

With the Authors compliments
2
IRISH

REPRESENTATION

And How to Deal With It.

A SCHEME FOR REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

BY AN IRISH LIBERAL.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

London :

H. J. INFELD, 160, FLEET STREET, E.C.

Dublin :

WILLIAM MCGEE, 18, NASSAU STREET.

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IRISH REPRESENTATION AND HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

Among the first fruits that Irish members will expect to gain from the Liberal majority is a measure assimilating the Borough Franchise in Ireland with that established in England by the Reform Act of 1867, viz., making the qualification for a vote to depend simply on the occupier being rated to the relief of the poor, not on his being rated at a fixed limit, namely £4, as at present.

The small majorities by which resolutions in favour of this measure have been defeated during the late Parliament showed that its passing was only a question of time, and the advent of the Liberal party to power, pledged as they are to it by their votes, makes its introduction as a Government measure during the present Parliament pretty certain.*

It is equally certain, as regards England and Scotland, that a measure will be introduced to assimilate the occupation franchise in counties to that in boroughs, so as to bestow a vote upon every rated householder, and it is difficult to see why the argument of equality, which is the main reason advanced for

* Since this was written, it has been announced in the Queen's Speech, and an Irish Borough Franchise Bill is before Parliament.

assimilating the Borough Franchise in Ireland to that in England, should not in time apply with as much force to the case of the Irish county occupier, countervailing other objections. However this may be, it is also certain that the grant of household suffrage to the English counties will not be passed without a thorough redistribution of seats, which will bring about "a rearrangement of the electoral map" (which Mr. Disraeli, when introducing the Reform Bill of 1867, said was not the then object of the Government). Under these circumstances the object of this paper is to call attention to the state of the representation of Ireland, and more especially to that of the Boroughs on which it is proposed to bestow household suffrage, and to show,

(1). The unsatisfactory state of the representation, and the need for a redistribution of seats (*a*) in boroughs, (*b*) in counties.

(2). How the redistribution should be effected, with a detailed scheme for both boroughs and counties.

(3). That the country is rather over-represented than under, having regard as well to its population and property as a whole as to the representative requirements of localities.

I.

At the present time Ireland returns 103 members to Parliament, 64 for counties, 37 for boroughs, and two for Dublin University. The counties are 32 in number, with two members each; the boroughs 31, six returning two members and 25 one member each. The population of Ireland, according to the census of 1871,

was under five and a half millions (5,412,000), and is estimated for 1880 at 5,363,550, with an electorate, according to the last returns, of 234,200, but the population of the boroughs is 266,356, with electors (including Dublin University, 2,300), 58,719, while that of the counties is over four millions (4,546,021), with electors 172,570.

These figures show how great is the disparity between the towns and counties, taken as a whole, and when compared with similar statistics as regards England, indicate what, apart from figures, must be apparent to the ordinary observer who knows both countries, and will be clearer to the reader after we have gone into the towns and counties in detail, viz., the comparative unimportance in Ireland (with a few exceptions) of towns as compared with counties, which exceed the towns in population, electoral strength, and material resources, whereas in England the reverse is the case, for though in England the county population is but 11 millions to the borough ten, yet, in point of electors, the boroughs have largely the advantage, even allowing for the more extended franchise they enjoy.

Ireland possesses only one town with a population of over 200,000, viz., Dublin, 267,000; two towns between 100,000 and 200,000, viz., Belfast, 175,000, and Cork, 100,500; these three are the only large towns, in the English sense of the term. The population of the remaining represented towns, which return 31 members, is only 323,000, or less than that of Birmingham. Of these we have one just under 50,000, Limerick (two members); two under 30,000, Derry (25,000) and

Waterford (two members, 29,000); seven under 20,000 and over 10,000, viz., Galway (19,000), Kilkenny (15,000), Drogheda (16,000), Newry (14,000), Wexford (12,000), Dundalk (10,000), Clonmel (10,100); seven under 10,000 and over 7,000, viz., Armagh (9,000), Carlow (7,000), Carrickfergus (9,000), Dungarvan (7,000), Lisburn (9,000), Tralee (9,000), Kinsale (7,000); seven under 7,000 and over 5,000, viz., Athlone, Bandon, Coleraine, and Ennis (6,000), Enniskillen (5,800), New Ross and Youghal (6,000); and four under 5,000, viz., Downpatrick and Mallow (4,000), Dungannon (3,000), Portarlington (2,600).

These figures speak for themselves, and show that these small towns have an undue share of representation as compared with the large towns, *e.g.*, Galway with Dublin, Waterford with Belfast, Portarlington with Derry, and prove what a need there is for a redistribution of seats.

Besides this there are some ten or twelve towns or townships, varying in size from 20,000 to 3,000, which have no borough representation, *e.g.*, Rathmines, Pembroke, Kingstown, Blackrock, Queenstown, Lurgan, Newtownards, Ballymena, Portadown, Carrick-on-Suir, &c.

That the Irish boroughs must lose members is quite clear, despite an objection which has been raised, viz., that there are nearly 60 small towns in England under 10,000 returning members, and that it would be unjust to take away members in the one case and leave them in the other. The obvious answer is that we shall have redistribution in both countries, and

the small towns in each will be dealt with on the same principles. But it may be said here, have there not been Irish Reform Bills dealing with this question? There have certainly been Reform Bills, but while England has had two measures dealing with redistribution of seats, viz., the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, the representation of Ireland has remained as it was at the time of the Union, except that five seats were added in 1832, viz., one additional to Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, and Dublin University.

Disfranchisement formed no part of the Irish Reform Act, as several boroughs had been disfranchised by the Union, the fourth article of which provided that Ireland should return for the cities of Dublin and Cork two members each, and one for each of the most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs. The selection of the boroughs to be retained was a matter of some difficulty. The great majority of the boroughs, before the Union, were close or nomination boroughs, in the hands of one or more proprietors. Very few were open, and many of these only too open to corrupt influences. The proprietors of these boroughs were voted compensation to the amount of £1,260,000. If open boroughs only were chosen, some of the most corrupt would remain. It was therefore determined to retain those which paid the largest sums in hearth money and window tax—and on examination it appeared that doubts could arise only in the case of very few, viz., Mullingar, Monaghan, Enniskillen, Strabane, and Carrickfergus—ultimately

Carrickfergus and Enniskillen were chosen. Of the 33 boroughs retained, 12 only were open. That the selection was a judicious one may be safely inferred from the fact that no opposition was offered in the Irish Parliament to the list proposed.

II.

There are only two ways of redistribution, (1) to disfranchise boroughs under a certain limit, *e.g.*, 10,000; or (2) to group the small towns together and only disfranchise where grouping is impracticable. If we take the former course, we throw an additional number of small towns into the counties and flood them with borough voters; if the latter, we can preserve the small towns that are represented and add to them those that are not. The importance of retaining small towns a distinct representation has been admirably put by Mr. E. A. Freeman, as follows* :—"The inhabitants of smaller towns form a class in the country distinct both from the inhabitants of the great towns and of the rural districts. They have feelings, habits, interests, not the same as those of either of the other classes. They ought, therefore, to return some members to Parliament, while each of the others returns some others. Each class should return members in proportion, not simply to its number, but to its number as modified by certain other circumstances. At present, small towns return more members than their fair share, and it is desirable to transfer some members from them to large towns and some to counties. Again, small

* *Fortnightly Review*, June, 1866.

towns not only have an undue share of representation as compared with large towns, but the members that they have are most unfairly distributed among small towns themselves. These considerations, by a very simple process of thought, lead to a system of contributory boroughs as the proper solution of the question."

This grouping system has been carried out successfully in Scotland and Wales.

In forming new constituencies, especially groups of boroughs, regard must, of course, be had to the question of boundaries, and a measure for redistribution of seats must be attended by a Boundaries Commission and a Boundaries Act, as was done in 1867-68 in England. For Ireland, however, a good deal of the work will have been done by the Municipal Boundaries Commission, the report of which has not yet appeared.

Approaching the details on these principles, and **Boroughs.** taking the boroughs by provinces and by counties as much as possible, we begin with Ulster and Antrim.

Belfast, by far the most flourishing town in Ireland, **Ulster.** with an increasing population (over 175,000 in 1871) and with 21,000 electors, the largest number of any borough in Ireland, is fairly entitled to a third member. The remaining boroughs are Carrickfergus (1,414 electors) and Lisburn (768 electors), part of which is in Down, and besides these the two unrepresented towns of Ballymena (8,000) and Larne (3,200). If we group Carrickfergus, Ballymena, Larne, and Coleraine (which, though in Derry, is close to Antrim), we get a constituency of about 27,000. Coming to Armagh, we can join to the borough of that name, the unrepres-

sented towns of Lurgan (10,600) and Portadown (6,700) with a total population of 26,000. Down has two boroughs, Newry (1,201 electors) and Downpatrick (304 electors), and two unrepresented towns, Newtownards (9,000) and Banbridge (5,000) : by taking in Lisburn, part of which is in this county, we can make two groups :—(1) Lisburn, Newtownards, and Downpatrick, 22,000 ; (2) Newry and Banbridge, 18,000.

The counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh have one borough each, Dungannon (283 electors) and Enniskillen (416 electors), and if we add to these the unrepresented towns of Omagh (3,700), Strabane (4,300), and Cookstown (3,500), we have Tyrone Boroughs, 21,000.

Derry, with over 2,000 electors, has its one member as before. This makes the Ulster borough members two less—nine instead of eleven—or three less if Belfast is left as it is.

Leinster. In Leinster, Dublin (13,000 electors) should receive a third member, and have its bounds increased by throwing into the parliamentary borough the townships of Rathmines and Pembroke, which would give a population of over 300,000.

In the same county, the seaport of Kingstown, with a population of 16,000, deserves a member, and together with the adjoining townships of Blackrock and Dalkey would form a borough of 27,000.*

Louth contains two boroughs, Drogheda (743 electors) and Dundalk (553 electors), which, as the population

* A Bill has been brought in to constitute Kingstown a Parliamentary Borough.

of the two together amounts to only 24,000, less than Derry, and 700 less electors, should make one group with one member.

Carlow has but 7,000 inhabitants and 312 electors and could be grouped with Kilkenny (675 electors), the only convenient town, making a group of 20,000. In Wexford, the boroughs of Wexford (479 electors) and New Ross (267 electors), reinforced by Enniscorthy, would form a district borough of 23,000. The only other boroughs in Leinster are Portarlinton (147 electors and 2,000 inhabitants) and Athlone (360 electors and 6,000 inhabitants). These are in different counties and too far apart to group. There are no other towns near to make up a respectable constituency, and they may well be disfranchised.

Thus Leinster loses three seats, having (including Dublin University) nine borough members instead of 12, the town population, except Dublin and neighbourhood, being so much smaller than in Ulster, and still on the decline.

Munster has 14 borough members, of which **Munster.** Tipperary has one borough, Clonmel, just over 10,000 (430 electors), which, supplemented by Carrick-on-Suir (8,000), would give a district of 18,000. This leaves out Cashel, which has been disfranchised for bribery; we might possibly add to the group the small towns of Tipperary and Nenagh, increasing the district boroughs by 10,000.*

In Kerry, Killarney (5,000) is the only town to add

*Leave has been given to introduce a Bill to form a group for Tipperary including Cashel.

to Tralee (355 electors and 9,500 inhabitants), making a district of 14,000.

Cork county has, besides the city, four boroughs—Youghal (289 electors), Bandon (430 electors), Kinsale (194 electors), and Mallow (293 electors), and, unrepresented, the important seaport of Queenstown (population 10,340), and in the north of the county Fermoy with 7,000 odd. The three first-named can conveniently, with Queenstown, be made into one group with a total population of 29,000.

Waterford county has three borough members, two for the city (1,452 electors) and one for Dungarvan. The population of the city was only 29,000 at the last census, or 5,000 over that of Derry, which has but one member, and is quite as important a place; before 1832, it had but one member, and a larger population, and it may well be satisfied with one now. As to Dungarvan (7,000), it is an unimportant place, with but 273 electors, and there are no towns to group it with, unless we add it to Fermoy and Mallow, which so far have been left out as too far from the other Cork towns and too small in themselves, and have now railway communication with Dungarvan. This would give a group of about 18,000. Cork city and Limerick city retain their two members, and the only other borough, Ennis, in Clare (252 electors), should be disfranchised. This arrangement would give Munster nine borough members instead of 14, or five less.

Connaught. Connaught is easily disposed of. Galway (population 19,000, 875 electors) should return but one member, as it did, like Waterford, before 1832. Sligo is the only

other town of any importance, but it, like Cashel, has been disfranchised for corrupt practices. The total number of borough members, excluding Dublin University, would thus be reduced by 11, *i.e.*, 26 instead of 37, or by 13, *i.e.*, 24, if we leave Belfast as it is, and omit the Dungarvan, Fermoy, and Mallow combination. The disfranchised towns are only three, Athlone, Ennis, and Portarlington. The enfranchised towns and townships are 19—with a population of about 150,000.

Taking the borough representation, including Dublin University, as 28 or 26, if we were to leave that of the counties untouched, we should get 92 or 90 as the total representation for all Ireland. But though there is not such a great disparity between the counties as between the boroughs, yet it appears that the former vary very much in population, electors, area, rateable value, and other characteristics, all pointing to the need of (1) adding members to some and (2) taking away members from others. To (1) no one will raise an objection, as to (2) there ought to be no objection to a county returning but one member, if its position fairly entitles it to no more: Scotland and Wales afford parallel cases. There it is the exception where a county has two members. England, it is true, so far retains its two "Knights of the Shire," but a new Reform Bill ought to take away one member from such small counties as Rutland, Huntingdon, and Westmoreland.

The largest and most important county in Ireland is Cork, with a population of 393,000, nearly 15,000

electors, and an area of 2,812 square miles; the smallest Carlow with 45,000 inhabitants, 2,212 electors, and an area of 310 square miles; and yet both return the same number of members.

Taking the counties by population we have :—

One under 50,000	Carlow.....	45,000
Three under 75,000 ... all 4 in Leinster.	{ Louth	57,000
	{ Longford.....	64,000
	{ King's County ...	74,000
Nine under 100,000 :—		
Six in Leinster, viz.....	{ Kildare	83,000
	{ Meath	94,000
	{ Westmeath.....	75,000
	{ Queen's County...	76,000
	{ Wicklow.....	78,000
Three, one in Ulster, Munster, & Connaught respectively, viz.	{ Kilkenny	93,000
	{ Fermanagh.....	86,000
	{ Waterford	85,000
Three counties under 125,000 (in Ulster, Leinster, and Con- naught), viz.	{ Leitrim	95,000
	{ Monaghan	114,000
	{ Wexford.....	113,000
	{ Sligo	104,000
Six under 150,000 (one in Leinster, one in Con- naught, two in Ulster, and two in Munster), viz.	{ Dublin.....	137,000
	{ Roscommon	137,000
	{ Cavan	140,000
	{ Derry	142,000
	{ Clare	141,000
(1) Two between 150,000 and 200,000 :—	{ Limerick.....	142,000
In Ulster	Armagh	164,000
In Munster	Kerry	187,000
Eight over 200,000 :—		
Two in Munster	{ Cork	393,000
	{ Tipperary	201,000
Two in Connaught.....	{ Galway	228,000
	{ Mayo	245,000
	{ Down	263,000
Four in Ulster.....	{ Antrim	228,000
	{ Donegal	218,000
	{ Tyrone	201,000

If population were the sole test of representation, the obvious method of redistribution would be to give one additional member to each of the above eight counties, except Cork, which should be divided into two divi-

sions with two members each; and to take away one member from the four counties under 75,000, and probably also from those under 100,000. The population of Cork, Tipperary, Down, Antrim, and Tyrone, and of some of the other counties, would be somewhat reduced by the subtraction of the towns to be added to the borough constituencies, as appears from the table in the appendix.

But inasmuch as the electoral qualification is not based on manhood suffrage, nor even on a simple household occupation, as it will be in boroughs on the passing of the Bill now before Parliament, but is essentially a property qualification, and that of a varied and complex character, and will in all probability continue to be so to a great extent, even if the assimilation of the occupation franchise to that in boroughs, which is demanded in England, be proposed and carried out at some future time for Ireland also, a glance at the present electorate in the different counties will give a better notion as to their relative importance and how we should redistribute.

Before doing so, however, it is necessary to call attention to another fact which strengthens the case for redistribution, and which is partially apparent from the references in the above table to the different provinces in which the counties are situated, viz., the entire disproportion between the population of each province and the number of members it returns.

The table shows that of 13 counties under 100,000, ten are in Leinster, and that its most populous county is Dublin, under 150,000. Leinster (12 counties) returns

24 members ; Ulster (nine counties) returns 18 members ; Munster (six counties) returns 12 members ; Connaught (five counties) returns ten members ; whereas the order according to population in 1871 would be—

			Exclusive of present Boroughs.			Exclusive of new Boroughs.
1.	Ulster	...	1,672,000	...	...	1,618,000.
2.	Munster	...	1,066,485	...	...	1,036,000.
3.	Leinster	...	993,000	...	...	933,000.
4.	Connaught	...	827,000	...	...	827,000.

The disparity is of course accounted for (1) by the gradual way in which the provinces were divided into counties, the present number of 32 not being reached till the reign of James 1st, and Leinster, as near Dublin and the Pale, becoming subdivided earlier and to a greater extent ; and (2) by the decrease in population being greater in Leinster and Munster than in Ulster, *e.g.*, between 1861-71, Leinster 8·11 per cent. and Munster 7·93, as against Ulster 4·23 per cent., while in 1841 the order according to population was, Munster, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught.

Coming to the electorate, the disparity is as great. Out of a total of 172,570 electors Ulster has 67,121, Munster 43,866, Leinster 42,288, Connaught 17,383. Thus it is clear, without referring to any other circumstances, that the existing proportion of members to provinces should be altered.

Proceeding to compare the electorate in the different counties, we find that of the eight counties over 200,000 five have also the largest number of electors, and of these three (Cork, Down, and Antrim) over 10,000 electors, *viz.*, 14,745, 13,085, and 11,701 respectively, and two, Tyrone 8,573 and Tipperary 9,134, subject

to a deduction for the county voters, who would become voters in the new boroughs instead.

Then come eight others, varying from 5,000 to 6,000 electors, next five between 4,000 and 5,000, including two of the most populous, viz., Galway 4,911 and Donegal 4,612, and Dublin, Kilkenny, and Fermanagh. Then come nine between 3,000 and 4,000, viz., Mayo, the last of those over 200,000 population, with only 3,221; two between 100,000 and 150,000 population, Roscommon and Sligo; and six of those under 100,000 population, viz., Meath, 3,887; Westmeath, 3,381; Wicklow, 3,311; Waterford, 3,135; Queen's County, 3,190; and King's County, 3,260, under 75,000 population. Lastly we have five under 3,000 electors, viz., Carlow, 2,212; Louth, 2,168; Longford, 2,626; Kildare, 2,793; Leitrim, 2,383. The three first of these are also the smallest in population, the two latter being larger but yet well under 100,000 population. If we were to add members simply according to population we should have, *e.g.*, Mayo returning three members, and Down, with four times the number of electors, no more, and Galway or Donegal three members, and Cavan and Limerick but two, though with 1,000 more electors.

Again, as regards property, we find, as we are led to expect from their physical character, that Galway, Mayo, and Donegal, though after Cork the three largest counties, stand low in the scale, whether of amount of rateable value or of property assessed to the Income Tax (see table in appendix), the amounts of duty charged, *e.g.*, in Galway being £6,598, as compared

with £10,728 in Down, and £9,000 odd in Tipperary and Antrim, and again £4,847 in Mayo and £4,213 in Donegal, compared with £6,000 in Limerick and Tyrone.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that these three counties are sufficiently represented by two members each, and that we should give a third member to Antrim, Down, Tyrone, and Tipperary, and two additional to Cork, by dividing the county as before suggested.

Passing over the 11 counties ranging between Sligo, 104,000 and Kerry, 187,000, and all except Sligo and Roscommon having over 4,000 electors, we come to the 13 under 100,000 population.

And first as to the 10 in Leinster, in each of which both population and electors are on the decrease. Carlow, Louth, and Longford should clearly have but one member each, being the smallest, whether in population, number of electors, area, or rateable value. So, too, for Kildare, Wicklow, King's and Queen's Counties, and Westmeath, one member would suffice. Meath being as regards value of property far above the others, and nearly the highest in Leinster, and as regards population near the 100,000 line, might retain its two members, or possibly be made into a three-cornered constituency with Westmeath. As we joined the boroughs of Kilkenny and Carlow, so we might well join the respective counties into one, returning three members.

In Connaught, Leitrim stands very low in point of electors and value of property, and should lose one

member. Fermanagh in Ulster and Waterford in Munster alone remain; keeping in mind the proportion between the provinces, unless the other large counties receive more members than we have as yet allotted to them, both may be left untouched, the former having besides nearly 5,000 electors and an increasing population, and in the latter case the city of Waterford losing one member. The provinces would then stand thus :—

Ulster	...	...	...	...	...	$18 + 3 = 21$
Munster	...	...	...	...	...	$12 + 3 = 15$
Leinster	...	...	...	...	...	$24 - 8 = 16$
Connaught	...	...	...	...	...	$10 - 1 = 9$
Total...						$64 - 3 = 61$

Leaving an advantage to Leinster, but still making a fairer distribution of seats. Thus the total number of borough and county seats would at most be $28 + 61 = 89$, or 14 less than the present number, and of these we should have four, if not six, three-cornered constituencies in counties and one if not two in boroughs.

III.

To the proposed reduction two objections have been taken :—(1), That it is an alteration of the settlement made at the Union. (2). That the country for its population is not over but under represented.

As to (1) the answer is that the settlement at the Union was not final, any more than in the case of Scotland, which received an accession of representatives in 1832, and again in 1868, and that as Parliament thought fit in 1832 to increase the number of Irish representatives with the increase of population, so it may now with the decrease in Ireland and the increase in England

reduce the number, the circumstances and the reasons under which the representation was fixed at 100 in 1800 having passed away.

As to (2), the reply must be that, admitting that Ireland has less members in proportion to the total population of the country simply than England, the number of its representatives should be determined by the local requirements of its several towns and counties, having regard to their importance in population, electors, property, and other circumstances, or if we are to institute a comparison between each of the two countries as a whole by considering not merely population but property.

The present number of representatives are divided thus :—

England and Wales	489
Scotland	60
Ireland	103
	<hr/>
	652

By a parliamentary paper published in 1876 it would appear that while the representation of the three countries according to population would be :—

England and Wales	476
Scotland	70
Ireland	112

which last number should be reduced by three or four, to tally with the decrease since 1871 in Ireland and the increase in England, the numbers at present being estimated at 5,363,550 and 24,854,000, a decrease of 50,000 and an increase of about two millions, according to revenue the numbers would be :—

England and Wales	514
Scotland	79
Ireland	65

and taking the mean between revenue and population, 494, 75, and 89 respectively. Thus Scotland ought in any event to have more members, while Ireland, as regards revenue, should have considerably less. A comparison of the annual value of property in the three countries, or even of the income tax returns, would be equally to the disadvantage of Ireland: *e.g.*, the amount of property and profits assessed to income tax in April, 1878, was for England and Wales 447 millions, for Scotland 55, and for Ireland 34.

That the number of representatives should not exceed 100 was a principle laid down by the Duke of Portland in his communications to the Irish Government, and was carried out without any serious objection from the Irish Parliament. That this number was not based on population is evident, if proof were wanted, from the following passage, taken from "Outlines of a Union" in 1799*: "If the British House of Commons is reduced from 558 to 500, I would propose to admit 100 Irish members. Were no reduction to take place, the number of members would be too unwieldy, for then Ireland ought to send at least 112 members, which would be beyond her proportion in reference to Scotland. That Ireland should have one-fifth of the representation seems as reasonable a proportion as any other. Her population would indeed entitle her to two-fifths, for if Ireland be supposed to contain four millions of inhabitants, Great Britain certainly has 10, but on account of the vastly greater wealth and revenue of Great Britain relative to her number of

* "Castlereagh Correspondence," vol. 3, p. 27.

inhabitants than those of Ireland, relative to hers, that proportion of two-fifths may surely be reduced to one-fifth. It ought to be reduced even lower, were not allowances to be made for the rapid increase of Irish wealth and prosperity, in consequence of Ireland's becoming a part of Great Britain."

If then 100 members were thought enough in 1800, may not Ireland well do with less in 1880, when her population is not one-sixth that of the United Kingdom? So much for this argument. It is worth observing that 89, the proportion according to population and revenue, is the number arrived at above by a different and independent process as a fair representation of the different localities.

Thus from whatever point of view the question is looked at it is to be hoped the third proposition has been proved, viz., that the country is rather over than under represented.

As to the first, that the representation is unsatisfactory and requires redistribution, there ought now to be no doubt. On the second point, viz., how the redistribution should be carried out, there will of course be differences of opinion. Objections will be found to many of the details of the scheme, which is intended to invite criticism; but the object of this paper will be attained if it draws attention to a subject that has been long neglected, and helps in the slightest degree to promote its solution by the present Parliament. The coming census may make some alteration of the details necessary, but it will not affect the main features of the scheme,

inasmuch as it will be found that the population of the whole country has decreased since 1871, and that, with very few exceptions, the population of the towns and counties has, if it has not also decreased, remained stationary.

The introduction of a Reform Bill, based on the above lines, would form a fitting complement to the Borough Franchise Bill; it would by grouping boroughs preserve and extend the representation of towns, and so maintain that variety of interests which is so desirable; it would, by the introduction of the minority vote, do something to strengthen the power of those that have at present too little voice in the choice of representatives, and would make a fairer distribution of political power in the provinces and counties; and last, but not least, the reduction of the number of members, expedient as it has been shown to be by the circumstances, would be more than justified in the result, if it aroused, as, indeed, the whole change ought to do, the minds of the majority of Irish electors, too open to the influence of agitation, to the necessity of exercising more care and judgment in the choice of candidates, and so improved the quality, raised the tone, and increased the influence of the representation of Ireland in the great council of the Empire.

June, 1880.



APPENDIX.

EXISTING REPRESENTATION.

COUNTIES AND PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS OF COUNTIES.	Exclusive of Cities and Boroughs.				Property and Profits assessed to Income Tax, April 5, 1878.
	Population in 1871.	Number of Electors, 1880.	Number of Members.	Area in Square Miles.	
					£
Antrim	228,059	11,701	2	1,155·259	1,263,940
Armagh	164,993	6,937	2	510·298	797,813
Carlow	45,124	2,212	2	345·140	307,017
Cavan	140,735	6,096	2	745·875	575,588
Clare	141,361	5,443	2	1,292·995	632,030
Cork	393,131	14,745	2	2,812·957	2,014,817
Donegal	218,334	4,612	2	1,870·539	618,902
Down	263,278	13,085	2	949·073	1,439,762
Dublin	137,545	4,869	2	345·531	1,000,977
Fermanagh.....	86,958	4,778	2	714·146	440,426
Galway	228,615	4,911	2	2,414·646	908,869
Kerry	187,080	5,326	2	1,852·153	574,259
Kildare	83,614	2,793	2	653·806	665,851
Kilkenny	93,274	4,854	2	769·690	632,881
King's.....	74,983	3,262	2	771·518	530,053
Leitrim	95,562	2,383	2	613·064	290,441
Limerick.....	141,956	6,085	2	1,010·844	853,276
Londonderry ...	142,076	5,853	2	810·550	573,725
Longford	64,501	2,626	2	420·951	316,818
Louth	57,398	2,168	2	306·193	379,398
Mayo	246,030	3,221	2	2,126·142	673,027
Meath.....	94,639	3,877	2	904·150	1,059,981
Monaghan	114,969	5,496	2	499·594	547,098
Queen's	76,812	3,190	2	662·526	514,106
Roscommon ...	137,242	3,602	2	948·501	584,434
Sligo	115,493	3,266	2	721·489	454,231
Tipperary	206,675	9,134	2	1,658·460	1,353,699
Tyrone	211,880	8,573	2	1,260·042	906,808
Waterford	85,538	3,135	2	693·348	492,943
Westmeath ...	75,295	3,381	2	707·537	598,601
Wexford.....	114,174	5,773	2	909·534	759,449
Wicklow	78,697	3,311	2	781·528	514,817
TOTALS ...	4,546,021	170,698	64	32,238·079	23,276,037

EXISTING REPRESENTATION.

CITIES AND BOROUGHES.	Population in 1871.	Number of Members.	Number of Electors, 1880.	Property and Profits Assessed to Income Tax, 1878.
				£
Armagh	8,946	1	657	59,385
Athlone	6,565	1	360	23,119
Bandon	6,131	1	430	43,961
Belfast	174,412	2	21,188	2,287,183
Carlow	7,842	1	302	44,372
Carrickfergus, County of the Town	9,397	1	1,414	55,065
Clonmel	10,112	1	430	85,362
Coleraine	6,588	1	472	48,680
Cork, County of the City ..	100,518	2	4,680	1,101,014
Downpatrick	4,155	1	304	34,521
Drogheda, County of the Town	16,165	1	743	118,520
Dublin, County of the City	267,717	2	13,599	5,102,402
Dublin University	—	2	3,548	21,069
Dundalk	11,377	1	553	82,430
Dungannon	3,886	1	283	29,299
Dungarvan	7,719	1	273	40,395
Ennis	6,503	1	252	31,295
Enniskillen	5,836	1	416	39,595
Galway, County of the Town	19,843	2	875	80,928
Kilkenny, County of the City	15,748	1	675	103,954
Kinsale	7,050	1	194	16,748
Limerick, County of the City	49,980	2	1,934	372,988
Lisburn	9,326	1	768	52,662
Londonderry, County of the Town	25,242	1	2,005	241,962
Mallow	4,165	1	293	25,773
New Ross	6,772	1	267	37,973
Newry	14,158	1	1,201	112,745
Portarlington	2,560	1	147	12,382
Tralee	9,506	1	355	52,803
Waterford, County of the City	29,979	2	1,452	322,707
Wexford	12,077	1	479	75,400
Youghal	6,081	1	289	31,392
Totals	866,356	39	57,290	10,788,082

PROPOSED REPRESENTATION.

ULSTER.

BOROUGHS.	Number of Members, 9.	Electors.	Population (about)	Rateable Valuation.
Belfast	3	21,188	+175,000	£ 502,000
Antrim District (Carrick- fergus, Larne, Ballymena and Coleraine)	1	—	27,000	—
Armagh District (Armagh, Lurgan, and Portadown)	1	—	25,700	—
Down Boroughs (1) (Lis- burn, Newtownards, and Downpatrick)	1	—	22,000	—
Down Boroughs (2) (Newry and Banbridge).....	1	—	18,000	—
Tyrone District (Dungan- non, Cookstown, Omagh, Strabane, and Ennis- killen).....	1	—	21,000	—
Derry	1	2,005	25,000	69,000
COUNTIES.	Number of Members, 21.	Electors.	Population	Rateable Valuation.
Antrim	3	-11,701	218,000	£ 575,000
Armagh	2	-6,937	148,000	397,000
Cavan	2	6,096	140,000	273,000
Donegal	2	4,612	218,000	296,000
Down	3	-13,085	249,000	758,000
Derry	2	5,853	142,000	283,000
Fermanagh	2	4,778	86,000	224,000
Monaghan	2	5,496	114,000	264,000
Tyrone	3	-8,573	190,000	-427,000

NOTE.—The population of the constituencies according to the proposed scheme are given approximately. The number of electors are according to the last returns: — or + before a number signifies that there will be a decrease or increase to the numbers given.

MUNSTER.

BOROUGHES.	Number of Members, 9.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
Cork (City)	2	4,680	78,000	£ 217,000
Cork District (Queenstown, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon)	1	—	29,000	—
Mallow, Fermoy, and Dungarvan	1	—	18,000	—
Limerick (City)	2	1,934	49,000	103,000
Kerry District (Tralee and Killarney)	1	—	14,000	—
Tipperary District (Clon- mel and Carrick)	1	—	18,000	—
Waterford (City)	1	1,452	29,000	53,000
COUNTIES.	Number of Members, 15.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
Cork { E. R.	2 {	- 14,743	376,000	£ - 920,000
W. R.	2 }			
Kerry	2	- 5,326	182,000	- 274,000
Clare	2	+ 5,443	147,000	310,000
Limerick	2	6,085	142,000	427,000
Waterford	2	3,135	85,000	249,000
Tipperary	3	- 9,134	198,000	- 664,000

*** See Note at bottom of Page 24.

LEINSTER.

BOROUGHES.	Number of Members 9.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
				£
Dublin (City, including Rathmines and Pem- broke)	3	+ 13,599	300,000	800,000
Dublin University	2	3,548	—	—
Kingstown, Blackrock, and Dalkey	1	—	27,000	135,000
Kilkenny and Carlow	1	977	20,000	43,000
Louth District (Drogheda and Dundalk)	1	1,296	24,000	49,000
Wexford District (Wex- ford, New Ross, and Enniscorthy	1	+ 747	23,000	—
COUNTIES.	Number of Members, 16.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
				£
Dublin	2	- 4,869	100,000	417,000
Wicklow	1	3,311	78,000	271,000
Wexford	2	- 5,773	102,000	+ 380,000
Kilkenny and Carlow	3	{ 4,856	93,000	327,000
		{ 2,212	45,000	113,000
Kildare	1	2,753	83,000	338,000
Queen's County	1	+ 3,190	78,000	+ 259,000
King's County	1	3,262	74,000	243,000
Louth	1	2,168	57,000	172,000
Meath and Westmeath ...	3	{ 3,877	94,000	544,000
		{ + 3,381	81,000	306,000
Longford	1	2,626	64,000	152,000

CONNAUGHT.

BOROUGHS.	Number of Member, 1.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
Galway	1	1,205	19,000	£ 32,689
COUNTIES.	Number of Members, 9.	Electors.	Population.	Rateable Valuation.
Galway	2	4,911	228,000	£ 444,000
Mayo	2	3,221	245,000	314,000
Sligo	2	3,266	104,000	212,000
Roscommon	2	3,602	137,000	295,000
Leitrim	1	2,383	95,000	136,000

TOTAL.

	Boroughs.	Counties.	Total.
Ulster	9	21	30
Munster	9	15	24
Leinster	9	16	25
Connaught.....	1	9	10
Grand Total	28	61	89

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