

Online Appendices

How to Get the Snowball Rolling and Extend the Franchise:

Voting on the Great Reform Act of 1832

Toke S. Aidt^{a,b} & Raphaël Franck^c

Forthcoming in Public Choice

Online Appendix A: The franchise bills.

On 1 March 1831, Lord Russell presented the first of three reform bills in the Commons. The main features of this first reform bill were (Brock, 1973, Table 3):

- 1) 60 boroughs (listed in schedule A) were to be disenfranchised entirely, a further 47 boroughs (listed in schedule B) were to lose one seat, and Weymouth was to lose two seats out of four.
- 2) 11 new two-seat and 21 one-seat borough constituencies were to be created (in the previously un-represented towns with over 10,000 inhabitants listed in schedule C) and 6 new seats should be created in the un-represented parts of London (schedule D).
- 3) Each of the three Ridings of Yorkshire were to have two seats; 26 of the other English counties were to gain two additional seats, up from two to four (schedule E); the Isle of Wight was to be given one seat.
- 4) The county franchise was to be given to all 40-shilling freeholders, to £10 per year copyholders and to £50 per year leaseholders (with a lease of 21 years at least).
- 5) The borough franchise was to be given to adult male occupiers of houses worth at least £10 per year who had owned the property for at least one year, had paid all the relevant taxes on it and had not received poor relief in the previous year. All existing electors were to retain their right to vote for life if resident.

^a University of Cambridge, Faculty of Economics, Austin Robinson Building, Sidgwick Avenue, CB39DD Cambridge, U.K. Tel: 44-1223-335-231. Fax: 44-1223-35-299. Email: tsa23@econ.cam.ac.uk.

^b CESifo, Munich, Germany.

^c Bar Ilan University, Department of Economics, 52900 Ramat Gan, Israel. Tel: 972-3-531 8935. Fax: 972-3-738-4034. Email: Raphael.Franck@biu.ac.il. Corresponding author.

- 6) Open voting was to remain.
- 7) The maximum length of a Parliament was set at seven years.
- 8) A register of voters was to be established in both boroughs and counties.

The final bill that was given Royal assent on 7 June 1832 was different from that first presented to the Commons two years earlier, but carried over the main principles (Brock, 1973, Table 3):

- 1) 56 boroughs (listed in schedule A) were disenfranchised entirely, a further 30 boroughs (listed in schedule B) lost one seat, and Weymouth lost two members out of four.
- 2) 22 new two-seat and 21 one-seat borough constituencies were created in the previously un-represented towns with over 10,000 inhabitants and in London.
- 3) Each of the three ridings of Yorkshire was given two seats; 26 of the other English counties gained two extra seats, up from two to four; the Isle of Wight was given one seat.
- 4) The county franchise was to be given to all 40-shilling freeholders; to £10 per year copyholders; to £50 per year leaseholders (with a lease of 20 years at least); to £10 per year leaseholders (with a lease of 60 years at least); to £50 tenant-at-will, if occupiers.
- 5) The borough franchise was given to adult male occupiers of houses worth at least £10 per year who owned the property for at least one year, had paid all the relevant taxes on it and had not received poor relief in the previous year. The rights of the current freemen were extended to the future freemen, provided these rights a) were acquired through birth or apprenticeship and b) if acquired through birth, these rights must have been derived from qualification existing before March 1831. All other existing electors were to retain their right to vote for life if resident.
- 6) Open voting was to remain.
- 7) The maximum length of a Parliament was set at seven years.
- 8) A register of voters was to be established in both boroughs and counties.

Online Appendix B: Descriptive statistics and definitions of variables.

Table B1. Definition of variables.

<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	=1 for burgage boroughs where the right to vote was held by the owners of certain plots of land (burgages).
	Corporation franchise	=1 for corporation boroughs where the franchise was restricted to the mayor and members of the town corporation, a group who were chosen by nomination rather than elections.
	County franchise	=1 in the counties and in a few boroughs where the right to vote was conferred on men who owned freehold land or property worth at least 40 shillings a year.
	Freehold franchise	=1 for freehold boroughs where the right of election was vested in the owners of freeholds.
	Freeman franchise	=1 for freeman boroughs where the right to vote was conferred on those who had been granted freedom of the borough. This honor could be obtained by inheritance, marriage, nomination or purchase.
	Potwalloper franchise	=1 for potwalloper boroughs where the right to vote was conferred to those whose house had a hearth large enough to boil (wallop) a cauldron (pot).
	Scot and lot franchise.	=1 for scot and lot boroughs where the vote could be exercised by all male householders who paid local taxes and who did not receive poor relief.
<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	=1 if according to Philbin (1965) i) the patron had control over the governing body of the borough or had ownership of the property to which voting rights are attached, ii) the patron effectively nominated the MPs or iii) a sharing arrangement was in place, each of the patrons nominated a MP.
	Some influence	=1 if Philbin (1965) i) names the patron(s) or ii) records that one, but not all seats were controlled by patrons, or iii) records that the influence was shared between more than one faction (patron) and recorded evidence of rivalry; or iv) if the seats were shared and the sharing arrangement was stable throughout the period 1800-32.
	No influence	=1 if explicitly characterized as independent boroughs by Philbin (1965) or controlled by Corporations.
	Treasury borough	=1 if Philbin (1965) records that the borough was controlled by the government/treasury through patronage or employment.
<i>Political Circumstances</i>	Low influence	=1 when no information is given by Philbin (1965) (control group).
	Disenfranchised boroughs	=1 if the borough was disenfranchised by the Great Reform Act.
<i>Political Circumstances</i>	English boroughs	=1 if the borough was located in England
	Welsh boroughs	=1 if the borough was located in Wales
	Contested seat	=1 if there was at least one contested election in the borough between 1802 and 1831.
	Uncontested seat (1802-1831)	=1 if there was no contested election in the borough between 1802 and 1831.
	Seats after reform	Borough's number of seats after the Great Reform Act.
<i>MPs' occupations & attributes in 1830 and 1831</i>	Army career	=1 if the MP had a military career/was an army officer.
	Financiers	=1 if the MP was a financier.
	Dynasty heir	=1 if the MP was immediately returned to Parliament when he finished his education and/or reached majority.
	Industrialist	=1 if the MP owned industries or mines.
	Jurist	=1 if the MP was a lawyer.
	Merchant	= 1 if the MP was a merchant.
	Landowner	=1 if the MP was a landowner (control group).
	Relatives in Parliament	=1 if the MP had relatives who also sat in Parliament.

<i>Population and</i>	Change in the population	Change in the borough's population between 1821 and 1831.
<i>Occupational structure</i>	Change in the industrial sector	Change in the borough's number of inhabitants working in the industrial sector.
	Change in the agricultural sector	Change in the borough's number of inhabitants working in the agricultural sector.
<i>Support for the Reform</i>	22 March 1831	=1 if the MP supported the Reform bill on 22 March 1831.
	20 September 1831	=1 if the MP supported the Reform bill on 20 September 1831.
	6 July 1831	=1 if the MP supported the Reform bill on 6 July 1831.
	17 December 1831	=1 if the MP supported the Reform bill on 17 December 1831.
<i>Political affiliation</i>	Tory MP in 1830 (31) Parliament	=1 if the MP was a Tory in the 1830 (31) Parliament.
	Whig MP in 1830 (31) Parliament	=1 if the MP was a Whig (or a Radical) in the 1830 (31) Parliament.

Table B2. Descriptive Statistics

3

		Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Franchise type	Burgage franchise	513	0.105	0.307	0	1
	Corporation franchise	513	0.127	0.333	0	1
	County franchise	513	0.193	0.395	0	1
	Freehold franchise	513	0.039	0.194	0	1
	Freeman franchise	513	0.314	0.465	0	1
	Potwalloper franchise	513	0.012	0.108	0	1
	Scot and lot franchise.	513	0.211	0.408	0	1
Patronage	High influence	513	0.327	0.470	0	1
	Some influence	513	0.365	0.482	0	1
	No influence	513	0.099	0.300	0	1
	Treasury borough	513	0.055	0.227	0	1
	Low influence	513	0.154	0.361	0	1
Political circumstances	Disenfranchised boroughs	513	0.216	0.412	0	1
	English boroughs	513	0.953	0.211	0	1
	Welsh boroughs	513	0.047	0.211	0	1
	Contested seat	513	0.719	0.450	0	1
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	513	0.224	0.417	0	1
	Seats after reform	513	1.65	1.24	0	6
MPs' occupations & attributes in 1830	Army career	513	0.191	0.393	0	1
	Financiers	513	0.057	0.231	0	1
	Dynasty heir	513	0.411	0.493	0	1
	Industrialist	513	0.049	0.216	0	1
	Jurist	513	0.127	0.333	0	1
	Merchant	513	0.086	0.280	0	1
	Landowner	513	0.454	0.498	0	1
	Relatives in Parliament	513	0.614	0.487	0	1
MPs' occupations & attributes in 1831	Army career	513	0.183	0.387	0	1
	Financiers	513	0.070	0.256	0	1
	Dynasty heir	513	0.349	0.477	0	1
	Industrialist	513	0.041	0.198	0	1
	Jurist	513	0.148	0.356	0	1
	Merchant	513	0.076	0.265	0	1
	Landowner	513	0.382	0.486	0	1
	Relatives in Parliament	513	0.616	0.487	0	1
Population and Occupational structure	Growth in the population	513	0.243	1.203	-0.951	15.468
	Growth in the industrial sector	513	-0.049	0.343	-0.861	2.184
	Growth in the agricultural sector	513	-0.047	1.169	-1	12.765
Support for the Reform	22 March 1831	484	0.486	0.500	0	1
	20 September 1831	468	0.605	0.489	0	1
	6 July 1831	485	0.616	0.487	0	1
	17 December 1831	417	0.662	0.474	0	1
Political affiliation	Tory MP in 1830 Parliament	513	0.624	0.485	0	1
	Whig MP in 1830 Parliament	513	0.376	0.485	0	1
	Tory MP in 1831 Parliament	513	0.452	0.498	0	1
	Whig MP in 1831 Parliament	513	0.548	0.498	0	1

Appendix C: The full set of estimations.

The Tables we present below display the full set estimation results for the party and vote equations from which Tables 4 to 7 in the main body of the text have been constructed.

Table C1. Determinants of the Whigs' election in the 1830 Parliament

		Whig MP in 1830 Parliament		
		(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	-0.137 [0.254]	-0.165 [0.329]	5.658 [0.584]***
	Corporation franchise	-0.512 [0.244]**	-0.467 [0.262]*	5.048 [0.000]
	Freeman franchise	0.024 [0.188]	-0.027 [0.197]	5.909 [0.592]***
	Potwalloper franchise	0.513 [0.586]	-0.328 [0.720]	
	Scot and lot franchise	0.315 [0.200]	0.319 [0.218]	6.143 [0.571]***
	Freehold franchise	0.586 [0.325]*	0.633 [0.355]*	12.985 [0.000]
	<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	-0.141 [0.195]	-0.239 [0.210]
Some influence		-0.109 [0.183]	-0.188 [0.192]	13.091 [0.000]
No influence		0.01 [0.234]	-0.047 [0.237]	
Treasury borough		0.167 [0.289]	0.205 [0.302]	
<i>Population and Occupational structure</i>	Population growth	0.541 [0.189]***	0.641 [0.357]*	0.454 [0.175]***
	Growth in the industrial sector	-0.027 [0.192]	-0.024 [0.230]	-0.03 [0.364]
	Growth in the agricultural sector	0.061 [0.048]	0.012 [0.084]	0.116 [0.056]**
<i>Political circumstances</i>	Contested seat	0.146 [0.295]	0.142 [0.300]	-0.508 [0.291]*
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	0.407 [0.316]	0.437 [0.334]	
	Disenfranchised boroughs	-0.381 [0.170]**		
	Wales	0.048 [0.283]	0.058 [0.284]	
	Constant	-0.49 [0.306]	-0.436 [0.311]	-19.143 [0.578]***
	Observations	513	402	111
	R ²	0.063	0.051	0.191

Notes:

- This table presents regression results of a probit model that assesses the determinants of the Whigs' election in the 1830 Parliament.
- The regression in Column 1 uses the whole sample of constituencies; the sample is restricted to the constituencies which were not disenfranchised by the Reform in Column 2; the sample is restricted to the constituencies which were disenfranchised by the Reform in Column 3. Standard errors are given in brackets. *** indicates significance at the 1%-level, ** indicates significance at the 5%-level, * indicates significance at the 10%-level.

Table C2. Determinants of the Whigs' election in the 1831 Parliament

		Whig MP in 1831 Parliament		
		(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	-0.35 [0.275]	-0.644 [0.341]*	6.419 [0.443]***
	Corporation franchise	-1.145 [0.242]***	-1.302 [0.261]***	5.916 [0.000]
	Freeman franchise	-0.67 [0.198]***	-0.758 [0.214]***	5.795 [0.488]***
	Potwalloper franchise	-0.368 [0.506]	-0.063 [0.703]	
	Scot and lot franchise	-0.507 [0.216]**	-0.557 [0.238]**	6.107 [0.462]***
	Freehold franchise	-0.926 [0.330]***	-0.871 [0.376]**	
<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	-0.704 [0.202]***	-0.726 [0.228]***	5.132 [0.308]***
	Some influence	-0.647 [0.190]***	-0.767 [0.207]***	5.342 [0.000]
	No influence	-0.143 [0.249]	-0.212 [0.259]	
	Treasury borough	-0.186 [0.296]	-0.188 [0.317]	
<i>Population and Occupational structure</i>	Population growth	0.063 [0.052]		0.589 [0.169]***
	Growth in the industrial sector	-0.529 [0.189]***	-0.37 [0.213]*	-0.916 [0.395]**
	Growth in the agricultural sector	0.069 [0.054]	0.064 [0.103]	0.131 [0.057]**
<i>Political circumstances</i>	Contested seat	0.299 [0.312]	0.371 [0.320]	-0.618 [0.293]**
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	0.623 [0.330]*	0.677 [0.348]*	
	Disenfranchised boroughs	-0.969 [0.176]***		
	Wales	-0.437 [0.314]	-0.44 [0.320]	
	Constant	1.004 [0.317]***	1.106 [0.328]***	-11.735 [0.468]***
	Observations	513	402	111
	R ²	0.162	0.108	0.17

Notes:

- This table presents regression results of a probit model that assesses the determinants of the Whigs' election in the 1831 Parliament.
- The regression in Column 1 uses the whole sample of constituencies; the sample is restricted to the constituencies which were not disenfranchised by the Reform in Column 2; the sample is restricted to the constituencies which were disenfranchised by the Reform in Column 3. Standard errors are given in brackets. *** indicates significance at the 1%-level, ** indicates significance at the 5%-level, * indicates significance at the 10%-level.

Table C3. Determinants of the MPs' support for Reform: all the constituencies

		22 March 1831	6 July 1831	20 September 1831	17 December 1831
<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	0.078 [0.295]	-1.3 [0.438]***	-0.566 [0.560]	-2.001 [0.791]**
	Corporation franchise	-0.703 [0.260]***	-1.693 [0.454]***	-1.457 [0.574]**	-1.925 [0.774]**
	Freeman franchise	-0.37 [0.219]*	-0.97 [0.412]**	-0.605 [0.539]	-1.646 [0.752]**
	Potwalloper franchise	0.166 [0.680]	-0.406 [0.615]	0.226 [0.693]	-1.156 [0.917]
	Scot and lot franchise	-0.608 [0.249]**	-1.076 [0.471]**	-0.646 [0.563]	-1.519 [0.819]*
	Freehold franchise	-0.762 [0.378]**	-0.252 [0.610]	-0.432 [0.643]	-1.38 [0.893]
	<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	-0.44 [0.222]**	-0.283 [0.503]	-0.691 [0.498]
Some influence		-0.322 [0.217]	-0.088 [0.492]	-0.589 [0.469]	-0.148 [0.535]
No influence		0.244 [0.268]	0.751 [0.576]	0.566 [0.575]	0.963 [0.658]
Treasury borough		-0.922 [0.352]***	-0.302 [0.600]	-0.574 [0.570]	-0.223 [0.657]
<i>MPs' occupations</i>	Whig MP in 1830 Parliament	1.657 [0.149]***			
	Whig MP in 1831 Parliament		3.699 [0.336]***	3.699 [0.338]***	3.832 [0.376]***
	Army career	-0.358 [0.209]*	0.623 [0.378]*	0.639 [0.421]	0.681 [0.409]*
	Financier	-0.414 [0.276]	1.184 [0.414]***	1.128 [0.448]**	1.041 [0.446]**
	Dynasty heir	0.051 [0.171]	0.301 [0.349]	0.103 [0.418]	0.034 [0.441]
	Industrialist	-0.007 [0.376]	-0.526 [0.817]	-1.409 [0.684]**	-1.007 [0.870]
	Jurist	-0.158 [0.247]	0.196 [0.332]	0.351 [0.411]	0.113 [0.398]
	Merchant	0.127 [0.240]	0.042 [0.430]	-0.053 [0.460]	0.319 [0.486]
	Relatives in parliament	-0.144 [0.151]	-0.765 [0.246]***	-0.639 [0.228]***	-0.451 [0.261]*
	Contested seat	0.083 [0.310]	1.128 [0.570]**	1.54 [0.721]**	2.128 [0.880]**
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	-0.036 [0.340]	1.513 [0.617]**	2.386 [0.769]***	2.533 [0.925]***
	Wales	0.16 [0.333]	1.882 [0.681]***	1.464 [0.647]**	3.407 [0.674]***
	<i>Political circumstances</i>	Disenfranchised boroughs	-0.545 [0.199]***	-0.135 [0.466]	0.408 [0.387]
Seats after the Reform			0.518 [0.235]**	0.796 [0.202]***	0.782 [0.213]***
Constant		0.2 [0.355]	-1.918 [1.049]*	-2.934 [1.077]***	-2.816 [1.079]***
Observations		484	485	468	417
R ²		0.302	0.766	0.757	0.768

Notes:

- This table presents regression results of a probit model that assesses the determinants of the MPs' votes on readings of the Reform bills.
- Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively focus on the votes held on 22 March 1831, 6 July 1831, 20 September 1831 and 17 December 1831. The observations correspond to the MPs who took part in each vote.
- Standard errors are given in brackets. *** indicates significance at the 1%-level, ** indicates significance at the 5%-level, * indicates significance at the 10%-level.

Table C4. Determinants of the Tories' support for Reform: all the constituencies

		22 March 1831	6 July 1831	20 September 1831	17 December 1831
<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	0.141 [0.345]		-0.176 [0.758]	
	Corporation franchise	-0.931 [0.332]***	-2.089 [0.591]***	-1.66 [0.856]*	-2.24 [0.806]***
	Freeman franchise	-0.339 [0.252]	-1.054 [0.464]**	-0.009 [0.634]	-1.828 [0.770]**
	Potwalloper franchise		0.205 [0.731]	1.506 [0.850]*	-0.328 [1.005]
	Scot and lot franchise	-0.669 [0.307]**	-0.873 [0.565]	0.195 [0.728]	-0.93 [0.859]
	Freehold franchise	-0.994 [0.612]	-0.192 [0.682]	-0.124 [0.781]	-1.299 [0.969]
<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	-0.534 [0.266]**	-1.08 [0.501]**	-1.41 [0.502]***	-1.441 [0.519]***
	Some influence	-0.394 [0.258]	-0.79 [0.450]*	-1.376 [0.456]***	-0.96 [0.535]*
	No influence	-0.022 [0.323]	-0.022 [0.557]	-0.247 [0.608]	-0.073 [0.785]
<i>MPs' occupations</i>	Treasury borough	-1.103 [0.511]**	-1.013 [0.719]	-1.166 [0.734]	-0.806 [0.740]
	Army career	-0.244 [0.266]	0.591 [0.390]	0.481 [0.449]	0.392 [0.444]
	Financier	-1.004 [0.504]**	1.132 [0.555]**	1.039 [0.571]*	0.697 [0.506]
	Dynasty heir	0.246 [0.219]	-0.021 [0.370]	-0.523 [0.498]	-0.541 [0.497]
	Industrialist	0.506 [0.498]	0.295 [0.774]	-1.536 [0.672]**	0.447 [1.214]
	Jurist	0.177 [0.289]	0.033 [0.372]	0.315 [0.433]	-0.168 [0.419]
	Merchant	-0.053 [0.359]	-0.374 [0.685]	-0.577 [0.542]	-0.498 [0.706]
	Relatives in parliament	-0.111 [0.186]	-0.638 [0.308]**	-0.512 [0.297]*	-0.24 [0.328]
<i>Political circumstances</i>	Contested seat	0.248 [0.367]	1.173 [0.611]*	0.902 [0.669]	2.857 [1.088]***
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	-0.061 [0.409]	1.578 [0.753]**	2.299 [0.757]***	3.307 [1.227]***
	Wales	0.129 [0.412]	1.901 [0.742]**	2.233 [0.784]***	4.58 [1.041]***
	Disenfranchised boroughs	-0.758 [0.280]***	-0.822 [0.741]	0.328 [0.673]	1.669 [0.848]**
	Seats after the Reform		0.496 [0.308]	1.014 [0.308]***	1.442 [0.447]***
	Constant	0.062 [0.413]	-1.119 [1.323]	-2.555 [1.399]*	-3.848 [1.786]**
	Observations	296	190	209	148
	R-squared	0.159	0.401	0.394	0.417

Notes:

- This table presents regression results of a probit model that assesses the determinants of the Tories' votes on readings of the Reform bills.
- Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively focus on the votes held on 22 March 1831, 6 July 1831, 20 September 1831 and 17 December 1831. The observations correspond to the MPs who took part in each vote.
- Standard errors are given in brackets. • *** indicates significance at the 1%-level, ** indicates significance at the 5%-level, * indicates significance at the 10%-level.

Table C5. Determinants of the Whigs' support for Reform: all the constituencies

		22 March 1831	6 July 1831	20 September 1831	17 December 1831
<i>Franchise type</i>	Burgage franchise	-0.038 [0.610]			
	Corporation franchise	0.287 [0.628]	-5.711 [0.000]	-15.646 [0.000]	
	Freeman franchise	-0.24 [0.396]	-5.512 [0.923]***	-15.547 [0.911]***	
	Potwalloper franchise	-1.054 [0.936]			
	Scot and lot franchise	-0.4 [0.405]	-6.168 [0.699]***	-16.146 [0.665]***	
	Freehold franchise	-0.516 [0.532]			
<i>Patronage</i>	High influence	-0.488 [0.453]	1.682 [0.683]**	1.592 [0.587]***	
	Some influence	-0.454 [0.412]	0.544 [0.633]	0.675 [0.645]	
	Treasury borough	-0.74 [0.589]			
<i>MPs' occupations</i>	Army career	-0.859 [0.458]*	-0.421 [0.940]	-0.544 [0.910]	
	Financier	-1.068 [0.500]**			
	Dynasty heir	-0.578 [0.396]	0.908 [0.865]	0.782 [0.803]	-0.146 [0.578]
	Industrialist	-0.531 [0.496]	-1.934 [1.210]	-1.928 [1.219]	-1.303 [0.641]**
	Jurist	-0.84 [0.536]	-0.186 [1.056]	-0.323 [0.916]	
	Merchant	0.655 [0.507]			
	Relatives in parliament	-0.054 [0.281]			
<i>Political circumstances</i>	Contested seat	-6.098 [0.000]	2.19 [0.746]***	13.113 [0.715]***	
	Uncontested seat (1800-1831)	-5.637 [0.356]***	0.473 [0.000]	11.471 [0.000]	
	Wales	0.113 [0.605]		3.979 [0.000]	
	Disenfranchised boroughs	-0.099 [0.332]	0.121 [1.274]	0.241 [1.239]	
	Seats after the Reform		0.476 [0.610]	0.501 [0.617]	0.057 [0.081]
	Constant	8.156 [0.610]***	4.26 [1.406]***	3.359 [1.330]**	2.573 [0.427]***
	Observations	163	97	99	248
R-squared	0.144	0.352	0.442	0.16	

Notes:

- This table presents regression results of a probit model that assesses the determinants of the Whigs' votes on readings of the Reform bills.
- Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively focus on the votes held on 22 March 1831, 6 July 1831, 20 September 1831 and 17 December 1831.
- The observations correspond to the MPs who took part in each vote. Because of multicollinearity, some observations and variables were dropped out of the regressions. Standard errors are given in brackets. *** indicates significance at the 1%-level, ** indicates significance at the 5%-level, * indicates significance at the 10%-level.