BOUNDARY COMMISSION FOR ENGLAND

2023 REVIEW OF PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY BOUNDARIES

INITIAL PROPOSALS FOR THE LONDON REGION

RESPONSE BY THE CITY OF LONDON CORPORATION

SUMMARY

- i. The City of London Corporation objects to the Boundary Commission's initial proposal to include the City in a constituency along with part of the London Borough of Islington. The City Corporation is strongly supportive of the established combination of the City of London and the City of Westminster for the purposes of parliamentary representation.
- ii. The constituency link between the Cities of London and Westminster has been in place ever since the City of London ceased to be a parliamentary constituency in its own right in 1950. This reflects the unique historical connection between the two Cities, from which the Metropolis developed over many hundreds of years.
- iii. The "community of interest" between the City of London and the City of Westminster has previously been recognised by the Boundary Commission. The City of London was grouped with the City of Westminster and the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea for the purpose of allocating constituencies during the 1993 boundary review. The Boundary Commission explained that it sought to link Boroughs "where there [was] a continuous residential area or where it [was] likely that some community of interest exists between the areas."
- iv. In its review of 2012, the Boundary Commission initially proposed to end the constituency link between the two cities and combine the City of London instead with the southern part of the borough of Islington. The report of the Assistant Commissioners, which was accepted by the Commission in its revised proposals, noted that this proposal received "very little" support.
- v. The subsequent revised proposals of the Commission reinstated the Cities of London and Westminster constituency, and the long-standing constituency link between the Cities of London and Westminster was also retained in the 2018 Review's proposals.
- vi. The Cities of London and Westminster share a strong and distinct community of interest and character in many aspects, including financial and professional services—which have spread in recent years from their traditional home in the City of London into Westminster—, their joint role as the heart of London's legal sector, and in retail, culture, architecture, and tourism. National security and policing also amount to an important area of common interest, while the City of London Corporation has a significant commercial property interest in the City of Westminster owing to historic grants of land made as the metropolis developed. The two Cities are closely related by numerous civic and ceremonial links, and contain a number of nationally significant places of worship.

- vii. There is no obviously identifiable community of interest between the City of London and Islington South. In particular, there is no evidence that residents in the City turn to Islington for local amenities to a greater extent than to any Borough neighbouring the City.
- viii. There is a way by which the Cities of London and Westminster could be constituted together while complying with the legislative requirements and contained parts of only the two Cities.

MAIN RESPONSE

Introduction

- 1. The City of London Corporation welcomes the opportunity to submit representations on the Boundary Commission's Initial Proposals for the London region.
- 2. The Commission has proposed that the City of London be included in a constituency also comprising nine southern wards of the London Borough of Islington. The City Corporation objects to this proposal. The City Corporation is strongly supportive of the established combination of the City of London and the City of Westminster for the purposes of parliamentary representation, and considers that the retention of this tie is clearly indicated by three of the four 'factors' that the Commission may take into account in formulating its recommendations, *viz.*, existing constituency boundaries, local ties, and geographical considerations including accessibility. The City Corporation accepts that under the new legislation, the electoral arithmetic may require such considerations to be overridden. However, there is no such imperative in the present case. It appears that the statutory requirements may be satisfied just as conveniently, if not more so, in a way which does not involve severing the deep and long-standing link between the two Cities.

Sub-Regions

3. The City Corporation has no objection to the sub-regional division proposed by the Commission.

Existing Boundaries

4. Although the scale of the review required by the new legislation will inevitably necessitate a widespread reorganisation of existing constituency boundaries, it is the City Corporation's submission that the existing connection between the Cities of London and Westminster merits particular regard. The connection is longstanding. At the time of the 1948 Bill which would eventually deprive the City of London of its separate parliamentary representation, it was initially proposed to combine the City with Finsbury and Shoreditch. In a deputation of leading City figures to the Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, to make representations against the abolition of the City's separate constituency, the Prime Minister proposed Westminster as a more suitable co-constituent. The two Cities subsequently acceded to this suggestion, and the City of London has never since been combined with any other area than Westminster. Although the northern and western areas of the constituency have undergone alterations, the major part of the constituency, from the City of London to the core governmental area around the Palaces, has remained virtually unchanged for almost seventy years.

- 5. The existing boundaries are also of particular significance because the City Corporation, as a relatively small electoral authority, relies to a large extent in the conduct of elections on long-standing administrative arrangements with the City of Westminster. This extends not only to parliamentary elections, but also to national referendums and, in the past, to European elections.
- 6. It is noteworthy that for the boundary review of 1993, the City of London was grouped with the City of Westminster and the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea for the purpose of allocating constituencies. The Boundary Commission at the time explained that it sought to link Boroughs "where there [was] a continuous residential area or where it [was] likely that some community of interest exists between the areas."¹ Although the present review will necessarily require more constituencies to cross Borough boundaries, the City Corporation sees no reason to doubt that "community of interest" should remain a central factor in determining which Boroughs should be combined in this manner, and the Commission has itself invited submissions on the extent to which local ties are preserved by the proposals.

Local Ties and Geographical Considerations

- 7. The Cities of London and Westminster together contain the original heart of the Metropolis, and indeed the body politic of England. Take first a map of London from 1642, which reveals a single conurbation, surrounded by open land, stretching along the north bank of the Thames from the Palace of Westminster to the Tower of London. Turn then to the route published in 2012 for the Olympic Marathon, an event intended as a world-wide showcase for the capital and the country, and find that it encompasses almost exactly the same area—an area which lies near-wholly within the present Cities of London and Westminster constituency.
- 8. The depth and significance of the history shared by the two Cities undoubtedly contributes much towards today's sense of conjoined identity. However, taken together, the City of London and the City of Westminster continue to represent the political, civic, financial, commercial, professional, episcopal, architectural, and ceremonial capital of the Metropolis. In many of these respects, if not all, the two Cities share a strong and distinct community of interest. Indeed, the ties have only strengthened in recent years and decades. For example, the financial services sector, traditionally concentrated in the City of London, has expanded westward into Mayfair and St. James's; while the City of London has broadened its historically commercial outlook, and encouraged the sort of retail, cultural, and touristic activities ordinarily associated with Westminster. The various aspects of the connection between the two Cities are examined in detail in the following paragraphs.

Historical Development

9. The institutional relationship between the City of London and Westminster stretches back into very early times. During the Norman Conquest, William did not enter London by force, but instead assured its citizens of the rights and freedoms they had enjoyed under the Saxons. Soon after, the principal seat of royal government was established a short distance away from London, near the site of an ancient abbey known as the West Minster. The 'west' denoted the abbey's position in relation to London—Westminster thus even takes its name from its geographical relationship with the City. The forms of government which developed in

¹ Boundary Commission for England, news release of 1st July, 1993 on provisional recommendations for the North London Boroughs, p. 5.

parallel in the Westminster Parliament and in the London Guildhall have a notable symmetry and are thought to have exercised a mutual influence, both incorporating three component ranks (Crown or Mayor, Lords or Aldermen, and Commons).

- 10. In early centuries London's civic and commercial heft made it to some extent a counterweight to the Crown interest at Westminster. The relationship between the two cities therefore became politically significant. In struggles for ascendancy at Westminster the City of London could play a key role. It rose to forestall victory for Matilda over Stephen; it was central to the machinations which placed Richard, Duke of York on the throne; and it gave refuge to the Five Members whose flight from Parliament precipitated the Civil War. In the aftermath of the revolution of 1688, the Aldermen and Common Councilmen of London were summoned to Westminster along with former MPs to form the Convention Parliament, and thus played an important part in securing the present constitutional settlement.
- 11. Westminster's emergence as a significant centre of population is essentially the product of the westward expansion of the City of London. Ever since the thirteenth century, the City of London tended to expand in the direction of Westminster, and by the end of the fourteenth century there had grown up a large and thriving suburb around Fleet Street. This was home, most notably, to the legal profession, the teaching of law having been removed from the City walls by a decree of Henry III; and it would soon also be renowned for its publishing industry, taverns and literary associations. The agglomeration of the two Cities was brought to completion by the Great Fire of 1666, when the westward exodus from the City of London prompted urbanisation of the land around Fleet Street, and further west into the Liberty of Westminster, where the aristocratic palaces on the Strand were pulled down and replaced with large new swathes of residential and commercial tenements. The resulting commonality of character and ambience lasts to this day, as will be demonstrated by a simple walk from St. Paul's Cathedral to Charing Cross.
- 12. This connection is also reflected in the City of London Corporation's continuing significant commercial property interests in Westminster—property holdings in the West End between Oxford Street and Piccadilly are the legacy of a grant of land from Charles I, intended to secure the City's fresh water supply as the two cities developed.

Financial and Professional Services

13. The City of London and the City of Westminster together play a central role in the provision of financial and professional services. These services are vitally important to London, making up 27 per cent of the capital's economy in 2017.² There are approximately 28,000 financial and professional services firms in the two cities, employing almost 480,000 people—some 45 per cent of the capital's total financial and professional services employment.³ Financial services firms alone in the two cities—which account for half the capital's firms and 62 per cent of its total employment in that sector—contributed over £40 billion to the UK economy, half of London's total output in that sector.⁴ The two cities play complementary roles, with the City of London retaining a traditional focus on insurance and banking and Westminster concentrating more on hedge funds and private equity, with a number of associated services (such as accountancy and law) spread between the two.

² GLA Economics, Regional, sub-regional and local Gross Value Added estimates for London 1998-2017, 2019.

³ ONS, Business Register and Employment Survey : open access, 2019

⁴ ONS, UK BUSINESS: ACTIVITY, SIZE AND LOCATION – 2020; ONS Regional gross value added (balanced) by industry: local authorities by International Territorial Level (ITL) 1 region: TLI London, 2021

- 14. These figures are far greater than those for nearly all other London Boroughs. Even if Westminster were viewed in isolation from the City of London, only the London Borough of Tower Hamlets would be of comparable significance, owing to the Docklands development. (This cluster can be discounted in the context of constituency boundaries as it is separated from the City by some miles of the non-commercial area of the East End, and is in a different sub-region to the City in the Commission's initial proposals.) In particular, despite the growth in recent years of the 'Silicon Roundabout', the London Borough of Islington enjoys less than half of the financial and professional service activity of Westminster, both in terms of number of businesses and number of employees. Given that financial and professional services share many distinct concerns and challenges, it would seem particularly desirable to have unified representation for the primary centre for such services.
- 15. The Cities of London and Westminster also form the heart of London's legal sector. Two of London's four Inns of Court are found in Temple in the west of the City of London. Chambers originally situated in Temple have moved into Essex Street just across the border with Westminster, while barristers from the Temple cross the Strand into the City of Westminster to appear in the Royal Courts of Justice. The Central Criminal Court is found at Old Bailey in the City of London, while the Rolls Building is also found a short distance away. These buildings will be joined in the future by the new combined court facility planned by the City Corporation for Salisbury Square, off Fleet Street, forming a distinct legal quarter within the current constituency boundaries.
- 16. Many of the financial and professional service firms based in the two Cities have an international reach. This, coupled with the presence of a number of other international organisations, gives the two Cities an appreciably more global outlook than that of other London Boroughs.

Retail, Culture and Tourism

- 17. The retail sector in Westminster, centred on the West End and Knightsbridge, is worldrenowned. The City Corporation has in recent years successfully sought to boost the City of London's presence in this field, for instance through the opening of a sixty-store shopping and dining complex at One New Change in 2010. Figures from the GLA show that the City has a higher proportion of its area devoted to so-called "town centres" (areas recognised for planning purposes as significant retail centres) than any of its neighbouring boroughs except from Westminster.⁵ The same figures show that the two cities are particularly strong in higher-end "comparison goods." There is also a greater similarity with regard to the two cities' night-time offer than that between the City of London and Islington. Figures from the GLA show that the density of licensed premises (including restaurants) in the City is four times greater than that of Islington, but only double that of Westminster – a much larger borough.⁶
- 18. The City Corporation is the country's fourth largest funder of the arts and spends more than £100 million per year on cultural and recreational provision. The Barbican estate in the City of London contains one the largest arts centres in Europe, and was designated as one of nine

⁵ GLA, London Town Centre Health Check, 2013

⁶ GLA, Number of public houses, licenced clubs, restaurants and takeaways by Borough, accessed on-line in July 2021.

"strategic cultural areas" in the 2016 London Plan.⁷ Westminster's West End had the same designation; no other neighbouring area of the City north of the river did. Other important attractions include the Guildhall Art Gallery and the Museum of London. Plans to expand and promote the offering of the cultural quarter centred on the Barbican, including the relocation of the Museum of London to the Smithfield General Market, are being implemented through the City Corporation's *Culture Mile* initiative.

- 19. The two Cities share an exceptional interest in architectural heritage. It is no coincidence that when Pevsner first published his *Buildings of England*, he included one volume for 'London: the Cities of London and Westminster', and one for 'London, except the Cities of London and Westminster'. Today, of the 618 Grade I-listed buildings and monuments in Greater London, fully 298 are found in the current Cities of London & Westminster constituency.⁸ Of these, 86 are in the City of London and 212 in Westminster. By way of comparison, the entire London Borough of Islington contains 13 Grade I-listed buildings. There are clear parallels to be drawn between the large commercial buildings in the City and the public buildings of Westminster, particularly those of the mid- and late-Victorian and Edwardian periods. Compare, for instance, the Old Bailey or the Bank of England headquarters on Threadneedle Street with the government offices lining Whitehall.
- 20. By reason of the factors detailed above, both Cities accommodate a large number of visitors in comparison with other Boroughs, and share the advantages and challenges that this entails. Westminster's status as the pre-eminent tourist destination in Greater London hardly need be stated, but the situation of the City of London, with its reputation as a business district, is less well-known. Nonetheless, one study ranked the City of London fourth among London boroughs (the City being counted as a borough for this purpose) in terms of spending by tourists, behind only Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea and Camden.⁹ Islington generated about one third of the tourist expenditure of the City of London are the two most significant boroughs in terms of the number of visits by tourists, the amount of expenditure generated, and the number of persons employed as a result of tourism. A more recent study into expenditure solely by international tourists found that expenditure in Islington had increased, but was still less than two-thirds of expenditure in the City.¹⁰

Local Amenities

21. The City is an unusual electoral unit in that its permanent residential population (of around 9,000) is normally heavily outnumbered by its daytime population of workers, tourists and other visitors. Residential factors are of course particularly important in the context of parliamentary elections. While the largest residential concentrations in the City are located close to the boundary with Islington, it should be remembered that a substantial minority of residents (some 40 per cent) live elsewhere in the City. The anecdotal picture with respect to residential services does not, however, reveal a strength of connection with any neighbouring area which might count against the broadly based links with Westminster described above. For instance, residents report that they may shop for groceries in south Islington, travel to the West End for higher-end retail goods, and to Tower Hamlets for large homeware and gardening stores. City residents are more likely to work in the City itself than in neighbouring

⁷ London Plan March 2016, Policy 4.5.

⁸ All figures are derived from English Heritage's National Heritage List for England, as retrieved on-line in July 2021.

⁹ All figures are derived from the London Development Agency's *Local Area Tourism Impact Model* of July 2009.

¹⁰ London First, *Tourist Information: Mapping the Local Value of International Visitors*, 2019.

Boroughs such as Islington. Health services are found most immediately in the City, with the Bart's Hospital complex and associated centres. Administratively, there is no particularly strong link with Islington—while the registration of births, deaths and marriages is provided by Islington, the City is joined with Tower Hamlets, Newham and Waltham Forest in the Bart's Health NHS Trust, and is paired with Hackney for the purposes of its Clinical Commissioning Group. This reflects the City Corporation's willingness to seek partnerships with other boroughs to deliver the best service for residents on a case-by-case basis.

- 22. Given the City's small residential population, there is not large demand for school places. There is, however, a broad range of school provision available within the City, in the state-funded Aldgate School, and the independent City of London School and City of London School for Girls. City residents may also look to schools in a number of neighbouring Boroughs, including Islington but more notably in Southwark. Residents also use schools in the independent sector farther afield. The City Corporation's own multi-academy trust has schools in Hackney, Islington, Newham, Southwark and Tower Hamlets.
- 23. It is worth noting that the residents of Golden Lane petitioned to be transferred from Islington into the City in 1993, on the basis that they had "close links with the City and... look[ed] to the City, rather than to Islington, for their social and leisure activities, as well as for churches, hospitals and libraries."¹¹ This was a point repeated by representatives of the Golden Lane Estate at a public hearing in Kensington on the Commission's then-proposals in 2011.

<u>Transport</u>

- 24. Fleet Street and the Strand, mention of which has already been made, make up only one of three vital thoroughfares which today link the two Cities. The most ancient is the River. Although no longer the commercial life-blood of earlier centuries, this remains the most prominent geographical feature connecting the two Cities; and the section which provides the southern boundary of the present constituency is today the most popular for tourists and commuters. The other, more recent artery is the Victoria Embankment, one of the boldest engineering achievements of imperial Britain. This, of course, includes not only a highway but the original section of the underground District Line. It is not insignificant that the riparian route created from the Palace of Westminster to Blackfriars in the City of London was continued as part of the same project by a large new street (Queen Victoria Street) running inland to the Mansion House, the official residence of the Lord Mayor of the City of London.
- 25. Key thoroughfares connect the City of London with all of the boroughs surrounding the City, as a result of its historical position as the centre of the Metropolis. The connections with Westminster are, however, especially heavily used. The last time traffic on individual roads was counted, that on the two main routes between the City of London and Westminster was well over twice that on the two main routes connecting the City of London and Islington.¹²

¹¹ Local Government Boundary Commission for England, *Review of Greater London, the London Boroughs and the City of London: City of London*, Report No. 636, p. 12, ¶ 45.

¹² Data gathered by the Department of Planning and Transportation of the City Corporation between 2003 and 2005 included the following week-day traffic-flow counts: Aldersgate—18,824; Moorgate—21,577; Fleet Street—34,924; Victoria Embankment—68,178. Individual roads are no longer monitored in this way, but 2014 traffic surveys showed a considerably greater number of vehicles travelling daily in an east/west direction than north/south: 86,000 compared to 68,000.

<u>Security</u>

26. The position of the two Cities as a political and commercial centre, with a concentration of high-profile buildings, institutions and activities, has led to their facing particularly acute challenges in the maintenance of law and order. During the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, the Cities bore the brunt of the most destructive efforts of the Irish Republican movement in Greater London—including, in Westminster, the assassination of Airey Neave, the Hyde Park and Regent's Park bombings, and the Harrods bombing, and in the City of London, attacks on the London Stock Exchange, the Baltic Exchange and Bishopsgate. Today, the two Cities are among the most heavily guarded areas of the country, the City of London's famous "ring of steel" having been matched by highly visible security apparatus around many Westminster landmarks, particularly in the Government Security Zone. Aside from on-going terrorist concerns, both Cities have also been the focus of large-scale protests in the past decades, and have suffered attendant outbreaks of violent disorder. Policing and security therefore remain a clear point in common between the two Cities.

<u>Civic Links</u>

- 27. The historic relationship between the two cities is reflected today in a number of unique civic and ceremonial links. The Sovereign's approbation of the Lord Mayor is conveyed annually by the Lord Chancellor at a ceremony in Westminster. The Lord Mayor's Show-one of London's best-known civic occasions, with several thousand participants and an audience of hundreds of thousands-involves a procession from the City of London into the City of Westminster. Other state or ceremonial events often involve a reverse procession, such as, most recently, the funeral of Lady Thatcher in 2013. Visiting Heads of State are customarily entertained first in Westminster by the Sovereign, and then by the City Corporation at Guildhall in the City of London. Royal weddings have, in recent history, taken place in one of the two cities, such as that of the Prince of Wales at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1981, and that of the Duke of Cambridge at Westminster Abbey in 2011. Close links are maintained between the respective offices of the Lord Mayor of London and the Lord Mayor of Westminster-the only two mayoralties in Greater London to have the appellation of 'Lord'. More prosaically, following the holding of royal or national ceremonial events in the two cities, the Corporation's Environment Services department assist their colleagues in Westminster with the clean-up process, costs of which approach £1 million.
- 28. The City of London and the City of Westminster form a separate 'Two Cities' episcopal area within the Diocese of London. This area is under the personal pastoral care of the Bishop of London and, as of 2015, has its own archdeacon. Meanwhile the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey are patrons of St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Bride's churches in the City of London. More broadly, the Two Cities contain a number of significant places of worship, including St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral, the Bevis Marks Synagogue, and Methodist Central Hall.

Alternative Configurations

29. The City Corporation recognises the legislative requirement for a more evenly constituted electorate. However, the electoral arithmetic does not require the disruption of the especially strong connection between the City of London and the City of Westminster. Of the seventy-five proposed constituencies in the Commission's London region, thirty-one extend across London Borough boundaries. It is difficult to imagine that many, if any, of these trans-

Borough areas share the same degree of historical and cultural connection as do the two Cities.

- 30. There is a possible alternative to the Commission's initial proposals, which would see the City of London continue to be constituted with the historic and commercial core of the City of Westminster. The counter-proposal would affect seven constituencies in the initial proposals, *viz.* 'The City of London & Islington South', 'Westminster & Chelsea East', 'Fulham & Chelsea West', 'Kensington and Westbourne', 'Camden Town & St John's Wood', Kentish Town & Bloomsbury' and 'Islington North'.
- 31. The illustrative counter-proposal is intended to demonstrate the viability of retaining the connection between the two Cities while satisfying the numerical constraints imposed by the legislation and affecting as few other constituencies as possible. This is not to say that there may not be other possibilities.
- 32. The counter-proposal is illustrated by the map and tables annexed to this response.

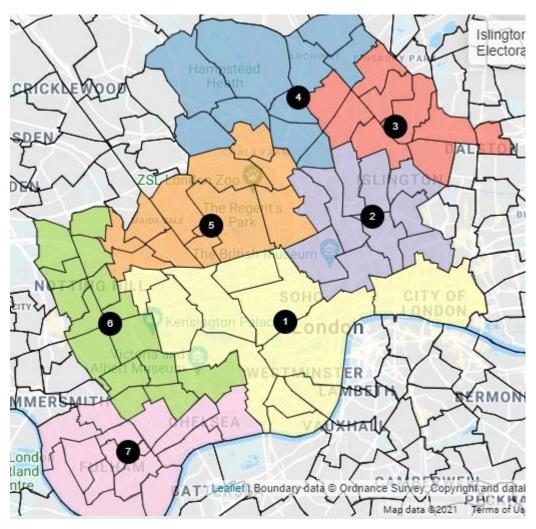
Counter-Proposal Detail

- 33. The counter-proposal would see the areas currently proposed to comprise the seven constituencies named above instead constituted as follows:
 - i. A borough constituency of 'The Cities of London & Westminster' (electorate 71,517), comprising the City of London, and the wards of Bayswater, Hyde Park, Knightsbridge and Belgravia, Lancaster Gate, Marylebone, Pimlico North, Pimlico South, St. James's, Vincent Square and West End in the City of Westminster.
 - ii. A borough constituency of 'Holborn & Islington South' (electorate 75,102), comprising the wards of Barnsbury, Bunhill, Caledonian, Clerkenwell, St. Mary's & St James's, and St. Peter's and Canalside in the London Borough of Islington, and the wards of Bloomsbury, Holborn & Covent Garden, King's Cross and St Pancras & Somerstown in the London Borough of Camden.
 - iii. A borough constituency of 'Dalston & Islington' (electorate 76,811), comprising the ward of Dalston in the London Borough of Hackney, and the wards of Arsenal, Canonbury, Finsbury Park, Highbury, Holloway, Laycock, Mildmay and Tufnell Park in the London Borough of Islington.
 - iv. A borough constituency of 'Camden North & Islington North' (electorate 76,768), comprising the wards of Belsize, Camden Square, Gospel Oak, Hampstead Town, Highgate, Kentish Town North, and Kentish Town South in the London Borough of Camden, and the wards of Hillrise, Junction and Tollington in the London Borough of Islington.
 - v. A borough constituency of 'Camden Town & Westminster North' (electorate 76,601), comprising the wards of Camden Town, Haverstock, Primrose Hill and Regent's Park in the London Borough of Camden, and Abbey Road, Church Street, Harrow Road, Little Venice, Maida Vale, Regent's Park and Westbourne in the City of Westminster.

- vi. A borough constituency of 'Kensington & Notting Hill' (electorate 71,348), comprising the wards of Abingdon, Brompton & Hans Town, Campden, Colville, Courtfield, Dalgarno, Earl's Court, Golborne, Holland, Norland, Notting Dale, Pembridge, Queen's Gate and St. Helen's in the Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea, and the ward of Queen's Park in the City of Westminster.
- vii. A borough constituency of 'Chelsea & Fulham' (electorate 76,481), comprising the wards of Chelsea Riverside, Redcliffe, Royal Hospital and Stanley in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, and the wards of Fulham Reach, Fulham Town, Lillie, Munster, Palace & Hurlingham, Parsons Green & Sandford, Sands End, Walham Green and West Kensington in the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.
- 34. The primary advantage of this counter-proposal, from the City Corporation's perspective would be that it retains the long-standing constituency link with the City of Westminster and extends only across two local authority areas.
- 35. The counter-proposal would also better reflect existing constituency boundaries. All of the wards in the present Cities of London & Westminster constituency (including the City of London) would be retained in the new Cities of London & Westminster constituency, along with one other. Of the thirteen wards in the current Chelsea & Fulham constituency, twelve would be retained in the new Chelsea & Fulham constituency, along with one other. The current constituency of Kensington would be relatively unchanged by the counter-proposal, with the loss of no wards and the addition of one other. The counter- proposal's new constituencies of Camden Town & Westminster North, Camden North & Islington North, Dalston & Islington and Holborn & Islington South would suffer more disruption, but would suffer substantial disruption on any view if the Commission's proposals are to be maintained broadly in their current form.
- 36. Although the City Corporation is not best placed to make detailed comments on the effects of counter-proposals in the areas of other local government areas, this counter-proposal would appear to carry some obvious advantages, even disregarding the City of London. It seems clear that Bloomsbury, in terms of its character, its road pattern, and its position as part of the old Metropolitan Borough of Holborn, would most naturally be combined with Holborn and King's Cross. The inclusion of Abbey Road in the same constituency as the Westminster ward of Regent's Park would also unite the distinct locality of St. John's Wood.

City Remembrancer's Office July 2021

ANNEXE: MAP AND TABLES OF COUNTER-PROPOSAL



Key:

- 1 The Cities of London & Westminster
- 2 Holborn & Islington South
- 3 Dalston & Islington
- 4 Camden North & Islington North
- 5 Camden Town & Westminster North
- 6 Kensington & Notting Hill
- 7 Chelsea & Fulham

1. Cities of London & Westminster

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
City of London	County and City of London	6304
Westminster	Bayswater	6765
Westminster	Hyde Park	5162
Westminster	Knightsbridge and Belgravia	6330
Westminster	Lancaster Gate	5741

Westminster	Marylebone	7131
Westminster	Pimlico North	7135
Westminster	Pimlico South	7076
Westminster	St James's	6318
Westminster	Vincent Square	7042
Westminster	West End	6513
	TOTAL	71517

2. Holborn & Islington South

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Camden	Bloomsbury	6981
Camden	Holborn and Covent Garden	7910
Camden	King's Cross	8514
Camden	St Pancras and Somers Town	7181
Islington	Barnsbury	8330
Islington	Bunhill	7002
Islington	Caledonian	6835
Islington	Clerkenwell	7518
Islington	St Mary's and St James'	7840
Islington	St Peter's and Canalside	6991
	TOTAL	75102

3. Dalston & Islington

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Hackney	Dalston	6460
Islington	Arsenal	8808
Islington	Canonbury	8834
Islington	Finsbury Park	8690
Islington	Highbury	9851
Islington	Holloway	7916
Islington	Laycock	8190
Islington	Mildmay	9556
Islington	Tufnell Park	8506
	TOTAL	76811

4. Camden North & Islington North

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Camden	Highgate	7382
Camden	Belsize	5855
Camden	Camden Square	7991
Camden	Gospel Oak	8313
Camden	Hampstead Town	5932
Camden	Kentish Town North	5853
Camden	Kentish Town South	6883
Islington	Hillrise	10288
Islington	Junction	8702
Islington	Tollington	9569
	TOTAL	76768

5. Camden Town & Westminster North

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Camden	Camden Town	4872
Camden	Haverstock	8643
Camden	Primrose Hill	7691
Camden	Regent's Park	7796
Westminster	Abbey Road	7201
Westminster	Church Street	6923
Westminster	Harrow Road	6964
Westminster	Little Venice	5930
Westminster	Maida Vale	6776
Westminster	Regent's Park	6928
Westminster	Westbourne	6877
	TOTAL	76601

6. Kensington & Notting Hill

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Kensington and Chelsea	Abingdon	4547
Kensington and Chelsea	Brompton and Hans Town	4586

Kensington and Chelsea	Campden	4808
Kensington and Chelsea	Colville	5701
Kensington and Chelsea	Courtfield	4236
Kensington and Chelsea	Dalgarno	4244
Kensington and Chelsea	Earl's Court	4820
Kensington and Chelsea	Golborne	5470
Kensington and Chelsea	Holland	4776
Kensington and Chelsea	Norland	3665
Kensington and Chelsea	Notting Dale	5388
Kensington and Chelsea	Pembridge	3124
Kensington and Chelsea	Queen's Park	7874
Kensington and Chelsea	St Helen's	4069
Westminster	Queen's Gate	4040
	TOTAL	71348

7. Chelsea & Fulham

Local Authority	Ward Name	Ward Electorate
Hammersmith and Fulham	Fulham Reach	7768
Hammersmith and Fulham	Fulham Town	5030
Hammersmith and Fulham	Lillie	4161
Hammersmith and Fulham	Munster	8027
Hammersmith and Fulham	Palace and Hurlingham	7820
Hammersmith and Fulham	Parsons Green and Sandford	5027
Hammersmith and Fulham	Sands End	6657
Hammersmith and Fulham	Walham Green	4869
Hammersmith and Fulham	West Kensington	5990
Kensington and Chelsea	Chelsea Riverside	5365
Kensington and Chelsea	Redcliffe	4840
Kensington and Chelsea	Royal Hospital	5545
Kensington and Chelsea	Stanley	5382
	TOTAL	76481