,548 more than one-half, while their share in the representation is not quite one-fourth the total number of members. It is quite clear that the excess of power lodged in the smaller constituencies cannot be defended upon the ground of their contributions to the public revenue. The following Table gives a summary of the Income-tax Assessment of England and Wales divided into five districts, and of Scotland and Ireland. It shows that, in proportion to their direct taxation, the Metropolitan boroughs have a large deficiency of representative power.

	Income Tax Assessment.	No. of Mem- bers.	Assessment per Member.
	£		£
Metropolitan District .. ..	*119,860,688	22	5,448,213
South-Eastern and South-Western Division .. ..	61,358,924	131	468,388
North, South, and West Midland and Eastern Divisions .. ..	111,759,806	180	620,887
Northern, North - Western, and Yorkshire Divisions .. ..	122,947,518	118	1,041,928
Welsh Division .. ..	16,665,868	33	505,026
England and Wales .. ..	432,592,804	484	893,786
Scotland .. ..	54,782,336	58	944,523
Ireland .. ..	34,200,205	101	338,615

\* The Assessment of London includes the bulk of the railways, public companies, dividends in foreign investments, &c., which are paid there; although the owners reside in all parts of the United Kingdom. This, no doubt, would reduce the amount of the assessment properly belonging to the Metropolis, but it would still be largely in excess of other portions of the kingdom. If the assessment under Schedule A is taken, it will be seen that the result is not altered. For the whole of England and Wales the amount was £152,553,738; for the Metropolis, £26,201,416, or more than one-sixth of the whole assessment, while it has only one twenty-second part of the representation.



The impossibility of successfully defending the present distribution of seats on the ground that representation should be based upon property, as well as population, is also clearly shown in the Poor Law Valuation (see Appendix VIII.), of which the following is a summary:—

COUNTIES ASSESSED.	No.	Rateable Value.	No. of Members.	Assessment per Member.
England:—		£		£
Under £500,000 .. .. .	3	1,111,487	8	138,935
Above £500,000 .. .. . and Under £1,000,000	4	3,532,160	28	126,148
1,000,000 .. .. . 2,000,000	14	21,117,152	115	183,627
2,000,000 .. .. . 4,000,000	14	41,443,493	183	226,467
Above £4,000,000 .. .. .	5	66,643,143	120	555,359
	40	133,847,435	454	294,818
North Wales .. .. .		2,102,814	12	175,234
South Wales .. .. .		3,686,058	18	204,781
		139,636,307	484	288,504

It will be seen from the returns that the five counties which are assessed at £66,643,143, or 47 per cent. of the entire valuation, have only 25 per cent. of the representation. A reference to the population column shows that these counties (Kent, Lancaster, Middlesex, Surrey, and York) contained, in 1871, 11,636,127 souls, or nearly 45 per cent. of the entire population of England and Wales. Whether we test their representation by property or population, it is proved to be deficient. The following examples are sufficient to illustrate the absurdity of defending the present distribution of seats, on the alleged ground that property ought to be represented as well as numbers. Kent, with an assessment of £5,507,779, has 21 members, while Surrey, with an assessment of £7,718,654, has only 11; Devon and Cornwall, assessed at £4,202,421, have 30 members, while Lancashire, assessed at £16,879,553, or nearly four times the amount, has only 32; Buckingham and Dorset, assessed at £1,812,491 have the same number of representatives as Middlesex, with an assessment of £23,109,785, or above twelve times the amount; Berkshire, Sussex, and Wiltshire, assessed at £5,749,328, have the same weight in Parliament as Yorkshire, assessed



at £13,427,372. The great centres of trade, industry, and population, which bear the heaviest burden of taxation, both Imperial and local, are outvoted in Parliament by the representatives of small and decaying towns, which have lost the importance they possessed at the time when the Parliamentary system was developed, and have ceased to have any claim to separate representation. Lord Beaconsfield attempted to defend this appropriation of representation on the ground that "men who have carved out their own fortunes, who have shown that they are men of mark, do find their way into the House of Commons chiefly through these small boroughs." It may be the case that, in consequence of the natural avenues for such men being closed, they sometimes avail themselves of the small boroughs, and it is unnecessary to scrutinise too closely the means by which they attain their position. It would be far more desirable, on every ground, that they should sit as the representatives of their immediate neighbours, among whom they reside, and by whom they are best known, as they doubtless would if we had a rational system of representation. The larger constituencies have rarely shown themselves indifferent to the claims of "men of mark;" of this there are many illustrations in the present Parliament.

The facts speak for themselves—further comment is unnecessary. To deny great centres of population and industry their due proportion of representative power, differs only in degree from a complete denial of representation. Those who maintain the existing distribution of political power are the legitimate successors of the upholders of rotten boroughs, and manifest the old spirit of exclusion which refused, in 1831, to enfranchise Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and other great manufacturing towns.

*Scotland.*

In the case of Scotland, the anomalies are not so great as in England. This is owing to the system of grouping boroughs, introduced at the time of the Union, Edinburgh being then the only city or borough which retained the privilege of independent representation in Parliament. From that time down to the passing of the Reform Act of 1832, the remainder of the Scotch burghs were formed into groups, and their representatives were elected by delegates chosen by the town council of each contributory borough. In 1832, the powers of the town councils were abolished as far as the



election of representatives was concerned, and the franchise was vested in £10 occupiers; but, with the exception of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, the principle of contributory boroughs was retained. The groups of boroughs have not been formed with any exclusive regard to the counties in which the contributory boroughs are situated, places in different counties being associated for the purpose of electing Members of Parliament. Neither is it always the case that all the associated boroughs are within the same registration division. It is, therefore, impossible to classify Scotch representation according to recognised districts, as in the case of England, and it has been found most convenient to adopt the simple distinction of county and borough constituencies. The following is a summary of the tables in the Appendix—

	Population, 1881.	Electors, 1881.	No. of Members.	Population per Member.*
Counties .. ..	2,080,243	96,570	32	65,007
Boroughs .. ..	1,647,881	201,529	26	63,380
	3,728,124	298,099	58	64,278

At first sight the proportion of members as between counties and boroughs does not appear to require alteration; but here, as in England, there is a considerable town population not included in any Parliamentary borough. The preliminary census report gives the following as the numbers of town and rural population:—Towns, 2,524,909; Villages and Rural Districts, 1,209,532; total, 3,734,441.\*

If the whole town population were included in Parliamentary boroughs, they would be entitled to 39 representatives instead of 26, and the counties to 19 instead of 32. In Scotland there is no borough with a population under 10,000, in England and Wales there are 56; in Scotland there are only four boroughs with a population between 10,000 and 20,000, in England and Wales there are 35. In

\* These figures include the population of shipping in Scotch harbours, while it is omitted from the return of the Parliamentary counties and boroughs.



the counties the position appears to be reversed: there are 13 counties in Scotland with a less population than 50,000 while in England there is only 1, and in Wales 4. Compared, however, with the anomalies and inequalities of English representation, the distribution of seats in Scotland may be pronounced almost perfect. The task of remedying its imperfections will be easy compared with that of reducing the electoral system of England to something like order, consistency, and proportion.

The Income-tax Assessments of Scotland show that the boroughs pay on £29,226,022, and the counties on £25,556,314; so that the claim of the boroughs to increased representation is strengthened by their contributions to the revenue. It must be evident also that the population of the great thriving manufacturing towns contribute far more in the form of indirect taxation than the scattered inhabitants of extensive moors, which exist mainly for the production of grouse, and the many districts, formerly inhabited by a hardy peasantry and stocked with sheep and cattle, which have been converted into deer forests.

### *Ireland.*

The electoral system of Ireland is also replete with anomalies. The number of representatives for the counties, with a population of 4,258,385, is 64, or 1 for every 66,537 of population; the boroughs, with 901,454 inhabitants, have 37 representatives, or 1 for every 24,363 of the population. The number of electors in the counties is 168,217, returning 64 members, or one member for every 2,628 electors; the number of borough electors is 57,497, returning 37 members, or one for every 1,554 electors. Of the borough constituencies, more than one-half have less than 500 electors, the numbers being as follows:—Portarlinton, 142; Kinsale, 190; Mallow, 288; Ennis, 254; Wexford, 488; New Ross, 261; Downpatrick, 319; Dungannon, 279; Youghal, 266; Tralee, 380; Carlow, 295; Dungarvan, 304; Athlone, 337; Bandon, 434; Coleraine, 443; Enniskillen, 414; and Clonmel, 416. The total number of electors in these boroughs is 5,510, returning 17 representatives, the average number of electors per member being 324. The remaining fourteen borough constituencies have 51,987 electors, and return 20 members, the average number per member being 2,599.



The following table gives a summary of the representation of each province—

	Population.	No. of Members.	Population per Member.
Ulster .. .. .	1,739,542	29	59,984
Leinster . . . .	1,282,881	34	37,731
Connaught .. ..	813,506	12	67,792
Munster . . . . .	1,323,910	26	50,919
	5,159,839	101	51,087

If the existing representation were duly apportioned to population, the number of members for each province would be as follows:—Ulster, 34; Leinster, 25; Connaught, 16; and Munster, 26.

In an able series of letters on the representation of Ireland, which appeared in the *Times* newspaper in October, 1873, the late Mr. Isaac Butt attributed the anomalies of Irish representation to the circumstance that Parliament had never found time to apply to Ireland the principles which were adopted in England in the review and readjustment of the representation which was effected in the years 1867 and 1868. In the course of these pages it has been shown that the anomalies of English are quite as glaring as those of Irish representation, and it will be remembered that one of the cardinal features of the Reform Bill of 1867 was the preservation of anomalies. It is not, therefore, self-evident that the principles upon which the representation of England was adjusted by the Conservative administration of the late Lord Derby would do much to remedy the anomalies of Ireland.

### *The Migration of Population.*

The extent to which the existing distribution of seats has been affected during the ten years ending 1881 is shown in the analyses of the population returns of 1871 and 1881, which appears in Appendix III., of which the following tables\* are a summary, so far as concerns the increase and

\* For Tabular Summary see pp. 46-49.



decrease of population in different districts. They throw considerable light upon the changes that have taken place in the social and industrial condition of the population during the ten years preceding the last census. An examination of the details shows that the increase of population in the counties has occurred mainly in those counties which are either the seats of manufacturing, mining and industrial development, or, being conveniently located near such localities, have become very largely residential. The decrease of population, on the other hand, has taken place mainly in the agricultural counties; in Ireland, where agriculture is the sole resource of the people, there is a decrease in every county except two—Dublin and Kerry. The fact that the population in these districts is steadily declining should give rise to serious reflections upon the question of our land laws, unless, indeed, we are prepared to reverse old opinions and to regard a declining population as a public benefit. The stationary condition of the French population is frequently used in condemnation of the French land system; but the English agricultural districts exhibit the same phenomenon, and our land system cannot be considered perfect unless we are prepared to admit that a declining population, although bad for France, is good for England. The decrease in the boroughs is, with four exceptions, entirely in the small constituencies, and in London (City) and Westminster, two of the larger constituencies whose population has decreased, the diminution arises from the conversion of residential into business property. Broadly stated, the small boroughs have a stationary or decreasing population, while the large boroughs show a considerable increase. The inequalities of our representative system become greater every year, and the task of re-distribution will not become easier by delay. Nor is the grievance one of a mere theoretical character, unless, indeed, we were to adopt the theory of that celebrated character, Mr. Toots, and hold that legislation upon questions affecting the well-being of the population is "of no consequence." The evils, however, are real and serious, and need an immediate remedy.

It is frequently urged that other considerations than mere numbers should be taken into account in the apportionment of representation—that property ought to have due weight, and it is on this ground that small constituencies are frequently defended. But it has been already shown in these pages that the populous constituencies pay the largest



proportion of income-tax, and are most heavily assessed to the poor rate, while there can be no doubt that they contribute most heavily to indirect taxation; in apportioning representation, therefore, in accordance with population the just claims of property are not disregarded. The true basis of re-distribution is population, and the problem would be very much simplified in the future, if the method employed in the United States were adopted here. The difficulties

Population in 1881.	COUNTIES WITH AN INCREASE.	Increase since 1871.
	ENGLAND AND WALES.	
Between 50,000 & 75,000	Flint, Isle of Wight, Merioneth, N. Northumberland, S. Notts, W. Sussex, and W. Worcester .. ..	27,077
75,000 & 100,000	Carmarthen, Carnarvon, Denbigh, N. Derby, S. Leicester, and S. Warwick.	39,592
100,000 & 125,000	E. Chester, W. Cumberland, N. Leicester, N. Lincoln, N. Norfolk, N. Northampton, and E. Somerset ..	77,275
125,000 & 150,000	Bedford, Berks, M. Chester, E. and S. Derby, M. Kent, S. Northumberland, N. Notts, S. Hampshire, E. and N. Stafford, and E. Riding of York	203,860
150,000 & 200,000	W. Chester, E. Devon, S. Durham, W. Gloucester, Hertford, Monmouth. E. Suffolk, W. Surrey, E. Sussex and N. Warwick .. ..	184,270
Above 200,000	N. Durham, S. Essex, Glamorgan, E. and W. Kent, Lancaster (all divisions), Middlesex, E. and M. Surrey, E. Worcester, and York (N. and W. Riding) .. ..	1,264,404
	SCOTLAND.	
Under 50,000	Bute, Haddington, Kirkeudbright, Linlithgow, and Peebles and Selkirk. ..	11,429
Between 50,000 & 75,000	Banff, Dumbarton, and Forfar ..	18,621
75,000 & 100,000	Edinburgh, Perth, and Stirling ..	29,357
100,000 & 125,000	Fife .. ..	3,371
125,000 & 150,000	Aberdeen and Renfrew .. ..	43,330
150,000 & 200,000	Ayr .. ..	10,414
Above 200,000	Lanark .. ..	113,160
	IRELAND.	
Dublin, 145,088 ; Kerry, 190,784.	Dublin and Kerry .. ..	11,247
	Total increase ..	2,037,407



of the question arise from our long neglect of justice in the apportionment of representation among the different constituencies; the task would be simple if it were adjusted every ten years in accordance with the results of every census. The constitution of the United States provides that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers." Provision was made that the first enumeration should be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress, "and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct." Here is a simple self-acting system, by means of which the representation of the United States is adjusted every ten years, the transfer of representation to new and populous localities takes place gradually,

Population in 1881.	COUNTIES WITH A DECREASE.	Decrease since 1871.
	ENGLAND AND WALES.	
Under 50,000 each	Anglesey, Brecon, Montgomery, Radnor, and Rutland. . . . .	8,617
Between 50,000 & 75,000	Cardigan, E. Cumberland, Huntingdon, Pembroke, S. Salop, Westmoreland, and S. Wilts . . . . .	20,557
75,000 & 100,000	S. Devon, E. Gloucester, Hereford, M. Lincoln, S. Northampton, W. Stafford, and N. Wilts. . . . .	32,814
100,000 & 125,000	Bucks, N. Devon, E. and W. Essex, S. Lincoln, S. and W. Norfolk, Oxford, N. Salop, M. and W. Somerset, and W. Suffolk . . . . .	49,950
125,000 & 150,000	Cambridge, E. and W. Cornwall, Dorset, and N. Hampshire . . . . .	45,890
	SCOTLAND.	
Under 50,000	Berwick, Caithness, Clackmannan and Kinross, Elgin and Nairn, Kincardine, Roxburgh, Sutherland, and Wigtown . . . . .	12,146
Between 50,000 & 75,000	Argyll, Dumfries, Inverness, Orkney and Shetland, and Ross and Cromarty . . . . .	10,371
	IRELAND.	
	Every County shows a decrease, except Dublin and Kerry . . . . .	298,883
	Total decrease . . . . .	479,228



and the difficulties and conflicts that necessarily arise under our less scientific and haphazard method of procedure are avoided. The introduction of such a system into this country is certainly deserving of serious consideration. It has frequently been urged in opposition to proposals for Reform, that Parliament has other and more important work to do, that it cannot always be pulling the machinery of legislation to pieces, but should proceed with more practical work. It is now, however, tolerably evident that

Population in 1881.	BOROUGHES WITH AN INCREASE	Increase since 1871.
	ENGLAND AND WALES.	
Under 7,000	Abingdon, Andover, Bodmin, Brecon, Evesham, Launceston, Leominster, Ludlow, Lymington, Marlborough, Marlow, Northallerton, Petersfield, Richmond, and Thirsk .. ..	3,743
Between 7,000 & 10,000	Bewdley, Chichester, Cirencester, Coker- mouth, Dorchester, Droitwich, Har- wick, Hertford, Horsham, Lichfield, Malton, Midhurst, Newport, Ripon, Rye, and Stamford .. ..	12,098
10,000 & 20,000	Every borough except Truro .. ..	49,579
20,000 & 30,000	" " Dover and Wenlock.	49,970
30,000 & 50,000	Every borough .. ..	187,531
50,000 & 100,000	" " except Devonport, City of London, and Merthyr .. ..	261,081
100,000 & 200,000	Every borough .. ..	385,111
Above 200,000	" " except Westminster .. ..	722,145
	SCOTLAND.	
Between 10,000 & 20,000	Every borough except Wick .. ..	42,003
20,000 & 30,000	Every borough .. ..	1,864
30,000 & 50,000	" " .. ..	8,660
50,000 & 100,000	" " .. ..	35,391
100,000 & 200,000	" " .. ..	42,700
Above 200,000	" " .. ..	37,972
	IRELAND.	
Under 7,000	Athlone, Coleraine, Dungannon, Ennis- killen, and Mallow .. ..	905
Between 7,000 & 10,000	Tralee .. ..	158
10,000 & 20,000	Carrickfergus, Clonmel, Dundalk Lis- burn, and Newry .. ..	4,371
20,000 & 30,000	Londonderry .. ..	3,705
Above 200,000	Belfast, and Dublin .. ..	38,606
	Total increase .. ..	1,887,593



work of any kind has become exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, and the obstruction which has brought about the Parliamentary deadlock proceeds from representatives of small constituencies that have no claim whatever to separate representation. The redistribution of political power has become, therefore, the first step towards practical and important work. The adoption of a self-acting method of adjustment, based upon the results of each census, would, moreover, gradually harmonise representation in the House of Commons with the distribution of population and wealth in the nation, would maintain at all times a just system of representation, and would thus avoid the necessity for the great and sudden changes which long neglect renders inevitable.

Population in 1881.	BOROUGHS WITH A DECREASE.	Decrease since 1871.
	ENGLAND AND WALES.	
Under 7,000	Bridport, Buckingham, Calne, Chippenham, Devizes, Eye, Huntingdon, Knaresborough, Liskeard, Malmesbury, Radnor, Tavistock, Tewkesbury, Wareham, and Westbury .. ..	5,880
Between 7,000 & 10,000	Bridgnorth, Frome, Haverfordwest, Helston, Maldon, St. Ives, Shaftesbury, Wallingford, Wilton, and Woodstock .. ..	4,239
10,000 & 20,000	Truro .. ..	386
20,000 & 30,000	Dover and Wenlock .. ..	1,085
50,000 & 100,000	Levonport, City of London, and Merthyr	30,208
Over 200,000	Westminster .. ..	17,674
	SCOTLAND.	
Between 10,000 & 20,000	Wick .. ..	100
	IRELAND.	
Under 7,000	Bandon, Downpatrick, Ennis, Kinsale, New Ross, Portarlinton, and Youghal .. ..	2,351
Between 7,000 & 10,000	Armagh, Carlow, and Dungarvan ..	1,297
10,000 & 20,000	Drogheda, Galway, Kilkenny, and Wexford .. ..	3,246
20,000 & 30,000	Waterford .. ..	1,027
30,000 & 50,000	Limerick .. ..	1,734
50,000 & 100,000	Cork .. ..	2,992
	Total decrease ..	72,219



*Objections to Redistribution.*

It is difficult to imagine any valid grounds upon which a redistribution of electoral power can be opposed. Some of the small constituencies, which, under the present system, have an undue share of power, may be unwilling to lose their supremacy; but the equalisation of the borough and county franchise will make the case for a redistribution of political power irresistible. The representatives of small constituencies may perhaps form in the future, as they have done in the past, a compact phalanx, recruited from both sides of the House; with the assistance of the House of Lords, they may be able materially to delay, but they will in the end prove powerless to prevent, a just and equitable settlement of this great question. When the public mind is fully aroused to a perception of its vital importance, the most determined opposition will not long delay the progress of electoral reform. The principles upon which the two great measures of Parliamentary Reform of this century, that of 1832 and that of 1867, were based—that Parliament ought to represent the whole community—demand, for their complete acknowledgment and crowning triumph, the extension of household suffrage to the counties, and the due adjustment of representation to population, so as to give every portion of the United Kingdom neither more nor less than its legitimate influence in the Legislature.

It has been alleged by Conservative speakers and writers that the country does not desire any further constitutional change. Upon this point, the country is able to decide and speak for itself; the Government is pledged to introduce a substantial measure, and there can be little doubt that it will need popular support in order to carry it through a House of Commons, consisting so largely of representatives of small constituencies, with a sufficiently large majority to secure its acceptance by the House of Lords. If such a measure is to become law during the present Parliament, the advocates of reform should organise at once.

It is, moreover, urged that social and sanitary questions are the subjects respecting which the people now require legislation and not constitutional reform; but it cannot be admitted that these important questions can be satisfactorily and finally dealt with by a House of Commons so constituted as to deprive the great communities, which have the most



pressing need of such legislation, of their due influence in Parliament. The sanitary legislation of the Beaconsfield Government shows that, although its necessity may be made a very useful party cry, the bulk of the Conservative party are not in any great hurry to carry any real and effective measure of sanitary improvement. The cause of social and sanitary reform has little to gain from such measures as the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act, or the Agricultural Holdings Act. A complete reform of the representative system is an indispensable prelude to effective measures of legislation for the social and sanitary benefit of the population. The necessity of dealing thoroughly with such questions is an argument in favour of enfranchising the people affected by them. Skilled workmen, who have votes, have been the objects of much parliamentary solicitude, but considerably less zeal has been displayed on behalf of workmen who have no votes. The same has been the case with the farmers: so long as they voted without hesitation for Tory landlords nothing was done for them; now that they threaten a political revolt, Conservative members of the House of Commons are impressed with the necessity of doing something that may seem, at all events, to comply with their demands.

Whenever the Conservative party has entertained an objection to the concession of some popular right, it has invariably been its policy to try and divert attention by insisting upon the more pressing urgency of other legislative measures. At the time when the landed interest was maintaining laws which restricted the importation of corn, prohibited the importation of fresh meat, dead or alive, and placed heavy duties, in many instances prohibitory, upon all other articles of food, while duties of excise were levied upon many necessaries of life, thus limiting the demand for our manufactures, and condemning the mass of our population to hopeless and unremitting toil for a scanty pittance of wages, some Conservatives were impressed with the necessity of a ten hours Act for factories. When a starving people asked for bread, a Conservative Ministry proposed to give them education in the principles of the Church of England. County representatives manifested an interest in the condition of factory operatives, which they were very slow to extend to the labourers employed in the cultivation of their own broad acres. The demand of the people for a national system of education, embracing the entire population, was met with determined opposition, in order to maintain denomina-



tional and sectarian teaching. Every effort made to extend throughout the whole kingdom the important principle of self-government by means of County Boards, elected by the ratepayers, has been successfully resisted; while Conservative landlords have transferred local burdens, inherited with their estates, from their own shoulders to those of the people at large. Every effective proposal to simplify the tenure and to facilitate the transfer of land has been invariably negatived, and the demand for security for capital invested in the cultivation of the soil, in order to increase the food-producing power of the country, was met by the late Government with an Agricultural Holdings Act that was a palpable sham. The existing distribution of political power is not a mere sentimental grievance, but one in which the highest interests of the community are involved. It is vain to expect legislation, adapted to the necessities of the nineteenth century, from a House of Commons modelled upon a distribution of the population which prevailed at a much earlier period of our history, and has long since ceased to exist. Our present electoral system resembles the Lord Mayor's state coach, or the Speaker's state carriage: it is interesting as a relic of the past, but is by no means adapted to the necessities of the present. It is mainly owing to the preservation of such anomalies in our representation, that every legislative improvement, however necessary or trivial, requires almost a revolution to effect it, and the cry of the "Constitution in danger!" becomes the chronic watchword of the Mrs. Partingtons of modern politics.

The two main objections urged against the redistribution of seats are—first, that it would destroy the influence of property; and, secondly, that it would remove the avenues by which men of talent obtain access to the House of Commons. That it would tend to destroy the illegitimate influence of property the advocates of redistribution admit, but they emphatically deny that it would in any way impair the legitimate influence which men of wealth, leisure, and education are able to exercise in their respective neighbourhoods. The extinction of small "centres of representation" might deprive some men, whose wealth is their only qualification for the Legislature, of the channels through which they have hitherto entered its portals; but it could not diminish the legitimate influence of any one who is not averse from meeting the people and discussing with them, face to face, the legislative problems which affect the welfare of the country. If holders of property find themselves without



influence under a new *régime*, it will be because they neglect the duties imposed upon them by their station. If the second objection is of any value, it points to something more than the retention of small constituencies. If the representation of the small boroughs is carefully examined, it will be found that the most notable instances that can be adduced in support of the theory that they are the avenues for men of talent derive their force, not from the mere size of the constituency, but from the fact that the predominance of some particular influence makes them mere nomination boroughs. In some few instances the patrons of these boroughs have, no doubt, used their influence to secure the return of distinguished men to the House of Commons; but in the majority of cases such seats are occupied by mere nominees of the predominant power, who are liable to ejection in the event of their taking a course displeasing to their patrons. Woodstock is a case in point: when Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill became a Liberal, his retirement at the next dissolution, which took place in 1865, was inevitable. A more recent example is to be found in the small borough of Richmond: its patron, the Earl of Zetland, has become a Conservative, and we are already informed that the present Liberal member will retire at the next dissolution of Parliament. It would doubtless be a great misfortune if able men were excluded from the Legislature because they could not win a popular constituency, but the election of such men to the present House of Commons for some of the largest Boroughs negatives the assumption that such constituencies are insensible to the claims of eminent ability. When the Corrupt Practices Bill becomes law, the prospects of such candidates will be much brighter. Intellect will then have a better chance, and let us hope that in due time the degrading influence of excessive expenditure, whether employed at an election, or between elections for the purpose of "nursing" a constituency, will be considered to be immoral and disreputable. Whenever the bulk of the electors awake to a consciousness of the real relation of a representative to his constituents, they will return their members, as some constituencies do now, free of any expense, and will thus be able to command faithful and honest service from men whose brain power is greater than the power of their purse.

There is another objection, which has been urged by avowed opponents of reform and by timid and hesitating politicians on the Liberal benches—the difficulty of the task. Lord



Beaconsfield made the admission (May 31, 1867) that "there is no reason, if this question of the representation of the county population is to be considered upon its merits, and not with reference to the circumstances before us, why we should not carve out the country, and endeavour to give a mathematical and precise representation to the 11,500,000 who undoubtedly are very inadequately represented." His excuse for not doing so was stated in the following words:—"The moment we attempt to frame an ideal system of representation, or at all to approach such a change in our representative system, we undertake a difficult task"—an admirable illustration of the proverb, "the slothful man saith there is a lion in the path." Conservative politicians are invariably slothful in the path of reform, and make the most of its difficulties. That which is distasteful is always difficult; but to the genuine reformer difficulty is the most powerful incentive to exertion. The great thing to be ascertained is—are the principles we advocate true; if they are, we must not be daunted by difficulties. When it is remembered that the equalisation of political power involves a transfer of representation from the minority to the majority of the population, it will be seen that the task is necessarily one of considerable difficulty, and will demand a strong and vigorous effort. This fact, however, must not dishearten those who advocate this great measure of justice. Let the reformers of the present day work with the same zeal and energy which characterised those whose successors they claim to be, and the fruit of whose labours they now enjoy, the day will not be far distant when the theory upon which the House of Commons is presumed to be constituted will be a fact, and it will become an assembly in which every portion of the United Kingdom will be fully and fairly represented. The question must be considered and settled both "upon its merits" and "with reference to the circumstances before us;" there is no divergence between the two, as Lord Beaconsfield seemed to assert. The circumstances before us reveal a system that cannot be defended upon its merits, and the sooner we have a system that can the better it will be for the country.

#### Conclusion.

The case against the present distribution of power was very ably summed up so far back as November, 1872, by the *Times* newspaper, in an article upon an Electoral Reform Conference, held at St. James's Hall, over which



Mr. Chamberlain presided. The writer said:—"The Electoral Reformers have got together a large number of facts which exhibit the undeniable anomalies of our representative system. There are anomalies in the way the Parliamentary franchise is conferred. A cottager in one extended area has a vote because the area is called a borough, the fact being that a small town is to be found somewhere within its borders. A cottager in another area of equal or even less size has not a vote because the area is called a county. Then there are still greater anomalies in the way in which the privilege of returning a member to the House of Commons is distributed. In one place the majority out of 1,500 votes can send two members to Westminster; in another place the same privilege is given to the majority of 30,000 voters. No one contests that these are anomalies; they can be explained—they can, in a measure, be defended. But we are perfectly ready to admit—what everyone knows, though everyone is not frank enough to confess it—that they will not stand. Sooner or later they will be removed." From this admission the advocates of redistribution may gather encouragement to persevere in agitating the question. The statement that these anomalies can only be defended "in a measure" is a virtual admission that they are indefensible. Whether the time when they will disappear is near at hand or far distant depends upon the energy and perseverance with which the facts of the case are disseminated and public opinion is brought to bear upon the House of Commons.

The principle which should govern a redistribution of electoral power was clearly defined by Lord Beaconsfield in the following words (Hansard, 3rd series, vol. clxxxvi., page 24):—"Whatever you do, your representation must be fairly distributed over the country; if you give a greater preponderance to one part at the expense of another, you create two nations: there will be a want of sympathy and cordiality between the parts, and you will, in fact, be going back to the principles of the heptarchy." Ample evidence has been adduced to show the unfairness of the present distribution of representation, which, indeed, cannot be more emphatically condemned than it was by Lord Beaconsfield in the above passage. It does not, however, appear probable that any measure conceived in that spirit will be received with much favour by the Conservative party. To Mr. Gladstone, those who advocate a more just distribution of power may look with confidence, remembering



his emphatic declaration upon the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1867, that "the distribution of seats proposed by the Bill must be considerably enlarged."

For that enlargement the time is now fully ripe. The Ministry are pledged to the work, they have a large majority in the House of Commons strongly in its favour, and the nation expects that the next appeal to the country will be made to an enlarged electorate, and under conditions that will secure a more adequate representation of the people. It must not, however, be forgotten that there is every prospect of determined hostility by the minority in the House of Commons and the majority in the House of Lords. If the people are lukewarm and indifferent, that hostility may prove successful; but if they show themselves as determined and earnest as were their fathers in 1832, to secure a great and necessary reform in our electoral system, they will triumph over every obstacle, and secure a thoroughly representative and vigorous Parliament, able to deal with the necessities and problems of the day as they arise. The work now to be done is the completion of that great achievement of fifty years ago which destroyed so many rotten boroughs, conferred the franchise upon great and populous centres of trade and industry previously without representation, and laid the foundation of the subsequent measures of civil, religious and commercial freedom that have done so much for the prosperity, happiness and contentment of the people. Let the Liberals of this day work in the spirit and with the earnestness of the Reformers who secured the great measure of 1832; let them accord to their honoured and trusted leader, Mr. Gladstone, the same measure of support that was received by Earl Grey in the great conflict with the owners of the rotten boroughs, speedy victory will then crown their labours, and, as the natural consequence, other great measures of justice may be confidently expected from a Parliament invigorated and strengthened by the enactment of a wider suffrage and by such a redistribution of seats as will make the House of Commons truly representative of the whole nation.



## APPENDIX I.

## ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATION.

The following tables contain:—

- 1.—The population of each constituency, according to the census returns of 1871 and 1881.
- 2.—The number of electors in 1871 and 1881.
- 3.—The amount of income assessed under Schedules A, B, D, and E of the Income Tax for the year ended 5th April, 1880.
- 4.—The number of members returned by each constituency.

The English constituencies have been arranged according to the Registration Divisions, and the Irish constituencies in Provinces. For reasons explained in the body of the work, Scotland is merely divided into the County and Borough constituencies. The English Boroughs are divided into two classes: A, those which are really divisions of Counties—the town population being small in comparison with the area of the boroughs; and B, those which are fairly to be classified as towns.

## ENGLAND AND WALES.

## I.—THE METROPOLIS.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
					£	
London, City	74,897	50,526	22,716	25,310	48,662,042	4
Westminster	246,606	228,932	18,840	21,774	15,107,639	2
Chelsea ..	258,050	366,516	16,825	30,601	4,705,716	2
Marylebone .	477,532	498,311	32,130	34,687	16,628,799	2
Hackney ..	362,378	417,191	37,930	45,130	3,767,592	2
Finsbury ..	452,484	524,480	34,007	44,166	11,959,301	2
Tower Ham- lets ..	391,790	438,910	31,560	40,681	4,975,361	2
Lambeth ..	379,048	498,967	35,831	49,040	5,818,326	2
Southwark .	208,725	221,866	19,231	23,566	6,429,485	2
Greenwich ..	169,361	206,651	14,921	22,737	1,806,427	2
	3,020,871	3,452,350	263,991	337,692	119,860,688	22



## II.—ENGLAND.—THE SOUTH-EASTERN DIVISION.

—	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>					£	
Surrey: East	154,566	227,208	12,960	20,438	2,754,786	2
Mid	203,347	308,134	13,629	23,449	3,392,486	2
West	128,781	151,408	7,057	7,972	1,890,252	2
Sussex: East	139,170	163,364	9,965	10,635	2,170,214	2
West	60,526	62,279	3,838	3,881	957,905	2
Kent: East	189,034	209,249	12,708	13,551	3,332,167	2
Mid	135,995	137,637	8,666	9,139	2,375,105	2
West	154,966	208,260	10,802	15,764	2,737,534	2
Hants: North	142,014	141,042	5,958	5,973	1,750,565	2
South	120,156	126,720	9,359	10,206	1,473,955	2
I. of Wight	57,697	64,542	3,980	5,044	848,332	1
Berkshire ..	134,667	145,260	7,610	8,107	2,142,858	3
	1,620,919	1,945,103	106,532	134,159	25,826,159	24
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Midhurst ..	6,753	7,277	997	1,074	84,392	1
Shoreham ..	37,984	42,442	4,802	5,598	581,721	2
Horsham ..	7,831	9,552	800	1,263	110,410	1
Rye ..	8,290	8,409	1,257	1,366	160,617	1
Lymington	5,356	5,462	680	800	84,291	1
Christchurch	15,415	28,537	1,534	2,827	414,372	1
Andover ..	5,744	5,871	640	869	85,573	1
Petersfield .	6,104	6,546	817	822	91,641	1
Wallingford	8,353	8,194	1,098	1,229	123,888	1
	101,830	122,290	12,625	15,848	1,736,905	10
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Guildford ..	9,801	11,593	1,223	1,454	180,242	1
Gravesend ..	27,493	31,355	2,639	3,486	332,722	1
Maidstone ..	26,237	29,662	3,357	3,899	515,908	2
Canterbury ,	20,962	21,701	3,156	3,238	231,460	2
Dover ..	28,506	28,486	3,443	4,526	331,918	2
Sandwich ..	14,885	15,566	1,730	2,207	131,740	2
Chatham ..	45,792	46,806	4,970	5,641	243,418	1
Hythe ..	24,078	28,066	2,303	3,080	345,680	1
Rochester ..	18,352	21,590	2,551	2,938	216,576	2
Hastings ..	33,337	47,735	2,823	4,282	738,680	2
Lewes ..	10,753	11,199	1,382	1,445	159,073	1
Brighton ..	103,758	128,407	9,626	12,657	2,277,872	2
Chichester ..	9,054	9,652	1,226	1,253	126,795	1
Southampton	53,741	60,235	6,093	7,419	887,120	2
Winchester	16,366	17,469	1,611	1,937	225,078	2
Newport ..	8,522	9,110	1,165	1,332	112,863	1
Portsmouth	113,569	127,953	11,928	17,912	1,001,454	2
Reading ..	32,324	42,050	3,730	5,312	703,416	2
Windsor ..	17,281	19,080	1,751	2,115	326,436	1
Abingdon ..	6,571	6,608	845	876	80,675	1
	621,382	714,323	67,552	86,809	9,169,126	31



## III.—ENGLAND.—THE SOUTH MIDLAND DIVISION.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>						
					£	
Middlesex ..	276,028	393,948	23,868	33,173	4,606,023	2
Hertford ..	184,332	194,434	9,674	10,186	2,647,327	3
Buckingham	120,296	117,823	7,548	8,159	1,800,302	3
Oxford	125,591	122,054	7,476	7,642	1,902,663	3
Northampton:						
North	95,524	108,954	5,218	5,996	1,588,520	2
South	84,525	82,091	6,161	6,042	1,582,381	2
Huntingdon	55,167	50,926	3,640	3,927	1,000,719	2
Bedford ..	129,407	129,929	6,580	7,335	1,653,025	2
Cambridge .	152,910	144,593	10,204	10,294	2,786,592	3
	1,223,780	1,344,752	80,369	92,754	19,567,552	22
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Aylesbury	28,760	28,899	3,729	4,440	374,095	2
Buckingham	7,545	6,859	1,105	1,135	127,325	1
Great Marlow	6,627	6,779	816	909	97,739	1
Woodstock..	7,477	7,027	1,101	1,071	93,207	1
	50,409	49,564	6,751	7,555	692,566	5
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Hertford	7,894	8,556	765	1,101	103,046	1
Wycombe ..	10,492	13,154	1,303	1,907	110,231	1
Oxford ....	34,482	40,862	5,387	6,242	584,755	2
Banbury ..	11,726	12,072	1,715	1,873	194,633	1
Northampton	45,080	57,553	5,912	8,185	641,621	2
Peterborough	17,434	22,394	2,494	3,550	229,521	2
Huntingdon.	6,606	6,417	921	1,061	104,898	1
Bedford ..	16,850	19,532	2,122	2,601	242,656	2
Cambridge..	33,996	40,882	4,021	5,015	534,280	2
	184,560	221,422	24,640	31,535	2,745,641	14



## IV.—ENGLAND.—THE EASTERN DIVISION.

—	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>					£	
Essex: East	129,711	123,067	6,725	6,622	1,882,010	2
South	181,278	296,290	8,125	13,911	2,991,345	2
West	115,874	113,240	5,842	5,876	1,786,391	2
Suffolk: East	157,208	161,869	9,400	9,885	2,251,972	2
West	127,065	121,818	6,025	5,621	1,908,257	2
Norfolk: Nth.	114,795	116,714	6,393	6,495	1,618,795	2
South	113,844	113,091	7,719	7,454	1,895,089	2
West	112,365	108,702	6,905	6,807	2,068,565	2
<i>Borough A.</i>	1,052,140	1,154,791	57,135	62,671	16,402,424	16
Eye ..	6,721	6,293	1,196	1,020	26,421	1
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Maldon ..	7,151	7,123	1,609	1,485	96,769	1
Colchester	26,343	28,395	2,975	3,762	326,072	2
Harwich	6,079	7,810	637	801	68,690	1
Bury St. Edmds.	14,928	16,211	1,284	2,231	236,131	2
Ipswich	42,947	50,762	4,786	7,535	596,812	2
Norwich ..	80,386	87,843	12,338	15,562	1,079,975	2
King's Lynn	17,266	18,475	2,460	2,849	244,157	2
	195,100	216,624	26,089	34,165	2,648,606	12

## V.—ENGLAND.—THE SOUTH-WESTERN DIVISION.

—	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>					£	
Wilts: North	80,588	80,313	6,915	7,301	1,219,866	2
South	72,049	64,760	3,740	3,673	1,043,470	2
Dorset	143,478	137,294	7,283	7,473	2,032,868	3
Devon: East	160,788	165,372	10,164	10,780	2,554,205	2
North	130,775	122,460	9,746	9,487	1,616,658	2
South	101,898	98,331	8,215	8,329	1,425,654	2
Cornwall: E.	135,176	125,546	8,907	9,471	1,422,959	2
West	161,745	140,958	7,702	6,952	1,171,230	2
Somerset: E.	112,713	118,863	8,368	8,487	1,669,285	2
Mid	120,318	115,319	8,678	8,722	2,233,013	2
West	123,342	116,960	7,802	9,130	2,008,248	2
	1,342,870	1,286,176	87,520	89,810	18,397,456	23



## V.—ENGLAND.—SOUTH-WESTERN DIVISION—(Continued).

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Malmesbury	6,879	6,866	1,022	1,057	£ 101,036	1
Chippenham	6,875	6,776	941	1,015	110,369	1
Calne ..	5,315	5,272	600	862	83,537	1
Wilton ..	8,865	8,639	885	1,415	131,247	1
Cricklade ..	43,622	51,956	5,761	7,469	731,086	2
Marlborough	5,034	5,180	626	658	94,335	1
Westbury	6,396	6,014	1,102	1,101	84,183	1
Shaftesbury	8,961	8,479	1,306	1,372	148,418	1
Wareham ..	6,532	6,192	972	1,073	76,321	1
Tavistock ..	7,725	6,909	849	870	91,436	1
Tiverton ..	10,024	10,462	1,169	1,405	200,434	2
Liskeard ..	6,576	5,591	887	759	63,892	1
Bodmin ..	6,758	6,866	897	895	68,310	1
Helston ..	8,760	7,919	1,066	1,021	71,313	1
Launceston	5,468	5,675	740	852	81,978	1
St. Ives ..	9,992	8,705	1,337	1,012	50,893	1
	153,782	157,501	20,160	22,836	2,188,788	18
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Salisbury	13,839	15,659	1,451	1,962	284,261	2
Devizes ..	6,839	6,645	860	921	110,395	1
Dorchester .	6,915	7,568	656	886	106,894	1
Bridport	7,670	6,790	983	1,070	83,996	1
Poole ..	10,097	12,303	1,419	1,949	126,301	1
Weymth, &c.	13,259	13,704	1,359	1,694	185,486	2
Exeter ..	44,226	47,098	6,152	7,562	700,962	2
Plymouth	70,091	77,401	4,671	6,366	732,774	2
Barnstaple..	11,813	12,494	1,636	1,785	108,732	2
Devonport ..	64,034	63,870	3,306	3,917	322,181	2
Truro ..	11,049	10,663	1,442	1,522	110,745	2
Penrhyn, &c.	16,819	17,561	2,173	2,307	150,991	2
Taunton	15,466	16,611	1,989	2,326	195,450	2
Bath ..	53,704	53,761	5,189	6,017	727,819	2
Frome ..	9,753	9,376	1,350	1,396	93,593	1
	355,574	371,504	34,636	41,680	4,040,490	25



## VI.—ENGLAND.—THE WEST MIDLAND DIVISION.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>						
Glo'ster: E..	92,936	88,631	9,332	8,599	1,664,665	2
West	158,777	177,509	11,459	12,544	1,924,974	2
Hereford ..	100,950	95,083	9,172	9,001	1,873,608	3
Salop: North	120,285	119,119	7,757	7,764	1,843,314	2
South	69,811	68,420	5,828	5,760	1,457,199	2
Stafford: East	101,564	138,824	9,264	11,125	2,540,944	2
North	119,807	132,634	9,714	11,276	1,664,060	2
West	100,413	85,740	9,871	11,829	1,585,903	2
Worcester: E.	147,685	208,348	10,666	12,343	1,954,880	2
West	66,419	67,081	6,272	6,680	1,144,457	2
Warwick: N.	134,723	169,270	9,942	11,769	2,050,579	2
South	96,905	99,470	6,335	6,586	1,803,238	2
	1,310,270	1,450,129	105,612	115,279	21,507,826	25
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Stroud ..	38,610	40,573	5,757	6,331	454,024	2
Leominster .	5,863	6,042	833	901	84,153	1
Bridgenorth.	7,317	7,216	1,335	1,208	107,190	1
Wenlock ..	21,208	20,143	3,231	3,462	220,235	2
Tamworth ..	11,493	14,098	1,652	2,260	186,745	2
Droitwich ..	9,510	9,858	1,370	1,445	154,454	1
Bewdley ..	7,614	8,677	1,053	1,261	71,285	1
	101,615	106,607	15,231	16,868	1,278,086	10
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Bristol ..	182,552	208,503	21,816	25,744	3,503,629	2
Gloucester	31,844	36,552	4,681	5,320	615,863	2
Cheltenham.	44,519	46,844	3,533	5,134	623,114	1
Cirencester .	7,681	8,431	1,075	1,157	113,798	1
Tewkesbury.	5,409	5,100	707	757	68,967	1
Hereford ..	18,347	19,822	2,298	2,821	254,647	2
Shrewsbury.	23,406	26,478	3,766	3,821	371,052	2
Ludlow	6,203	6,663	868	996	67,857	1
Stafford	15,946	19,901	3,151	3,344	182,819	2
Newc.-u-Lyne...	15,948	17,506	2,849	3,152	164,873	2
Stoke-on-Trent	130,575	152,457	18,195	19,824	1,683,184	2
Lichfield [ton	7,347	8,360	1,309	1,379	109,310	1
Wolverhamp-	156,978	164,303	18,888	23,259	1,637,395	2
Walsall ..	49,018	59,415	3,170	9,538	485,452	1
Wednesbury	116,809	124,438	17,644	19,561	901,115	1
Dudley [ster	82,249	87,407	12,013	14,947	735,183	1
Kiddermin-	20,814	25,634	2,350	3,774	266,419	1
Worcester ..	38,116	40,421	5,592	6,393	667,625	2
Evesham ..	4,888	5,112	701	821	71,902	1
Birmingham	343,787	400,757	46,302	63,909	6,198,456	3
Coventry ..	41,348	47,366	7,773	8,263	569,647	2
Warwick ..	10,986	11,802	1,681	1,729	181,174	2
	1,354,770	1,521,272	155,362	225,643	19,473,486	35



## VII.—ENGLAND.—THE NORTH MIDLAND DIVISION.

—	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>					£	
Leicester :						
North	96,300	109,250	6,221	6,796	1,589,157	2
South	77,791	89,417	8,458	9,127	1,405,635	2
Rutland ..	22,073	21,434	2,054	1,763	445,804	2
Lincoln :						
North	117,785	122,472	9,842	11,061	2,387,683	2
Mid	101,382	99,689	8,641	9,287	2,210,234	2
South	125,469	121,332	11,078	11,250	2,839,947	2
Nottingham :						
North	102,330	143,001	5,448	7,364	1,006,525	2
South	69,355	73,302	4,768	5,040	1,155,058	2
Derby :						
East	108,916	139,910	4,771	6,271	1,255,743	2
North	89,675	97,582	6,507	7,246	1,275,170	2
South	119,422	146,013	8,223	8,902	1,683,313	2
	1,030,498	1,163,402	76,011	84,107	17,254,269	22
<i>Borough A.</i>						
Retford ..	49,257	50,031	7,622	8,133	870,988	2
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Leicester ..	95,220	122,351	14,397	18,977	1,513,356	2
Stamford ..	8,086	8,995	1,133	1,321	176,897	1
Boston ..	18,279	18,867	2,581	3,043	275,312	2
Grantham ..	13,250	17,345	2,023	2,383	221,104	2
Lincoln ..	26,766	37,312	4,083	6,182	604,864	2
Grimsby ..	26,502	45,373	4,712	6,956	397,518	1
Nottingham	86,621	111,631	14,674	17,555	1,794,946	2
Newark ..	12,195	14,019	1,919	2,194	219,175	2
Derby ..	61,331	77,636	10,155	13,167	4,088,969	2
	348,300	453,529	55,677	71,778	9,292,141	16



## VIII—ENGLAND—THE NORTH-WESTERN DIVISION.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>					£	
Chester :						
East	91,787	104,953	7,698	7,177	1,122,441	2
Mid	120,289	135,365	6,164	9,433	1,736,273	2
West	137,779	161,104	9,426	12,270	2,089,989	2
Lancaster :						
North	209,609	273,417	13,881	17,621	4,056,319	2
North-east	196,406	238,544	9,084	12,964	1,672,587	2
South-east	402,735	534,963	20,179	26,841	5,195,581	2
South-west	352,831	482,148	20,464	27,181	5,668,716	2
	1,511,436	1,930,494	86,896	113,487	21,541,906	14
<i>Borough A.</i>						
Clitheroe ..	11,786	14,463	1,630	1,958	138,785	1
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Stockport ..	53,014	59,544	6,019	8,158	606,870	2
Macclesfield	35,570	37,620	4,839	5,447	262,359	2
Chester	38,390	40,342	6,324	5,804	579,862	2
Birkenhead	65,971	83,324	6,738	9,107	873,566	1
Liverpool ..	493,405	552,425	46,455	63,221	15,187,864	3
Wigan ..	39,110	48,196	4,577	5,937	704,138	2
Warrington	33,050	45,257	4,152	6,222	474,937	1
Bolton ..	92,658	105,973	11,801	14,250	1,167,487	2
Bury ..	41,344	49,746	5,518	6,859	571,169	1
Salford ..	124,801	176,233	17,538	23,928	1,700,321	2
Manchester	379,374	393,676	56,699	58,712	13,241,590	3
Ashton-u-Lyne	37,389	43,389	5,286	5,893	384,305	1
Oldham ..	113,100	152,511	15,663	21,383	1,557,917	2
Rochdale ..	63,485	68,865	9,561	10,788	768,864	1
Burnley ..	44,320	63,502	5,628	7,414	563,730	1
Blackburn ..	82,928	100,618	9,053	13,160	809,021	2
Preston ..	85,427	93,707	10,032	11,748	948,783	2
Stalybridge	35,114	39,671	4,918	5,685	326,470	1
	1,858,450	2,154,599	230,801	283,716	40,729,253	31



## IX.—ENGLAND—THE YORKSHIRE DIVISION.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>						
York:					£	
East Riding	139,257	141,451	10,881	11,126	2,933,803	2
Nth. Riding	186,389	221,937	19,131	20,212	3,443,452	2
West Riding						
East	263,735	303,713	19,662	22,194	3,495,595	2
Do. North	268,614	301,048	17,084	22,315	3,142,410	2
Do. South	397,493	497,568	20,994	26,750	4,809,911	2
	1,255,488	1,465,717	87,752	102,597	17,825,171	10
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Thirsk ..	5,734	6,306	973	976	81,695	1
Richmond ..	5,358	5,542	677	708	83,587	1
Malton ..	8,168	8,750	1,206	1,396	109,823	1
Northallerton	4,961	5,445	820	918	85,574	1
	24,221	26,043	3,676	3,998	360,679	4
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Ripon ..	6,806	7,390	1,035	1,132	99,431	1
Knarlesboro'	5,205	5,000	788	758	63,539	1
Huddersfield	74,358	87,146	11,131	13,268	1,239,101	1
Halifax ..	65,510	73,633	10,083	12,055	1,103,745	2
Bradford ..	145,830	180,459	20,662	27,437	3,144,853	2
Leeds ..	259,212	309,126	41,407	49,414	3,943,807	3
Dewsbury ..	54,940	69,531	7,899	10,060	810,303	1
Wakefield ..	28,069	30,573	3,584	4,087	523,736	1
Pontefract	11,653	15,329	1,927	2,360	179,181	2
Sheffield ..	239,946	284,410	31,329	42,402	3,492,914	2
York ..	50,765	59,596	9,300	11,108	3,690,833	2
Hull ..	123,408	161,519	19,012	26,581	2,001,535	2
Scarborough	24,259	30,484	2,816	4,301	378,545	2
Whitby ..	13,094	14,554	1,946	2,145	184,830	1
Middlesboro'	46,621	54,965	6,368	10,750	886,928	1
	1,149,676	1,383,715	169,287	217,858	21,743,281	24



## X.—ENGLAND—THE NORTHERN DIVISION.

—	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>						
Durham :					£	
North	225,640	298,111	10,375	13,233	2,778,164	2
South	149,570	181,304	9,730	11,603	1,714,379	2
Northumber- land : Nth.	65,091	67,960	3,577	4,469	1,409,612	2
South	110,650	129,576	6,763	8,957	1,766,307	2
Cumberland :						
East	73,622	72,690	7,056	7,928	1,235,561	2
West	90,195	115,168	5,751	7,640	1,728,404	2
Westmorelnd.	51,564	50,488	5,049	5,652	1,001,264	2
	766,332	915,297	48,304	59,482	11,633,691	14
<i>Borough A.</i>						
Cockermouth	6,936	7,189	1,064	1,100	85,244	1
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Darlington	27,729	33,426	3,598	5,214	734,506	1
Stockton [The	37,612	55,446	4,948	8,062	676,787	1
Hartlepoons	38,303	46,998	3,746	7,017	594,950	1
Durham ..	14,833	15,372	1,946	2,390	187,395	2
Sunderland	104,409	124,960	9,388	15,297	1,387,461	2
Sth. Shields	45,336	56,922	7,378	10,112	315,218	1
Gateshead ..	48,627	65,873	8,362	11,685	365,014	1
Newc.-up.-Tyne	128,443	145,228	12,500	24,261	2,749,909	2
Tynemouth	38,941	43,863	2,504	5,731	477,407	1
Morpeth ..	30,239	33,402	2,539	5,749	306,802	1
Berwick ..	13,282	13,995	1,336	1,989	171,193	2
Carlisle ..	31,049	35,866	4,426	5,504	497,311	2
Whitehaven	18,451	19,717	1,967	2,582	241,693	1
Kendal ..	13,446	13,693	1,859	1,957	183,862	1
	590,700	704,764	66,497	107,550	8,889,508	19

## ENGLISH BOROUGHS,

Within the boundaries of which more than one Town is included.

HYTHE. Hythe, Folkestone, and Sandgate.

NEWPORT. Newport, East Cowes, West Cowes.

PENRHYN. Penrhyn and Falmouth.

RYE. Rye and Winchelsea.

PONTEFRACT. Pontefract and Knottingley.

SANDWICH. Sandwich and Deal.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT. Burslem, Fenton, Hanley, Longton, Tunstall, and Stoke.

TYNEMOUTH. Tynemouth and North Shields.

WEDNESBURY. Darlaston, Tipton, Wednesbury, and West Bromwich.

WEYMOUTH. Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.



## XI.—THE WELSH DIVISION.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties.</i>						
Monmouth	156,677	166,441	7,608	8,617	£ 1,471,186	2
Glamorgan	162,241	234,115	9,738	12,889	1,884,535	2
Carmarthen	89,036	93,389	7,613	8,656	906,990	2
Pembroke ..	57,436	55,019	4,545	5,219	721,872	1
Cardigan ..	62,167	58,956	4,533	5,024	522,049	1
Brecon ..	51,335	48,800	3,754	4,184	599,146	1
Radnor ..	18,495	16,888	2,158	2,398	319,813	1
Montgomery	48,946	45,756	4,710	5,270	743,135	1
Flint .. ..	52,347	55,153	3,936	4,789	751,405	1
Denbigh ..	84,878	86,100	7,452	7,415	1,075,315	2
Merioneth ..	46,598	54,793	3,321	3,836	601,518	1
Carnarvon ..	78,581	90,500	5,554	6,976	875,164	1
Anglesey ..	37,368	36,722	3,241	3,241	442,607	1
	946,105	1,042,632	68,163	78,514	10,914,735	17
<i>Boroughs A.</i>						
Mer. Tydvil	97,020	91,347	14,097	14,200	453,306	2
Flint* ..	22,989	24,234	3,208	3,798	232,890	1
Radnor* ..	7,011	6,700	875	947	110,234	1
	127,020	122,281	18,180	18,945	796,430	4
<i>Boroughs B.</i>						
Monmouth*	38,771	44,933	3,797	5,116	562,835	1
Cardiff* ..	60,084	82,573	5,718	8,831	1,736,541	1
Swansea* ..	80,772	105,949	6,454	14,321	1,017,663	1
Carmarthen*	25,769	30,529	3,529	5,752	347,972	1
Pembroke*	22,787	25,309	3,212	3,361	148,737	1
Haverford- west* ..	9,469	9,176	1,462	1,555	87,479	1
Cardigan* ..	14,485	14,517	1,788	2,074	120,052	1
Brecknock ..	6,308	6,623	808	879	118,130	1
Montgomery*	18,677	20,042	2,792	3,089	229,723	1
Denbigh* ..	20,224	22,831	2,841	3,084	261,162	1
Carnarvon ..	26,019	28,695	3,178	4,093	242,184	1
Beaumaris*	13,672	14,242	1,773	2,559	82,225	1
	337,037	405,419	37,352	54,714	4,954,703	12

## \* CONTRIBUTORY BOROUGHES.

MONMOUTH. Monmouth, Newport, Usk.

BEAUMARIS. Beaumaris, Alwch, Holyhead, Llangefni.

CARDIFF. Cardiff, Cowbridge, Lllantrissant.

CARDIGAN. Cardigan, Aberystwith, Adpar, Lampeter.

CARMARTHEN. Carmarthen, Llanelly.

CARNARVON. Carnarvon, Bangor, Criccieth, Conway, Nevin, Pwllheli.

DENBIGH. Denbigh, Holt, Ruthin, Wrexham.

FLINT. Flint, Caergwyle, Caerwys, Holywell, Mold, Overton, Rhuddlan, St. Asaph.

HAVERFORDWEST. Haverfordwest, Fishguard, Narberth.

MONTGOMERY. Montgomery, Llanfyllin, Llanidloes, Machynlleth, Newtown, Welshpool.

PEMBROKE. Pembroke, Milford, Tenby, Wiston.

RADNOR. New Radnor, Cefnlllys Knighton, Knucklas, Presteign, Rhayader.

SWANSEA. Swansea, Aberavon, Kenfigg, Loughor, Neath.



## SUMMARY.—ENGLAND AND WALES.

DIVISIONS.	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment. 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Metropolis</i> ..	3,020,871	3,452,350	263,991	337,692	£ 119,860,688	22
<i>Sth.-Eastern:</i>						
Counties ..	1,620,919	1,945,103	106,532	134,159	25,826,159	24
Boroughs A.	101,830	122,290	12,625	15,848	1,736,905	10
Boroughs B.	621,382	714,323	67,552	86,809	9,169,126	31
	2,344,131	2,781,716	186,709	236,816	36,732,190	65
<i>Sth. Midland:</i>						
Counties ..	1,223,780	1,344,752	80,369	92,754	19,567,552	22
Boroughs A.	50,409	49,564	6,751	7,555	692,366	5
Boroughs B.	184,560	221,422	24,640	31,535	2,745,641	14
	1,458,749	1,615,738	111,760	131,844	23,005,559	41
<i>Eastern:</i>						
Counties ..	1,052,140	1,154,791	57,135	62,671	16,402,424	16
Borough A.	6,721	6,293	1,196	1,020	26,421	1
Boroughs B.	195,100	216,624	26,089	34,165	2,648,606	12
	1,253,961	1,377,708	84,420	97,856	19,077,451	29
<i>Sth. Western:</i>						
Counties ..	1,342,870	1,286,176	87,520	89,810	18,397,456	23
Boroughs A.	153,782	157,501	20,160	22,836	2,188,788	18
Boroughs B.	355,574	371,504	34,636	41,680	4,040,490	25
	1,852,226	1,815,181	142,316	154,326	24,626,734	66
<i>West Midland:</i>						
Counties ..	1,310,275	1,450,129	105,612	115,279	21,507,826	25
Boroughs A.	101,615	106,607	15,231	16,868	1,278,086	10
Boroughs B.	1,354,770	1,521,272	185,362	225,643	19,473,486	35
	2,766,660	3,078,008	306,205	357,790	42,259,398	70



## SUMMARY—ENGLAND AND WALES—(Continued).

DIVISIONS.	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>North Mid- land:</i>					£	
Counties	1,030,498	1,163,402	76,011	84,107	17,254,269	22
Borough A.	49,257	50,031	7,622	8,183	870,988	2
Boroughs B.	348,300	453,529	55,677	71,778	9,292,141	16
	1,428,055	1,666,962	139,310	164,068	27,417,398	40
<i>North - Wes- tern:</i>						
Counties	1,511,436	1,930,494	86,896	113,487	21,541,906	14
Borough A.	11,786	14,463	1,630	1,958	138,785	1
Boroughs B.	1,858,450	2,154,599	230,801	283,716	40,729,253	31
	3,381,672	4,099,556	319,327	399,161	62,409,944	46
<i>Yorkshire:</i>						
Counties ..	1,255,483	1,465,717	87,752	102,597	17,825,171	10
Boroughs A.	24,221	26,043	3,676	3,998	360,679	4
Boroughs B.	1,149,676	1,383,715	169,287	217,858	21,743,281	24
	2,429,385	2,875,475	260,715	324,453	39,929,131	38
<i>Northern:</i>						
Counties ..	766,332	915,297	48,304	59,482	11,633,691	14
Borough A.	6,936	7,189	1,064	1,100	85,244	1
Boroughs B.	590,700	704,764	66,497	107,550	8,889,508	19
	1,363,968	1,627,250	115,865	168,132	20,608,443	34
<i>Welsh:</i>						
Counties ..	946,105	1,042,632	68,163	78,514	10,914,735	17
Boroughs A.	127,020	122,281	18,180	18,945	796,430	4
Boroughs B.	337,937	405,419	37,352	54,714	4,954,703	12
	1,410,162	1,570,332	123,695	152,173	16,665,868	33



## SCOTLAND.

COUNTIES.	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members
Aberdeen:					£	
East	80,282	} 148,119	8,203	{ 4,721	916,854	1
West	65,984				860,301	1
Argyll	65,358	63,479	2,931	3,426	920,719	1
Ayr—North.	71,033	} 162,851	6,815	{ 3,711	823,643	1
South.	81,404				3,920	1,151,366
Banff .. ..	50,416	51,819	2,330	2,646	455,398	1
Berwick ..	35,421	34,415	1,625	1,869	808,002	1
Bute .. ..	16,731	17,489	1,111	1,364	216,128	1
Caithness ..	31,761	30,763	1,084	1,147	251,763	1
Clackmannan and Kinross	39,852	32,342	1,830	2,105	390,450	1
Dumbarton ..	46,871	61,394	2,178	3,041	781,585	1
Dumfries ..	57,818	53,113	2,919	3,409	1,100,061	1
Edinburgh..	73,425	86,748	2,597	3,870	1,166,679	1
Elgin&Nairn	38,750	38,629	1,680	1,953	399,068	1
Fife.. ..	97,962	101,333	4,311	4,789	1,417,405	1
Forfar .. ..	64,784	67,479	3,554	3,634	1,104,434	1
Haddington..	28,966	29,084	921	1,067	601,932	1
Inverness ..	72,866	72,787	1,613	1,894	616,288	1
Kincardine ..	33,529	33,350	1,729	1,866	460,364	1
Kirkcudbrt.	34,683	39,095	2,012	2,223	728,144	1
Lanark—						
North	181,440	} 372,172	9,186	{ 10,475	2,508,596	1
South	77,572				3,707	962,031
Linlithgow..	35,704	37,567	1,202	1,266	384,653	1
Orkney and Shetland..	59,177	57,492	1,497	1,727	225,955	1
Peebles and Selkirk ..	16,584	20,862	996	1,217	438,099	1
Perth .. ..	96,869	99,647	5,321	6,005	1,767,685	1
Renfrew ..	85,746	127,223	4,230	6,185	1,181,315	1
Ross and Cro- marty ..	74,509	72,486	1,477	1,739	554,433	1
Roxburgh ..	34,730	33,858	1,759	2,026	841,162	1
Stirling ..	69,850	83,106	2,756	3,399	883,570	1
Sutherland..	23,670	22,806	343	325	175,908	1
Wigtown ..	29,331	28,735	1,540	1,700	462,318	1
	1,873,078	2,080,243	79,750	96,570	25,556,314	32



## SCOTLAND—(Continued).

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Boroughs.</i>						
					£	
Aberdeen ..	88,108	105,003	13,217	14,152	1,471,869	1
Ayr* ..	34,662	41,731	3,657	4,267	405,872	1
Dumfries* ..	23,639	25,583	2,866	2,999	257,449	1
Dundee ..	118,977	140,054	15,556	15,825	1,829,791	2
Edinburgh..	196,979	228,190	22,946	28,644	6,953,585	2
Elgin* ..	28,875	32,845	3,576	3,829	248,521	1
Falkirk* ..	43,322	49,346	4,499	5,353	371,548	1
Glasgow ..	477,156	487,948	49,966	57,882	11,709,569	3
Greenock ..	57,146	63,899	5,965	7,373	928,298	1
Haddington*	13,093	13,755	1,687	1,880	144,659	1
Hawick* ..	25,674	34,708	3,412	4,909	432,693	1
Inverness*	23,074	26,427	2,266	3,118	421,326	1
Kilmarnock*	57,834	65,650	7,052	8,240	507,807	1
Kirkcaldy*	26,345	31,831	3,745	4,518	216,694	1
Leith* ..	57,274	72,851	7,589	10,377	1,036,698	1
Montrose* ..	54,524	59,676	7,859	8,278	445,158	1
Paisley ..	48,240	55,642	3,648	4,979	848,440	1
Perth ..	25,585	28,948	3,453	4,059	332,615	1
St. Andrew's*	18,605	19,406	2,012	2,693	164,007	1
Stirling* ..	32,985	36,793	4,377	4,904	296,937	1
Wick* ..	17,556	17,456	1,446	1,830	102,238	1
Wigtown* ..	9,738	10,139	1,118	1,420	100,248	1
	1,479,391	1,647,881	171,912	201,529	29,226,022	26

## \* CONTRIBUTORY BOROUGHES.

- Ayr District. Ayr, Campbelton, Inverary, Irvine, Oban.  
 Dumfries District. Dumfries, Annan, Kirkeudbright, Lochmaben, Sanquhar.  
 Elgin District. Elgin, Banff, Cullen, Inverurie, Kintore, Peterhead.  
 Falkirk District. Falkirk, Airdrie, Hamilton, Lanark, Linlithgow.  
 Haddington District. Haddington, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Lauder, North Berwick.  
 Hawick District. Hawick, Galashiels, and Selkirk.  
 Inverness District. Inverness, Forres, Fortrose, Nairn.  
 Kilmarnock District. Kilmarnock, Dumbarton, Port Glasgow, Renfrew, Rutherglen.  
 Kirkcaldy District. Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Kinghorn, Burntisland.  
 Leith District. Leith, Musselburgh, Portobello.  
 Montrose District. Montrose, Inverbervie, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar.  
 St. Andrew's District. St. Andrew's, Cupar, Anstruther (Easter), Anstruther (Wester), Crail, Kilrenny, Pittenweem.  
 Stirling District. Stirling, Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, Queensferry, Culross.  
 Wick District. Wick, Cromarty, Dingwall, Dornock, Kirkwall, Tain.  
 Wigtown District. Wigtown, New Galloway, Stranraer, Whithorn.



## IRELAND.

	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Elector 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<b>ULSTER.</b>						
<i>Counties.</i>						
Antrim ..	228,059	218,123	10,602	11,570	£ 1,243,048	2
Armagh ..	164,993	148,078	7,055	6,855	780,801	2
Cavan ..	140,735	129,008	6,459	5,898	575,600	2
Donegal ..	218,334	205,443	4,577	4,542	615,852	2
Down ..	263,278	233,422	11,468	12,718	1,422,415	2
Fermanagh	86,958	78,791	5,100	4,544	452,043	2
Londonderry	142,076	129,083	5,341	5,696	578,469	2
Monaghan ..	114,969	102,590	5,623	5,297	543,867	2
Tyrone ..	211,880	193,152	8,799	8,674	892,807	2
	1,571,282	1,437,690	65,034	65,794	7,104,902	18
<i>Boroughs.</i>						
Belfast ..	174,412	207,671	14,463	21,989	2,200,842	2
Lisburn ..	9,326	10,834	500	798	51,349	1
Carrickfergus	9,397	10,009	1,193	1,500	53,505	1
Armagh	8,946	8,797	618	652	57,445	1
Downpatrick	4,155	3,902	263	319	31,559	1
Newry ..	14,158	15,085	901	1,216	108,549	1
Enniskillen	5,836	5,842	366	414	47,927	1
Londonderry	25,242	28,947	1,775	2,078	223,775	1
Coieraine ..	6,588	6,684	373	443	48,920	1
Dungannon	3,886	4,081	257	279	23,516	1
	261,946	301,852	20,709	29,688	2,847,387	11
<b>LEINSTER.</b>						
<i>Counties.</i>						
Carlow ..	45,124	40,640	2,142	2,127	317,947	2
Dublin ..	137,545	145,088	4,199	4,991	1,038,976	2
Kildare ..	83,614	76,102	3,018	2,746	665,881	2
Kilkenny	93,274	83,810	5,140	4,741	665,144	2
King's ..	74,983	71,867	3,418	3,211	539,827	2
Louth ..	57,398	60,790	2,416	2,070	385,591	2
Longford ..	64,501	86,301	2,786	2,595	314,149	2
Meath ..	94,639	51,272	4,179	3,838	1,069,396	2
Queen's ..	76,812	69,805	3,653	3,066	512,178	2
Westmeath	75,295	68,303	3,616	3,462	594,825	2
Wexford ..	114,174	105,196	6,337	5,823	733,444	2
Wicklow ..	78,697	73,679	3,631	3,279	540,747	2
	996,056	932,853	44,535	41,949	7,378,105	24



## IRELAND—(Continued).

LEINSTER— (continued).	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income Tax Assessment 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Boroughs.</i>					£	
Carlow ..	7,842	7,036	302	295	39,927	1
Dublin ..	267,717	273,064	13,190	12,490	5,368,758	2
Kilkenny ..	15,748	14,964	720	663	102,644	1
Drogheda ..	16,165	14,662	606	721	138,212	1
Dundalk ..	11,377	12,294	506	546	97,455	1
Portarlington	2,560	2,426	136	142	11,883	1
Athlone ..	6,565	6,901	297	337	23,617	1
Wexford ..	12,077	12,055	541	488	71,069	1
New Ross ..	6,772	6,626	249	261	40,532	1
	346,823	350,028	16,547	15,943	5,894,097	10
CONNAUGHT.					£	
<i>Counties—</i>						
Galway ..	228,615	222,756	5,349	4,807	910,544	2
Leitrim ..	95,562	89,795	2,736	2,294	289,167	2
Mayo ..	246,030	243,030	3,703	3,087	664,046	2
Roscommon	137,242	128,064	3,825	3,602	587,075	2
Sligo ..	115,493	110,955	3,371	3,192	451,232	2
	822,942	794,600	18,984	16,982	2,902,064	10
<i>Borough—</i>						
Galway ..	19,843	18,906	1,466	1,146	93,374	2
MUNSTER.						
<i>Counties—</i>						
Clare ..	141,361	134,908	5,532	5,413	626,559	2
Cork ..	393,131	373,202	16,173	14,945	1,988,673	2
Kerry ..	187,080	190,784	5,450	5,202	562,241	2
Limerick ..	141,956	128,957	6,489	5,797	853,010	2
Tipperary ..	206,675	188,537	9,507	9,067	1,340,647	2
Waterford ..	85,538	76,854	3,445	3,068	510,659	2
	1,155,741	1,093,242	46,596	43,492	5,881,789	12
<i>Boroughs—</i>						
Cork ..	100,518	97,526	4,307	4,813	1,104,710	2
Bandon ..	6,131	6,045	353	434	40,662	1
Kinsale ..	7,050	5,560	179	190	16,834	1
Youghal ..	6,081	6,040	282	266	28,401	1
Mallow ..	4,165	4,437	223	288	22,214	1
Ennis ..	6,503	6,302	235	254	32,769	1
Tralee ..	9,506	9,664	301	380	52,653	1
Limerick ..	49,980	48,246	2,193	1,906	357,384	2
Clonmel	10,112	10,519	461	416	65,638	1
Waterford ..	29,979	28,952	1,452	1,469	336,272	2
Dungarvan	7,719	7,377	317	304	40,950	1
	237,744	230,668	10,303	10,720	2,098,487	14



## SUMMARY.—SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

SCOTLAND.	Population 1871.	Population 1881.	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	No. of Members.
<i>Counties</i> ..	1,873,078	2,080,243	79,750	96,570	£ 25,556,314	32
<i>Boroughs</i> ..	1,479,391	1,647,381	171,912	201,529	29,226,022	26
	3,352,469	3,728,124	251,662	298,099	54,782,336	58
IRELAND.						
<i>Counties.</i>						
Ulster ..	1,571,282	1,437,690	65,034	65,794	7,104,902	18
Leinster ..	996,056	932,853	44,535	41,949	7,378,105	24
Connaught ..	822,942	794,600	18,984	16,982	2,902,064	10
Munster ..	1,155,741	1,093,242	46,596	43,492	5,881,789	12
	4,546,021	4,258,385	175,149	168,217	23,266,860	64
<i>Boroughs.</i>						
Ulster ..	261,946	301,852	20,709	29,688	£ 2,847,387	11
Leinster ..	346,823	350,028	16,547	15,943	5,894,097	10
Connaught..	19,843	18,906	1,466	1,146	93,374	2
Munster ..	237,744	230,668	10,303	10,720	2,098,487	14
	866,356	901,454	49,025	57,497	10,933,345	37
Total ..	5,412,377	5,159,839	224,174	225,714	34,200,205	101

## THE UNIVERSITIES.

	Electors 1871.	Electors 1881.	No. of Members.	Income-Tax Assessment.
Oxford .. ..	4,284	5,159	2	£ 140,655
Cambridge .. ..	5,638	6,250	2	121,989
London .. ..	1,299	2,090	1	—
Edinburgh and St. Andrew's ..	3,847	6,039	1	—
Glasgow and Aberdeen ..	4,565	6,080	1	—
Dublin .. ..	2,509	3,747	2	22,025
Total .. ..	22,142	29,365	9	284,669



## APPENDIX II.

## BOROUGHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

*Decrease and increase of Population in small and large Boroughs respectively.*

TWENTY-TWO BOROUGHES WITH LESS THAN 25,000 INHABITANTS,  
SHOWING A DECREASE IN POPULATION SINCE 1861.

	POPULATION			Decrease since 1861.	No. of Members.
	1861.	1871.	1881.		
Bridgnorth .. ..	7,699	7,317	7,216	483	1
Bridport .. ..	7,719	7,670	6,790	929	1
Buckingham .. ..	7,626	7,545	6,859	767	1
Chippenham.. ..	7,075	6,875	6,776	299	1
Eye .. ..	7,038	6,721	6,293	745	1
Frome .. ..	9,522	9,753	9,376	146	1
Haverfordwest .. ..	9,821	9,469	9,176	645	1
Helston .. ..	8,497	8,760	7,919	578	1
Knarborough .. ..	5,402	5,205	5,000	402	1
Liskeard .. ..	6,585	6,576	5,591	994	1
Malmesbury .. ..	6,881	6,879	6,866	15	1
Radnor .. ..	7,106	7,011	6,700	406	1
St. Ives .. ..	10,353	9,992	8,705	1,648	1
Shaftesbury .. ..	8,983	8,961	8,479	504	1
Tavistock .. ..	8,857	7,725	6,909	1,948	1
Tewkesbury .. ..	5,876	5,409	5,100	776	1
Truro .. ..	11,337	11,049	10,663	674	2
Wareham .. ..	6,694	6,532	6,192	502	1
Wenlock .. ..	21,590	21,208	20,143	1,447	2
Westbury .. ..	6,495	6,396	6,014	481	1
Wilton .. ..	8,657	8,865	8,639	18	1
Woodstock .. ..	7,827	7,477	7,027	800	1
	187,640	183,395	172,433	15,207	24



APPENDIX II.—(Continued).—FORTY-EIGHT BOROUGHES WITH LESS THAN 25,000 INHABITANTS, WITH A POPULATION NEARLY STATIONARY.

	POPULATION.			Increase since 1861.	No. of M.P.'s.
	1861.	1871.	1881.		
Abingdon .. ..	5,680	6,571	6,608	928	1
Andover .. ..	5,430	5,744	5,871	441	1
Banbury .. ..	10,216	11,726	12,072	1,856	1
Barnstaple .. ..	10,743	11,813	12,494	1,751	2
Beaumaris .. ..	13,275	13,672	14,242	967	1
Berwick-on-Tweed ..	13,265	13,282	13,995	730	2
Bewdley .. ..	7,084	7,614	8,677	1,593	1
Bodmin .. ..	6,381	6,758	6,866	485	1
Boston .. ..	17,893	18,279	18,867	974	2
Brecon .. ..	5,639	6,308	6,623	984	1
Calne .. ..	5,179	5,315	5,272	93	1
Canterbury .. ..	21,324	20,962	21,701	377	2
Chichester .. ..	8,059	9,054	9,652	1,593	1
Cockermouth .. ..	7,057	6,936	7,189	132	1
Devizes .. ..	6,638	6,839	6,645	7	1
Dorchester .. ..	6,823	6,915	7,568	745	1
Droitwich .. ..	7,086	9,510	9,858	2,772	1
Durham .. ..	14,088	14,833	15,372	1,284	2
Evesham .. ..	4,680	4,888	5,112	432	1
Great Marlow .. ..	6,496	6,627	6,779	283	1
Harwich .. ..	5,070	6,079	7,810	2,740	1
Hertford .. ..	6,769	7,894	8,556	1,787	1
Huntingdon .. ..	6,254	6,606	6,417	163	1
Kendal .. ..	12,029	13,446	13,696	1,667	1
Launceston .. ..	5,140	5,468	5,675	535	1
Leominster .. ..	5,658	5,863	6,042	384	1
Lewes .. ..	9,716	10,753	11,199	1,483	1
Lichfield .. ..	6,893	7,347	8,360	1,467	1
Ludlow .. ..	6,033	6,203	6,663	630	1
Lymington .. ..	5,179	5,356	5,462	283	1
Maldon .. ..	6,261	7,151	7,128	867	1
Malton .. ..	8,072	8,168	8,750	678	1
Marlborough .. ..	4,893	5,034	5,180	287	1
Midhurst .. ..	6,405	6,753	7,277	872	1
Northallerton .. ..	4,755	4,961	5,445	690	1
Newport (I.W.) .. ..	7,934	8,522	9,110	1,176	1
Petersfield .. ..	5,655	6,104	6,346	891	1
Richmond .. ..	5,134	5,358	5,542	408	1
Ripon .. ..	6,172	6,806	7,390	1,218	1
Rye .. ..	8,202	8,290	8,409	207	1
Sandwich .. ..	13,750	14,885	15,566	1,816	2
Stamford .. ..	8,047	8,086	8,995	948	1
Thirsk .. ..	5,350	5,734	6,306	956	1
Tiverton .. ..	10,447	10,024	10,462	15	2
Wallingford .. ..	7,794	8,353	8,194	400	1
Warwick .. ..	10,570	10,986	11,802	1,232	2
Weymouth, &c. .. ..	11,383	13,259	13,704	2,321	2
Whitehaven .. ..	18,842	18,451	19,717	875	1
	401,443	425,586	446,866	45,423	57



APPENDIX II.—(Continued).—THIRTY-FIVE BOROUGHES SHOWING AN AVERAGE INCREASE OF FORTY-EIGHT PER CENT.

	POPULATION.			Increase.	No of Members.
	1861.	1871.	1881.		
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	33,917	37,389	43,389	9,472	1
Birkenhead .. ..	51,649	65,971	83,324	31,675	1
Birmingham .. ..	296,076	343,787	400,757	104,681	3
Blackburn .. ..	63,126	82,928	100,618	37,492	2
Bolton .. ..	70,395	92,658	105,973	35,578	2
Bradford .. ..	106,218	145,830	180,459	74,241	2
Brighton .. ..	87,317	103,758	128,407	41,090	2
Bristol .. ..	154,093	182,552	206,503	52,410	2
Cardiff .. ..	35,541	60,084	82,573	47,032	1
Christchurch .. ..	9,368	15,415	28,537	19,169	1
Derby .. ..	43,091	61,381	77,636	34,545	2
Dudley .. ..	44,975	82,249	87,407	42,432	1
Gateshead .. ..	33,587	48,627	65,873	32,286	1
Gloucester .. ..	16,512	31,844	36,552	20,040	2
Grimsby .. ..	15,060	26,502	45,373	30,313	1
Halifax .. ..	37,014	65,510	73,633	36,619	2
Hastings .. ..	22,910	33,337	47,735	24,825	2
Huddersfield .. ..	34,877	74,358	87,146	52,269	1
Hull .. ..	97,661	123,408	161,519	63,858	2
Leeds .. ..	207,165	259,212	309,126	101,961	3
Leicester .. ..	68,056	95,220	122,351	54,295	2
Liverpool .. ..	443,938	493,405	552,425	108,487	3
Manchester .. ..	357,979	379,374	393,676	35,697	3
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	109,108	128,443	145,228	36,120	2
Northampton .. ..	32,813	45,080	57,553	24,740	2
Nottingham .. ..	74,693	86,621	111,631	36,938	2
Oldham .. ..	94,344	113,100	152,511	58,167	2
Oldham .. ..	94,344	113,100	152,511	58,167	2
Portsmouth .. ..	94,799	113,569	127,953	33,154	2
Rochdale .. ..	38,184	63,485	68,865	30,681	1
Salford .. ..	102,449	124,801	176,233	73,784	2
Sheffield .. ..	185,172	239,946	284,410	99,238	2
Stoke-upon-Trent ..	101,207	130,575	152,457	51,250	2
Sunderland .. ..	85,797	104,409	124,960	39,163	2
Swansea .. ..	40,802	80,772	105,949	65,147	1
Wolverhampton .. ..	147,670	156,978	164,303	16,633	2
	3,437,563	4,292,578	5,093,045	1,655,482	64



## APPENDIX III.

## COUNTIES AND BOROUGHS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO POPULATION,

Showing increase or decrease since 1871; with number of Electors in 1871 and 1881; number of Members, Areas, and Income Tax Assessments and Payments in 1879-80.

## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS, WITH POPULATION, IN 1881, UNDER 50,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			Increase.	Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	1881.			1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—											
Anglesea ..	37,368	36,722	..	646	3,241	3,241	1	293	£ 442,607	£ 5,097	
Brecon ..	51,335	48,800	..	2,535	3,754	4,184	1	714	599,146	6,836	
Montgomery ..	48,946	45,756	..	3,190	4,716	5,270	1	730	743,135	8,284	
Radnor ..	18,495	16,888	..	1,607	2,158	2,398	1	378	319,813	3,446	
Rutland ..	22,073	21,434	..	639	2,054	1,763	2	148	445,804	6,303	
Total—England and Wales ..	178,217	169,600	..	8,617	15,917	16,856	6	2,263	2,550,505	29,966	
Scotland—											
Berwick ..	35,421	34,415	..	1,006	1,625	1,869	1	464	808,002	10,510	
Bute ..	16,731	17,489	758	..	1,111	1,364	1	224	216,128	2,984	
Carried forward	52,152	51,904	758	1,006	2,736	3,233	2	688	1,024,130	13,524	



COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS, WITH POPULATION, IN 1881, UNDER 50,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.	
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.					1881.
	Scotland—(con.)— Brought forward	52,152	51,904	758	1,006					2,736
Caithness [Kinross	31,761	30,763	..	998	1,084	1,147	700	251,768	3,015	
Clackmannan and	39,852	32,342	..	7,510	1,830	2,105	127	390,450	5,336	
Elgin and Nairn ..	38,750	38,629	..	121	1,680	1,958	684	599,068	4,890	
Haddington ..	28,966	29,084	118	..	921	1,067	278	601,932	8,151	
Kincardine ..	33,529	33,359	..	179	1,729	1,866	387	460,364	5,344	
Kirkeudbright ..	34,683	39,095	4,412	..	2,012	2,223	953	728,144	8,524	
Linlithgow ..	35,701	37,567	1,866	..	1,202	1,266	126	384,653	5,455	
Peebles and Selkirk	16,584	20,862	4,278	..	996	1,217	615	438,099	6,079	
Roxburgh ..	34,730	33,858	..	872	1,759	2,026	666	841,162	11,272	
Sutherland ..	23,670	22,806	..	864	343	325	2,124	175,908	2,162	
Wigtown ..	29,331	28,735	..	596	1,540	1,700	511	462,318	5,239	
Total—Scotland ..	399,712	398,995	11,429	12,146	17,832	20,133	7,859	6,157,996	78,991	
Ireland— Carlow .. ..	45,124	40,640	..	4,484	2,112	2,127	345	317,947	3,781	
Total—United Kingdom ..	623,053	609,235	11,429	25,247	35,891	39,116	10,467	9,026,448	112,738	

Net Decrease, 13,818.



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 50,000 AND 75,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			Increase.	Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.				1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—											
Cardigan ..	62,167	58,956	..	3,211	4,533	5,024	1	676	£ 522,049	£ 5,165	
Cumberland, East	73,622	72,690	..	932	7,056	7,928	2	818	1,235,561	14,646	
Flint ..	52,347	55,153	2,806	..	3,936	4,789	1	236	751,405	10,732	
Huntingdon ..	55,167	50,926	..	4,241	3,610	3,927	2	348	1,000,719	13,666	
Isle of Wight ..	57,697	64,542	6,845	..	3,930	5,044	1	145	848,332	13,572	
Merioneth ..	46,598	54,793	8,195	..	3,321	3,836	1	602	601,518	8,616	
Northumberland, N.	65,091	67,960	2,869	..	3,577	4,469	2	931	1,409,612	20,115	
Nottingham, South	69,355	73,302	3,947	..	4,768	5,040	2	370	1,155,058	15,214	
Pembroke ..	57,435	55,019	..	2,417	4,545	5,219	1	588	721,872	7,413	
Salop, South ..	69,811	68,420	..	1,391	5,828	5,760	2	668	1,457,199	19,241	
Sussex, West ..	60,526	62,279	1,753	..	3,838	3,881	2	396	957,905	13,696	
Westmoreland ..	51,564	50,488	..	1,076	5,019	5,652	2	773	1,001,264	12,424	
Wilts, South ..	72,049	64,760	..	7,289	3,740	3,673	2	583	1,043,470	14,556	
Worcester, West ..	66,419	67,081	662	..	6,272	6,680	2	341	1,144,457	16,406	
Total—England and Wales }	859,849	866,369	27,077	20,557	64,083	70,922	23	7,530	13,850,421	185,462	
Scotland—											
Argyll ..	65,358	63,479	..	1,879	2,931	3,426	1	3,252	920,719	11,810	
Banff ..	50,416	51,819	1,403	..	2,330	2,646	1	644	455,398	5,060	
Carried forward ..	115,774	115,298	1,403	1,879	5,261	6,072	2	3,896	1,376,117	16,870	



COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 50,000 AND 75,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax-charged 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
Scotland—(con.)—										£
Brought forward ..	115,774	115,298	1,403	1,879	5,261	6,072	2	3,896	1,376,117	16,870
Dumbarton ..	46,871	61,394	14,523	..	2,178	3,041	1	268	781,585	12,965
Dumfries ..	57,818	53,113	..	4,705	2,919	3,409	1	1,099	1,100,061	12,803
Forfar ..	64,784	67,479	2,695	..	3,554	3,634	1	876	1,104,434	14,265
Inverness ..	72,866	72,787	..	79	1,613	1,894	1	4,252	616,288	7,807
Orkney & Shetland ..	59,177	57,492	..	1,685	1,497	1,727	1	934	225,955	2,028
Ross and Cromarty ..	74,509	72,486	..	2,023	1,477	1,739	1	3,147	554,433	6,326
Total—Scotland ..	491,799	500,019	18,621	10,371	18,499	21,516	8	14,472	5,758,873	73,064
Ireland—										
King's County ..	74,983	71,867	..	3,116	3,418	3,211	2	771	539,827	6,846
Longford ..	64,501	60,790	..	3,711	2,786	2,595	2	424	314,149	3,615
Louth ..	57,398	51,272	..	6,126	2,416	2,070	2	306	385,591	4,662
Queen's County ..	76,812	69,805	..	7,007	3,653	3,066	2	662	512,178	6,220
Westmeath ..	75,295	68,303	..	6,992	3,616	3,462	2	707	594,825	7,186
Wicklow ..	78,697	73,679	..	5,018	3,631	3,279	2	781	540,747	6,720
Total—Ireland ..	427,686	395,716	..	31,370	19,520	17,683	12	3,651	2,887,317	35,249
Total—United Kingdom ..	1,779,334	1,762,134	45,698	62,898	102,102	110,121	43	25,653	22,496,611	293,775

Net Decrease, 17,200.



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 75,000 AND 100,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS,		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income-Tax, charged, 1879-80.	
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.					1881.
England and Wales —										
Carmarthen ..	89,036	93,389	4,353	..	7,613	8,656	935	906,990	£ 9,427	
Carnarvon ..	78,581	90,500	11,919	..	5,554	6,976	562	875,164	12,316	
Denbigh ..	84,878	86,100	1,222	..	7,452	7,415	587	1,075,315	13,379	
Derby, North ..	89,675	97,582	7,907	..	6,507	7,246	436	1,275,170	17,695	
Devon, South ..	101,898	98,331	..	3,567	8,215	8,329	849	1,425,654	17,248	
Gloucester, East ..	92,936	88,631	..	4,305	9,332	8,599	640	1,664,665	23,194	
Hereford ..	100,950	95,083	..	5,867	9,172	9,004	812	1,873,608	24,097	
Leicester, South ..	77,791	89,417	11,626	..	8,458	9,127	383	1,405,635	19,188	
Lincoln, Mid ..	101,382	99,689	..	1,693	8,641	9,287	835	2,210,234	28,141	
Northampton, Sth. ..	84,525	82,091	..	2,434	6,161	6,042	473	1,582,381	21,623	
Stafford, West ..	100,413	85,740	..	14,673	9,871	11,829	434	1,585,908	23,599	
Warwick, South ..	96,905	99,470	2,565	..	6,335	6,586	462	1,803,238	27,074	
Wilts, North ..	80,588	80,313	..	275	6,915	7,301	361	1,219,866	16,722	
Total—England and Wales ..	1,179,558	1,186,336	39,592	32,814	100,226	106,397	7,769	18,903,828	253,703	



COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 75,000 AND 100,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.				Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.		1871.	1881.				
Brought forward—											
England & Wales..	1,179,558	1,186,336	39,592	32,814	100,226	106,397	26	7,769	£ 18,903,828	£ 253,703	
Scotland—											
Edinburgh ..	73,425	86,748	13,323	..	2,597	3,870	1	354	1,166,679	17,503	
Perth ..	96,869	99,647	2,778	..	5,321	6,005	1	2,596	1,767,685	22,083	
Stirling ..	69,850	83,106	13,256	..	2,756	3,399	1	463	883,570	12,288	
Total—Scotland ..	240,144	269,501	29,357	..	10,674	13,274	3	3,413	3,817,934	51,874	
Ireland—											
Fermanagh ..	86,958	78,791	..	8,167	5,100	4,544	2	714	452,043	5,082	
Kildare ..	83,614	76,102	..	7,512	3,018	2,746	2	653	665,881	8,507	
Kilkenny ..	93,274	83,810	..	9,464	5,140	4,741	2	769	655,144	7,597	
Leitrim ..	95,562	89,795	..	5,767	2,736	2,294	2	613	289,167	3,224	
Meath ..	94,639	86,301	..	8,338	4,179	3,838	2	904	1,069,396	13,435	
Waterford..	85,538	76,854	..	8,684	3,445	3,068	2	693	510,659	5,904	
Total—Ireland ..	539,585	491,653	..	47,932	23,618	21,231	12	4,343	3,652,290	43,749	
Total — United Kingdom ..	1,959,287	1,947,490	68,949	80,746	134,518	140,902	41	15,528	26,374,052	349,326	

Net Decrease, 11,797.



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 100,000 AND 125,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.		Increase.	Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income-Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.			1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										
Bucks ..	120,296	117,823	..	2,473	7,548	8,159	3	564	1,800,302	25,708
Chester ..	91,787	104,953	13,166	..	7,698	7,177	2	219	1,122,441	16,861
Cumberland, West ..	90,195	115,168	24,973	..	5,751	7,640	2	673	1,728,404	26,605
Devon, North ..	130,775	122,460	..	8,315	9,746	9,487	2	1,019	1,616,658	18,971
Essex, East ..	129,711	123,067	..	6,644	6,725	6,622	2	669	1,882,010	26,235
Essex, West ..	115,874	113,240	..	2,634	5,842	5,876	2	539	1,786,391	25,449
Leicester, North ..	96,300	109,250	12,950	..	6,221	6,796	2	411	1,589,157	21,123
Lincoln, North ..	117,785	122,472	4,687	..	9,842	11,061	2	880	2,387,683	31,918
Lincoln, South ..	125,469	121,332	..	4,137	11,078	11,250	2	989	2,839,947	36,040
Norfolk, North ..	114,795	116,714	1,919	..	6,393	6,495	2	497	1,618,795	22,353
Norfolk, South ..	113,844	113,091	..	753	7,719	7,454	2	647	1,895,089	25,096
Norfolk, West ..	112,365	108,702	..	3,663	6,905	6,807	2	957	2,068,565	28,063
Northampton, Nth. ..	95,524	108,954	13,430	..	5,218	5,996	2	497	1,588,520	22,722
Oxford ..	125,591	122,054	..	3,537	7,476	7,642	3	679	1,902,663	26,423
Salop, North ..	120,285	119,119	..	1,166	7,757	7,764	2	511	1,843,314	25,817
Somerset, East ..	112,713	118,863	6,150	..	8,368	8,487	2	411	1,669,285	23,339
Somerset, Mid ..	120,318	115,319	..	4,999	8,678	8,722	2	521	2,233,013	29,091
Somerset, West ..	123,342	116,960	..	6,382	7,802	9,130	2	698	2,008,248	25,990
Suffolk, West ..	127,065	121,818	..	5,247	6,026	5,621	2	684	1,908,257	25,986
Total—England and Wales ..	2,184,034	2,211,359	77,275	49,950	142,793	148,186	40	12,100	35,488,742	483,790



COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 100,000 AND 125,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income-Tax charged, 1879-80.	
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.					1881.
	Brought forward— England & Wales..	2,184,034	2,211,359	77,275	49,950					142,793
Scotland— Fife .. ..	97,962	101,333	3,371	..	4,311	4,789	502	1,417,405	18,580	
Ireland— Monaghan.. ..	114,969	102,590	..	12,379	5,623	5,297	499	543,867	6,207	
Sligo .. ..	115,493	110,955	..	4,538	3,371	3,192	721	451,232	5,487	
Wexford .. ..	114,174	105,196	..	8,978	6,337	5,823	909	733,444	8,415	
Total—Ireland ..	344,636	318,741	..	25,895	15,331	14,312	2,129	1,728,543	20,109	
Total—United Kingdom ..	2,626,632	2,631,433	80,646	75,845	162,435	167,287	14,731	38,634,690	522,479	

Net Increase, 4,801.



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 125,000 AND 150,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.		Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.		Increase.	1871.				
England and Wales—									
Bedford ..	129,407	129,929	522	6,580	7,335	2	458	1,653,025	23,157
Berks ..	134,667	145,260	10,593	7,610	8,107	3	670	2,142,858	32,262
Cambridge ..	152,910	144,593	8,317	10,204	10,294	3	813	2,786,592	36,595
Chester, Mid. ..	120,289	135,365	15,076	6,164	9,433	2	274	1,736,273	25,582
Cornwall, East ..	135,176	125,546	9,630	8,907	9,471	2	800	1,422,959	16,748
Cornwall, West ..	161,745	140,958	20,787	7,702	6,952	2	461	1,171,230	13,573
Derby, East ..	108,916	129,910	30,994	4,771	6,271	2	225	1,255,743	19,036
Derby, South ..	119,422	146,013	26,591	8,223	8,902	2	358	1,683,313	23,285
Dorset ..	143,478	137,294	6,184	7,283	7,478	3	892	2,032,868	27,573
Kent, Mid. ..	135,995	137,637	1,642	8,666	9,139	2	522	2,375,105	36,232
Northumberland, S. ..	110,650	129,576	18,926	6,766	8,957	2	981	1,766,307	26,341
Nottingham, North ..	102,330	143,001	40,671	5,448	7,364	2	121	1,006,525	15,598
Southampton, Nth. ..	142,014	141,042	972	5,958	5,973	2	879	1,750,565	26,054
Southampton, Sth. ..	120,156	126,720	6,564	9,359	10,206	2	478	1,473,955	21,594
Stafford, East ..	101,564	138,824	37,260	9,264	11,125	2	218	2,540,944	44,593
Stafford, North ..	119,807	132,634	12,827	9,714	11,276	2	396	1,664,060	20,627
York, E. Riding ..	139,257	141,451	2,194	10,881	11,126	2	1,166	2,933,803	59,014
Total—England and Wales ..	2,177,783	2,335,753	203,860	133,500	149,409	37	9,712	31,396,125	447,864



Appendix III.—Counties.

COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 125,000 AND 150,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged 1879-80	
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				1881.
	No. of Members.								
Brought forward—							£	£	
England & Wales	2,177,783	2,335,753	203,860	45,890	133,500	149,409	31,396,125	447,864	
Scotland—									
Aberdeen, East ..	80,282	148,119*	1,853	..	8,203	{	916,854	10,029	
Aberdeen, West ..	65,981		41,477	..	4,230		1,303	860,301	10,348
Renfrew ..	85,746	127,223			4,230	1	1,181,315	17,717	
Total—Scotland ..	232,012	275,342	43,330	..	12,433	3	2,958,470	38,094	
Ireland—									
Armagh ..	164,993	148,078	..	16,915	7,065	2	780,801	9,528	
Cavan ..	140,735	129,008	..	11,727	6,459	2	575,600	6,398	
Clare ..	141,361	134,908	..	6,453	5,532	2	626,559	7,094	
Dublin ..	137,545	145,088	7,543	..	4,199	2	1,038,976	16,189	
Limerick ..	141,956	128,957	..	12,999	6,489	2	853,010	9,747	
Londonderry ..	142,076	129,083	..	12,993	5,341	2	578,469	6,652	
Roscommon ..	137,242	128,064	..	9,178	3,825	2	587,075	7,030	
Total—Ireland ..	1,005,908	943,186	7,543	70,265	38,910	14	5,040,490	62,638	
Total—United Kingdom ..	3,415,703	3,554,281	254,733	116,155	184,843	54	39,395,085	548,596	

\* Population not stated separately. Net Increase, 138,578.



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 150,000 AND 200,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
England and Wales—									
Chester, West ..	137,779	161,104	23,325	..	9,426	12,270	585	£ 2,089,989	£ 29,486
Devon, East ..	160,788	165,372	4,584	..	10,164	10,780	657	2,554,205	35,070
Durham, South ..	149,570	181,304	31,734	..	9,730	11,603	597	1,714,379	25,531
Gloucester, West ..	158,777	177,509	18,732	..	11,459	12,544	525	1,924,974	26,677
Hertford ..	184,332	194,434	10,102	..	9,674	10,186	610	2,647,327	40,812
Monmouth ..	156,677	166,441	9,764	..	7,608	8,617	564	1,471,186	20,040
Suffolk, East ..	157,208	161,869	4,661	..	9,400	9,885	750	2,251,972	30,562
Surrey, West ..	128,781	151,408	22,627	..	7,057	7,972	470	1,890,252	30,353
Sussex, East ..	139,170	163,364	24,194	..	9,965	10,635	780	2,170,214	32,886
Warwick, North ..	134,723	169,270	34,547	..	9,942	11,769	383	2,050,579	30,000
Total—England and Wales ..	1,507,805	1,692,075	184,270	..	94,425	106,261	5,921	20,765,077	301,417
Scotland—									
Ayr, North ..	71,033	162,851*	10,414	..	6,815	3,711	272	823,643	11,090
Ayr, South ..	81,404								
Total—Scotland ..	152,437	162,851	10,414	..	6,815	7,631	1,143	1,975,009	26,531
Ireland—									
Kerry ..	187,080	190,784	3,704	..	5,450	5,202	1,852	562,241	6,381
Tipperary ..	206,675	188,537	..	18,138	9,507	9,067	1,658	1,340,647	15,968
Tyrone ..	211,880	193,152	..	18,728	8,799	8,674	1,260	892,807	10,444
Total—Ireland ..	605,635	572,473	3,704	36,866	23,756	22,943	4,770	2,795,695	32,793
Total—United Kingdom ..	2,265,877	2,427,399	198,388	36,866	124,996	136,835	11,834	25,535,781	360,741

\* Population not stated separately.

Net Increase, 161,522.



COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, OVER 200,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.		Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	Total Income-Tax charged 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.		Increase.	1871.				
England and Wales —									
Durham, North ..	225,640	298,111	72,471	10,375	13,233	2	368	£ 2,778,164	£ 45,228
Essex, South ..	181,278	296,290	115,012	8,125	13,911	2	412	2,991,345	50,468
Glamorgan ..	162,241	234,115	71,874	9,738	12,889	2	774	1,884,535	23,955
Kent, East..	189,034	209,249	20,215	12,708	13,551	2	711	3,332,167	49,631
Kent, West ..	154,966	208,260	53,294	10,802	15,764	2	270	2,737,534	47,427
Lancaster, North ..	209,609	273,417	63,808	13,881	17,621	2	837	4,056,319	61,569
Lancaster, Nth.-east	196,406	238,544	42,138	9,084	12,964	2	249	1,672,587	25,802
Lancaster, Sth.-east	402,735	534,963	132,228	20,179	26,841	2	295	5,195,581	87,453
Lancaster, Sth.-west	352,831	482,148	129,317	20,464	27,181	2	390	5,668,716	91,717
Middlesex ..	276,028	393,948	117,920	23,868	33,173	2	237	4,606,023	77,082
Surrey, East ..	154,566	227,208	72,642	12,960	20,438	2	120	2,754,786	50,223
Surrey, Mid ..	203,347	308,134	104,787	13,629	23,449	2	149	3,392,486	60,956
Worcester, East ..	147,685	208,348	60,663	10,666	12,343	2	324	1,954,880	29,932
York, N. Riding ..	186,389	221,937	35,548	19,131	20,212	2	2,128	3,443,452	42,261
Do., W. Riding, E.	263,735	303,713	39,978	19,662	22,194	2	911	3,495,595	50,262
Do. do.	268,614	301,048	32,434	17,084	22,315	2	882	3,142,410	45,985
Do. do. S.	397,493	497,568	100,075	20,994	26,750	2	766	4,809,911	78,218
Total—England and Wales ..	3,972,597	5,237,001	1,264,404	253,350	334,829	34	9,823	57,916,491	918,169



## COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, OVER 200,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.		Increase.	Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income-Tax Assessment 1879-80.	Total Income-Tax charged 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.			1871.	1881.				
Brought forward— England & Wales..	3,972,597	5,237,001	1,264,404	..	253,350	334,829	34	9,823	£ 57,916,491	£ 918,169
Scotland— Lanark, North ..	181,440	372,172*	113,160	..	9,186	10,475	1	272	2,508,596	40,333
Lanark, South ..	77,572									
Total—Scotland .	259,012	372,172	113,160	..	9,186	14,182	2	877	3,470,627	54,088
Ireland— Antrim ..	228,059	218,123	..	9,936	10,602	11,570	2	1,155	1,243,048	15,540
Cork ..	393,131	373,202	..	19,929	16,173	14,945	2	2,812	1,988,673	23,748
Donegal ..	218,334	205,443	..	12,891	4,577	4,542	2	1,870	615,852	7,101
Down ..	263,278	233,422	..	29,856	11,468	12,718	2	949	1,422,415	17,284
Galway ..	228,615	222,756	..	5,859	5,349	4,807	2	2,414	910,544	10,833
Mayo ..	246,030	243,030	..	3,000	3,703	3,087	2	2,126	664,046	7,978
Total—Ireland ..	1,577,447	1,495,976	..	81,471	51,872	51,669	12	11,326	6,844,578	82,484
Total—United Kingdom }	5,809,056	7,105,149	1,377,564	81,471	314,408	400,680	48	22,026	68,231,696	1,054,741

\* Population not stated separately.

Net Increase, 1,296,093.



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, UNDER 7,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										
Abingdon ..	6,571	6,608	37	..	845	876	1	1	80,675	£ 1,340
Andover ..	5,744	5,871	127	..	640	869	1	16	85,573	1,356
Bodmin ..	6,758	6,866	108	..	897	895	1	25	68,310	831
Brecon ..	6,308	6,623	315	..	808	879	1	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	118,130	2,346
Bridport ..	7,670	6,790	..	880	983	1,070	1	1	83,996	1,375
Buckingham ..	7,545	6,859	..	686	1,105	1,135	1	28 $\frac{3}{4}$	127,325	1,836
Calne ..	5,315	5,272	..	43	600	862	1	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	83,537	1,293
Chippenham ..	6,875	6,776	..	99	941	1,015	1	17	110,369	1,608
Devizes ..	6,839	6,645	..	194	860	921	1	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	110,395	1,716
Evesham ..	4,888	5,112	224	..	701	821	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	71,902	972
Eye ..	6,721	6,293	..	428	1,196	1,020	1	32	26,421	383
Huntingdon ..	6,606	6,417	..	189	921	1,061	1	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	104,898	1,693
Knarlesboro' ..	5,205	5,000	..	205	788	758	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	63,539	896
Launceston ..	5,468	5,675	207	..	740	852	1	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	81,978	1,177
Leominster ..	5,863	6,042	179	..	833	901	1	13	84,153	1,202
Liskeard ..	6,576	5,591	..	985	887	759	1	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	63,892	£42
Ludlow ..	6,203	6,663	460	..	868	996	1	2	67,857	1,017
Carried forward ..	107,155	105,103	1,657	3,709	14,613	15,690	17	204 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,432,950	21,886



## BOROUGH WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, UNDER 7,000—(continued).

NAME,	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
England and Wales— (continued)— Brought forward..	107,155	105,103	1,657	3,709	14,613	15,690	204½	£ 1,432,950	£ 21,886
Lymington ..	5,356	5,462	106	..	680	800	7¼	84,291	1,315
Malmesbury ..	6,879	6,866	..	13	1,022	1,057	34	101,036	1,288
Marlborough ..	5,034	5,180	146	..	626	658	7¼	94,335	1,515
Marlow, Great ..	6,627	6,779	152	..	816	909	22½	97,739	1,455
Northallerton ..	4,961	5,445	484	..	820	918	16	85,574	1,079
Petersfield ..	6,104	6,546	442	..	817	822	38¼	91,641	1,291
Radnor District ..	7,011	6,700	..	311	875	947	54	110,234	1,382
Richmond ..	5,358	5,542	184	..	677	708	14	83,587	1,232
Tavistock ..	7,725	6,909	..	816	849	870	18	91,436	1,386
Tewkesbury ..	5,409	5,100	..	309	707	757	4	68,967	998
Thirsk ..	5,734	6,306	572	..	973	976	18¼	81,695	1,113
Wareham ..	6,532	6,192	..	340	972	1,073	49¼	76,321	1,104
Westbury ..	6,396	6,014	..	382	1,102	1,101	18¾	84,183	1,159
Totals—England and Wales ..	186,281	184,144	3,743	5,880	25,549	27,286	506¼	2,583,989	38,233



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, UNDER 7,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.	No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.					
	Decrease.	1871.	1881.					
Brought forward—								
England & Wales . . . . .	186,281	184,144	3,743	25,549	27,286	506½	£ 2,583,989	£ 38,233
Ireland—								
Athlone . . . . .	6,565	6,901	336	297	337	2.021	23,617	350
Bandon . . . . .	6,131	6,045	..	353	434	.697	40,662	682
Coleraine . . . . .	6,588	6,684	.. 96	373	443	1.504	48,920	846
Downpatrick . . . . .	4,155	3,902	.. 253	263	319	2.332	31,559	486
Dungannon . . . . .	3,886	4,081	.. 195	257	279	.359	23,516	337
Ennis . . . . .	6,503	6,302	.. 201	235	254	.743	32,769	476
Enniskillen . . . . .	5,836	5,842	.. 6	366	414	.495	47,927	757
Kinsale . . . . .	7,050	5,560	1,490	179	190	.445	16,834	297
Mallow . . . . .	4,165	4,437	.. 272	223	288	.589	22,214	369
New Ross . . . . .	6,772	6,626	.. 146	249	261	.712	40,532	681
Portarlington . . . . .	2,560	2,426	.. 134	136	142	1.434	11,883	192
Youghal . . . . .	6,081	6,010	.. 41	282	266	.539	28,401	426
Totals—Ireland . . . . .	66,292	64,846	905	3,213	3,627	11.870	368,834	5,899
Totals—United Kingdom.. . . .	252,573	248,990	4,648	28,762	30,913	518.120	2,952,823	44,132

Net Decrease, 3,583.



## BOROUGHES WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 7,000 AND 10,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax Charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										
Bewdley ..	7,614	8,677	1,063	..	1,053	1,261	1	11½	£ 71,285	£ 985
Bridgnorth ..	7,317	7,216	..	101	1,335	1,208	1	17	107,190	1,639
Chichester ..	9,054	9,652	598	..	1,226	1,253	1	1½	126,795	2,168
Cirencester ..	7,681	8,431	750	..	1,075	1,157	1	9¼	113,798	1,959
Cockermouth ..	6,936	7,189	253	..	1,064	1,100	1	13	85,244	1,177
Dorchester ..	6,915	7,568	653	..	656	886	1	1	106,894	1,570
Droitwich ..	9,510	9,858	348	..	1,370	1,445	1	43	154,454	2,106
Frome ..	9,753	9,376	..	377	1,350	1,396	1	1	93,503	1,327
Harwich ..	6,079	7,810	1,731	..	637	801	1	2¼	68,690	1,068
Haverfordwest Dist.	9,469	9,176	..	293	1,462	1,555	1	4½	87,479	1,715
Helston ..	8,760	7,919	..	841	1,066	1,021	1	17	71,313	811
Hertford ..	7,894	8,556	662	..	765	1,101	1	13	103,046	1,771
Horsham ..	7,831	9,552	1,721	..	800	1,263	1	16½	110,410	1,685
Lichfield ..	7,347	8,360	1,013	..	1,309	1,379	1	5	109,310	1,740
Maldon ..	7,151	7,128	..	23	1,609	1,485	1	8	96,769	1,591
Malton ..	8,168	8,750	582	..	1,206	1,396	1	10½	109,823	1,691
Midhurst ..	6,753	7,277	524	..	997	1,074	1	40½	84,392	1,170
Newport, I.W.	8,522	9,110	588	..	1,165	1,332	1	2¼	112,863	1,854
Ripon ..	6,806	7,390	584	..	1,035	1,132	1	23¼	99,431	1,417
Rye ..	8,290	8,409	119	..	1,257	1,366	1	33¼	160,617	2,325
St. Ives ..	9,992	8,705	..	1,287	1,337	1,012	1	13	50,893	540
Carried forward ..	167,842	176,109	11,189	2,922	23,774	25,623	21	253	2,124,199	32,309



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 7,000 AND 10,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.		Increase.	Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax Charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.			1871.	1881.				
Eng. & Wales—(con.)—										
Brought forward . . . . .	167,842	176,109	11,189	2,922	23,774	25,623	21	253	£ 2,124,199	£ 32,309
Shaftesbury . . . . .	8,961	8,479	..	482	1,306	1,372	1	35½	148,418	1,927
Stamford . . . . .	8,086	8,995	909	..	1,133	1,321	1	2¼	176,897	3,034
Wallingford . . . . .	8,353	8,194	..	159	1,098	1,229	1	28	123,888	1,787
Wilton . . . . .	8,865	8,639	..	226	885	1,415	1	50¾	131,247	1,926
Woodstock . . . . .	7,477	7,027	..	450	1,101	1,071	1	32	93,207	1,268
Total—England and Wales . . . . .	209,584	217,443	12,098	4,239	29,297	32,031	26	401¾	2,797,856	42,251
Ireland—										
Armagh . . . . .	8,946	8,797	..	149	618	652	1	.464	57,445	906
Carlow . . . . .	7,842	7,036	..	806	302	295	1	.912	39,927	616
Dungarvan . . . . .	7,719	7,377	..	342	317	304	1	13.278	40,950	589
Tralee . . . . .	9,506	9,664	158	..	301	380	1	.850	52,653	815
Total—Ireland . . . . .	34,013	32,874	158	1,297	1,538	1,631	4	15.504	190,975	2,926
Total — United Kingdom . . . . .	243,597	250,317	12,256	5,536	30,835	33,662	30	417,254	2,988,831	45,177

Net increase, 6,720



## BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 10,000 AND 20,000.

NAME.	POPULATION,			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										
Banbury ..	11,726	12,072	346	..	1,715	1,873	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	194,633	£ 3,313
Barnstaple ..	11,813	12,494	681	..	1,636	1,785	2	3	108,732	1,434
Beaumaris District ..	13,672	14,242	570	..	1,773	2,559	1	9	82,225	1,156
Bedford ..	16,850	19,532	2,682	..	2,122	2,601	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	242,656	3,950
Berwick ..	13,282	13,995	713	..	1,336	1,989	2	11	171,193	2,669
Boston ..	18,279	18,867	588	..	2,581	3,043	2	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	275,312	4,089
Bury St. Edmunds ..	14,928	16,211	1,283	..	1,284	2,231	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	236,131	3,966
Cardigan District ..	14,485	14,517	32	..	1,788	2,074	1	16	120,052	1,659
Clithero ..	11,786	14,463	2,677	..	1,630	1,958	1	25	138,785	1,994
Durham ..	14,833	15,372	539	..	1,946	2,390	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	187,395	3,346
Grantham ..	13,250	17,345	4,095	..	2,023	2,383	2	9	221,104	3,667
Guildford ..	9,801	11,593	1,792	..	1,223	1,454	1	1	180,242	3,071
Hereford ..	18,347	19,822	1,475	..	2,298	2,821	2	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	254,647	4,127
Kendal ..	13,446	13,696	250	..	1,859	1,957	1	4	183,862	2,809
Lewes ..	10,753	11,199	446	..	1,382	1,445	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	159,073	2,740
Lynn Regis ..	17,266	18,475	1,209	..	2,460	2,849	2	5	244,157	4,013
Newark ..	12,195	14,019	1,824	..	1,919	2,194	2	3	219,175	3,878
Newcstl.-un.-Lyme ..	15,948	17,506	1,558	..	2,849	3,152	2	3	164,873	2,577
Penryn & Falmouth ..	16,819	17,561	742	..	2,173	2,307	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	150,991	2,242
Pontefract ..	11,653	15,329	3,676	..	1,927	360	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	179,181	2,661
Poole ..	10,097	12,303	2,206	..	1,419	1,949	1	8	126,301	2,070
Carried forward	291,229	320,613	29,384	..	39,343	47,374	34	149 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,840,720	61,431



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 10,000 AND 20,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80. £	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80. £
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
Eng. & Wales (con.)—										
Brought forward	291,229	320,613	29,384	..	39,343	47,374	34	149 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,840,720	61,431
Salisbury ..	13,839	15,659	1,820	..	1,451	1,962	2	1	284,261	4,837
Sandwich ..	14,885	15,566	681	..	1,730	2,207	2	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	131,740	1,931
Stafford ..	15,946	19,901	3,955	..	3,151	3,344	2	1	182,819	2,849
Tamworth ..	11,493	14,098	2,605	..	1,652	2,260	2	18	186,745	3,033
Taunton ..	15,466	16,611	1,145	..	1,989	2,326	2	2	195,450	3,051
Tiverton ..	10,024	10,462	438	..	1,169	1,405	2	2	200,434	2,886
Truro ..	11,049	10,663	386	386	1,442	1,522	2	27 $\frac{1}{4}$	110,745	1,651
Warwick ..	10,986	11,802	816	..	1,681	1,729	2	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	181,174	3,027
Weymouth ..	13,259	13,701	445	..	1,359	1,694	2	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	185,486	2,981
Whitby ..	13,094	14,554	1,460	..	1,946	2,145	1	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	184,830	2,929
Whitehaven ..	18,451	19,717	1,266	..	1,967	2,582	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	241,693	4,202
Winchester ..	16,366	17,469	1,103	..	1,611	1,937	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	225,078	3,974
Windsor ..	17,281	19,080	1,799	..	1,751	2,115	1	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	326,436	5,585
Wycombe ..	10,492	13,154	2,662	..	1,303	1,907	1	5	110,231	1,767
Total—England and Wales ..	483,860	533,053	49,579	386	63,545	76,509	58	242 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,587,842	106,134
Scotland—										
Haddington District	13,093	13,755	662	..	1,687	1,880	1	2.605	144,659	2,077
St. Andrews do.	18,605	19,406	801	..	2,012	2,693	1	4.375	164,007	2,175
Wick do.	17,556	17,456	..	100	1,446	1,830	1	5.719	102,238	1,366
Wigtown do.	9,738	10,139	401	..	1,118	1,420	1	1.392	100,248	1,388
Total—Scotland ..	58,992	60,756	1,864	100	6,263	7,823	4	14.091	511,152	7,006



## BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 10,000 AND 20,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
	Brought forward—									
England & Wales	483,860	533,053	49,579	386	63,545	76,509	58	242 $\frac{1}{2}$	£ 6,587,842	£ 106,134
Scotland ..	58,992	60,756	1,864	100	6,263	7,823	4	14 091	511,152	7,006
Ireland—										
Carrickfergus ..	9,397	10,009	612	..	1,193	1,500	1	26·097	53,505	764
Clonmel ..	10,112	10,519	407	..	461	416	1	·517	65,638	1,133
Drogheda ..	16,165	14,662	..	1,503	606	721	1	9·031	138,212	2,041
Dundalk ..	11,377	12,294	917	..	506	546	1	2·196	97,455	1,512
Galway ..	19,843	18,906	..	937	1,466	1,146	2	37·706	93,374	1,272
Kilkenny ..	15,748	14,964	..	784	720	663	1	26·581	102,644	1,542
Lisburn ..	9,326	10,834	1,508	..	500	798	1	2·122	51,349	852
Newry ..	14,158	15,085	927	..	901	1,216	1	4·004	108,549	1,763
Wexford ..	12,077	12,055	..	22	541	488	1	·737	71,069	1,248
Total—Ireland ..	118,203	119,328	4,371	3,246	6,891	7,494	10	108·991	781,795	12,127
Total—United Kingdom ..	661,055	713,137	55,814	3,732	76,702	91,826	72	365·832	7,880,789	125,267

Net Increase, 52,082.



BOROUGHES WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 20,000 AND 30,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.	No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax Charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.					
			Decrease.					
England and Wales—								
Aylesbury .. ..	28,760	28,899	139	3,729	2	108	374,095	5,155
Canterbury .. ..	20,962	21,701	739	3,156	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	231,460	3,774
Canarvon District .. ..	26,019	28,695	2,676	3,178	1	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	242,184	3,582
Christchurch .. ..	15,415	28,537	13,122	1,534	1	35	414,372	7,207
Colchester .. ..	26,343	28,395	2,052	2,975	2	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	326,072	5,410
Denbigh District .. ..	20,224	22,831	2,607	2,841	1	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	261,162	4,834
Dover .. ..	28,506	28,486	20	3,443	2	2	331,918	5,572
Flint District .. ..	22,989	24,234	1,245	3,208	1	28	232,890	3,600
Hythe .. ..	24,078	28,063	3,988	2,303	1	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	345,680	5,889
Kidderminster .. ..	20,814	25,634	4,820	2,350	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	266,419	4,327
Maidstone .. ..	26,237	29,662	3,425	3,357	2	7	515,908	9,032
Montgomery District .. ..	18,677	20,042	1,365	2,792	1	28 $\frac{1}{4}$	229,723	3,115
Pembroke .. ..	22,787	25,309	2,522	3,212	1	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	148,737	2,049
Peterborough .. ..	17,434	22,394	4,960	2,494	2	10	229,521	3,569
Rochester .. ..	18,352	21,590	3,238	2,551	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	216,576	4,020
Shrewsbury .. ..	23,406	26,478	3,072	3,766	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	371,052	6,427
Wenlock .. ..	21,208	20,143	..	3,231	2	80	220,235	3,234
Total—England and Wales .. ..	382,211	431,096	49,970	50,120	26	418 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,958,004	80,796



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 20,000 AND 30,000—(continued).

NAME,	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax Charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
Brought forward— England & Wales..	382,211	431,096	49,970	1,085	50,120	60,542	418½	£ 4,958,004	£ 80,796
Scotland— Dumfries District..	23,639	25,583	1,944	..	2,866	2,999	3.664	257,449	3,694
Inverness do.	23,074	26,427	3,353	..	2,266	3,118	4.970	421,326	7,117
Perth .. .. .	25,585	28,948	3,363	..	3,453	4,059	3.281	332,615	5,267
Total—Scotland..	72,298	80,958	8,660	..	8,585	10,176	11.915	1,011,390	16,078
Ireland— Londonderry.. ..	25,242	28,947	3,705	1,027	1,775	2,078	4.062	223,775	3,981
Waterford .. ..	29,979	28,952	..	..	1,452	1,469	15.717	336,272	6,253
Total—Ireland ..	55,221	57,899	3,705	1,027	3,227	3,547	19.779	560,047	10,234
Total — United Kingdom ..	509,730	569,953	62,335	2,112	61,932	74,265	450.194	6,529,441	107,108

Net Increase, 60,223



BOROUGHES WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 30,000 AND 50,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. or Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.		1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										
Ashton-under-Lyne	37,389	43,389	6,000	..	5,286	5,893	1	3	384,305	6,728
Bury, Lancashire	41,314	49,746	8,402	..	5,518	6,859	1	5½	571,169	9,966
Cambridge ..	33,996	40,882	6,886	..	4,021	5,015	2	6¼	534,280	9,037
Carlisle ..	31,049	35,866	4,817	..	4,426	5,504	2	2¼	497,311	8,796
Carmarthen Dist.	25,769	30,529	4,760	..	3,529	5,752	1	11	347,972	5,561
Chatham ..	45,792	46,806	1,014	..	4,970	5,641	1	4	243,418	3,437
Cheltenham ..	44,519	46,814	2,325	..	3,533	5,134	1	7	623,114	10,705
Chester ..	33,390	40,342	1,952	..	6,324	5,804	2	5½	579,862	10,109
Coventry ..	41,348	47,366	6,018	..	7,773	8,263	2	10	569,647	8,810
Darlington ..	27,729	33,426	5,697	..	3,598	5,214	1	5½	734,506	13,434
Exeter ..	44,226	47,098	2,872	..	6,152	7,562	2	5½	700,962	11,780
Gloucester ..	31,844	36,552	4,708	..	4,681	5,320	2	2½	615,868	10,620
Gravesend ..	27,493	31,355	3,862	..	2,639	3,486	1	4¼	332,722	5,624
Grimsby, Great ..	26,502	45,373	18,871	..	4,712	6,956	1	25½	397,518	6,501
Hartlepool, The ..	38,303	46,998	8,695	..	3,746	7,017	1	11¼	594,950	9,798
Hastings ..	33,337	47,735	14,398	..	2,823	4,282	2	7	738,680	13,133
Lincoln ..	26,766	37,312	10,546	..	4,083	6,182	2	6	604,864	11,127
Carried forward ..	595,796	707,619	111,823	..	77,814	99,884	25	122	9,071,143	155,166



## BOROUGHES WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 30,000 AND 50,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
England and Wales— (continued)—								£	£
Brought forward ..	595,796	707,619	111,823	..	77,814	25	122	9,071,148	155,166
Macclesfield ..	35,570	37,620	2,050	..	4,839	2	5	262,359	4,164
Monmouth District ..	38,771	44,933	6,162	..	3,797	1	11½	562,835	9,519
Morpeth ..	30,239	33,402	3,163	..	2,539	1	26½	306,802	5,204
Oxford ..	34,482	40,862	6,380	..	5,387	1	7	584,755	9,820
Reading ..	32,324	42,050	9,726	..	3,730	2	3½	703,416	12,728
Scarborough ..	24,259	30,484	6,225	..	2,816	2	3½	378,545	6,839
Shoreham, New ..	37,984	42,442	4,458	..	4,802	2	17½	581,721	9,007
Stalybridge ..	35,114	39,671	4,557	..	4,918	1	3½	326,470	5,506
Stroud ..	38,610	40,573	1,963	..	5,757	2	59½	454,024	6,878
Tynemouth ..	38,941	43,863	4,922	..	2,504	1	6½	477,407	8,013
Wakefield..	28,069	30,573	2,504	..	3,584	1	2½	523,736	9,294
Warrington ..	33,050	45,257	12,207	..	4,152	1	2½	474,937	11,281
Wigan ..	39,110	48,196	9,086	..	4,577	2	3½	704,138	12,171
Worcester ..	38,116	40,421	2,305	..	5,592	2	5	667,625	10,453
Total—England and Wales	1,080,435	1,267,966	187,531	..	136,808	47	437½	16,079,918	276,043



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 30,000 AND 50,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.		Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total-Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.		Increase.	1871.				
Brought forward— England & Wales..	1,080,435	1,267,966	187,531	136,808	178,035	47	437½	£ 16,079,918	£ 276,013
Scotland—									
Ayr District ..	34,662	41,731	7,069	3,657	4,267	1	5.136	405,872	6,627
Elgin District ..	28,875	32,845	3,970	3,576	3,829	1	6.637	248,521	3,586
Falkirk District ..	43,322	49,346	6,024	4,499	5,353	1	4.068	371,548	5,696
Hawick District ..	25,674	34,708	9,034	3,412	4,909	1	2.577	432,693	7,065
Kirkcaldy District ..	26,345	31,831	5,486	3,745	4,518	1	3.703	216,694	3,149
Stirling District ..	32,985	36,793	3,808	4,377	4,904	1	5.663	296,937	4,297
Total—Scotland ..	191,863	227,254	35,391	23,266	27,780	6	27.784	1,972,265	30,420
Ireland—									
Limerick ..	49,080	48,246	1,734	2,193	1,906	2	52.972	357,384	5,817
Total — United Kingdom	1,322,278	1,543,466	222,922	162,267	207,721	55	518.006	18,409,567	312,280

Net Increase, 221,188



## BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 50,000 AND 100,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.		Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.		Increase.	Decrease.				
England and Wales—									
Bath ..	53,704	53,761	57	5,189	6,017	2	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	£ 727,819	£ 12,350
Birkenhead ..	65,971	83,324	17,353	6,738	9,107	1	6	873,566	15,593
Burnley ..	44,320	63,502	19,182	5,628	7,414	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	563,730	9,699
Cardiff District ..	60,084	82,573	22,489	5,718	8,831	1	10	1,736,541	31,546
Cricklade ..	43,622	51,956	8,334	5,761	7,469	2	248	731,086	10,313
Derby ..	61,381	77,636	16,255	..	13,167	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,088,969	80,581
Devonport ..	64,034	63,870	..	164	3,917	2	3	322,181	4,665
Dewsbury ..	54,940	69,531	14,591	..	10,060	2	7	£10,303	14,067
Dudley ..	82,249	87,407	5,158	..	14,947	1	12	735,183	12,237
Gateshead ..	48,627	65,873	17,246	..	11,685	1	5	365,014	7,546
Halifax ..	65,510	73,633	8,123	..	12,055	2	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,103,745	19,569
Huddersfield ..	74,358	87,146	12,788	..	13,268	1	17	1,239,101	22,392
Ipswich ..	42,947	50,762	7,815	..	7,535	2	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	596,812	10,482
London (City) ..	74,897	50,526	24,371	..	25,310	4	1	48,662,042	960,673
Merthyr Tydfil ..	97,020	91,347	5,673	..	14,200	2	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	453,306	11,823
Middlesboro' ..	46,621	54,965	8,344	..	10,750	1	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	886,928	15,312
Northampton ..	45,080	57,553	12,473	..	8,185	2	3	641,621	10,616
Norwich ..	80,386	87,843	7,457	..	15,502	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,079,975	19,041
Plymouth ..	70,091	77,401	7,310	..	6,366	2	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	732,774	12,247
Preston ..	85,427	93,707	8,280	..	11,748	2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	948,783	16,868
Retford, East ..	49,257	50,031	774	..	8,183	2	32 $\frac{5}{8}$	870,988	11,778
Rochdale ..	63,485	68,865	5,380	..	10,788	1	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	768,864	13,117
Carried forward..	1,374,011	1,543,212	199,409	30,208	236,504	37	752	68,938,431	1,322,518



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 50,000 AND 100,000—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.				Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.		1871.	1881.				
	Eng. & Wales—(con.)—										
Brought forward	1,374,011	1,543,212	199,409	30,208	190,086	236,504	37	752	£ 68,938,431	£ 1,322,518	
Southampton ..	53,741	60,235	6,494	..	6,093	7,419	2	3	887,120	15,487	
South Shields ..	45,336	56,922	11,586	..	7,378	10,112	1	3	315,218	6,534	
Stockport ..	53,014	59,544	6,530	..	6,019	8,158	2	3½	606,870	10,504	
Stockton-on-Tees..	37,612	55,446	17,834	..	4,948	8,062	1	11	676,787	11,588	
Walsall ..	49,018	59,415	10,397	..	8,170	9,538	1	11½	485,452	7,957	
York ..	50,765	59,596	8,831	..	9,300	11,108	2	4½	3,690,833	73,112	
Total — England } and Wales .. }	1,663,497	1,894,370	261,081	30,208	231,994	290,901	46	788½	75,600,711	1,447,700	
Scotland—											
Greenock ..	57,146	63,599	6,753	..	5,965	7,373	1	2.553	928,293	16,277	
Kilmarnock District ..	57,834	65,650	7,816	..	7,052	8,240	1	4.889	507,807	8,362	
Leith District ..	57,274	72,851	15,577	..	7,589	10,377	1	5.821	1,036,698	17,791	
Montrose District ..	54,524	59,676	5,152	..	7,859	8,278	1	8.111	445,158	6,650	
Paisley ..	48,240	55,642	7,402	..	3,648	4,979	1	5.528	848,440	14,528	
Total—Scotland ..	275,018	317,718	42,700	..	32,113	39,247	5	26.902	3,766,401	63,608	
Ireland—											
Cork ..	100,518	97,526	2,992	2,992	4,307	4,813	2	74.993	1,104,710	19,395	
Total — United Kingdom }	2,039,033	2,309,614	303,781	33,200	268,414	334,961	53	890.145	80,471,822	1,530,703	

Net Increase, 270,581.



## BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, BETWEEN 100,000 AND 200,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment 1879-80.	Total Income Tax Charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
England and Wales—									
Blackburn .. .. .	82,928	100,618	17,690	..	9,053	13,160	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	£ 809,021	£ 13,917
Bolton .. .. .	92,658	105,973	13,315	..	11,801	14,250	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,167,487	20,838
Bradford .. .. .	145,830	180,459	34,629	..	20,662	27,437	10	3,144,853	57,439
Brighton .. .. .	103,758	128,407	24,649	..	9,626	12,657	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,277,872	40,502
Kingston-on-Hull ..	123,408	161,519	38,111	..	19,012	26,581	7	2,001,535	35,378
Leicester .. .. .	95,220	122,351	27,131	..	14,397	18,977	5	1,513,356	24,713
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	128,443	145,228	16,785	..	12,500	24,261	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,749,909	51,129
Nottingham .. .. .	86,621	111,631	25,010	..	14,674	17,555	3	1,794,946	31,923
Oldham .. .. .	113,100	152,511	39,411	..	15,663	21,383	19 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,557,917	28,091
Portsmouth .. .. .	113,569	127,953	14,384	..	11,928	17,912	7	1,001,454	16,045
Salford .. .. .	124,801	176,233	51,432	..	17,538	23,928	8	1,700,321	32,105
Stoke-on-Trent .. ..	130,575	152,457	21,882	..	18,195	19,824	14	1,683,184	29,619
Sunderland .. .. .	104,409	124,960	20,551	..	9,388	15,297	8	1,387,461	23,652
Swansea District .. ..	80,772	105,949	25,177	..	6,454	14,321	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,017,663	17,890
Wednesbury .. .. .	116,809	124,438	7,629	..	17,644	19,561	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	901,115	14,797
Wolverhampton .. ..	156,978	164,303	7,325	..	18,888	23,259	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,627,395	25,659
Total—England and Wales .. }	1,799,879	2,184,990	385,111	..	227,423	310,363	175 $\frac{1}{2}$	26,345,489	463,697
Scotland—									
Aberdeen .. .. .	88,108	105,003	16,895	..	13,217	14,152	9.547	1,471,869	25,215
Dundee .. .. .	118,977	140,054	21,077	..	15,556	15,825	6.135	1,829,791	32,533
Total—Scotland.. }	207,085	245,057	37,972	..	28,773	29,977	15.682	3,301,660	57,748
Total—United Kingdom .. }	2,006,964	2,430,047	423,083	..	256,196	340,340	191.182	29,647,149	521,445



BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, OF OVER 200,000.

NAME.	POPULATION.				Decrease.	ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.		1871.	1881.				
England and Wales—										£	£
Birmingham	343,787	400,757	56,970	..	46,302	63,909	3	13	6,198,456	113,555	
Bristol	182,552	206,503	23,951	..	21,816	25,744	2	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,503,629	62,732	
Chelsea	258,050	366,516	108,466	..	16,825	30,601	2	11	4,705,716	89,941	
Finsbury	452,484	524,480	71,996	..	34,007	44,166	2	8	11,959,301	230,804	
Greenwich	169,361	206,651	37,290	..	14,921	22,737	2	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,506,427	32,393	
Hackney	362,378	417,191	54,813	..	37,930	45,130	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,767,592	66,102	
Lambeth	379,048	498,967	119,919	..	35,831	49,040	2	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,818,326	110,525	
Leeds	259,212	309,126	49,914	..	41,407	49,414	3	33 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,943,807	71,297	
Liverpool	493,405	552,425	59,020	..	46,455	63,221	3	8	15,187,864	289,992	
Manchester	379,374	393,676	14,302	..	56,699	58,712	3	10	13,241,590	251,327	
Marylebone	477,532	498,311	20,779	..	32,130	34,687	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,628,799	331,806	
Sheffield	239,946	284,410	44,464	..	31,329	42,402	2	30 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,492,914	64,310	
Southwark	208,725	221,866	13,141	..	19,231	23,566	2	3	6,429,485	125,531	
Tower Hamlets	391,790	438,910	47,120	..	31,560	40,681	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,975,361	91,270	
Westminster	246,606	228,932	..	17,674	18,840	21,774	2	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	15,107,639	253,494	
Total — England and Wales ..	4,844,250	5,548,721	722,145	17,674	485,283	615,784	34	172	116,766,906	2,225,079	



## BOROUGHS WITH A POPULATION, IN 1881, OF 200,000 AND ABOVE—(continued).

NAME.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871.				
Brought forward— England and Wales	4,844,250	5,548,721	722,145	17,674	485,283	615,784	172	£ 116,766,906	£ 2,225,079
Scotland— Edinburgh ..	196,979	228,190	31,211	..	22,946	28,644	6.531	6,953,585	129,470
Glasgow ..	477,156	487,948	10,792	..	49,966	57,882	7.911	11,709,569	216,229
Total—Scotland ..	674,135	716,138	42,003	..	72,912	86,526	14.442	18,663,154	315,699
Ireland— Belfast ..	174,412	207,671	33,259	..	14,463	21,989	10.632	2,200,842	40,736
Dublin ..	267,717	273,064	5,347	..	13,190	12,490	8.528	5,368,758	102,609
Total—Ireland ..	442,129	480,735	38,606	..	27,653	34,479	19.160	7,569,600	143,345
Total — United Kingdom ..	5,960,514	6,745,594	802,754	17,674	585,848	736,789	205.602	142,999,660	2,714,123

Net Increase, 735,008.



## APPENDIX III.

## SUMMARY.

The two following pages contain a Summary of the Population, number of Electors, number of Members, area in square miles, and Income Tax assessed and charged, of the County and Borough constituencies of the United Kingdom, classified in groups according to the population returns of the last census.

They show that the Counties, with a total population of 20,037,121, have 1,197,647 electors, are assessed to the Income Tax £229,694,363, upon which they pay £3,242,396, and have 283 representatives. The Boroughs, on the other hand, with a population of 14,811,118, have 1,850,477 electors, are assessed to the Income Tax £291,880,082, upon which they pay £5,400,235, and have 360 representatives. If the unrepresented town population were transferred from the counties to the boroughs the proportions would be reversed, the total town population being 20,711,389, and the total rural population 14,151,177. In the last figures shipping in harbour is included, and as no statistics are given of the urban and rural population of Ireland, they are assumed to be the same as the population of the parliamentary boroughs and counties.



## SUMMARY OF COUNTIES AND DIVISIONS OF COUNTIES.

POPULATION.	POPULATION.				ELECTORS.		Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment, 1879-80.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease.	1871	1881.			
						No. of Members.			
19 under 50,000 ..	623,053	609,235	..	13,818	35,891	39,116	£ 9,026,448	£ 112,738	
28 between 50,000 and 75,000 ..	1,779,334	1,762,134	..	17,200	102,102	110,121	22,496,611	293,775	
22 between 75,000 and 100,000 ..	1,959,287	1,947,490	..	11,797	134,518	140,902	26,374,052	349,326	
23 between 100,000 and 125,000 ..	2,626,632	2,631,433	4,801	..	162,435	167,287	38,634,690	522,479	
27 between 125,000 and 150,000 ..	3,415,703	3,554,281	138,578	..	184,843	202,706	39,395,085	548,596	
15 between 150,000 and 200,000 ..	2,265,877	2,427,399	161,522	..	124,996	136,835	25,535,781	360,741	
25 over 200,000 ..	5,809,056	7,105,149	1,296,093	..	314,408	400,680	68,231,696	1,054,741	
159 Counties and Divisions	18,478,942	20,037,121	1,600,994	42,815	1,059,193	1,197,647	229,694,363	3,242,396	

Net Increase, 1,558,179



SUMMARY OF CITIES, BOROUGHES, AND DISTRICTS OF BOROUGHES.

POPULATION.	POPULATION.			ELECTORS.		No. of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	Total Income Tax Assessment.	Total Income Tax charged, 1879-80.	
	1871.	1881.	Increase.	Decrease	1871.					1881.
42 under 7,000 ..	252,573	248,990	..	3,583	28,762	30,913	518.120	2,952,823	44,132	
30 between 7,000 and 10,000 ..	243,597	250,317	6,720	..	30,835	33,662	417.254	2,988,831	45,177	
48 between 10,000 and 20,000 ..	661,055	713,137	52,082	..	76,702	91,826	355.832	7,880,789	125,267	
22 between 20,000 and 30,000 ..	509,730	569,953	60,223	..	61,932	74,265	450.194	6,529,441	107,108	
38 between 30,000 and 50,000 ..	1,322,278	1,543,466	221,188	..	162,267	207,721	518.006	18,499,567	312,280	
34 between 50,000 and 100,000 ..	2,039,033	2,309,614	270,581	..	268,414	334,961	890.145	80,471,822	1,530,703	
18 between 100,000 and 200,000 ..	2,006,964	2,430,047	423,083	..	256,196	340,340	191.182	29,647,149	521,445	
19 over 200,000 ..	5,960,514	6,745,594	785,080	..	585,848	736,789	205.602	142,999,660	2,714,123	
251 Boroughs ..	12,995,744	14,811,118	1,818,957	3,583	1,470,956	1,850,477	3556.335	291,880,082	5,400,235	

Net Increase, 1,815,374.



## APPENDIX IV.

SMALL BOROUGHES THAT ARE REALLY  
DIVISIONS OF COUNTIES.

*With their descriptions, from the report of the Boundary Commissioners of 1867.*

Andover consists of the Municipal Borough, another parish, and a tithing, and embraces an area of 10,344 acres, of which the town occupies a very small portion, and is quite four miles distant from the northern portion of the boundary.

Aylesbury comprises the market towns of Aylesbury, Wendover, and Princes Risborough, and an extensive rural district, consisting of the "Three Hundreds of Aylesbury," which includes twenty-six parishes and a Liberty. The area of the borough was formerly 69,181 acres, and was increased by the last Boundary Act.

Bewdley consists of the town of Bewdley and a large agricultural area, including the whole of the Parish of Ribbesford and six hamlets, all of which are part of the Parish of Kidderminster. The Parliamentary area formerly contained 6,891 acres, and was increased by the last Boundary Act.

Buckingham consists of the Parish of Buckingham and seven rural parishes. The area is 18,407 acres.

Bodmin consists of four parishes, with an area of 16,031 acres. The area of the Municipal Borough is 2,785 acres, of which the town occupies a very small portion, the rest of the land, within both Municipal and Parliamentary boundaries, being agricultural land.

Bridgnorth comprises the old borough and four parishes. The Parliamentary Borough comprises 10,883 acres, and there is a large extent of land unoccupied by buildings within its boundaries.

Calne consists of the Parish of Calne and an agricultural district of considerable extent, in addition to the town of Calne. The area is 8,798 acres.



Chippenham consists of the Parish of Chippenham, two other parishes, and an extra-parochial space. The Commissioners say of this lively borough, a very large agricultural area is included within the boundaries of the borough, the town itself at no point approaching the Parliamentary limits. The Municipal Borough is of very small extent. The area of the Parliamentary Borough is 11,019 acres.

Christchurch embraces an area of 22,350 acres, and includes the Parishes of Holdenhurst and Christchurch.

Clitheroe consists of two chapelries and four townships, includes an area of 16,026 acres, and contains the manufacturing town of Clitheroe and several agricultural villages, some of which are three or four miles from that town.

Cockermouth consists of five townships and a portion of a sixth; the area is very considerable, comprising no less than 8,467 acres, and the population has been decreasing since 1861.

Cricklade consists of four Hundreds, and part of the Hundred of Malmesbury. It extends about 20 miles from east to west, and about 14 miles from north to south, and the character of its constituency is, in a great measure, rural. There are 50 parishes wholly or partly within the borough, which has an area of 158,777 acres, and is nearly as large as the whole County of Middlesex.

Droitwich includes the Municipal Borough, which lies in the midst of a large agricultural district, ten other parishes, six parts of parishes, and three extra-parochial places. The area was formerly 27,577 acres, and was extended by the last Boundary Act.

Eye consists of eleven parishes. In the town of Eye there is a flax manufactory which gives employment at times to about 300 people, but the other ten parishes are entirely agricultural. The area is 20,493 acres.

Flint district includes eight contributory boroughs, and had a total area of 16,322 acres (increased by the Boundary Act), a very large proportion of which is purely agricultural land.

Helston consists of the town, part of the Parish of Wendron, and the entire Parish of Sithney. The town lies in the centre of the Parliamentary Borough, and there is a large margin of unoccupied land within the boundary. Area, 10,992 acres.

Horsham consists of the Parish of Horsham, about 7 miles in length and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles in width, and occupies an area of 10,741 acres.



Launceston consists of the town of Launceston, and a large tract of agricultural land. The town is neither commercial nor manufacturing, but the market for a large agricultural district. Area of the borough, 14,707 acres. The celebrated "rabbit" case, which unseated a former owner of the property, which has always controlled the representation of this borough, shows the real character of the constituency.

Leominster consists of the Parish of Leominster, and has an area of 8,086 acres, of which the town forms a very small portion.

Liskeard includes the Parish of Liskeard, which is entirely agricultural, and two small portions of an adjoining parish, in which there are a few copper mines. The area of the Parliamentary Borough is 8,387 acres, 810 of which comprise the Municipal Borough.

Lymington comprises an area of 4,769 acres, and includes the Municipal Borough (which contains less than 105 acres), together with a large agricultural district.

Malmesbury consists of the old borough, and a surrounding agricultural district, consisting of ten parishes, and comprises an area of 21,772 acres.

Malton includes New Malton, Old Malton, and Norton, and is a purely agricultural district of 6,855 acres.

Marlborough consists of the old Borough of Marlborough and the Parish of Preshute, comprising an area of 4,665 acres.

Marlow (Great) consists of the town of Marlow, and an extensive rural district, and includes four parishes, with an area of 14,514 acres.

Merthyr Tydvil consists of the Parish of Aberdare and portions of the Parishes of Merthyr and Falnor. Its area was formerly 28,873 acres, and was increased by the last Boundary Act. It is an extensive mining and iron-making district.

Midhurst consists of seven entire parishes and portions of several others. All the parishes, except Midhurst, are entirely agricultural, and the nearest point of the boundary is about two miles beyond the limits of the town. The area of the borough is 26,172 acres.

Northallerton consists of two townships and a chapelry; with the exception of two small linen factories, the Parliamentary borough is purely agricultural, and contains 10,380 acres. It extends six miles from north to south, and five miles from east to west.



Petersfield consists of the town of Petersfield, together with several adjoining parishes, and parts of parishes, all agricultural, and has an area of 24,530 acres.

Radnor District of Boroughs consists of six contributory Boroughs, has an area of 34,602 acres, and contains a large proportion of agricultural land.

Retford (East) consists of the Hundred of Bassetlaw, and all places situated within its outside boundary, and has an area of 207,906 acres. There are sixty-eight parishes, mostly agricultural, either wholly or partly within the borough.

Richmond consists of the Parishes of Richmond and Easby. The town forms a very small portion of the Parish of Richmond, and Easby is wholly agricultural. The area of the Parliamentary borough was 8,101 acres, which was increased by the Boundary Act by the addition of an extra parochial district and a hamlet.

Rye comprises the small towns of Rye and Winchelsea, six other parishes, and part of a parish, and includes within its limits a large agricultural area. The borough comprises 21,356 acres.

St. Ives consists of three parishes, and has a large tract of agricultural land within the borough. The area of the Parliamentary Borough is 8,427 acres of which the Municipal Borough is 1,850 acres.

Shaftesbury consists of the old borough of Shaftesbury, three out parishes, nine other parishes, and a chapelry; comprising an area of 22,666 acres, consisting chiefly of a large agricultural district.

Shoreham (New) includes the whole of the Rape of Bramber, except the Parish of Horsham. There are 42 parishes, either wholly or partly within the borough, almost all of which are purely agricultural. It embraces an area of 112,287 acres.

Stroud consists of thirteen parishes. The area of the borough is very large, formerly containing 38,000 acres, and increased by the last Boundary Act; there is ample room within the present boundary for the extension of the existing town and villages. The trade of the district is cloth making.

Tamworth consists of the Parish of Tamworth, comprising an area of 11,602 acres, of which the town occupies about 100 acres. Between the boundaries of the Municipal and Parliamentary Boroughs, there is on every side an interval of two or three miles of land, principally agricultural.



The parliamentary borough contains a few manufactories and coal pits, and a few small villages.

Tavistock consists of the Parish of Tavistock, except one manor. It comprises an area of 11,450 acres; the population is partly agricultural and partly mining, and there is a large margin of agricultural land on all sides of the town within the borough.

Thirsk consists of the Town of Thirsk, and a large agricultural district, and extends over an area of 11,819 acres.

Tiverton consists of the Parish of Tiverton; the boundaries contain an area of 17,491 acres, and extend nine miles from north to south, and eight miles from east to west. The town occupies about 200 acres, and beyond it there is a large margin of agricultural land on all sides within the boundary of the borough.

Wallingford consists of the Town of Wallingford, together with a large agricultural district, and comprises an area of 17,951 acres.

Wareham comprises an area of 31,560 acres, a considerable part of which consists of a large district of agricultural land. It is not a Municipal Borough, and there is no Local Government Act in force within its limits, showing its purely rural character.

Wenlock comprises 19 parishes, with an area of 51,246 acres. Most of the parishes are agricultural; but Madeley, in which the towns of Ironbridge and Coalbrookdale are situate, has a large population, chiefly employed in the iron and china works.

Westbury consists of the Parish of Westbury, and contains 12,231 acres. The extent of the borough is very large in proportion to its population, and the town population is confined to the Town of Westbury, which does not approach the boundary of the borough at any point.

Wilton consists of the Town of Wilton, and a large agricultural district, including twelve entire parishes, and large portions of five others. Its area was 32,603 acres, but a small portion was taken from this borough and added to Salisbury by the Boundary Act.

Woodstock consists of the old Borough and an extensive rural district, and includes the old borough of New Woodstock, nine parishes, one part of a parish, and the Hamlet of Old Woodstock and Blenheim Park. It comprises an area of 20,584 acres.



The following table, compiled from Mr. Rylands' return of Parliamentary Constituencies, supplies further corroborative evidence as to the real character of these "boroughs":—

Parliamentary Boroughs.	Population in 1881.		Number of Parliamentary Electors on the Register 1881.	Area in Square Miles.	Number of Members.	Income Assessed to Income Tax in the Year ended April 5th, 1871.	
	Urban Sanitary Districts.	Parliamentary.				Schedule B.	Schedule D.
						£	£
Andover ..	5,654	5,871	869	16	1	14,389	34,916
Aylesbury..	7,795	28,899	4,440	108	2	118,239	69,387
Bewdley ..	3,088	8,677	1,261	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	11,372	25,548
Bodmin ..	5,061	6,866	895	25	1	18,478	16,558
Bridgenorth	5,890	7,216	1,208	17	1	19,060	46,063
Buckingham	3,585	6,859	1,135	28 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	35,385	32,471
Calne ..	3,406	5,272	862	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	16,670	35,517
Chippenham	4,495	6,776	1,015	17	1	22,242	43,342
Christchrch. †	16,859	28,537	2,827	35	1	26,354	161,518
Clitheroe ..	10,177	14,463	1,958	25	1	24,196	47,121
Cockermouth	5,354	7,189	1,100	13	1	14,633	31,760
Cricklade †	22,365	51,956	7,469	248	2	254,764	90,036
Droitwich ..	3,761	9,858	1,445	43	1	52,619	25,287
Eye .. ..	2,396	6,293	1,020	32	1	7,112	5,497
Flint † ..	12,537	24,234	3,798	28	1	24,613	111,321
Helston ..	3,432	7,919	1,021	17	1	14,531	24,011
Horsham ..	6,804	9,552	1,263	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	14,671	43,914
Launceston	3,808	5,675	852	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	21,188	24,527
Leominster	6,042	6,042	901	13	1	20,447	25,522
Liskeard ..	4,479	5,591	759	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	13,353	20,435
Lymington	4,360	5,462	800	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	8,860	46,530
Malmesbry	3,133	6,866	1,057	34	1	36,085	14,670
Malton ..	8,750	8,750	1,396	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	14,846	52,154
Marlboro' ..	3,343	5,180	658	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	9,871	40,435
Marlow ..	*	6,779	909	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	21,641	31,608
Forward ..	156,574	286,782	40,918	825	27	835,619	1,100,178

\* In this borough there does not appear to be any Urban Sanitary Authority.

† The Urban Sanitary Authority in Christchurch, is Bournemouth. The Urban Sanitary Authorities are:—In Cricklade, Old and New Swindon. In Flint, Flint, Holywell, and Mold.



Cities and Boroughs.	Population in 1871.		Number of Parliamentary Electors on the Register 1881.	Area in Square Miles.	Number of Members.	Income Assessed to Income Tax in the Year ended April 5th, 1871.	
	Urban Sanitary District.	Parliamentary.				Schedule B.	Schedule D.
Bt. forward .	156,574	286,782	40,918	825	27	835,619	1,100,178
Midhurst ..	*	7,277	1,074	40 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	25,342	17,329
Mthyr.Tdvl.†	82,653	91,347	14,200	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	12,595	284,428
Northallerton	3,692	5,445	918	16	1	19,693	26,800
Petersfield..	*	6,546	822	38 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	27,929	18,472
East Retford†	21,373	50,031	8,183	32 $\frac{5}{8}$	2	298,730	149,654
Radnor Dst.†	1,720	6,700	947	54	1	36,816	20,620
Richmond ..	4,502	5,542	708	14	1	15,028	34,606
Rye . . . .	4,220	8,409	1,366	33 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	54,639	27,397
St. Ives ..	6,441	8,705	1,012	13	1	11,060	12,268
Shaftesbury.	2,312	8,479	1,372	35 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	51,415	28,085
Shoreham† .	14,548	42,442	5,598	175 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	129,131	155,098
Stroud ..	7,533	40,573	6,331	59 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	70,214	192,995
Tamworth ..	4,888	14,098	2,260	18	2	27,279	88,260
Tavistock ..	*	6,909	870	18	1	14,954	37,843
Thirsk ..	*	6,306	976	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	21,941	20,505
Tiverton ..	10,462	10,462	1,405	27 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	27,283	114,842
Wallingford.	2,803	8,194	1,229	28	1	39,461	27,299
Wareham ..	2,112	6,192	1,073	49 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	20,333	23,637
Wenlock ..	19,474	20,143	3,462	80	2	47,329	86,563
Westbury ..	*	6,014	1,101	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	24,246	19,367
Wilton ..	1,826	8,639	1,415	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	43,778	26,331
Woodstock .	*	7,027	1,071	32	1	33,860	10,860
Totals ..	347,133	662,262	98,311	2,016 $\frac{1}{2}$	56	1,888,680	2,523,437

\* In these boroughs there does not appear to be any Urban Sanitary Authority.

† The Urban Sanitary Authorities are:—In Merthyr Tydvil, Merthyr Tydvil and Aberdare. In East Retford, East Retford and Worksop. In Radnor, Knighton. In Shoreham, New Shoreham and Worthing.

ERROR.—The total assessment of the above boroughs under Schedule B is stated on page 13 to be £1,888,686, but this small error of £6 does not affect the main facts.



## APPENDIX. V.

BOROUGHS WITH AGRICULTURAL LAND  
ATTACHED TO THEM.

Parliamentary Boroughs.	Population in 1871.		Number of Parlia- mentary Electors on the Register 1881.	Area in Square Miles.	Number of Members.	Income Assessed to In- come Tax in the year ended April 5th, 1881.	
	Urban Sanitary District.	Parlia- mentary.				Schedule B.	Schedule D.
Banbury ..	12,072	12,072	1,873	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	£ 12,693	£ 113,998
Beaumaris *	10,784	14,242	2,559	9	1	9,588	25,061
Berwick-on- Tweed ..	13,995	13,995	1,989	11	2	18,549	87,080
Boston ..	14,932	18,867	3,043	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	29,287	141,999
Brecon ..	6,372	6,623	879	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	6,470	76,308
Colchester ..	28,395	28,395	3,762	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	21,833	178,460
Denbigh * ..	20,453	22,831	3,084	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	32,314	144,721
Evesham ..	5,112	5,112	821	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	9,137	38,222
Grantham ..	16,886	17,345	2,383	9	2	12,251	134,854
Grimsby ..	29,682	45,373	6,956	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	30,721	181,001
Hereford ..	19,822	19,822	2,821	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	18,137	129,789
Huntingdon*	6,417	6,417	1,061	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	14,412	51,456
Hythe* ..	24,457	28,066	3,080	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	23,306	143,293
Lichfield ..	8,360	8,360	1,379	5	1	10,935	51,066
Montg'mery*	10,511	20,042	3,089	28 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	38,454	90,861
Peterboro' ..	21,219	22,394	3,550	10	2	17,365	105,901
Ponteiract	8,798	15,329	2,360	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	19,993	87,527
Warwick ..	11,802	11,802	1,729	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	14,247	100,515
	270,069	317,087	46,418	227 $\frac{1}{4}$	26	339,692	1,882,112

\* Boroughs containing more than one Urban Sanitary District in their limits:—  
Beaumaris—Beaumaris and Holyhead; Denbigh—Denbigh, Ruthin, and Wrexham;  
Huntingdon—Huntingdon and Godmanchester; Hythe—Hythe, Sandgate, and  
Folkestone; Montgomery—Llanidloes and Welshpool.



## APPENDIX VI.

RETURN of all Urban Sanitary Districts in England and Wales, not returning Members to Parliament, containing a Population of 10,000 and upwards, according to the Census of 1881. Session of 1881 (No. 377 ÷ Towns unrepresented in Parliament). The letters M.B. show that the place is a Municipal Borough.

	Population.		Population.
West Ham, Essex ..	128,692	Brought forward ..	1,107,614
Croydon, Surrey ..	78,947	Todmorden, Yorkshire and	
St. Helens, Lancashire (M.B.)	57,234	Lancashire ..	23,861
Aston Manor, Warwick ..	53,844	Edmonton, Middlesex ..	23,463
Barrow-in-Furness, Lancashire (M.B.) ..	47,111	Heywood, Lancashire (M.B.)	23,050
Tottenham, Middlesex ..	46,441	Leamington, Warwick (M.B.)	22,976
Great Yarmouth, Norfolk and Suffolk (M.B.) ..	46,211	Handsworth, Stafford	22,903
Burton-upon-Trent, Stafford and Derby (M.B.) ..	39,285	Heston and Isleworth, Middlesex ..	22,717
Rotherham, Yorkshire (M.B.)	34,782	Ramsgate, Kent ..	22,605
West Derby, Lancashire ..	33,283	Balsall Heath, Worcester	22,497
Gorton, Lancashire ..	33,091	Hornsey, Middlesex ..	22,474
Southport, Lancashire ..	32,191	Eastbourne, Sussex ..	21,977
Accrington, Lancashire (M.B.)	31,435	Barton Eccles } Lancashire {	21,785
Barnsley, Yorkshire (M.B.)	29,789	Winton & Monton }	
Over Darwen, Lanc. (M.B.)	29,747	Leigh, Lancashire ..	21,733
Hyde, Cheshire (M.B.) ..	28,629	Walthamstow, Essex ..	21,697
Willesden, Middlesex ..	27,397	Alverstoke, Hants ..	21,571
Rowley Regis, Stafford ..	27,385	Wallasay, Cheshire ..	21,501
Bootle-cum-Linacre, Lancashire (M.B.) ..	27,112	Doncaster, Yorkshire (M.B.)	21,130
St. George (Clifton), Gloucester	26,394	North Bierley, Yorkshire ..	20,938
Jarrow, Durham (M.B.) ..	25,531	Gillingham, Kent ..	20,802
Leyton, Essex ..	25,405	Lancaster, Lancashire (M.B.)	20,724
Keighley, Yorkshire ..	25,245	Farnworth, Lancashire ..	20,701
Smethwick, Stafford ..	25,076	Aldershot, Hants [rey (M.B.)	20,140
Bacup, Lancashire ..	25,033	Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey	19,875
Widnes, Lancashire ..	24,919	Lowestoft, Suffolk ..	19,597
Torquay, Devon ..	24,765	Glossop, Derby (M.B.) ..	19,574
Crewe, Cheshire (M.B.) ..	24,372	Chorley, Lancashire ..	19,472
Tunbridge Wells, Kent and Sussex ..	24,309	Enfield, Middlesex ..	19,119
Luton, Bedford (M.B.) ..	23,959	Richmond, Surrey ..	19,068
		Stretford, Lancashire ..	19,025
		Middleton and Tonge, Lanc.	18,952
		Oldbury, Worcester ..	18,821
		Walton-on-the-Hill, Lanc.	18,772
Carried forward ..	1,107,614	Carried forward ..	1,761,134



## APPENDIX VI.--(continued).

	Population.		Population.
Brought forward	..1,761,134	Brought forward	..2,429,254
Reigate, Surrey (M.B.)	.. 18,656	Bridgewater, Somerset (M.B.)	12,024
Moss-side, Lancashire	.. 18,129	Colne and Marsden, Lancashire	.. 11,970
Swinton and Pendlebury, Lancashire	.. 18,108	Brentford, Middlesex	.. 11,808
Tredegar, Monmouth	.. 17,951	Penzance, Cornwall	.. 11,684
Felling, Durham	.. 17,137	Brierley Hill, Stafford	.. 11,546
Cannock, Stafford	.. 17,127	Mirfield, Yorkshire	.. 11,512
Withington, Lancashire	.. 17,108	Beverley, Yorkshire (M.B.)	11,442
Acton, Middlesex	.. 17,100	Ryde, Hants (M.B.)	.. 11,422
Radcliffe, Lancashire	.. 16,263	Festiniog, Merioneth	.. 11,272
Openshaw, Lancashire	.. 16,153	Altrincham, Cheshire	.. 11,249
Ince-in-Makerfield, Lanc.	16,017	Rusholme, Lancashire	.. 11,237
Chiswick, Middlesex	.. 15,975	Audley, Stafford	.. 11,205
Wimbledon, Surrey	.. 15,947	Finchley, Middlesex	.. 11,190
Margate, Kent (M.B.)	.. 15,889	Wavertree, Lancashire	.. 11,157
Ealing, Middlesex	.. 15,766	Congleton, Cheshire (M.B.)	11,116
Ebbw Vale, Monmouth	.. 15,519	Whitworth, Lancashire	.. 11,101
Pudsey, Yorkshire	.. 15,459	Kettering, Northampton	.. 11,093
Risca, Monmouth	.. 15,271	Trowbridge, Wilts	.. 11,041
Bromley, Kent	.. 15,153	Brownhills, Stafford	.. 10,967
Runcorn, Cheshire	.. 15,133	Gainsborough, Lincoln	.. 10,964
Shipley, Yorkshire	.. 15,089	Ossett - with - Gawthorpe, Yorkshire	.. 10,952
Morley, Yorkshire	.. 15,016	St. Albans, Herts (M.B.)	.. 10,930
Loughborough, Leicester	14,733	Brandon and Byshottles, Durham	.. 10,850
Hindley, Lancashire	14,667	Louth, Lincolnshire (M.B.)	10,690
South Hornsey, Middlesex	14,587	Blaydon-on-Tyne, Durham	10,689
Blackpool, Lancashire (M.B.)	14,448	Cleckheaton, Yorkshire	.. 10,653
Haslingden, Lancashire	.. 14,333	South Stockton, Yorkshire	10,590
Ilkeston, Derby	.. 14,119	Newton-in-Makerfield, Lanc.	10,580
Wellingborough, Northampton	.. 13,976	Dartford, Kent	.. 10,567
Sheerness, Kent	.. 13,941	Castleford, Yorkshire	.. 10,523
Pemberton, Lancashire	.. 13,763	Hendon, Middlesex	.. 10,484
Camborne, Cornwall	.. 13,607	Cleator Moor, Cumberland	10,420
Abersychan, Monmouth	.. 13,494	Littleborough, Lancashire	10,405
Mossley, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cheshire	.. 13,372	Nelson, Lancashire	.. 10,381
Dalton-in-Furness, Lanc.	13,350	Toxteth Park, Lancashire	10,371
Beckenham, Kent	.. 13,011	Goole, Yorkshire	.. 10,339
Workington, Cumberland	13,305	Rawmarsh, Yorkshire	.. 10,179
Weston - super - Mare, Somerset	.. 12,882	Newbury, Berks (M.B.)	.. 10,143
Atherton, Lancashire	.. 12,602	Garston, Lancashire	.. 10,131
Rawtenstall, Lancashire	.. 12,571	Bishop Auckland, Durham	10,087
Twickenham, Middlesex	.. 12,479	Watford, Herts	.. 10,073
Northwich, Cheshire	.. 12,246	Portland, Dorset	.. 10,046
Hebburn, Durham	.. 12,241	Winsford, Cheshire	.. 10,041
Chesterfield, Derby (M.B.)	12,221	Hucknall Torkard, Notts	10,023
Oswaldtwistle, Lancashire	12,206	Ulverston, Lancashire	.. 10,001
Carried forward	..2,429,254	Total	..2,916,402



## APPENDIX VII.

*Counties, England and Wales, including Parliamentary Boroughs.*

Parliamentary Counties. See note, page 38.	Population	Total Income Tax Assessment. £	Poor Law Valuation.		No. of M.P.'s.
			Gross Estimated Rental. £	Rateable Value. £	
Bedford .. ..	149,461	1,895,681	956,075	812,506	4
Berks .. ..	221,192	3,377,273	1,722,155	1,443,552	8
Buckingham .. ..	173,514	2,509,692	985,870	865,513	8
Cambridge .. ..	185,475	3,320,872	1,480,398	1,265,149	5
Chester .. ..	661,923	7,597,830	3,789,981	3,321,332	14
Cornwall .. ..	329,484	3,192,311	1,464,301	1,282,077	13
Cumberland .. ..	250,630	3,788,213	1,842,220	1,615,065	8
Derby .. ..	461,141	8,303,195	2,103,267	1,789,211	8
Devonshire .. ..	604,397	7,753,036	3,469,056	2,920,344	17
Dorsetshire .. ..	192,330	2,760,284	1,124,399	946,978	10
Durham .. ..	878,412	8,753,874	4,450,380	3,752,773	13
Essex .. ..	575,930	7,151,277	3,276,591	2,756,332	10
Gloucester .. ..	610,143	8,969,039	3,170,423	2,700,719	13
Hereford .. ..	120,947	2,212,408	1,015,439	907,163	6
Hertfordshire .. ..	202,990	2,750,373	1,382,555	1,144,004	4
Huntingdon .. ..	57,343	1,105,617	470,833	417,417	3
Kent .. ..	985,029	12,600,655	6,598,676	5,507,779	21
Lancaster .. ..	3,437,633	54,812,114	19,951,149	16,879,553	32
Leicester .. ..	321,018	4,508,148	2,111,536	1,764,822	6
Lincoln .. ..	471,385	9,113,559	3,555,684	3,093,735	14
Middlesex .. ..	2,918,814	110,412,473	27,778,840	23,109,785	18
Monmouth .. ..	211,374	2,034,021	1,246,369	1,023,715	3
Norfolk .. ..	444,825	6,906,581	2,864,286	2,489,668	10
Northampton .. ..	270,992	4,042,043	1,918,187	1,633,883	8
Northumberland .. ..	434,024	6,881,230	2,842,197	2,552,376	10
Nottingham .. ..	391,984	5,046,692	2,484,674	2,138,282	10
Oxford .. ..	182,015	2,775,258	1,287,158	1,100,210	7
Rutland .. ..	21,434	445,804	225,415	200,486	2
Salop .. ..	248,039	4,066,847	2,082,520	1,855,775	10
Somerset .. ..	430,890	6,927,318	3,332,238	2,933,266	11
Southampton .. ..	593,487	6,975,244	3,278,906	2,758,745	16
Stafford .. ..	917,676	11,141,805	4,698,393	3,872,632	19
Suffolk .. ..	356,953	5,019,593	2,152,582	1,863,339	9
Surrey .. ..	1,419,176	20,465,577	9,411,659	7,718,654	11
Sussex .. ..	490,316	7,367,679	3,444,671	2,826,163	15
Warwick .. ..	728,665	10,803,094	3,959,148	3,327,121	11
Westmoreland .. ..	64,184	1,185,126	581,386	493,584	3
Wilts .. ..	258,080	3,993,785	1,736,245	1,479,608	15
Worcester .. ..	452,538	5,066,205	2,164,122	1,856,742	11
York .. ..	2,875,475	39,929,131	16,014,690	13,427,372	38
North Wales .. ..	479,068	5,537,328	2,459,565	2,102,514	12
South Wales .. ..	879,890	9,094,519	4,259,061	3,686,058	18
Totals — England and Wales	25,960,276	432,592,804	165,143,300	139,636,307	484



## APPENDIX VIII.

THE PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION BILL  
OF 1872.

*Introduced by Mr. Morrison, Mr. Auberon Herbert,  
Mr. Fawcett, and Mr. Thos. Hughes.*

The Scheme of redistribution proposed by this Bill, which applied only to England and Wales, is thus summarised by Mr. Thos. Hare, in the fourth edition of his work on the Election of Representatives:—

The principle of division was to give distinct representation to the larger towns, and include the smaller in the Counties. It allots to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London 5 members, and to Cities and Boroughs as follows:—Plymouth and Devonport, 3; Bristol, 4; Portsmouth and Southampton, 4; Greenwich, 4; Newcastle-on-Tyne, Tynemouth, and North Shields, 6; Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, and Walsall, 7; Lambeth, 8; Southwark, 4; Birmingham, 7; Hull, 3; Leeds, 6; Sheffield, 5; Bradford, 3; Halifax, Huddersfield, and Dewsbury, 4; Liverpool, 11; Manchester and Salford, 11; City of London, 4; Finsbury, 9; Marylebone, 10; Tower Hamlets, 8; Hackney, 8; Westminster and Chelsea, 11. The Schedule then distributes the county seats, exclusive of the foregoing boroughs, thus:—Bedfordshire, 3; Berkshire, 4; Buckinghamshire, 4; Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, 5; Cheshire, 12; Cornwall, 8; Cumberland and Westmoreland, 6; Derbyshire, 8; Devonshire, 10; Dorsetshire, 4; Durham, 13; Essex, 10; Gloucestershire, 8; Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, 8; Herefordshire, 3; Hertfordshire, 4; Kent, 15; Lancashire, Northern Division, 6; Lancashire, North-Eastern Division, 7; Lancashire, South-Eastern Division, 16; Lancashire, South Western Division, 9; Leicestershire, 6; Lincolnshire, 9; Middlesex, 6; Monmouthshire, 4; Norfolk, 9; Northamptonshire and Rutland, 6; Northumberland, 5; Nottinghamshire, 7; Oxfordshire, 4; Shropshire, 5; Somersetshire, 10; Staffordshire, 11; Suffolk, 7; Surrey, 11; Sussex, 9; Warwickshire, 6; Wiltshire, 6; Worcestershire, 7; Yorkshire, North Riding, 6; Yorkshire, East Riding and York, 4; Northern Division of West Riding of Yorkshire, 6; Eastern Division of West Riding of Yorkshire, 6; Southern Division of West Riding of Yorkshire, 9; North Wales, consisting of the Counties of Anglesey, Carnarvon, Denbigh, Flint, and Montgomery, 10; South Wales, consisting of the Counties of Brecon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Pembroke, and Radnor, 16.

The mode of conducting the election is described in the following clauses of the Bill, which embody every essential condition of personal representation:—

10. The following provisions shall have effect with reference to a poll:
  - (i.) Each elector shall have one vote only.
  - (ii.) The votes shall be given by voting-papers delivered by the electors in person:



- (iii.) The voting-paper of an elector shall be deemed to have been given for the candidate first named thereon, but the elector may, if he think fit, designate one or more other candidates to whom in succession, in the designated order of priority, he desires that his vote should be transferred, in the event of its not being required to be used for the return of any prior candidate. The number of candidates named on a voting paper, including the candidate first named, must not be greater than the number of vacancies :
- (iv.) A candidate, in order that he may be returned at an election, must (subject as hereinafter in this Act expressly provided) have given for him a number of voting-papers (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "quota") to be found by dividing the total number of voting-papers given at the election by the number of vacancies to be filled at the election (the fraction, if any remaining from the division, being disregarded) :
- (v.) A voting-paper shall be filled up in writing by the elector at the polling booth, provided that the returning officer shall, at the request of an elector who states that he is unable to write, fill up the voting-paper of such elector as he directs :
- (vi.) Every voting-paper shall be void which either—
  - (a.) Contains the names of more candidates than there are vacancies, or
  - (b.) Contains any mark by which the elector can be identified ; and a void voting-paper shall not be counted or deemed to have been given.

11. After the close of a poll the voting-papers shall be dealt with by the returning officer as follows :

- (i.) He shall cause the voting-papers to be collected, and shall ascertain the total number of voting-papers, exclusive of void voting-papers and of voting-papers on which no candidate is legibly named. His decision as to whether a voting-paper is void or a name is illegible shall be final, subject to reversal on a petition.
- (ii.) He shall ascertain and declare the quota necessary for the return of a member :
- (iii.) He shall arrange the voting-papers given for the several candidates in separate parcels, and shall in the parcel of each candidate sort his voting-papers according to the numbers of names upon them, placing at the top those voting-papers in which no other candidate is designated, and then those in succession in which the fewest other candidates are designated, and placing last those in which the greatest number of other candidates are designated :
- (iv.) He shall proceed to make one or more scrutinies (as the case may require), according to the provisions hereinafter in this Act contained :
- (v.) He shall give to each candidate, on application by him or his agent, two orders of admission to the place where a scrutiny is to be made, and each such order shall entitle the bearer to be present at the ascertaining of the number of voting-papers, and of the quota, and at any scrutiny.



12. The first scrutiny shall be made in the following manner :

- (i.) The total number of voting-papers given for each candidate shall be counted in the order in which they are arranged, and shall be recorded ; and every candidate whose voting-papers equal or exceed the quota shall be declared elected :
- (ii.) When a candidate is declared elected, his voting-papers shall be dealt with as follows :
  - (a.) His voting-papers used in making up his quota shall be set aside as exhausted :
  - (b.) His voting-papers counted after his quota was reached shall be deemed to be unused.
- (iii.) An unused voting paper of an elected candidate shall be transferred to and be deemed to have been given for the unelected candidate (if any) first designated thereon, and shall be counted to him after, and in addition to the voting-papers (if any) originally given for him ; and any candidate whose voting-papers are by this means raised to the quota shall be declared elected, and his voting-papers shall be dealt with as voting-papers of an elected candidate.

The unused voting-papers transferred to a candidate may be counted to him in any order in which they happen to be taken.

13. A Second or other scrutiny shall (if necessary) be made in the following manner :—

- (i.) The lowest candidate on the preceding scrutiny shall be excluded and declared not elected ; and, if there still remain more candidates than vacancies, all the voting-papers of the excluded candidate shall be deemed to be unused, and shall, with the unused voting papers (if any) remaining from the preceding scrutiny, be respectively transferred to and counted for the first of the remaining candidates (if any) designated thereon and any candidate so obtaining the quota shall be declared elected, and his voting-papers shall be dealt with as voting-papers of an elected candidate :
- (ii.) The same process of excluding the lowest candidate on the preceding scrutiny, and of transferring unused voting-papers, shall be repeated so often as may be necessary until all the vacancies are filled by the election of candidates obtaining the quota of voting-papers, or there remain no more candidates than vacancies :
- (iii.) When there remain no more candidates than vacancies, all the remaining candidates shall be declared elected, whether they have obtained the quota or not :
- (iv.) In case two or more candidates have equal numbers of voting papers in a scrutiny, that one of them shall be deemed to be the lowest who had the fewest votes on the first scrutiny, and if they are still equal the returning officer shall have a casting vote or votes.

14. The returning officer shall, so soon as may be, declare as to each candidate separately the total number of voting papers originally given for him, and also the number of voting papers (if any) which stood transferred to him at the time when he was declared elected or was excluded, or the scrutiny or scrutinies terminated, and shall also declare the names of the elected candidates, and shall return their names to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.



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