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EIGHTH AND NINTH
ANNUAL REPORTS
OF THE
REGISTRAR-GENERAL.

42(R7)

EIGHTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

REGISTRAR-GENERAL



BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES,

IN ENGLAND.



LONDON:
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1849.

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ERRATA.

Page 330, in formula (35) the small 1 has in some copies fallen out of d_{x+n-1} .

,, 331, line 5 from bottom, for π_x , read σ_x .

REPORT.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR GEORGE GREY, BART., M.P.
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

General Register Office, March 25, 1847.

SIR,

In conformity with the sixth section of the Registration Act, 6 and 7 Wm. IV. cap. 86, I have the honour to submit to you a general abstract of the Marriages, Births, and Deaths registered in England during the year 1845.

These abstracts have been made for the Years 1838-45; and the aggregate corrected annual returns are in the annexed table (a).

143743 marriages, 543521 births, and 349366 deaths were registered in 1845. The names of 1180373 persons and the circumstances connected with them, prescribed by the Schedules of the Act were recorded.

The marriages exceeded the number registered in any previous year; they exceeded the marriages in 1844 by 11494, the marriages in 1842 by 24918.

The births registered rose progressively from 463787 in 1838 to 543521; which I ascribe in a great measure to the increased efficiency of the Registrars.

The deaths are less by 7567 than the deaths registered in the year preceding; and the excess of births registered over deaths, namely 194155, was greater than in any previous year.

The population of England returned by the Census Commissioners in 1841 was 15912773; and assuming that the numbers increased at the rate of 1.335 per cent. annually* (the rate at which the female population increased from 1831 to 1841) the proportion of the marriages, births, and deaths to the population is given in the subsequent table (b).

By taking the mean of the rates of birth and death in the seven consecutive years, and in both sexes, the results admit of comparison, in districts and counties where the sexes are in different proportions, and increase at different rates. On an average to 100 persons living (50 males and 50 females) 1.570 were married, 3.218 children were born

(a)

YEARS	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Marriages	118067	123166	122665	122496	118825	123818	132249	143743
Persons Married	236134	246332	245330	244992	237650	247636	264498	287486
Births	463787	492574	502303	512158	517739	527325	540763	543521
Deaths	342760	338984	359687	343847	349519	346445	356933	349366
Excess of Births Registered over Deaths	121027	153590	142616	168311	168220	180880	183830	194155

* See the previous Reports, 6, 7. This is the annual rate of increase deduced from the females enumerated in 1831 and 1841, on the assumption that the interval between the two censuses was exactly 10 years.

alive, and 2·175 died annually; or about 1 in 64 persons married, 1 in 46 died. To 31 living there was 1 annual birth. The marriages fluctuated from 1·473 in 1842, to 1·713 in 1845, the births from 3·177 to 3·264, the deaths from 2·082 in 1845, to 2·290 in 1840. The marriages fluctuated most, the births least: a great part in fact of the range in the rate of birth was only apparent, and arose from the imperfection in the registration of the first year.

It is evident that there is a connection between the rates of marriage, birth and death, in a country. If the population, kept up by births only, were stationary, the births instead of being 3218 to 100000 persons living, would be equal to the deaths, and if all married once the same number would express the proportion married. There would be *one* married, *one* born, *one* dead annually to every 46 living; and 46 years would be the mean duration of life.

But the births now exceed the deaths in the proportion of 3 to 2; and as marriage only takes place between adults, the proportion of persons married to the living, is necessarily less than the proportion dying; and still less than the proportion born, although 10·6 per cent. of the persons married in 1845 had been married more than once.

There were only about 1404 persons married annually for the first time to 100000 living 1839-45; but assuming that they were born on an average 25 years before marriage, the proportion is 2003 to 100000 living of that day: add 283 for births not registered to the 3218 above given, and the children born are to those of them who marry nearly as 3501 to 2003, or as 100000 to 57212. I do not give this as a correct result, but as an example of the various considerations to be taken into account in increasing populations. The simple comparisons applicable to stationary populations have to give place to complicated formulas. In the 4 years 1842-5 there were registered 518635 marriages, 1402263 deaths, 2129348 births; or to 10 persons married 13·519 deaths, 20·529 births, and nearly 41 births and 27 deaths to 10 marriages. The deaths were to

(b)

YEARS.	To 100000 Persons Living, (50000 Males, 50000 Females.)			Excess in the Rate of Birth over the Rate of Death.
	Persons Married.	Births.	Deaths.	
1838	—	—	2240	—
1839	1589	3177	2188	989
1840	1562	3197	2290	907
1841	1539	3217	2161	1056
1842	1473	3209	2167	1042
1843	1515	3226	2120	1106
1844	1597	3264	2155	1109
1845	1713	3238	2082	1156
Mean	1570	3218	2175	1052
Of the Persons living nearly one in				
Mean	64	31	46	95
One in				
Highest Year	(1845) 58·38	(1844) 30·64	(1840) 43·67	(1845) 86·51
Lowest Year	(1842) 67·89	(1839) 31·48	(1845) 48·03	(1840) 110·25

the births as 10 to 15·185; or nearly as 2 to 3. If we add ·232 per cent. to the births in the 4 years for those that may have escaped registration; and deduct 7 per cent. for those born out of wedlock, the number of legitimate children born is 2122356. The marriages 8 years before, in the 4 years 1834-7 were 476705, which may perhaps be taken to represent the number of marriages, of which 2122356 births are the issue. On this assumption there would be nearly 4·45 children to a marriage on an average, and correcting for second marriages 5 children *born in wedlock* to every man and woman married.

Since registration commenced in July, 1837, the marriages of 2127016, the births of 4264286, the deaths of 2936242 persons have been registered.

The number of names recorded in the 8½ years is more than nine millions, or 9327544.

The next Table (c) shows the number of marriages, births, and deaths, registered in each quarter of 8 years. The marriages, it will be observed, are in general least numerous in winter, and most numerous after harvest in the December quarters; the births and deaths, on the contrary, are

(c)

Years.	Quarter ending the last Day of	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Excess of Births Registered over Deaths.
1837	March	—	—	—	—
	June	—	—	—	—
	September	24030	74588	—	—
	December	34449	89528	148701	15415
1838	March	23201	113815	98152	15663
	June	29801	121781	90577	30904
	September	27764	114734	72877	41857
	December	37301	113457	80854	32603
1839	March	24679	123543	89740	33803
	June	31339	128806	87969	40837
	September	29887	120115	76280	43835
	December	37261	120110	84995	35115
1840	March	26395	132305	98896	33409
	June	30786	129059	90339	38720
	September	29221	119822	80822	39000
	December	36263	121117	89630	31487
1841	March	24447	133720	99069	34651
	June	32551	129684	86134	43750
	September	29397	123868	75440	48428
	December	36101	124686	83204	41482
1842	March	25860	135615	96314	39301
	June	30048	134096	86538	47558
	September	27288	125296	82339	40957
	December	35629	124732	84328	40404
1843	March	25285	136837	94926	41911
	June	31113	131279	87234	44045
	September	28847	128161	76792	51369
	December	38573	131048	87493	43555
1844	March	26387	143578	101024	42554
	June	34268	136941	85337	51604
	September	31675	130078	79708	50370
	December	39919	130166	90864	39302
1845	March	29551	143080	104664	38416
	June	35300	136853	89149	47704
	September	35003	132369	74872	57497
	December	43889	131219	80681	50538
8 Years 1838-45		1005029	4100170	2787541	1312629
Two last quarters of 1837		58479	164116	148701	15415
8½ Years 1837½-45		1063508	4264286	2936242	1328044
Persons Married		2127016	—	—	—

most numerous in the winter quarters ending March, and least numerous in the summer quarters ending September.

Marriages.—(Table *d.*) The proportion of persons married to the population decreased gradually from the year 1839 to 1842; from 1842 there was a rise through 1843 and 1844 to 1845, when the proportion of persons married was greater than has been observed in this country for many years. The increase from 1472 to 1713 persons married in 100000 is a rise of 16.4 per cent. on the first number; or of one-sixth part, the numbers being to each other in such proportion that in the same population for 6 persons married in 1842, 7 were married in 1845. On comparing the years 1842 and 1845 in the annexed table, it will be seen that the increase in the proportion of marriages in London from 1863 to 2145 was near that of the kingdom (15 per cent.); that the increase was greatest in the North Western division (Lancashire, Cheshire) (33 per cent.) and in Yorkshire; greater than that of England in the Western and Northern divisions; rather less in the North Midland counties, considerably less in Wales (1356 to 1470); slight in the South Western division (1418 to 1504), South Eastern division (1365 to 1484), and Eastern (1372 to 1486). In the South Midland division, the proportion of persons married to 100000 living in each of the four years was 1358, 1349, 1392, and 1393.

The relative tendency to marriage in different communities at different times is correctly expressed by the proportion which the persons married in a given time (say a year) bear to the single persons living at a marriageable age, during the same time.

In the Sixth Report, I have shown that the female population of the country was 8144086 in the middle of the year 1841; and that between the ages of 15 and 45 there were 3811654 women living, of whom it was estimated that about 1733576 were married, and 2078078 single.*

The average annual number of marriages was 123041 in the 7 years

(*d.*)—Marriages to 100000 Persons living in the Seven Years, 1839-45; and persons married annually to 100000 living; 50000 of each Sex.

No.	DIVISIONS.	Annual Marriages to 100000 Persons living, 50000 Males and 50000 Females. ¹	Persons living, (equal numbers of Males and Females) to one Annual Marriage.	Men and Women annually Married, to 50000 Males and 50000 Females, living.						
				Mean of 1839-45.						
				1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
1	London	983	102	2011	1994	1935	1863	1896	2013	2145
8	North Western	883	113	1744	1684	1685	1544	1756	1889	2058
9	Yorkshire	818	122	1691	1641	1559	1470	1536	1728	1817
	ENGLAND	785	127	1589	1561	1539	1472	1515	1597	1713
6	Western	785	127	1659	1567	1543	1450	1473	1556	1744
7	North Midland	742	135	1507	1480	1486	1382	1445	1507	1581
10	Northern	723	138	1485	1588	1449	1351	1296	1355	1596
5	South Western	713	140	1404	1399	1409	1418	1411	1434	1504
11	Welsh	705	142	1510	1474	1386	1356	1300	1373	1470
4	Eastern	703	142	1389	1391	1396	1372	1381	1424	1486
3	South Midland	697	143	1452	1386	1422	1358	1349	1392	1393
2	South Eastern	692	145	1313	1332	1363	1365	1387	1386	1484

* 6th Report, page xxxiv. The population (3811654) in the middle of the year 1841, is derived from the population enumerated, June 6-7, and the rate of increase, 1831-41; it therefore differs slightly from the more correct estimate in the following page.

1838-44; about 1 in 17 unmarried women, between the ages 15 and 45, was therefore married annually throughout the kingdom. But the proportion, in the population, of women at the age 15-45, and of women married and single at that age, will necessarily differ in different parts of the country. The common comparison of the marriages to the population, or that which I think preferable, of the persons married to the population, gives an approximation to the results sought, but must always be used with some qualification. (*e.*)

(*e.*)—Table of the Proportion of Women Married, to Women living, between the Ages 15-45.

No.		Females living in 1841 at the Ages 15-45.*	Marriages in the 7 Years 1839-1845 or the Number of Women Married.	Average Number of Women Married Annually.	Women Married Annually to 100 Women living at the Age 15 and under 45.	Women Married Annually to 100 Females living of all Ages.
	ENGLAND.	3812651	886962	126709	3.277	1.535
	DIVISIONS.					
1	London	543481	133551	19099	3.454	1.843
2	South Eastern	343849	73703	10529	3.025	1.373
3	South Midland	263192	56759	8108	3.047	1.375
4	Eastern	234732	51582	7369	3.116	1.377
5	South Western	403353	87591	12513	3.073	1.372
6	Western	443092	106156	15165	3.372	1.548
7	North Midland	253541	58468	8353	3.252	1.470
8	North Western	132991	527517	18999	3.523	1.733
9	York	358403	90319	12903	3.544	1.622
	COUNTIES.					
	2. SOUTH EASTERN COUNTIES.					
1	Surrey (part of)	42222	6709	958	2.235	1.010
2	Kent (except Greenwich)	108015	24067	3438	3.145	1.434
3	Sussex	69107	14536	2077	2.972	1.338
4	Hampshire	82067	19506	2787	3.358	1.542
5	Berkshire	42438	8885	1269	2.957	1.314
	3. SOUTH MIDLAND COUNTIES.					
6	Middlesex (part of)	36026	4964	709	1.940	.914
7	Hertfordshire	36850	6876	982	2.636	1.182
8	Buckinghamshire	31755	6639	948	2.966	1.315
9	Oxfordshire	35863	8099	1157	3.202	1.418
10	Northamptonshire	44749	11077	1582	3.500	1.580
11	Huntingdonshire	12385	3084	441	3.525	1.558
12	Bedfordshire	26769	6419	917	3.379	1.558
13	Cambridgeshire	38795	9601	1372	3.483	1.561
	4. EASTERN COUNTIES.					
14	Essex	70734	14784	2112	2.959	1.304
15	Suffolk	70524	16223	2318	3.263	1.431
16	Norfolk	93474	20575	2939	3.123	1.391
	5. SOUTH WESTERN COUNTIES.					
17	Wiltshire	53448	11154	1593	2.961	1.291
18	Dorsetshire	38815	8092	1156	2.946	1.304
19	Devonshire	127955	29677	4240	3.285	1.487
20	Cornwall	77481	16856	2408	3.064	1.337
21	Somersetshire	105654	21812	3116	2.925	1.326
	6. WESTERN COUNTIES.					
22	Gloucestershire	99263	23914	3416	3.400	1.629
23	Herefordshire	21048	4480	640	3.032	1.297
24	Shropshire	53490	11037	1577	2.927	1.293
25	Worcestershire	76749	19970	2853	3.680	1.664
26	Staffordshire	98214	25952	3707	3.690	1.659
27	Warwickshire	94290	20803	2972	3.090	1.462
	7. NORTH MIDLAND COUNTIES.					
28	Leicestershire	51076	11866	1695	3.282	1.493
29	Rutlandshire	4861	1034	148	3.015	1.270
30	Lincolnshire	79353	18749	2678	3.328	1.486
31	Nottinghamshire	63115	14368	2053	3.215	1.467
32	Derbyshire	55137	12451	1779	3.181	1.449
	8. NORTH WESTERN COUNTIES.					
33	Cheshire	89504	17537	2505	2.748	1.299
34	Lancashire	438013	115454	16493	3.679	1.826
	9. YORK.					
35	West Riding	263575	65254	9322	3.474	1.619
36	East Riding (with York)	53620	15674	2239	4.122	1.793
37	North Riding	41208	9391	1342	3.236	1.411

* The Female Population of England at Ages 15-45 is from the Tables of Mortality in a subsequent page. The Population enumerated on June 6-7th, 1841, was multiplied in all other cases by 1.07. The values of r in the several divisions are given in another part of the Report.

The fluctuation in the marriages of a country expresses the views which the great body of the people take of their prospects in the world. And judged by this test they were never more sanguine than in the years 1844 and 1845. The annual average price of wheat fell from 71 shillings a quarter in 1839 to 66s., 64s., 57s., through the three subsequent years, and remained steadily at 50s. and 51s. through 1843, 1844, 1845. The 3 per cent. Consols rose from 89 in 1841, to 94 in 1842, to 96 in 1843, and to 100 in 1844, when the three and a-half per cents. were reduced. In 1842, 3, 4, 5, the great changes in the Tariff were effected. Commerce revived from the languor under which it suffered in 1842; enterprise awoke; money was called for, and labour was set in motion on all sides with the real and imaginary capital current. Great numbers of persons were engaged on the railways, a new field of labour on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that 6 million *l.* were expended in 1844, and 14 million *l.* in 1845. Under these circumstances 50000 more persons married in 1845 than in 1842. Few examples occur of such an increase in the marriages in England since the year 1754, as is seen in the Table I. (page 8), which shows the number of persons married or double the number of marriages returned every year since 1756.

The Tables II., III., IV., V., VI., and VII., (see the series of Tables pp. 48 to 61) show the marriages in the several divisions and counties, and in some of the principal towns of the kingdom from the year 1754, when the Marriage Act (24 Geo. II., cap. 33,) came into operation down to 1845.* The facts for the first 77 years were collected by

* Smollett gives the following account of the Marriage Act which passed in 1753:—"Another Bill transmitted from the Upper House, met with a reception equally unfavourable among the Commons, though it was sustained on the shoulders of the majority, and thus forced its way to the throne, where it obtained the royal approbation. The practice of solemnizing clandestine marriages, so prejudicial to the peace of families, and so often productive of misery to the parties themselves thus united, was an evil that prevailed to such a degree as claimed the attention of the legislature. The sons and daughters of great and opulent families, before they had acquired knowledge and experience, or attained to the years of discretion, were every day seduced in their affections, and inveigled into matches big with infamy and ruin; and these were greatly facilitated by the opportunities that occurred of being united instantaneously by the ceremony of marriage, in the first transport of passion, before the destined victim had time to cool or deliberate on the subject. For this pernicious purpose, there was a band of profligate miscreants, the refuse of the clergy, dead to every sentiment of virtue, abandoned to all sense of decency and decorum, for the most part prisoners for debt or delinquency, and indeed the very outcasts of human society, who hovered about the verge of the Fleet Prison to intercept customers, plying like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage without license or question, in cellars, garrets, or ale-houses, to the scandal of religion, and the disgrace of that order which they professed. The ease with which this ecclesiastical sanction was obtained, and the vicious disposition of those wretches open to the practices of fraud and corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, prostitution, and every curse that could embitter the married state. A remarkable case of this nature having fallen under the cognizance of the Peers, in an appeal from an inferior tribunal, that House ordered the judges to prepare a new Bill for preventing such abuses; and one was accordingly framed, under the auspices of Lord Hardwick, at that time Lord High Chancellor of England. In order to anticipate the bad effects of clandestine marriages, this new statute enacted, 'That the banns should be regularly published, three successive Sundays, in the church of the parish where the parties dwell; that no license should be granted to marry in any place

Mr. Rickman, and published in the Parish Register Abstracts of 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831. It will be seen in Table II. (pp. 48-9), that the returns for the several counties down to 1800 are not perfect: the publication of 1801 like the census of that year was disfigured by a few arithmetical errors, and Mr. Rickman had not succeeded in procuring returns from every parish. He subsequently gave a corrected list of the marriages every year in the whole kingdom, but did not correct the returns of the counties. Such of the arithmetical errors as can be corrected are here rectified, and the list is available for the purposes of comparison. Where parishes are left out, as at Hull, (Table IV.) the

where one of the parties has not dwelt at least a month, except a special license by the archbishop: that if any marriage should be solemnized in any other place than a church or a chapel, without a special license, or in a public chapel, without having published the banns, or obtained a license of some person properly qualified, the marriage should be void, and the person who solemnized it transported for seven years; that marriages, by license, of parties under age without consent of parent or guardian, should be null and void, unless the party under age be a widow, and the parent refusing consent, a widow married again: that when the consent of a mother or guardian is refused from caprice, or such parent or guardian be *non compos mentis*, or beyond sea, the minor should have recourse for relief to the Court of Chancery: that no suit should be commenced to compel a celebration of marriage, under pretence of any contract: that all marriages should be solemnized before two witnesses, and an entry be made in a book kept for that purpose, whether it was by banns or license, whether either of the parties were under age, or the marriage celebrated with the consent of parent or guardian, and this entry to be signed by the minister, the parties, and the witnesses: that a false license or certificate, or destroying register-books, should be deemed felony, either in principal or accessory, and punished with death.' The Bill, when first considered in the Lower House, gave rise to a variety of debates, in which the members appeared to be divided, rather according to their real sentiments, than by the rules of any political distinction, for some principal servants of the government freely differed in opinion from the minister, [Mr. Pelham,] who countenanced the Bill; while, on the other hand, he was, on this occasion, supported by certain chiefs of the opposition, and the disputes were maintained with extraordinary eagerness and warmth. The principal objections imported, that such restrictions on marriage would damp the spirit of love and propagation; promote mercenary matches, to the ruin of domestic happiness, as well as to the prejudice of posterity and population; impede the circulation of property by preserving the wealth of the kingdom among a kind of aristocracy of opulent families, who would always intermarry within their own pale; subject the poor to many inconveniences and extraordinary expense, from the nature of the forms to be observed, and throw an additional power into the hands of the Chancellor. They affirmed that no human power had a right to dissolve a vow solemnly made in the sight of heaven; and that, in proportion as the Bill prevented clandestine marriages, it would encourage fornication and debauchery, insomuch as the parties restrained from indulging their mutual passions in an honourable manner, would be tempted to gratify them by stealth, at the hazard of their reputation. In a word, they foresaw a great number of evils in the train of this Bill, which have not yet been realized. On the other side, its advocates endeavoured to refute these arguments, and some of them spoke with great strength and precision. The Bill underwent a great number of alterations and amendments, which were not effected without violent contest and altercation; at length, however, it was floated through both houses on the tide of a great majority, and steered into the safe harbour of royal approbation: certain it is, the abuse of clandestine marriage might have been removed upon much easier terms than those imposed upon the subject by this Bill, which after all hath been found ineffectual, as it may be easily eluded by a short voyage to the Continent, or a moderate journey to North Britain, where the indissoluble knot may be tied without scruple or interruption."—*Hist. England*, book 3, sec. 26, chap. 2. See also the report of the animated and protracted debates on the Clandestine Marriage Bill, in the Parliamentary History, vol. xv.

omission runs through the whole series from 1754 to 1800. Mr. Rickman's judicious labour in collecting the returns was successful, and the result is of inestimable value. I am not aware that any other country possesses such a contribution to statistics as this, for which we are indebted to him, and to the Clergy of the Established Church. Little use has hitherto been made of the documents which I have given in a digested form, with a view to examine rapidly some of the circumstances in the history and progress of the country, connected with the fluctuations in the marriages. It will be evident in the course of the inquiry that the variations in the numbers indicate very accurately the prosperity and adversity, or what appears to the people at the time to be the prosperity and adversity of England.

TABLE I.—Number of Persons Married, Registered in each Year, from 1756 to 1845.

Yrs.	Persons Married.										
1756	101944	1771	121224	1786	137984	1801	134576	1816	183892	1831	224588
1757	96900	1772	120674	1787	132896	1802	180792	1817	176468	1832	233208
1758	101344	1773	119338	1788	140064	1803	188738	1818	183598	1833	240254
1759	111074	1774	121024	1789	141392	1804	171476	1819	191142	1834	243768
1760	115696	1775	124946	1790	141296	1805	159172	1820	193666	1835	239196
1761	116202	1776	130924	1791	145180	1806	161508	1821	201736	1836	241698
1762	113086	1777	130040	1792	149838	1807	167846	1822	197756	1837	228748
1763	124466	1778	125454	1793	145760	1808	164496	1823	203896	1838	226134
1764	126620	1779	127342	1794	143594	1809	166738	1824	209446	1839	246332
1765	118454	1780	128618	1795	137678	1810	168940	1825	220806	1840	245330
1766	114086	1781	127536	1796	146214	1811	172778	1826	209882	1841	244992
1767	110648	1782	126142	1797	149994	1812	164132	1827	214260	1842	237650
1768	116662	1783	132874	1798	158954	1813	167720	1828	222348	1843	247636
1769	122850	1784	137370	1799	153114	1814	183698	1829	208632	1844	264498
1770	123386	1785	143018	1800	139702	1815	199888	1830	215438	1845	287486

The marriages increased at fluctuating rates during the whole period; and while 96600 persons were married in 1757, the number married in 1845 was 287486. These numbers are to each other as 1 to 3, and are the lowest and highest in the series of 90 years. The average number of persons married annually in the 10 years 1756-65, was 112549; in the 10 years 1837-46, the average was 248050: the latter, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the former, are more than double the number of their ancestors.

The numbers married rose from 96600 in 1757, to 115696 in 1760, 116202 in 1761, fell to 113086 in 1762, and rose again to 124466, and 126620 in the two years 1763 and 1764. The advance of 19602 in the four years from 1757 to 1761, the year after the accession of George III., is 20 per cent., and nearly the same in proportion as in 1842-5. It was a period of war with France, but it was the war conducted for some time after 1757 by Chatham, which commenced with the humiliating convention of Closterseven (1757), the threat of a French invasion, the disgrace of Byng, and after the conquest of Canada and Pondicherry—of French America and India—terminated in the peace of Paris 1763.

1757 was a year of scarcity and distress; wheat, which was 28s. a quarter in 1755, rose to 38s. in 1756, 50s. in 1757; prices gradually declined to 42s. 33s. 31s. and 25s.; abundance reigned in the 4 years ending in 1761.* The prices rose only to 33s., 34s., 39s. in the three

* The Returns of the Eton Market are used until the Return of the Corn Receiver commenced. The average price of wheat per imperial quarter, deduced from the Eton books corrected, was 40s. 7d. in the 17th, and 40s. 6d. in the 18th century. See paper on the Influence of Scarcity, (Stat. Journal, June, 1846, p. 163).

years ending with 1764. The funds declined and the national debt and expenditure increased during the war; but the increase in the supply of food and the energy with which the nation was inspired under the administration of Lord Chatham, promoted enterprise, and filled the people with hope, and anticipations of prosperity; expressed numerically by the rapid increase of the number of marriages. This period is the starting point from which the more rapid rate of increase of population commenced, that has prevailed down to the present day, amidst all the changes which have occurred.

The increase of the marriages in London during the period was most remarkable: 5823 marriages took place in 1757; 7205 in 1760; and 9367 in 1763. The marriages in Portsmouth increased rapidly; in Plymouth the marriages during the whole war were numerous. In Bristol and Liverpool the increase was less considerable. The marriages at Bath increased after the war. The marriages in the 3 years 1757, 1760 and 1763, were, in Birmingham 192, 259, and 283; in Manchester 284, 380, and 363; in Leeds 247, 230, and 260; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 235, 207, and 270; York City 122, 151, and 155. The Marriages increased in all the groups of counties which are here called divisions. (Table II. pp. 48-9.) In the 3 years 1757, 1760, 1763, the marriages in Kent, Sussex, Hants, Berks, were 4198, 5063, 5348; in the South Midland and the Eastern Divisions the increase was rather less; in the South Western and the Western it was more. In Wales, in Leicestershire, and all the counties lying north, there was an increase, but on the whole it was less than in the southern parts of the island. In the north, however, the increase went on through 1764.

The next remarkable fluctuation in the number of marriages was in the six years 1782-1787, when the numbers of persons married were 126142, 132874, 137870, 143018, 137984, 152896. The difference between the first and last number is 26754. Wheat which had risen to 54s. a quarter (imperial measure) in 1783, fell to 40s. in 1786, and 42s. in 1787.* England was at war with America, France, and Holland; the disastrous surrender of the British troops at York Town happened at the close of the year 1781. The 3 per cents. were down at 58. In 1783 the coalition ministry of North and Fox was formed and dissolved. Peace was concluded, and the independence of America acknowledged. Mr. Pitt began his career of prime minister. In 1786 Mr. Pitt brought forward his celebrated plan for the extinction of the national debt of 268 millions, not in the old-fashioned way of gradually paying it off out of a surplus revenue, but by a sinking fund accumulating at compound interest! The glittering delusion in which the sound proposal to pay off the debt was dressed up excited rather than damped the public enthusiasm. On February 12th, 1787, Mr. Pitt introduced his commercial treaty with France. She procured, he said, a market of 8 millions of people† for her wines and luxuries; we a market

* Corn Receiver's Returns. The imperial measure is used throughout.

† Pitt's Speeches, vol. i. p. 252. Mr. Pitt refers to the population of Great Britain, which at the time he spoke was about 9 millions. See the treaty in Pitt's Life by Gifford, vol. i., App. B. The population enumerated in 1801, including a due proportion of the army and seamen, was 10857000. The population of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801 was about 16 millions. The population of France enumerated 1800-1 was 27349003. It was estimated at 24800000 in 1784. Statistique de la France, Population, p. 154-163.

of 24 millions for our manufactures. Manufactures and commerce flourished. The value of cargoes of merchandize exported from England was 10579187*l.* in 1781; 15754980*l.* in 1787.* The funds rose to 74 in 1786, and remained on an average the same through 1787.

The numbers of persons married in the three years 1788, 89, 90, were 140064, 141392, and 141296; they rose to 145180 in 1791, to 149838 in 1792. In the last three years 1790, 1, 2, the price of wheat had fallen from 55*s.* a quarter to 43*s.*; the 3 per cents. had risen from 77 to 90. The capital of the country had been rapidly accumulating; the interest of money in the funds ($3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) and in ordinary investments was low; when attention was directed to the great profits realized in canals. New canals were projected and shares were issued; large sums were subscribed; and the whole country was soon in a ferment of speculation. It was like that in railways, a speculation that set labourers to work, and, as has been seen, was attended by an increase of marriages. Reaction took place. The funds fell to 76. And 1304 bankrupts were declared in 1793, instead of the average of 500 to 600.† A Committee was appointed (April, 1793) to inquire into the causes of mercantile embarrassment, and Mr. Pitt moved for an issue of 5 million pounds sterling of Exchequer Bills, to be advanced under certain conditions to those who required assistance. France declared war against Great Britain on the 1st of February, 1793.

After 1764 the marriages in Middlesex and Surrey—the metropolitan counties—never in any year except 1776 exceeded 8800, until 1783, when the annual number reached 9494, and increased slowly to 9881 in 1787, to 11270 in 1792. At Plymouth and Portsmouth there was an increase of marriages in 1783, when sailors and soldiers were discharged in great numbers. In Bristol there was an increase of 100 marriages in 1784, and again in 1791 and 1792. The marriages at Birmingham were 423 in 1782; 520, 591, 558, 589, and 623 in the five years 1783-7; in 1788 and 1789, the numbers were 782 and 903; in 1790-2 only 649, 705, 606. The "Church and King" riots broke out on July 14th, 1791, in Birmingham; and the mob burnt Dr. Priestley's library, several houses and some dissenting chapels; in May, 1792, they assailed the brothels of the town, but the magistrates this time evinced some vigour and put a stop to the outrages. A staple manufacture of Birmingham had been subject to one of the mutations of fashion, which caused great distress; for it is recorded that on December 21st, 1791, "several respectable buckle-manufacturers from Birmingham, Walsall, and Wolverhampton, waited upon His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with a petition setting forth the distressed situation of thousands in the different branches of the buckle manufacture, from the fashion now and for some time back, so prevalent, of wearing shoe-strings instead of buckles. His Royal Highness graciously promised his utmost assistance by his example and influence."‡ After the recovery of George III. from his first illness in 1789, an immense number of buckles were manufactured about Birmingham;§ Walsall among other places invested the

* Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland, by G. Chalmers, p. 315.

† Chalmers' History of Economy of Great Britain, p. 223.

‡ Ann. Register, vol. xxxiii, p. 54.

§ A new metal for buckles was introduced in 1778, which was easily worked;

greater part of its available wealth in the speculation. The King unfortunately went in the state procession to St. Paul's without buckles; and Walsall was nearly ruined. Shoe-strings gradually supplied the place of straps. The effect of this freak of fashion and speculation on the marriages of Birmingham has been seen; and it had probably more to do with the licentious Birmingham riots, than the more patent political agitation of the day. The disuse of wigs, buckles, buttons, and leather breeches at the close of the eighteenth century, is supposed to have affected the business of a million of people. In 1765, the peace of London had been disturbed by the periwig-makers, who went in procession to petition the young King, "submitting to His Majesty's goodness and wisdom, whether his own example was not the only means of rescuing them from their distress, as far as it was occasioned by so many people wearing their own hair."* During the present period, Manchester flourished by the progress of its useful manufactures. The marriages which were only 495 in 1781, rose to 567, 682, 848, and 893, in the four following years; they did not increase very much from 1785 to 1789; in 1790, 1791, and 1792, the marriages ran up to 1122, 1301, and 1657. This was partly the result of speculation, and the numbers fell the year following to 1235. The progress in Liverpool was much slower; in Leeds, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Hull, and York, there was little progress. In what are now known as the manufacturing districts—namely, in the North Midland Division, in Cheshire and Lancashire, the marriages increased generally; it was an indication that for some time they would outstrip the rest of the country. In the South Western Division the marriages increased from 7646 in 1782, to 8503 in 1785, and then decreased to 7698 in 1792.

The marriages in England decreased from 1792 to 1795. The price of provisions rose until 1795, which was a year of great distress and scarcity. The winter of 1795 was excessively severe; and wheat was 75*s.* a quarter. The funds were 66. The number of persons married in 1795 was only 137678. The funds fell to 50 in 1798. The price of wheat rose, in 1796, to 79*s.* a quarter, but declined to 52*s.* in 1798, when the harvest was abundant. Manchester suffered in 1795; and at Liverpool, the marriages, which had declined, made a sudden start in 1797 and 1798. In nearly all the counties the marriages were fewer in 1795 than in 1794, and rose progressively to the year 1798. The number of persons who married in all England, rose from 137678 in 1795, to 158954 in 1798. It was one of the great fluctuations in the series of returns. The increase was 21276. Yet the period was disastrous; the war was raging, and negotiations for peace failed: the taxation, from 17858000*l.* in 1795, rose to 30203000*l.* in 1798, and 93 millions were raised by loans: the fleet mutinied, and Ireland was in open rebellion (1797-98). In August 1798, Nelson, however, fought the battle of the Nile; and the military spirit of the nation was roused by the

the "uncommon beauty" of design, and cheapness attained, extended the trade infinitely beyond its former limits, so that in 1778 there were not fewer than 4000 to 5000 hands employed on this article, at wages of 2000*l.* a week. Each buckle passed through the hands of twelve workmen.—Hutton's History of Birmingham, by Guest sixth ed. 1835, p. 177-9.

* The disturbance is thus accounted for in the Annual Register. "Several of the peruke-makers who attended on this occasion, gave such offence by their inconsistency in wearing their own hair, that they had it cut off by the mob." Vol. viii, p. 64.

threat of French invasion. In 1797, cash payments were suspended at the bank; nominal prices rose; an impulse was given to the manufactures of the country now aided by Arkwright's and other mechanical inventions. The official value of exports was 27 million *l.* in 1795, and 33 million *l.* in 1798; which is in itself a decisive proof that the employment of the working population was largely augmented. Acts of Parliament were passed for the encouragement of Friendly Societies, for preventing the removal of poor persons, (1792-3,) till they became actually chargeable, and allowing occasional relief to the poor in their *own houses*. Mr. Whitbread attempted, in 1796, to bring in a Bill fixing a minimum of wages. Mr. Pitt warned him against the results of his plan, but admitted that the condition of the poor "was cruel, and such as could not be wished "on any principle of humanity or policy." He went on to say, "What measures then can be found to supply the defect? Let us make relief (by the parish) in cases where there are a number of children a matter "of right and an honour, instead of a ground for opprobrium and contempt. This will make a large family a blessing and not a curse; "and this will draw a proper line of distinction between those who are able "to provide for themselves by their labour, and those who after having "enriched their country with a number of children have a claim upon "its assistance for their support."*

The marriages as we have seen rose from 68839 in 1795, to 79477 in 1798; and the baptisms ascended in due order from 247218 to 262337; so that the minister's words did not fall on a barren soil. The average sum expended annually for the relief of the poor was 2 million *l.* in 1783-5,† and 4 million *l.* in 1801; the rise took place in the intermediate period.

The expressions of the First Minister of the Crown, the extension of relief to the poor, the war which, while it took away a large number of the working classes, enhanced the price of labour then in demand in all branches of business, and the vast expenditure of capital, convinced large numbers of the people that their position in life was improved; and countervailed many circumstances in the country manifestly unfavourable.

The marriages began to decline in 1799; 155114 persons were married in that year, 139702 in 1800, and only 134576 in 1801. A sudden rise took place in 1802, when 180792 persons were married; and in the year following 188758 persons were married. The difference between the numbers married in 1801 and in 1803 is 54182. It is a fluctuation of 40 per cent.; and the greatest on record. In the metropolitan counties, the marriages were 11135 in 1799; 10523 in 1800; 10706 in 1801; 13862 in 1802; and 13507 in 1803. In 1801, 1802, 1803, the marriages in Birmingham were 683, 1177, 1115; in Manchester 1242, 2121, and 2336; in Liverpool 1202, 1516, 1312; in Leeds 465, 640, 673; in Newcastle 259, 378, 405; in York 186, 255, 253. The depression in 1801 and the rise in 1803 pervaded in different degrees all the counties. In the agricultural counties of the South Midland division, the marriages were 4406 in 1801, and 5949 in 1803. In Lancashire and Cheshire the marriages were 7532 in 1801, 11564 in 1802, and 11896 in 1803. The winter of 1798-9 set in early and was extremely

* Pitt's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 134.

† McCulloch's Stat. British Empire, 1st ed., vol. ii., p. 655.

rigorous; vegetation had no vigour, and the spring was unkindly; summer was cold, autumn wet; all the crops were injured, and some were destroyed. Lord Hawkesbury estimated the deficiency of the wheat crop at one-third of the usual produce. Half the crop of the next year (1800) was secured before August 19th, when heavy rains, and warm close weather set in which made the wheat sprout. A Committee of the House of Commons on the high price of provisions estimated the deficiency of the wheat crop at something less than one-fourth of the usual produce. The scarcity of two successive years pressed heavily on the poor. The seasons and crops of 1801, 1802, and 1803 were good; large quantities of wheat, encouraged by a bounty, were imported, and the average prices of wheat fell from 114s. in 1800, and 122s. in 1801, to 70s. in 1802 and 58s. in 1803. The monthly average prices of wheat rose gradually from 52s. the imperial quarter in March 1799, to 159s. in March 1801, and declined to 58s. in March 1803, to 52s. in March 1804. The number of bushels of malt made in the four consecutive years 1800, 1, 2, 3, was 14, 18, 29, and 30 millions. The funds rose from 50 in 1798, to 58 in 1799, 63 in 1800, 61 in 1801, 70 in 1802; and fell to 59 in 1803. The manufactures of the country increased rapidly during the period; 26 million pounds of cotton wool were imported annually in 1793-8; and 54 million pounds annually in 1799-1803. In the same periods the importation of wool rose from 3631000 lbs. to 6985000 lbs. annually.

The tonnage of ships cleared outwards rose from 1717325 tons in 1799, to 2027608 tons in 1803.* Wages rose after 1800. At Greenwich Hospital the average daily wages of a carpenter, bricklayer, mason, and plumber were 3s. in 1800, and 4s. 9d. in 1805.† Farm labourers' wages rose from about 8s. 11d. a-week in 1796, to 11s. 5d. in 1803. The rise of wages, however, bore no sort of proportion to the rise in the price of bread, and the other necessaries of life in 1800. Under the Bank Restriction Act, in operation since 1797, the Bank of England notes in circulation were 12 million *l.*, and the bullion in its possession 6500000 *l.*, in August 1798; the circulation was 15 million *l.*, the bullion 5 million *l.* in August 1800; the circulation was 17 million *l.*, the bullion 3891780 *l.* in 1802.‡ The number of inconvertible notes increased rapidly; the amount of gold in the Bank decreased; so that a pound of the mixed inconvertible paper and the gold currency would no longer purchase the same amount of commodities as the previous currency of the precious metal and convertible paper. The issue of paper was a ready way of borrowing money on immoveable property, and on anticipated profits; and by putting current capital in the hands of employers, with much, with little, or with no capital, facilitated every kind of speculation, which it must be admitted was carried on with energy, and was on the whole successful during the war. The poor suffered excessively in the transition year of 1801, when, according to Arthur Young, a labouring man in Bury (Suffolk) required 26s. a-week to purchase the same amount of wheat, malt, butter, cheese, and tobacco as he could procure in early life for his wages of 5s. a-week.§ After wages had been raised,

* Chalmers's History, p. 315.

† Wade, Hist. Eng., p. 1038. Porter, Official Tables, and Progress of the Nation.

‡ Appendix No. 5 of Report on Bank Charter. Tooke, vol. ii. p. 379.

§ Arthur Young; Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxxvii., p. 265, 1801. Tooke, vol. i. p. 226.

not to fall again during the war, the decline in the price of wheat in 1802 and 1803 was a sensible relief to the labouring population, and accounts to a certain extent for the excess of marriages in 1803. Political events contributed to the same results. Napoleon had won the battle of Marengo in 1800; our expeditions to Cadiz and the Ferrol failed; the Emperor Paul of Russia revived the armed neutrality of the northern powers against England; and laid an embargo on British shipping, which interfered with the supply of corn from the Baltic. Mr. Pitt's popularity was waning; there were the debt, the taxes, the failures of expeditions, the triumph of the inveterate foe over him, and—what was worse—the death. The king inflexibly refused to concede the Catholic claims, and Mr. Pitt resigned in February, 1801. Events took another turn. The French were defeated at Alexandria (March 21st); the Emperor Paul was put to death; the Danish fleet was taken by Nelson, and in October the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France were signed. The peace of Amiens was definitively ratified on March 27th, 1802. The militia of Great Britain and Ireland were discharged to the amount of 71 thousand men; the army, which it was deemed necessary in times of no danger to keep up to 24 thousand men, was retained at 100 thousand. The yeomanry and volunteer corps continued their services.* The war with France broke out again in May 1803; Buonaparte had dared to assert that "Great Britain could not singly contend against France;"† and threatened invasion from the shores of Boulogne. The sea was traversed by 500 British fighting vessels; the land was covered with soldiers, and hundreds of thousands of volunteers, militia and yeomanry. The people were full of enthusiasm, valour, and confidence in 1803; which we have seen did not stop the great increase of marriages that began in the year of the peace of Amiens.

The number of marriages varied but little from 1804, when 171476 persons were married, to 1811, when 172778 were married. The years 1812-15, were a period of great fluctuation; in the four consecutive years 164132, 167720, 185608, 199888 persons were married. The excess of the last over the first year was 35756; the proportion was 5 marriages in 1812 to 6 in 1815. The baptisms rose from 301954 to 344931. The marriages in the metropolitan counties fell to 12137 in 1813, and rose to 14416 in 1815; in Bristol there was a corresponding fluctuation. In 1815 there was an excess of marriages in Birmingham; the marriages in the following year fell back and remained nearly stationary for 7 years. In Manchester the marriages increased from 1329 in 1812 to 2164 in 1815; they fell to 1691 in 1817, rose to 2022 in 1818, and to 2517 in 1822. The fluctuation of 1812-15 was felt all over the country. The marriages in the agricultural counties of the South Eastern division were 5881 in 1812, and 6968 in 1815; they then declined and were only 6783 in 1822. In Lancashire and Cheshire the fluctuation was much greater; the marriages were 8393 in 1812, and 12062 in 1815, 9972 in 1817, and 12557 in 1822. The average price of wheat in each of the 4 years 1812-15, was 129s., 112s., 76s., 66s., a quarter. The consumption of malt in the 4 years was 18, 22, 25, 26, million bushels. The corn crop of 1811 was deficient; July and a part of

* The Secretary-at-War, R. H. C. Yorke, in debate on Army Estimates, December 8, 1802, and Canning's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 43.

† British Declaration of War, 1803. Ann. Reg. vol. xlv., p. 734.

August, 1812, were cold and wet; the harvest was unpromising. Speculation was active, and the average price of wheat in August was 157s., barley, 82s. The harvest weather proved unsettled, but not so wet, it was believed, as to injure the crops materially. There was no prospect of a foreign supply; the expenses of freight, insurance, and licences were enormous; and scarcity reigned on the Continent.* Every purchase of land after the issue of inconvertible notes had been profitable; rents were raised in proportion to the rise in the price of produce. The profits of those who had capital, and speculated in land, tempted those who had little or no capital free to enter the field, and the land-jobbers obtained depreciated paper with great facility from the banks. Tillage was extended over hitherto uncultivated lands; and additional capital was expended on soil under cultivation. The harvest of 1813 was abundant. The winter of 1813-14 is known as the severest of the present century; and the crops were somewhat injured, but the increased breadth of land, improved cultivation, the surplus of 1813, and the importation of foreign corn, brought prices down. Wages rose until 1810; they had nearly doubled since 1790. The carpenters, bricklayers, masons, and plumbers at Greenwich Hospital earned on an average 2s. 11d. a-day in 1790, and 5s. 6d. a-day in 1810.† The wages of agricultural labourers rose to something like the same extent. The inconvertible paper circulation was redundant and depreciated: in August 1812, the Bank of England had 23 million *l.* of notes in circulation and only 3 million *l.* in bullion; in 1813, the notes were 24828120*l.*, the bullion 27122270*l.*; in 1814, the notes were 28368290*l.*, the bullion 2097680*l.*; in 1815, the notes were 27248670*l.*, the bullion 3409040*l.*‡ The manufactures of the north were comparatively dull in 1812; only 63 million lbs. of cotton were imported in that year; the Nottingham riots, which began in 1811, continued in 1812; machinery was attacked in Lancashire and Cheshire; riot raged in the West of England on account of the high price of provisions. In 1812, France began the war with Russia: and on June 18th, America declared war against England, news of the revocation of the Orders in Council of January 7th, 1807, and April 26th, 1809, in consequence of the abrogation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, not having reached that country. England declared war against America in October 1812. Mr. Pitt, who had died in 1806 was succeeded by Lord Grenville, by the Duke of Portland, and by Mr. Perceval, who was assassinated in 1812, when Lord Liverpool became prime minister. In 1813, a new charter, which partially opened the trade to the East Indies, was granted to the East India Company. Spain, from which the French armies were expelled at the close of 1813, offered a field to commerce; Russia, which had receded from the continental system by the Ukase of December 31st, 1811, saw the French invading army perish before the end of 1812; the War of Liberation went on in Germany during 1813, and on March 31, 1814, the allied armies entered Paris. The Sovereigns visited the Prince Regent in June, 1814. Napoleon's reign of 100 days ended at Waterloo, and the allied army entered Paris on July 5th, 1815. Peace with the United States was concluded on December 24th, 1814. "The peace discharged from the army and navy from 400 thousand to 500

* Tooke, vol. i. p. 319-33.

† Porter's Tables and Progress of the Nation. Wade, Brit. Hist., p. 1038.

‡ Appendix to Tooke on Prices, vol. ii. p. 381-2.

thousand persons, who had formerly been consumers, but who now became competitors in the market of productive labourers."* Many of the veterans, retiring on pensions, no doubt married.

The fluctuations in the marriages subsequent to 1815 and previous to 1842, were less extensive than any of those which have been noticed. The decline, however, from the year 1815 to 1817 was considerable; 199888 persons married in 1815, 183892 in 1816, and only 176468 in 1817. From the year 1817, the marriages increased progressively. 185558 persons were married in 1818, and 191142, 193666, 201736 in the three following years (1819-21). The baptisms, which rose from 301954 in 1812, to 314432 in 1813; 318806 in 1814, and to 344931 in 1815; fell to 330199 in 1816, increased very slowly through 1817, 1818, 1819, and rose to 343660 in 1820, 355307 in 1821, and to 372571 in 1822. The corn harvest of 1816 proved deficient in quantity, and inferior in quality, both in England and on the Continent. Prices rose from 6s. a quarter in 1815, to 78s. in 1816, to 98s. in 1817.† They fell to 87s. in 1818, and to 75s., 68s., 56s. in the three years ending with 1821. Notwithstanding the corn laws of 1815 a good deal of wheat was imported in 1818, and the harvest of 1820 was one of the finest and the most productive ever known. The wheat crop of 1821 was inferior in quality but not deficient in bulk; large quantities of the old wheat of 1820 were on sale. The prosperity of the period ending 1815 proved to have been partly artificial, and partly the result of great manufacturing and mercantile speculations for the supply of the opened Continent with goods, at prices which the people of the Continent, exhausted by war, had no means of paying. There was no profitable foreign market for the excess of imports, which rose from 25 millions (official value, which, to a considerable extent, denotes quantity) in 1812, to 33 millions in 1814: reaction began in 1816. The imports of silk, wool, coffee, hemp, tallow, flax, linseed, did not amount in 1816 to more than half the quantities imported in 1814.‡ The imports of cotton, however, rose from 60 million in 1814 to 94 million pounds in 1816. The annual revenue raised by taxes and paid into the Exchequer exceeded 70 millions in 1814 and in 1815; it fell to 61 millions in 1816, when the income-tax was in spite of the government repealed. The loss in 1816 from this source was only 2950000*l.*; the customs and excise revenue, when there was no reductions in the rates of duties save the tax on malt, fell from 41759340*l.* in 1815, to 34282320*l.* in 1816, and 32741687*l.* in 1817.§ The malt tax was reduced from 4*s.* 5*d.* a bushel to 2*s.* 5*d.* in 1816, and in consequence of the change of rate chiefly the tax fell from 5865607*l.* in 1815 to 4217260*l.* in 1816, and 2509818*l.* in 1817.|| Wages in several employments fell slightly about 1816, 1817, but not in proportion to the increased value of money when the paper currency became payable in gold. The wages of handloom

* Mr. Huskisson's Speech on the State of the Public Finances, July 9, 1817. Speeches, vol. ii. p. 6.

† Corn Returns.—The price given is the average price of the imperial quarter for the respective years.

‡ Porter, Progress of the Nation, vol. ii., p. 98, and Tooke on Prices, vol. ii.,

p. 391.

§ Porter, Progress of the Nation, vol. ii., p. 321.

|| M'Culloch on Taxation, p. 495.

weavers fell through the introduction of machinery from 25*s.* a week in 1800 to 14*s.* in 1815, 12*s.* in 1816, 9*s.* in 1817, 5*s.* 6*d.* in 1820.* Labourers' wages also declined in 1818. The sum expended for the relief of the poor was 5724839*l.* in 1815-6, 6910925*l.* in 1816-7, and 7870801*l.* in 1817-8; when it gradually declined to 6959251*l.* in 1820-1; † which it will be observed was at a much less rapid rate than the decline in the price of wheat and of other commodities. Undoubtedly a part of the distress in 1816, 1817, was the result of the previous war expenditure, which on the army, navy, and ordnance amounted in the 14 years 1801-14 to 683 million *l.* In the 6 years 1809-14 the expenditure on the three departments was 58 million *l.* a year. The total funded and unfunded debt on the 1st of February, 1817, when the English and Irish Exchequers were consolidated, was 841 million *l.*; and the annual charge was 32 million *l.* ‡ The debt contracted during the French war was 600 million pounds sterling, the annual charge of which was nearly 23 million *l.* The country slowly recovered from its prostration. The army was withdrawn from France in 1818. In 1819 the agitation was rife in which the demagogue Hunt played a conspicuous part; it was the year of the Manchester riots; the Six Acts passed; the policy of the Holy Alliance was carried out in England by Lords Sidmouth and Castlereagh; Bell, Lancaster, and Pestalozzi attracted attention to their schools; Owen's "socialism" gained some public attention. On January 20, 1820, George IV., who had been Regent since 1811, was proclaimed king; Queen Caroline came to England in June, and the Bill of Pains and Penalties presented against her was abandoned after great popular excitement in November. Spain revolted in 1820; and the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont broke out, but were suppressed by Austria. The Greek Revolutionary war commenced in 1821; and Napoleon died in May. George IV. was crowned in July, and then visited Ireland and Hanover; Queen Caroline died in August. On the whole the increase in the marriages from 1817 to 1821 bears out the opinion of those who consider that there was a great gloom at first and then a slow improvement in the prospects of the people during this period.

The variations of the annual marriages in the 7 years, 1822-1828, though not considerable in the kingdom, were extensive in the towns. In 1822 the number of persons who married was 197756, which is less than the number married in the previous year; 209446 persons were married in 1824, and 220856 in 1825; in 1826 the number fell back to 209882, rose to 214260 in 1827, and 222348 in 1828. The annual baptisms only varied from 369760 (in 1823) to 375053 in the 4 years 1822-5; in 1826 they amounted to 380413, in 1827 to 374186, and in 1828 to 392454. The marriages in the metropolitan counties increased from 14966 in 1822 to 17785 in 1825, and fell to 16447 in 1826. In Portsmouth and Bristol there was no increase; in Plymouth the marriages which were 660 in 1823 (nearly half the number in the year 1814) rose to 836 in 1825; in Liverpool the marriages which were only 1301 in 1822 rose rapidly to 1947 in 1825 and went on increasing; in Leeds there was a corresponding rise from 902 in the year 1822, to 1122

* Porter, Progress of the Nation, vol. ii. p. 253. These are the rates at Bolton.

† M'Culloch's Statistics of the British Empire, Art. Poor Laws.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 435, 3rd edition, 1847.

in 1825; and then a fall in 1826 to 888. The marriages in Manchester were 2517 in 1822, 3059 in 1825, and 2696 in 1826. Birmingham had perhaps suffered more from the declining demand for arms after the war than it had suffered when the fashion of buckles passed away in 1790.* The marriages were nearly stationary, and trade was apparently dull from the year 1816 to 1822; which happened to be the period in which cash payments were resumed by the Bank; and the coincidence contributed its share to the currency doctrines of the place. Birmingham, like other commercial towns, ever prone to speculative excitement, indulged its pent-up ardour now; the marriages rose to 1181, 1321, 1582, and 1832 in 1822-5, and fell to 1366 in 1826. In the agricultural counties and the kingdom generally, exclusive of the towns, the fluctuation in the marriages was inconsiderable in 1822-6. The price of wheat had been declining, and in 1822 fell to 45s. a quarter; which was 4s. above the average of the two previous centuries, but was half the average price (91s.) of the 10 years 1810-9. The price rose to 53s. 64s., 69s., in 1823-5; fell to 59s. and 57s. in 1826-7; rose again to 60s. in 1828.

The general reduction (not the fluctuation) in the prices of wheat and other commodities was the result of changes in the value of the currency. Bank notes, which are promises to pay at sight stated quantities of gold, after 1797 when though the Bank had other property it had little gold left, instead of being payable in gold at sight, were made payable six months after the signature of a definitive treaty of peace. They remained current money at a depreciated value; in 1810 the Bullion Committee sat, but no change was made in the law; after the peace gold flowed into the Bank, which had 7562780*l.* of bullion in August, 1816; in April and September, 1817, notices were given that the Bank would pay in specie; the bullion in the Bank was 11668260*l.* in August, 1817; but the Bank had increased the issue of notes nearly 3 millions. There was an immense importation of wheat in 1817 and 1818; and the bullion in the Bank coffers was reduced to 6363160*l.* in August, 1818, to 3595360*l.* in August, 1819: an Act was hurried through Parliament to "restrict" the directors from paying any longer in gold. In the same year Mr. Peel's Act passed for the gradual resumption of cash payments; and on May 1st, 1821, the Bank was prepared to meet its promises to pay in specie. The notes in circulation were reduced from 27 million *l.* in 1816, to 20 million *l.* in August, 1821, to 17 million *l.* in 1822; and only rose to 22747600*l.* in 1827 to fall to 21357510*l.* in 1828. The bullion in the Bank was from 10 to 12 millions, except in August, 1825, when after considerable importations of wheat, it was only 3634320*l.*, and August, 1826, when it was 6754230*l.*† Money of intrinsic value is depreciated when like any other commodity it becomes abundant. This was the case in the reign of Queen Elizabeth with the silver currency depreciated by the abundant supplies of metal extracted from the mines of America. The paper money, and of course all money,

* Birmingham is said to have commenced manufacturing "guns" in the reign of William III., who complained that he was obliged to procure them from Holland at great expense. "During the late French war 30000 stand of arms were supplied to the government monthly." Hutton's History of Birmingham, by Guest, p. 181, ed. 6, 1835.

† Tooke, vol. ii., pp. 382-3.

was partly depreciated during the war by the abundance of the issue; and partly from the risk of the paper ceasing to represent any value whatever. The Russian inconvertible paper money fell to a fourth of its nominal value, and the French assignats at one time were worth nothing. Though the English paper did not fall to anything like the same extent as the money of other countries in somewhat similar circumstances, the average prices of wheat and other commodities amidst great fluctuations prove that about twice as much money was required to purchase the same amount of produce, as sufficed for the purpose when bank notes were payable in gold. The change in the value of the currency standard at the beginning and the end of a long period produced great disturbances in property; and trades and speculations which had been carried on with borrowed money prosperously at first, were, in the end, disastrous and unsuccessful. The country however struggled on; the 3 per cent. Consols, after the death of Buonaparte in 1821, rose to 79 in 1822-3, and to 93 in the year 1824. The Bank lowered its discounts in 1822 from 5 to 4 per cent.; the 5 per cent. Consols were reduced to 4 towards the close of the year; and early in 1824 the Old 4 per Cents. were reduced to stock of 3½ per cent. Enterprise was dormant; prices were drooping through the first 6 months of 1824. The new free-trade doctrines were inaugurated in March, 1824, by Mr. Huskisson's alterations in the laws relating to the silk trade, carried by the firm support of Mr. Secretary Canning and Mr. Secretary Peel. Lord Londonderry had committed suicide in 1822; Mr. Canning became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Duke of Wellington went to the Congress of Verona to declare that to the interference of France in Spain, come what may, His Majesty would be no party.* The foreign policy of England was no longer adverse to liberty; France put down the constitution in Spain in 1823, when Mr. Canning appointed consuls to the principal stations in Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and thus virtually recognized the independence of the Spanish Colonies of South America. Commercial treaties were to follow; and much was anticipated from the working of the mines of silver and gold by English machinery and capital. The new governments readily obtained loans in London. The imagination of the public was fired; and it is estimated that by the end of 1825 from 27 to 43 million *l.* sterling had been paid in instalments on foreign loans, mining shares, and other speculations. 243 schemes and new joint stock companies had been projected with an aggregate capital on paper of about 243 million *l.* A hundred more companies were advertised.† In passing the bills to enable joint-stock milk, brick, and other companies to sue and be sued by one of their officers, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson gave some warnings and sound advice, but declared on every occasion that the Government could not interfere. "If it turned out that the company was a mere bubble, no harm, that he (Mr. Huskisson) could discover, would be done by the facility thus afforded.‡ On June 2, 1825, the Attorney-General, Sir John Copley, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the Act 6 Geo. I. c. 18, called the 'Bubble Act' as "relates

* Canning's Speeches, vol. i., Memoir, p. 130.

† First Report on Joint Stock Companies, 1844. Appendix No. 4. The Report contains a list of the companies.

‡ Huskisson in Debate, February 28, 1825, and Speeches, vol. ii., p. 287.

to the restraining several extravagant and unwarrantable practices." Mr. Huskisson, in supporting the Bill which passed on the 18th, said that "parties would in future be enabled to enter into their speculations, without any other restriction than that which the Crown would exercise in pronouncing upon the utility and propriety of their designs, when applications were made for charters of incorporation."* The speculation extended to commerce, and the prices of almost all goods were enhanced: sugar rose from 30s. to 41s. per cwt., coffee from 59s. to 77s., iron from 6l. to 11l. per ton, cotton from 8d. in July-November, 1824, to 1s. 5d. in June 1825. 149 million lbs. of cotton were imported in 1824, and 229 million lbs. in 1825; 23 million lbs. of wool in 1824, and 44 million lbs. in 1825. Unlike some of the other articles of speculation, these found employment for many hands in the manufacturing districts. The public engaged in the commercial speculations as well as in the joint stock companies. "Crowds of individuals," says the Annual Register for 1824, "of every description; the credulous and the suspicious, the crafty and the bold, the raw and experienced, the intelligent and the ignorant, princes, nobles, politicians, placemen, patriots, lawyers, physicians, divines, philosophers, poets, intermingled with women of all ranks and degrees, spinsters, wives, and widows, hastened to venture some portion of their property, in schemes of which scarcely anything was known except the name." Many of the small annuitants whose incomes had been cut down by the lowering of interest and the reduction of the dividends of stock, were probably tempted by the promised high rates of profit to retrieve their former incomes. The 100l. shares of the Anglo-Mexican Company on which 10l. had been paid, ran up to 33l. premium in December, 1824, and to 158l. premium in January, 1825; the *Real del Monte* shares, on which 70l. had been paid, went up to 550l. premium in December, and 1350l. premium in January, 1825. The spirit of speculation extended to America and to France. In Paris, where there is always a disposition to generalize, a "*Société commanditaire de l'industrie*" was constituted, to supply funds for every enterprise, commercial, agricultural, or manufacturing! As the year advanced, calls for payment fell in; these were immediate; the returns, however certain they were still held, seemed to grow remote. A pause ensued in March and April; the calls became pressing, the holders had no resource but to endeavour to sell, and in May and June the prices declined rapidly. The South American loans, and the Mexican mining schemes entailed the loss of nearly the whole of the sums subscribed. The *Real del Monte* mining shares fell to a discount of 20l.; some of the other companies, on a solid basis, such as the Manchester and Liverpool Railway Company, the Alliance, and other Insurance Companies survived; many were abandoned, after a sacrifice of the whole or a part of the deposits. The credit of the country was shaken. There was a run upon the banks, and nearly 70 banks suspended payment in the single month of December, 1825; mercantile embarrassment was most felt in the two following months. The Bank of England issued one and two pound notes, and at the request of the Government consented to make advances on the

* House of Commons Debate, June, 2, 1825; Huskisson's Speeches, vol. ii., p. 423.

security of goods to the extent of 3 million l.* Confidence was restored after the failure of tottering houses, and the bank had only to advance 400000l. in the course of 1826, after which few traces of the commercial panic remained. As it usually happens, while the exports and imports of 1824, 1825, were quoted in proof of the general prosperity, for which many were willing to take credit, directly or indirectly; few cared to admit having had any share in producing the inseparable collapse. The Bank was generally and justly blamed for extending its issues of paper, while its bullion was diminishing in 1824, and in the beginning of 1825. The revenue raised by taxation, and paid into the Exchequer, was 57672999 l. in 1823, and 59362403l. in 1824. Mr. Robinson, when bringing forward the budget in 1824, portrayed the general prosperity of the country in glowing colours; the contentment and the thriving condition of all classes, were the leading topics of the King's speech, in February, 1825; in February, 1826, the Royal speech referred to the pecuniary crisis, which it declared was unconnected with political causes, but originated in great part, "in the conduct of individuals, whose sufferings might afford the best security against its recurrence."

This fit of speculation is in many respects instructive. It was one of the most violent that the country has experienced: many sudden fortunes were made, and matrimony was among other things a favourite speculation; yet the persons married throughout the country in 1825 present an increase, but not exceeding 220856. The truth is that the price of provisions was high, and the movement was chiefly a gambling in shares and loans which after all is restricted to a comparatively small class of people in towns; whereas the recent railway speculation gave employment and wages to thousands of the labouring population.

The country recovered from the depression of 1826; and as has been seen 222348 persons married in 1828. The political events in the next period were important. Lord Liverpool had an attack of apoplexy in 1827; Mr. Canning became Prime Minister on April 10th; after Mr. Canning's death on August 8th, Viscount Goderich was Premier; on January 25th, 1828, the Duke of Wellington was at the head of the Government, and Sir Robert Peel was Home Secretary. Lord John Russell's motion for a repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was nevertheless carried on February 26th. The battle of Navarino was fought in 1827, the Egyptian army evacuated the Morea in 1828, and the French army commenced the evacuation of Spain, which they had occupied since 1823. These political events were followed by others of greater excitement. The Catholic Emancipation Bill passed in April, 1829; George IV. died, and William IV. ascended the throne on June 26th, 1830; Algiers was taken by the French; Charles X. and the royal family were expelled from France by the three days' revolution in Paris (July 26, 27, 28); and Louis Philippe was proclaimed, in August, King of the French. Revolutions or political changes followed in Belgium, Brunswick, the Papal States (suppressed by Austria), in Switzerland, Saxony, Poland, and Denmark. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened on September 15th, 1825, when Mr. Huskisson was unfortunately killed. Earl Grey became Prime

* Tooke, vol. ii., p. 169.

Minister in November, 1830; the English Reform Bill passed in June, 1832. In 1833 the Chinese trade, which had been a monopoly, was thrown open to all British subjects. Isabella became Queen of Spain in 1833; and Don Miguel withdrew from Portugal in 1834. Lord Melbourne succeeded Earl Grey as Prime Minister in July 1834; Sir Robert Peel, called from Italy, became Premier in December, and Lord Melbourne returned to office in April, 1835. Lord John Russell introduced the Bill for reforming municipal corporations in June. The German Commercial League was formed in May, 1835; the Thiers Ministry appeared February, 1836, in the *Moniteur*; and in a discussion on the treaty of Unkiar Skilessi, reference was made to the power and encroachments of Russia. 5000 men were added to the British navy in March, 1836; the Irish Constabulary Bill, under which the police are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, was introduced by Lord Morpeth; the Irish Tithe and Municipal Bills, and the Bill for governing charitable trusts in England failed to pass the House of Lords. Revolutionary movements broke out in Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland; M. Thiers resigned in September, 1836.

The average price of wheat rose from 57s. per quarter in the year 1827, to 60s. in 1828, and 66s. in 1829, 64s. in 1830, and 66s. in 1831; in the four following years 1832-5, the price fell to 59s., 53s., 46s., and 39s.; but rose to 49s. and 56s. in 1836 and 1837. The harvests of 1828-31 were deficient, those of 1832-5 were abundant: Mr. Hope, a Scotch farmer, stated that in the former periods 175 acres of land produced 385 quarters of wheat, in the latter 657 quarters, over and above the seed.* The crops throughout the country did not of course vary to the same extent; but in 1829-30-31, there were 1261000, 1495000, and 1090000, quarters of wheat imported for home consumption; in 1832 only 166000 quarters were imported; in 1833-6 the importation was insignificant.

In 1829 trade was depressed, wages reduced, and the weavers were in great distress; there were riots at Manchester. The King's speech (1830) noticed the *partial distress* among the agricultural and manufacturing classes. Incendiary fires, and the destruction of machinery were prevalent in Kent and other counties (1830). A committee of the House of Commons on agricultural distress reported in 1833 that distress existed, but that the wages of the agricultural labourer gave him a greater command over the necessaries and conveniences of life than at any former period. Committees of the Lords and the Commons sat again in 1836. Wheat was in January at 36s. the imperial quarter; the Committee of the Commons could not agree to a Report. The consumption of wheat in 1835 is said to have been abundant from the full employment of the people at high wages. A Committee of the House of Commons in 1833 inquired into the State of Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping. Mr. Lewis Lloyd "never knew trade at any former time in so sound a state;" and evidence to the same effect was given by Mr. Gurney, James Cook, Joshua Bates, Larpent, Shaw, Kirkman Finlay, the principal commercial authorities of the day. The manufacturing and mining interests experienced unparalleled prosperity in 1834 and 1835. The London and Birmingham Railway Act passed

* Tooke, vol. ii. p. 237.

in 1833: the shares which had been depressed rose to a premium after the success of the Manchester and Liverpool line was witnessed. Agricultural labourers found employment on the railways; swarms of new projects started up.

Joint stock banks were formed to some extent in 1835, after the Bank of England was deprived of a part of its monopoly; in 1836 many new banks and new branches were established, and proceeded with activity. They facilitated speculation by advances of their paper, and the Bank of England blameably increased its "securities." Over-trading raged in America. Mr. Poulett Thomson in his place in the House of Commons said it was impossible not to be struck with the spirit of speculation abroad; he found that in May, 1836, from 300 to 400 Joint Stock Companies had been advertised with a capital on paper of 200 millions.* In 1825, London was the centre of speculation; in 1836, it was elsewhere;—in Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns. Many of the Companies were got up by speculators, for the sole purpose of selling shares. The signal of collapse was given by the failure of the Agricultural Bank of Ireland in November, 1836. The Bank of England assisted the Manchester Northern and Central Bank in December, the large American houses in February and March, 1837. It was in vain. Commercial credit fell to its lowest point of depression in the first half of the year 1837.

The official *value* (which expresses quantity) of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures from Great Britain, rose progressively from 51 millions in 1827 to 60 millions in 1830 and 1831; it then from 1832 ran up rapidly to 65, 70, 73, 78, 85 millions in 1836, but fell down to 72 millions in 1837. The imports followed a somewhat similar course. The cotton wool entered for home consumption was 204 million lbs. in 1829, and 270, 273, 259 million lbs. in the three next years, (1830-2); 294, 303, 326, 364, and 368 million lbs. in the 5 years, 1833-7. Of wool, 30 million lbs. were imported in 1828, and 64 million lbs. in 1836; the importation in 1837 fell to 48 million lbs. Of silk, 3 million lbs. were imported in 1829, and 6 million lbs. in 1836.

The fluctuation of the marriages in the nine years 1829-37 appears to express very accurately the condition and the hopes of the people. The year 1829 was a year of depression; and only 208632 persons married. In the five years 1830-4 the number rose to 215438, 224588, 233208, 240254, and 243768. In 1835, 239196 married; in 1836, 241698; in 1837, only 232042† married. The fluctuation in the first 4 years 1829-32 kept pace with the progress of political events; the increase in 1833 and 1834 was coincident with the abundant crops of wheat, the cheapness of provisions, and the development of commerce. It is probable that the increase would have proceeded in 1835-6 at the same rate as the trade, employment, and speculation, had it not been

* A list of 300 projected companies, with a nominal capital of 135248700l. in 2538600 shares is given in the Appendix No. 4 to Report from Select Committee on Joint Stock Companies, 1844.

† The new Marriage Act came into operation July 1st, 1837. The persons married according to the rites of the Established Church were 228748 in the year 1837; to these are added 3294 persons married under the new Act, and not entered in the Church returns.

for the great change effected in 1834 by the New Poor Law, which came rapidly into operation in 1835 and 1836. The sum of 7037000*l.* was expended in the relief of the poor in the year 1831-2, 6791000*l.* in 1832-3, 6317000 in 1833-4. The sum expended in 1834-5 was 5526000*l.*; in 1835-6, 4718000*l.*; in 1836-7 only 4045000*l.* And in 1837 the price of bread rose rapidly, while trade was depressed, and speculation sat exhausted in the midst of ruin. It will be seen in Table II. that the marriages increased without scarcely any interruption in the metropolitan and the manufacturing counties through the first 8 years, and then suddenly declined in 1837;* thus in Middlesex and Surrey the marriages in the years 1829-36 were 16468, 16941, 17101, 17155, 17873, 18360, 18202, 18553, and in 1837 only 17411; in Cheshire and Lancashire during the same years, 13876, 14548, 14586, 15767, 16257, 16931, 17091, 17861, and in 1837 only 15300; in Yorkshire, during the first 8 years, 10158, 10544, 10998, 11597, 12088, 12374, 12496, 12697, in 1837 only 11706. In the agricultural counties the series is different; thus in Hertford, Bucks, Oxford, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Cambridge, during the years 1829-33 the marriages were 6484, 6781, 7004, 7342, 7411; and in the 4 years following 7245, 6703, 6708, 6360. In Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, the marriages in the 9 years 1829-37, were 6766, 7103, 7516, 7499, 7648, 7635, 6799, 6582, 6518.

The marriages show that the depression of the country, observed in 1837, was soon dispelled. In 1839, there were 246332 persons married; from that year the numbers slowly declined, through 1840 and 1841; in 1842 only 237650 persons were married. The price of wheat gradually rose from 56*s.* a quarter in 1837 to 65*s.* in 1838, and 71*s.* in 1839; it then slowly fell to 66*s.* in 1840, to 64*s.* in 1841, and 57*s.* a quarter in 1842. It will be observed that in this period the marriages declined at the same time that provisions grew cheaper. The South Eastern and the South Western Divisions were the only Divisions in which the marriages in 1842 were more numerous than the marriages in 1841 (see Table II.). The decline from 1841 to 1842 in the other Divisions was general. In Cheshire and Lancashire there were 17704 marriages in 1841, and 16559 in 1842.

The importations of wheat in each of the 5 years, 1838-42, were 1716000, 2500000, 2012000, 2212000, 2625000 quarters for home consumption. The stock of bullion in the Bank, which was nearly 10 millions in 1838, was reduced to 3 millions in 1839, about 4 millions in 1840, 5 millions in 1841; it rose again to nearly 10 millions in 1842.† And the notes in circulation, which had been 17 or 18 million *l.* in 1839, 40, 41, were raised to 20 million *l.* in 1842.‡ The United States Bank suspended cash payments in September, 1839. The exports, however, increased. In the 5 years, 1837-41, the official value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from Great Britain was 72, 92, 97, 102, and 102 million

* Some allowance must be made in reading Table II., page 49, for 1647 marriages of Dissenters, &c., in the latter half of the year 1837, as they are not included in the divisional returns.

† The form of the Bank Returns has varied. The numbers here given represent the state of things about the end of August in each year. The Returns will be found more in detail in Tooke on Prices.

pounds. The declared value of the exports was 41912000*l.* in 1837, and 51218000*l.* in 1841. Many of the goods were required to pay for the corn imported. There were large importations of cotton, wool, and silk. The London and Birmingham Railway was opened throughout in 1838, the Great Western in 1841. The Great Western steam-ship had traversed the Atlantic in 1838. The Penny Postage came into operation in January, 1840. The interest of money was low, and speculation languid, in 1842. The political events of the five years were various and important. After the accession of Her Majesty in 1837, the insurrectionary riots broke out in Canada, and were suppressed by Sir F. Head. The insurrection which broke out in Lower Canada was suppressed by Sir John Colborne in 1838. A liberal treaty of commerce, between Turkey and England, was entered into in the same year. The citadel of Ghizny was stormed by the Indian army under Sir J. Keane, in July, 1839; Cabul was entered in August. In the fifteen days from Christmas Day, 1841, to January 8th, 1842, the army in Cabul was exterminated. Sale and Nott gallantly defeated the Affghans in April and May, 1842. Captain Elliot was arrested at Canton in April, 1839. The Emperor of China prohibited all commerce with the English, in January, 1840. In June, Canton was blockaded; in May, 1841, it capitulated. In August, 1842, a treaty of peace was signed at Nankin by Sir Henry Pottinger. St. Jean d'Acre was bombarded by Sir Robert Stopford in November, 1840. The body of Buonaparte was, by permission of the British Government, removed from St. Helena in December, 1840. The fortifications of Paris were commenced in 1841. In the same year Vice-President Tyler became President of the United States. The Chartists, on November 4, 1839, attacked Newport, which was successfully defended by Mr. Phillips, the Mayor, and 30 soldiers. Disturbances occurred also in 1840. In August, 1842, the cotton-spinners at Ashton-on-Lyne "turned out," in consequence of the reduction of wages, and their example was followed in all the manufacturing districts of England and Scotland. The only other important series of facts to notice in this period are the Returns of the Revenue. The expenditure exceeded the revenue in each of the 7 years ending in 1843. At the close of the last war the price of wheat fell to 79*s.* a quarter in 1816; and the House of Commons in the following year struck off the Income Tax in opposition to the Ministry. 17 million *l.* of taxes were remitted at one blow, and the finances of the country were left in an unsatisfactory state. The price of wheat rose, and in 1819 taxes yielding nearly 3 million *l.* were imposed; but in 1822 the average price of wheat fell to 45*s.*, and in the five years 1822-26 taxes to the amount of 13 million *l.* were remitted; in 1830, under the Duke of Wellington's administration 4 million *l.* of taxes were remitted, 700000*l.* imposed; in the 3 years, 1831-33, when the price of wheat was falling, taxes to the amount of 3867000*l.* were remitted; in the 4 years, 1833-36, the crops were abundant, prices were low, no wheat was imported, and the remission of taxes went on; 2065000*l.* were remitted in 1834, 163000*l.* in 1835, and 1022000*l.* in 1836. This was a period of great commercial excitement, bread was cheap, and the population had therefore more money to expend on malt, hops, spirits, wine, tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco, from which more than 27 millions of revenue were derived. The fall of the price of wheat affects the rents of land, and this, with the

apparently flourishing state of the revenue, led to such a reduction of taxation, that in the depression of 1837 and the following years, the income was less than the expenditure. No allowance had been made for the inevitable reaction. The events in Canada, in the Mediterranean, and in Afghanistan, led, at the same time, to an increase of the military and naval expenditure; so that in 1842, while the revenue was 5098000*l.* the expenditure was 55224000*l.* Sir Robert Peel, who came into office in September, 1841, proposed the new tariff and the Income Tax in 1842, and in 1844 had a surplus revenue. It was, as we have seen, followed by a period of one of the greatest fluctuations in the marriages that has occurred in England for nearly a century. The marriages in the whole kingdom rose from 118825 in 1842 to 143743 in 1845. The marriages in London fell from 18530 in 1840 to 17826 in 1842; they rose to 21770 in 1845. In Birmingham and Aston the marriages were 1379 in 1842 and 1930 in 1845; in Manchester 3664 in 1842 and 5376 in 1845; in Liverpool 3048 in 1842 and 4243 in 1845; in Leeds, 1410 in 1842 and 1881 in 1845; in Newcastle-upon-Tyne 891 in 1842 and 1110 in 1845; in York 446 in 1842 and 527 in 1845. In the South Eastern, South Midland, Eastern, and South Western Divisions the increase of marriages was steady but not considerable. In the Western Division, in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, where the work for railways was most active and most was anticipated from the alteration of the tariff, the increase of marriages was striking.

The number of marriages in a nation perhaps fluctuates independently of external causes, but it is a fair deduction from the facts, that the Marriage Returns in England point out periods of prosperity little less distinctly than the funds measure the hopes and fears of the money market. If the one is the barometer of credit, the other is the barometer of prosperity, present in part, but future, expected, anticipated, in still greater part.

(1.) As a war diminishes the marriages by engaging great numbers of men at the marriageable age, an excess of marriages naturally follows peace, when the militia, soldiers, and sailors, with small pensions, are discharged. This is seen in the peace of Paris, the peace of Amiens, and the peace at the close of the last war. Manufactures and commerce in England have hitherto entered into renewed activity on the cessation of wars: markets are thrown open, and great numbers of people obtain employment, which has more to do with the increase of marriages than the mere discharge of great numbers of men from the public service and pay.

(2.) The growth of domestic animals is affected by comparatively few vicissitudes; and there is little fluctuation in the supply of meat. But the crops of grain in a country vary largely; the prices vary still more; while the wages of the bulk of the population have a limited range. Years of plenty are years of prosperity for the people; and the marriages increase, with a few exceptions, when provisions are cheap. As abundance is one of the causes that multiply, dearth is one of those that diminish, the number of marriages.

(3.) The establishment of new, or the extension of old, employments promotes marriages: the cotton manufactures, the canals of the last

century, the railways of the present day, are examples. In fact, an increase in their incomes is taken by the generality of people for the beginning of perennial prosperity, and is followed by a multitude of marriages.

(4.) The periodical epidemics of speculation are accompanied by an increase of marriages. Great numbers of people, of all classes, fancy themselves growing wealthy while shares are rising; and in the gambling transactions of the Stock Exchange, if some are ruined, others are enriched. The apparent improvement in the position of the small capitalists, the increased wages of the working classes, where the speculation involves the employment of labour, and perhaps the spirit of speculation itself, lead many to embark in matrimony.

(5.) The nation is sometimes extraordinarily sanguine. A statesman of genius, like Lord Chatham, at the head of affairs, produces the same confidence in a country as the presence of a Cæsar, Napoleon, or Wellington, on an army. Great victories, the joy of peace, large financial or political measures, new discoveries in science, new applications of the powers of nature, the opening of kingdoms and continents to commerce, raise public feeling to a state of exaltation long before the slightest improvement in the material condition of the population is realized by those measures that are likely to have ultimately that effect. Such periods of public exaltation are almost invariably accompanied by an increase in the number of marriages.

In fine, the great fluctuations in the marriages of England are the results of peace after war, abundance after dearth, high wages after want of employment, speculation after languid enterprise, confidence after distrust, national triumphs after national disasters.

The causes that increase and the causes that diminish marriage differ in energy; they admit of various combinations; they sometimes neutralize each other; and the marriages express the result of all those forces on the public conduct of the people.*

I shall now inquire very briefly into the value of the Marriage Returns, and of other measures of public prosperity. An increase in the consumption of malt, hops, wine, spirits, coffee, tea, sugar, and tobacco, from which about 28 million *l.* of the revenue of the country are derived,

* Take only three elements, for example—peace, abundance, high wages; and their three opposites, war, dearth, low wages—then there are eight combinations possible:—

Peace, abundance, high wages;	War, abundance, high wages;
Peace, dearth, high wages;	War, dearth, high wages;
Peace, abundance, low wages;	War, abundance, low wages;
Peace, dearth, low wages.	War, dearth, low wages.

Of the eight possible combinations, there is one in which the causes all operate in increasing, one in which they all operate in decreasing, the marriages. If *p, a, w* were the factors expressing the effects of the three first elements, as compared with the average state of things, taken for *unity*, and *p, a, w* the factors of their three opposites, the eight following formulæ would, if there were no other causes in operation, give the results for any year:—

$$paw + pa\bar{w} + p\bar{a}w + p\bar{a}\bar{w}$$

$$p\bar{a}w + pa\bar{w}$$

$$p\bar{a}w + p\bar{a}\bar{w}$$

Should there be six elements and their six opposites, the possible combinations would be $2^6 = 64$. These factors themselves would vary, and it is evident that the subject does not admit at present of strict mathematical treatment.

implies an increase in the expenditure and wages of the working people; as an increase in the imports of raw silk, cotton, wool, tallow, and timber, is an evidence generally of more active manufacturing enterprise. The Marriage Returns express the same facts. Now it is invariably observed, that any extraordinary increase of marriages, or any augmentation in the consumption either of the comforts, stimulants, or necessities of life, not always within the reach of the great mass of the population, is followed by a corresponding falling off. The ship raised on the crest of the wave is not surer to plunge than this prosperity to subside. "Eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage," preceded a great historical catastrophe; and it is evident from the facts already adduced, that though a nation may be rising, it never behoves the wise and sober to be more on their guard, more alert, or more liberal in giving good counsels, than when thousands of the people are setting up in business, establishing families (for every marriage is the foundation of a family), and consuming an unusual amount of luxuries. This "prosperity" may be the dawn of progress, or the riotous forerunner of ruin. To distinguish the two kinds of "prosperity" is difficult, but not impossible; and in the national life they are always intermingled in different proportions at different times. The usual course in the crisis appears to be this. Capital accumulates until the outlay of the surplus in the ordinary business of the country yields little profit. The thrifty grocer, the farmer, the cotton-spinner, or the merchant, with his routine system and limited market, finds that his business will bear no more capital. Ingenuity is taxed to discover new sources of employment and production. The discovery, after many failures, is made. The capital, invested in the new mines, factories, cultivation, commerce, yields large profits. This gets noised abroad. More capital is invested in similar undertakings, or undertakings suggested by the new principle. Capital is then drawn from all employments at low profits. Expectations are raised. Tradesmen and merchants take capital from their usual business to embark for the new El Dorado. Professional men and annuitants anticipate and invest part of their incomes. The public enthusiasm is fanned by unprincipled sharpers. Scrip and paper money afford extraordinary facilities for speculation. Men with no capital buy and sell shares; men with little capital go beyond their limits; and men of large capital undertake responsibilities to which no capital is equal. Large numbers of people are employed. Wages, salaries, fees, fly about in every direction. "Eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage," go on at an accelerated rate. All this series of facts is in the rough party estimates of debate confounded with substantial progress under the name of "prosperity." It is evident, however, that the new source of production remains through all; that the first investments are exceedingly profitable; and that in the end the speculation becomes a pure destruction of capital; for a nation, like an individual, can run through its property by the waste of the holders, their want of prudence, their improvidence in paying wages which the profits of production will not repay, or by the extravagant expenditure of wars, the only great speculations in which governments have hitherto engaged. The farmer may be running out his land, the grocer reducing his stock, the cotton-spinner letting his machinery fall to pieces for want of repairs, the carpenter selling his tools, while there is an increase in their expenditure, or even their income,

if by this term is understood the surplus of the cash receipts over the outgoings of ordinary business in any given year. The capital of a country—its fertile soil—its horses, cattle, and provisions—its machinery and tools—its houses, ships, buildings, furniture, goods, merchandize, silver, gold—the slow accumulations of a thousand years, each "bearing fruit in its kind," with skill and labour eternally renewing and extending itself—may be wasted year by year, brought low, and destroyed; and while the destruction is going on, the expenditure of the nation may be increasing instead of diminishing. The prodigal is converting its estate into an annuity for a short term.

The reason of the depression that invariably follows a period of prosperity is in the nature of things. Wealth may be suddenly destroyed; but a sudden creation of wealth is impossible; for it is the produce of skill and labour, and though skill moves *per saltum* in inventions, human labour advances slowly, as generation follows generation. Where a new force like steam is placed at man's disposal, its introduction to profitable uses is slow. But in the crisis of "prosperity" a nation believes itself rich that the year before found it a hard thing to live; and on this high pitch regulates its expenditure. For man's course is determined by opinion; and opinion uninformed by science is full of delusions, wayward and prone to exaggeration. The happy agriculturist has been known to be disturbed by the fertility of Egypt, shake before the rustle of the wheat waving over the plains of Hungary or Russia, and be overwhelmed in imagination by the endless produce of the vast valleys of the Mississippi. The "commercial mind," on the other hand, full of imagination, is excited by the sudden opening of great territories to trade: witness the effect of the treaty with France in 1787; the opening, as it is called, of the Continent of Europe, at the peace of Amiens, and the peace of 1814; the opening of South America by Mr. Canning in 1823-5; the opening of Asia recently through the Indus and China. Commerce sees these vast continents covered with customers; sets hands to work, freights her ships, and, as she expects, finds millions in want of her wares, and quite willing to accept them; but without anything of value that they are able or willing to give in exchange for the new untried commodities; men, whether civilized or savage, having generally ways enough to dispose of their income, and little left to experiment in new pleasures. The merchandize becomes a drug. It is sold for a fraction of its cost price, or given away; and in perishing often feeds the germs of a distant future trade. Some native commodity is displaced, or the industry of the population is stimulated to produce exchangeable articles for a profitable commerce.

In the invariable decline following an increase of marriages they have never fallen back to the original numbers. Population has increased faster than the marriages. The same may probably be said of the energies and productive powers of the country. And if it is true that depression always follows "prosperity," the converse is equally true. The agriculture of England, by improvements in its methods, and its extension in breadth to lands before uncultivated, has, through good and bad seasons, dearth and abundance, steadily advanced. Manufactures, aided by new powers and machines, have made still more progress; and commerce, through periods of languor and paroxysms of speculation, has increased, enlightened by science, having at command multiplied facilities

of receiving information, as well as new agents of intercommunication with the world. And thus England has hitherto held on her way through ages: sometimes prosperity has shone on her, and all the winds have been favourable; then heaven has been clouded, or the gulf-streams of time have carried her aside, or adversity has hung over her; but, amidst all the vicissitudes and chances of the voyage, her true onward glorious course has still been held.

Mr. Pitt, in 1786, estimated the population of England and France at 8 millions and 24 millions. The power and wealth at the disposal of both countries has increased in a faster ratio than their population. The population of the United Kingdom was about 16 millions, of France 27 millions, in 1801. In 1846 the population of the United Kingdom was about 28½ millions; of France about 35 millions. The increase in the relative strength of this empire, from the time of Chatham and Pitt, when England had to hire Hessians or other mercenaries, is immense. At the present time there are not less than 7 millions of men in these islands; and 5 millions of men well able to bear arms.

It is a fact well worthy of attention that the proportion of marriages to the female population has progressively diminished from 1·716 per cent. in the 10 years 1796-1805, to 1·533 per cent. in the 10 years 1836-45. The proportion of marriages to the population in each period of 10 years is shown in Table (f). While the marriages increase in prosperity, it is a general rule that the proportion of marriages to the population decreases as the mortality decreases; and that marriage takes place later as life becomes longer. The table (g) contains the estimated population on the

(f) ENGLAND.

Years.	Annual Marriages to 100000 Females living.	Living to One Annual Marriage.			Ages of Women.	Annual Marriages to 100 Women living at the Ages in Col. 1.		Women living at the Ages in Col. 1. to One Annual Marriage.	
		Males.	Fem.	Persons		1816 to 1825	1836 to 1845	1816 to 1825	1836 to 1845
1836-1845	1533	63·1	65·2	128·3	15-45	3·596	3·277	27·8	30·5
1826-1835	1588	60·9	63·0	123·9					
1816-1825	1607	60·8	62·2	123·0	20-50	4·168	3·722	24·0	26·9
1806-1815	1637	60·7	61·1	121·8					
1796-1805	1716	57·2	58·3	115·5					

(g)

Year (Jan. 1).	Estimated Population of England (including its proportion of Army, Navy, and Registered Seamen).			Marriages in the Five Years previous to, and the Five Years following, the date in Col. 1.	Annual Rate of Increase per Cent.		Logarithms $r = \lambda(1 + \text{Annual Rate of Increase})$.		Persons living to One Annual Marriage.	Years.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.		Marriages.	Population (Females).	Derived from Marriages.	Derived from enumerated Population (Females).		
Col. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1841	15921285	7830885	8090400	1240252					128·3	1836-45
1831	13943851	6856643	7087208	1125787	*973	1·332	*0042054	*0057479	123·9	1826-35
1821	12085365	5971784	6113581	982178	1·374	1·483	*0059266	*0063949	123·0	1816-25
1811	10468187	5217176	5251011	859827	1·339	1·531	*0057779	*0065988	121·8	1806-15
1801	9149082	4532537	4616545	792376	*820	1·305	*0039480	*0056315	115·5	1796-05
1791	8057245	3991631	4065614	717841	*963	1·279	*0042903	*0065191	112·2	1786-95
1781	7144168	3539285	3604883	654759	*924	1·210	*0039947	*0062225	109·1	1776-85
1771	6335584	3147127	3205457	598919	*895	1·181	*0038713	*0061001	106·1	1766-75
1761	5802356	2874539	2927817	562743	*625	*910	*0027068	*0039346	103·1	1756-65

first day of every 10th year, from 1841 back to 1761. The first five statements of the female population (1801-1841), are derived directly from the censuses; to the males returned, a proportion of the army, navy, and merchant-seamen was added, so as to make the proportion of males the same in England as in the United Kingdom. The population increased 0·283 per cent, faster than the marriages through the period 1801-1841; the rate of increase of marriages, in 1761-1801, was raised to that extent, and then taken to represent the increase of the population in the same period. According to this calculation, which is corroborated by others, the population of England was under 6 millions in 1761. The proportion of marriages in the 10 years (1756-65) was 1 annually in 103 of the population.

Mode in which the Marriages were performed.—In the year 1845, of the 143743 marriages, 129515 were performed according to the rites of the Established Church; 14228 not according to the rites of the Church. The proportions are nearly as 9 to 1; or, the marriages at the Church are 90·102 per cent. of the whole number in England. The marriages after banns were stated to be 92867; by licence 15013. The marriages after notice to the Superintendent Registrars were only 1706. The numbers are increasing; but the public probably are not yet aware of this provision of the Registration Act. In 18919 cases it was not stated by the officiating clergyman whether the marriage was by licence or banns; the oversight is, I hope, in the way of being rectified. The publication by banns in the country, and in small towns, answers every purpose for which it was intended; but in large towns, and particularly in London, the hurried proclamation in one of its hundreds of churches of a long list of the names of persons intending to marry, in the middle of Divine service, is a very imperfect notice. The system no doubt admits of improvement. Again, there are about 18000 licences granted by Doctors' Commons and by country surrogates every year. The usual cost of the licence at Doctors' Commons is 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* There is 10*s.* 6*d.* additional for minors, and in the country, surrogates, it is said, obtain higher fees. At only 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* the tax on 18000 licenses is 47250*l.* a year. The stamps on each licence are 12*s.* 6*d.* Deducting this sum, the licenses to marry yield at least 36000*l.* a year. The expense of granting licences in a manner the most useful and convenient to the public would not be considerable; and it is not easy to see why the surplus revenue derivable from the tax should not go into the public treasury when a portion of the expenses of the registration of births, deaths, and marriages is paid out of the Consolidated Fund. The aggregate amount of charges for the General Register Office, at which all the returns of the country are examined, indexed, and analysed, and the Act is administered, was 13794*l.* in 1846; and the 621 superintendent registrars received 9097*l.* for examining certified copies. After discharging the expenses of the civil registration, defrayed by the Consolidated Fund, and the cost of the decennial census, a large surplus would be left, out of 47250*l.* for licences, to go to the public revenue of the country. And this would not interfere in the slightest degree with the marriage fees; which would continue to be paid to the officiating

clergyman, as they are now, quite independently of the charge for the licence.*

There were 9997 marriages in registered places of worship; 3977 in superintendent registrars' offices; 180 marriages according to the rites of the Jews, and 74 marriages between Quakers: 6287 men, and 19376 women married, were under 21 years of age; of the men married 4.37 per cent., of women 13.48 per cent. were minors; 18176 or 12.64 per cent. of the men were widowers, 12369 or 8.60 per cent. of the women were widows.

47665 of the men, and 71229 of the women who were married in 1845, signed with marks in the marriage register. 33.2 per cent. of the men, and 49.6 per cent. of the women, did not write their names. Two in three of the men, and only one in two of the women in the country at the marriageable age wrote their names. In explanation of the value to be attached to this test of education, I quote a passage from my last Report:—"It is probable that a few women, able to write letters intelligible to their friends, signed with marks; but this simple test leaves little doubt that 33 in 100 of the men, and 49 in 100 of the women of England, at the marriageable age, are either quite unable to write, or write very badly. Some objections have been raised against this return as a test of the state of education; and it should be taken for no more than it is worth. I have already stated that a certain number of the women able to write, either from timidity or from other motives, may not have written their names. Upon the other hand, many who write their names are able to write nothing else; and the writing of the name is no proof of the possession of that stock of the elements of literary and scientific knowledge which it is desirable that the whole mass of a civilized nation should possess. The return is of unquestionable value, as an evidence of the *relative state* of elementary education in different parts of the country, at different times."

The proportion of those who wrote their names is rather less than it was in 1844: but there was a great increase of marriages in 1845, and it is probable that the increase was greater among the ignorant than among other classes of the population, which will account for the change without implying that the population at a marriageable age in 1845 were less able to write than the population at the corresponding age in previous years. The serious fact remains, that there is no evidence that any improvement in the mere elementary education of the people took place in the period when the men and women married in the seven

* The fee of the surrogate (who in Doctors' Commons is a Doctor of Laws), before whom the affidavit is sworn, is only 1s. It is not known precisely what becomes of the remaining *thirty-nine* shillings; but several offices in the Ecclesiastical Courts are, it is stated, partly, others wholly, sinecures. The Commissioners in 1832, among whom were the late Archbishop of Canterbury and other distinguished prelates, reported that "The annual emoluments of the Judge of the Prerogative Court, on an average of three years, are 3261l.; of the [two] *Principal Registrars*, 8793l. per annum; of the *Deputy Registrars*, 3664l. per annum; of the *Clerks of the Seats*, and their *Deputies*, 8448l. per annum. *The office of Principal Registrar has long been a sinecure office; that of the Clerks of the Seats for many years in the same situation.* In conformity with our previous suggestions, we think it would be extremely advisable to make an arrangement for the extinction of all existing sinecures; and that in future there should be no office the duties of which are not fulfilled in person."—Report of Ecclesiastical Commission, 1832, reprint of 1843, p. 68.

years, 1839-45, were educated; and that the state of education was such that 4 in 10 English men and women could not write their own names. The state of education differs in different counties. And it has recently been shown, in an analysis of the Criminal Returns, compared with the facts published in previous Reports, that crime is most prevalent in the districts where in proportion to the whole the fewest numbers can write. "It is found, that out of 22 different combinations formed of the various districts of England and Wales, in every instance there is an excess of crime where there is the least education or instruction; and, comparing the respective sections of each group of counties, it will be seen that there is an average excess of 25 per cent. of crime in the sections of inferior education over that of higher education; and in some districts the excess is as much as 44 per cent."*

The Tables, *h, i, k, l, m, n*, exhibit the principal facts of interest connected with the Marriage Returns.

(h) Abstract of Marriages registered in England, pursuant to the Act of 6 and 7 Will. IV. cap. 86.

ENGLAND.	MARRIAGES.										
	According to the Rites of the Established Church.						Not according to the Rites of the Established Church.				
	Special Licence.	Licence.	Banns.	Superintendent Registrar's Certificate.	Not stated by which of the foregoing Forms.	Total.	In Registered Places of Worship.	In Superintendent Registrar's Office.	Quakers.	Jews.	Total
In the years ending 30th June, 1838	9	13677	68410	493	24612	107201	2976	1093	76	135	4280
" 1839	10	14669	76328	968	22657	114632	4654	1564	73	160	6451
" 1840	10	15564	78642	912	21890	117018	5140	1938	81	152	7311
" 1841	17	15752	77826	856	19997	114448	5816	2036	66	116	8034
In the years ending 31st Dec. 1841	13	15792	78015	972	19579	114371	5882	2064	66	113	8125
" 1842	9	14935	75744	944	18415	110047	6200	2357	58	163	8778
" 1843	8	14544	79849	1222	18014	113637	7152	2817	61	151	10181
" 1844	10	14930	85176	1558	18335	120009	8564	3446	55	175	12240
" 1845	10	16013	92867	1706	18919	129515	9997	3977	74	180	14228

ENGLAND.	Total Marriages.	Not of Age.		Re-Married.		Signed with Marks.	
		Men.	Women	Widowers.	Widows.	Men.	Women
In the years ending 30th June, 1838	111481	5575	16563	—	—	—	—
" 1839	121083	5628	16414	—	—	40767	59949
" 1840	124329	6101	17909	—	—	41812	62523
" 1841	122482	5537	16391	—	—	40059	59896
In the Years ending 31st Dec. 1841	122496	5362	16285	—	—	39954	59680
" 1842	118825	5387	16003	15619	10579	38031	56965
" 1843	123818	5511	16403	16305	10811	40520	60715
" 1844	132249	5515	17410	16941	11183	42912	65073
" 1845	143743	6287	19376	18176	12369	47665	71229

* Of the 8564 marriages in 1844, 2280 were in Roman Catholic chapels; and 6284 in the chapels of other denominations.

† Of the 9997 marriages in 1845, 2816 were in Roman Catholic chapels; and 7181 in the chapels of other denominations.

* Statistics of Crime in England and Wales, 1834-44, by F. G. P. Neison; Journal of Statistical Society, Vol. xi., Part II., p. 140.

(i) Minors and Persons of Age.

YEARS.	Total Married.	Under Age.		Of Full Age.			
		Number.	Proportion per Cent. to the whole Number Married.	Number.	Proportion per Cent. to the whole Number Married.		
1843	123818 Couples, or 247636 Persons.	Men	5511	4.45	Men	118307	95.55
		Women	16403	13.25	Women	107415	86.75
		Total and mean	-	21914	8.85	-	225722
1844	132249 Couples, or 264498 Persons.	Men	5515	4.17	Men	126734	95.83
		Women	17410	13.16	Women	114839	86.84
		Total and mean	-	22925	8.67	-	241573
1845	143743 Couples, or 287486 Persons.	Men	6287	4.37	Men	137456	95.63
		Women	19376	13.48	Women	124367	86.52
		Total and mean	-	25663	8.93	-	261823

(k)

Number of Persons who had been Married before in 100 Marriages.

1843.			1844.			1845.		
DISTRICTS.	Proportion per Cent.	One in	DISTRICTS.	Proportion per Cent.	One in	DISTRICTS.	Proportion per Cent.	One in
Metropolis	12.5	8.0	Metropolis	12.1	8.3	Metropolis	11.7	8.5
North Western	11.9	8.4	North Western	11.6	8.6	North Western	11.7	8.5
Western	11.4	8.8	Western	11.1	9.0	Western	11.1	9.0
North Midland	11.1	9.0	ENGLAND	10.6	9.4	ENGLAND	10.6	9.4
ENGLAND	11.0	9.1	Eastern	10.2	9.8	Eastern	10.4	9.6
York	10.8	9.3	North Midland	10.2	9.8	North Midland	10.3	9.7
South Eastern	10.2	9.8	York	10.2	9.8	York	10.2	9.8
Northern	10.2	9.8	South Eastern	9.9	10.1	South Eastern	10.0	10.0
South Western	10.1	9.9	South Western	9.9	10.1	South Midland	9.8	10.2
Eastern	9.8	10.2	Welsh	9.8	10.2	Welsh	9.8	10.2
Welsh	9.7	10.3	South Midland	9.5	10.5	South Western	9.7	10.3
South Midland	9.6	10.4	Northern	8.9	11.2	Northern	8.8	11.4

(l) Proportion per Cent. of Persons Married under 21 Years of Age, of the Re-marriages of Widowers and Widows, and of Persons who signed the Marriage Register with Marks. in England, 1839-45.

	Married under 21 Years of Age.			In 100 Marriages the Proportion per Cent. of			Signed the Marriage Register with Marks.		
	Proportion per Cent.			Widowers, Widows, Mean.			Proportion per Cent.		
	Men.	Women	Mean.	Widowers.	Widows	Mean.	Men.	Women	Mean.
In the Years ending the last day of June - 1839	4.64	13.55	8.60	-	-	-	33.7	49.5	41.6
" " " 1840	4.90	14.40	9.65	-	-	-	33.6	50.3	42.0
" " " 1841	4.52	13.38	8.95	-	-	-	32.7	48.9	40.8
In the Years ending the last day of December - 1841	4.38	13.29	8.83	12.90	8.99	10.95	32.7	48.8	40.8
" " " 1842	4.53	13.47	9.00	13.14	8.90	11.02	32.0	47.9	40.0
" " " 1843	4.45	13.25	8.85	13.17	8.73	10.95	32.7	49.0	40.9
" " " 1844	4.17	13.16	8.67	12.81	8.46	10.63	32.4	49.2	40.8
" " " 1845	4.37	13.48	8.93	12.64	8.60	10.62	33.2	49.6	41.4

(m) Proportion per Cent. of Men who signed the Marriage Register with Marks.

	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Metropolis	12	12	11	12	12	12	12
Cumberland	14	16	16	17	16	16	16
Cornwall	33	36	35	36	38	36	37
Lancashire	43	39	38	36	39	40	40
North Wales	46	47	46	42	41	45	46
Bedfordshire	55	54	49	50	49	50	49

(n) Proportion per Cent. of Men and Women who signed the Marriage Register with Marks, and who wrote their Names; arranged in the order of the Education of Men, in Divisions and Counties of England, 1839-45.

No.	DIVISIONS.	Proportion in 100 Men.		Proportion in 100 Women.	
		Who Signed with Marks.	Who Wrote their Names.	Who Signed with Marks.	Who Wrote their Names.
1	Metropolis	12	88	24	76
10	Northern	21	79	42	58
2	South Eastern	32	68	39	61
7	North Midland	32	68	49	51
	ENGLAND	33	67	49	51
9	York	34	66	57	43
5	South Western	34	66	47	53
6	Western	38	62	52	48
8	North Western	39	61	66	34
3	South Midland	42	58	52	48
4	Eastern	46	54	52	48
11	Welsh	46	54	69	31
	COUNTIES.				
-	Metropolis	12	88	24	76
40	Cumberland	16	84	36	64
39	Northumberland	19	81	37	63
36	East Riding with York	20	80	39	61
41	Westmoreland	20	80	35	65
37	North Riding	23	77	40	60
38	Durham	25	75	48	52
19	Devonshire	28	72	41	59
22	Gloucestershire	29	71	42	58
2	Kent (except Greenwich)	29	71	39	61
3	Sussex	30	70	39	61
32	Derbyshire	30	70	49	51
29	Rutland hire	31	69	34	66
4	Hamp hire	31	69	39	61
27	Warwickshire	32	68	48	52
30	Lincolnshire	32	68	46	54
6	Middlesex (part of)	32	68	35	65
28	Leicestershire	33	67	50	50
31	Nottinghamshire	34	66	53	47
18	Dorsetshire	34	66	43	57
9	Oxfordshire	35	65	44	56
1	Surrey (part of)	36	64	37	63
20	Cornwall	36	64	55	45
33	Cheshire	36	64	61	39
21	Somersetshire	37	63	48	52
10	Northamptonshire	38	62	51	49
23	Herefordshire	38	62	44	56
35	West Riding	38	62	64	36
34	Lancashire	39	61	67	33
5	Berkshire	41	59	44	56
24	Shropshire	42	58	53	47
8	Buckinghamshire	43	57	55	45
26	Staffordshire	43	57	60	40
16	Norfolk	44	56	50	50
17	Wiltshire	44	56	54	46
11	Huntingdonshire	45	55	54	46
25	Worcestershire	45	55	60	40
43	South Wales	45	55	69	31
13	Cambridgeshire	46	54	55	45
15	Suffolk	46	54	52	48
44	North Wales	46	54	69	31
14	Essex	47	53	53	47
7	Hertfordshire	51	49	56	44
12	Bedfordshire	51	49	64	36
42	Monmouthshire	51	49	65	35

Births.—The number of children born alive and registered in 1845 was 543521: taking an equal number of males and females, this is 3·238 per cent. on the population. One child was born to 31 persons living; or, to 100000 males and 100000 females living of all ages, there were 6476 children born alive. The increase in the proportion of births has been very slight since 1842, notwithstanding the increase of marriages.—(Table o.) In Lancashire and Cheshire there were 7444 children born to 200000 males and females living; in the South-Eastern division (comprising the extra-metropolitan districts of Kent and Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire), the proportion of children born was 5944; in Wales, 5835, to a population of 200000. In Table (p), the births are compared with the number of women living between the ages of 15-45, in several divisions and counties; the result shows the relative fecundity of the population in different parts during the 7 years. It is only necessary to bear in mind that all the births are not registered; and that a certain addition should be made on this account to the numbers in the Table.

(o)—Births to 100000 Males and 100000 Females living in the Seven Years 1839-45.

No.	DIVISIONS.	Children born alive to 50000 Males and 50000 Females living.	Living to one Birth Annually.	Annual Births to 200000 living (= 100000 Males + 100000 Females).						
				Mean of 1839-45.	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
8	North Western	3627	28	7290	7205	7191	7100	7125	7427	7444
9	York	3441	29	6968	6934	6977	6747	6761	6872	6912
10	Northern	3354	30	6476	6677	6854	6676	6878	6678	6719
3	South Midland	3257	31	6534	6461	6480	6545	6564	6538	6470
7	North Midland	3255	31	6558	6573	6584	6460	6473	6465	6450
	ENGLAND	3218	31	6354	6394	6434	6418	6451	6529	6476
6	Western	3216	31	6426	6566	6476	6466	6397	6410	6284
1	Metropolis	3107	32	5801	6056	6132	6244	6311	6434	6489
4	Eastern	3097	32	5940	6078	6187	6165	6339	6290	6358
5	South Western	3006	33	5975	5944	5964	6045	6069	6176	5901
11	Welsh	2990	33	5956	5961	6056	5986	6003	6058	5835
2	South Eastern	2938	34	5755	5693	5801	5844	6000	6040	5944

The number of children *not born in wedlock* was 38241 in 1845; the number born in wedlock was 505280. Hence 7 per cent. of the children born alive in 1845 were born out of wedlock; the proportion distinguished in 1842 was 6·7 per cent. The subsequent Tables show the proportions born out of wedlock in the several counties and statistical districts of England and Wales. The highest proportion is 17·4 per cent., the lowest is 1 per cent. Either through the incompleteness of the schedules, the misstatements of informants, or the want of vigilance in the registrars, there is reason to suspect that in large towns, and particularly in London, a considerable number of illegitimate children either escape registration altogether, or are registered as though their parents were married.

(p)—Proportion of Births to Women living between the Ages 15-45.

No.	DIVISIONS AND COUNTIES.	Females living in 1841 at the Age of 15 and under 45.	Births in the 7 Years 1839-45.	Average Number of Births Annually.	* Children Registered Annually to 100 Women living between the Ages 15-45.	Children Registered Annually to 100 Females living of all Ages.
					13·433	6·295
	ENGLAND	3812651	3636383	519483	13·433	6·295
	DIVISIONS.					
1	London	543481	422416	60345	10·923	5·831
2	South Eastern	343849	312426	44632	12·824	5·820
3	South Midland	263192	265405	37915	14·250	6·432
4	Eastern	234732	227317	32474	13·730	6·067
5	South Western	403353	369093	52728	12·948	5·779
6	Western	443092	434652	62093	13·807	6·340
7	North Midland	253541	256323	36618	14·257	6·445
8	North Western	527517	545280	77897	14·443	7·107
9	York	358403	379877	54268	14·907	6·820
	2. SOUTH EASTERN COUNTIES.					
1	Surrey (part of)	42222	35835	5119	11·944	5·398
2	Kent (except Greenwich)	108015	100816	14402	13·176	6·068
3	Sussex	69107	63376	9054	12·955	5·834
4	Hampshire	82067	72446	10349	12·471	5·724
5	Berkshire	42438	39853	5693	13·265	5·895
	3. SOUTH MIDLAND COUNTIES.					
6	Middlesex (part of)	36026	27124	3875	10·602	4·993
7	Hertfordshire	36850	36998	5285	14·188	6·361
8	Buckinghamshire	31755	32433	4633	14·495	6·427
9	Oxfordshire	35863	35926	5132	14·204	6·289
10	Northamptonshire	44749	48158	6880	15·223	6·871
11	Huntingdonshire	12385	14221	2032	16·242	7·177
12	Bedfordshire	26769	28629	4090	15·071	6·949
13	Cambridgeshire	38795	41916	5988	15·203	6·813
	4. EASTERN COUNTIES.					
14	Essex	70734	69743	9963	13·957	6·153
15	Suffolk	70524	70552	10079	14·189	6·222
16	Norfolk	93474	87022	12432	13·212	5·885
	5. SOUTH WESTERN COUNTIES.					
17	Wiltshire	53448	50321	7189	13·360	5·827
18	Dorsetshire	38815	35642	5092	12·978	5·744
19	Devonshire	127955	108331	15476	12·017	5·426
20	Cornwall	77481	79874	11411	14·521	6·335
21	Somersetshire	105654	94925	13561	12·731	5·769
	6. WESTERN COUNTIES.					
22	Gloucestershire	99263	83617	11945	11·890	5·697
23	Herefordshire	21048	18705	2672	12·658	5·414
24	Shropshire	53490	45680	6526	12·113	5·351
25	Worcestershire	76749	83496	11928	15·385	6·957
26	Staffordshire	98214	110704	15815	15·742	7·078
27	Warwickshire	94290	92450	13207	13·731	6·495
	7. NORTH MIDLAND COUNTIES.					
28	Leicestershire	51076	51124	7303	14·141	6·431
29	Rutlandshire	4861	4998	714	14·567	6·124
30	Lincolnshire	79353	82712	11816	14·683	6·556
31	Nottinghamshire	63115	62842	8977	14·057	6·414
32	Derbyshire	55137	54647	7807	13·957	6·360
	8. NORTH WESTERN COUNTIES.					
33	Cheshire	89504	84063	12009	13·174	6·228
34	Lancashire	438013	461217	65888	14·698	7·293
	9. YORK.					
35	West Riding	263575	289053	41293	15·388	7·171
36	East Riding (with York)	53620	51266	7324	13·485	5·863
37	North Riding	41208	39558	5651	13·625	5·940

* The average Annual Births (col. 5) were divided by the females living at the age of 15 and under 45 (col. 3), corrected for increase in order to obtain col. 6.

Males and Females born.—In the 7 years 1839-45, there were 1863892 males, and 1772491 females born alive. To 10000 girls 10515 boys were born. The proportion in the whole country is nearly 20 boys to 19 girls. The proportion of boys born is greatest (1·0617

to 1·0000) in the Northern division, least (1·0455 to 1·0000) in the South Midland division. On comparing the male and female legitimate and illegitimate children born in the 2 years, 1842, 1845, it is found that of legitimate children there are 10510 boys to 10000 girls; while only 10393 boys are born out of wedlock to 10000 girls: there is an excess in the proportion of boys among those born in wedlock, amounting to 117. The proportions are in legitimate children nearly 20 boys to 19 girls; in illegitimate children 26 boys to 25 girls. In the different divisions of the country the proportions vary; but it has been shown by Poisson, and other mathematicians, that the fluctuations in ratios of this kind bear a certain relation to the number of facts observed; the fluctuations being greatest where the facts are least numerous.

(s) The Proportion of Male to Female Births Registered in England in 7 Years, 1839-45; also the Proportion of Male to Female Births of the Legitimate and Illegitimate Children Registered in the Years 1842 and 1845.

No.	DIVISIONS.	Legitimate and Illegitimate Children born in 7 Years 1839-45.			Legitimate Children born in 2 Years, 1842, 1845.			Illegitimate Children born in 2 Years, 1842, 1845.		
		Males.	Females.	Ratio of Males to Females.	Males.	Females.	Ratio of Males to Females.	Ratio of Males to Females.	Males.	Females.
	ENGLAND	1863892	1772491	1·0515	506399	481824	1·0510	1·0393	37223	35814
1	Metropolis	215993	206423	1·0463	62930	59987	1·0491	1·0557	2233	2115
2	South Eastern	159940	152486	1·0487	43500	41637	1·0448	1·0040	3010	2998
3	South Midland	135656	129749	1·0455	36754	34918	1·0525	1·0385	2671	2572
4	Eastern	116413	110904	1·0498	31051	29792	1·0422	1·0680	2841	2660
5	South Western	189304	179789	1·0529	51605	48328	1·0678	1·0848	3249	2995
6	Western	222616	212036	1·0498	59430	57436	1·0347	1·0347	4466	4316
7	North Midland	131746	124577	1·0575	35077	32967	1·0640	1·0425	3017	2894
8	North Western	279566	265714	1·0521	75398	71903	1·0486	1·0339	7014	6784
9	York	194604	185273	1·0503	52126	49883	1·0450	1·0262	4110	4005
10	Northern	101299	95412	1·0617	27162	25653	1·0588	1·0503	2232	2125
11	Welsh	116755	110128	1·0601	31366	29320	1·0698	1·0127	2380	2350

Deaths.—The deaths registered in England during the year 1845 were 349366. The annual rate of mortality per cent. among males was 2·163, among females 2·001; and the mean mortality of the two sexes was 2·082 per cent., or nearly 1 in 48. The mortality was much lower in 1845 than it had been in any other of the eight years, 1838-45, during which the new system of registration has been in operation. The mortality was 2·290 per cent., or 1 in 44, in 1840; it was 2·160, 2·167, 2·120, and 2·155 per cent. in the years 1841-4, and, consequently, presented little deviation from the mean of 2·176 per cent. (one in 46 nearly.) The mortality in 1845 was below the average in nine out of the eleven divisions. In London the mortality was lower than it had been in any of the seven previous years; in the North Western division (Cheshire and Lancashire) and in Yorkshire, it was lower than it had been in any year except 1844. In the Eastern division (comprising Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk), the mortality (2·076 per cent.) was higher than the average (2·028 per cent.), and higher than in any of the seven previous years, except 1840 and 1844, when the mortality was 2·077 and 2·098 per cent. In the Welsh divisions (comprising Wales and Monmouthshire) the mortality of 1845 was also slightly above the average. If the marriages indicate the opinions which the people entertain of their prospects in the world, the deaths move as the shadow of their past

sufferings or well-being; and the great reduction in the mortality of 1845 was undoubtedly in part owing to the active employment and the relative abundance of food in that and in the previous years.

(t) Deaths to 50000 Males and 50000 Females living in the Eight Years 1838-45.

No.	DIVISIONS.	COUNTIES.	Annual Mortality per Cent., or the Deaths to 10000 Persons Living.	Persons Living to 1 Annual Death.	Annual Rate of Mortality per Cent., or, read without regard to decimal points, the Deaths to 100000 Persons living (50000 Males and 50000 Females).							
					Mean of 1838-45.	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
8	North Western	Cheshire, Lancashire	2·591	39	2·568	2·843	2·957	2·541	2·526	2·491	2·384	2·415
1	Metropolis	{ Middlesex (part of), Surrey (part of), Kent (part of)	2·527	40	2·955	2·509	2·522	2·435	2·392	2·518	2·559	2·382
9	York	— — —	2·177	46	2·161	2·317	2·333	2·164	2·158	2·113	2·058	2·105
		ENGLAND	2·176	46	2·240	2·187	2·290	2·160	2·167	2·120	2·155	2·082
6	Western	{ Gloucestershire, Here- fordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Staf- fordshire, Warwick- shire	2·176	46	2·198	2·097	2·267	2·201	2·284	2·074	2·194	2·089
10	Northern	{ Durham, Northumber- land, Cumberland, Westmoreland	2·087	48	2·149	2·155	2·176	2·237	2·107	2·040	1·885	1·945
3	South Midland	{ Middlesex (part of), Hertfordshire, Buck- inghamshire, Oxford- shire, Northampton- shire, Huntingdon- shire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire	2·083	48	2·138	2·013	2·151	2·128	2·065	2·011	2·128	2·025
7	North Midland	{ Leicestershire, Rut- landshire, Lincoln- shire, Nottingham- shire, Derbyshire	2·057	49	1·943	2·111	2·348	2·078	2·041	1·971	2·009	1·956
4	Eastern	Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk	2·028	49	2·040	2·024	2·077	1·990	2·013	1·906	2·098	2·076
11	Welsh	Monmouthshire and Wales	1·950	51	2·047	1·940	2·074	1·974	1·811	1·802	1·911	1·958
5	South Western	{ Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Corn- wall, Somersetshire	1·941	52	1·983	1·789	1·952	1·872	2·061	1·991	2·050	1·832
2	South Eastern	{ Surrey (part of), Kent (except Greenwich), Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire	1·901	53	1·997	1·857	1·907	1·879	1·942	1·923	1·927	1·776

(u) Relative Mortality of the several Quarters of the Eight Years.

Years.	Deaths Registered in the Quarters ending the last day of				Deaths in the several Years.
	March.	June.	Sept.	Dec.	
1838	98152	90877	72877	80854	342760
1839	89740	87969	76280	84995	338984
1840	98896	90339	80822	89630	359687
1841	99069	86134	75440	83204	343847
1842	96314	86538	82339	84328	349519
1843	94926	87234	76792	87493	346445
1844	101024	85337	79708	90864	356933
1845	104664	89149	74872	80681	349366

I have continued the publication of the Weekly Tables of Mortality for London and of the Quarterly Tables. I cannot better describe the state of the public health during the four quarters of the year 1845 than by making a few extracts from the remarks which were written and published at the end of every Quarter.

“The Quarterly Returns are obtained from 115 districts,* subdivided

into 576 sub-districts. *Thirty-four* districts are placed under the metropolis, and the remaining 81 districts comprise, with some agricultural districts, the principal towns and cities in England. The population was 6578912 in 1841."

The general results derived from these returns are borne out by the returns from the whole kingdom.

Quarter ending March 31st, 1845.

"The season to which the return refers, was remarkable for its severity; the temperature fell lower than had ever been observed and recorded in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. The mortality was proportionally high; 49874 deaths were registered; 43958 had been registered in the last quarter of 1844; and 38784 in the September quarter of that year. The increase of deaths was therefore upwards of 110000.

"In the unhealthy countries of the world the mortality is highest in the hottest months, and this was the case formerly in London; but the greatest number of deaths now invariably happens in the coldest quarter of the year. Thus the average number of deaths (45484) in the March quarters of 1840-4 is 4220 above the general quarterly average (41264) of the same five years 1840-4; but the deaths in the first quarter of the present year were 49874, or 4390 above the average of the March quarter of the previous five years. It is true that the population increased in the interval; but the increase of population would not account for more than half the excess of deaths.

"The mortality was below the average in the milder climate of the south-western parts of the island, and in the coal districts of the north; it was highest on the eastern coast, in the metropolis, and in North Wales.

"In the city of Norwich 708 persons perished in the three months out of a population of about 62000. The excessive mortality is accounted for in the Notes; 57 deaths from small-pox were registered in East Wymer, 36 in Conisford, 40 in Mancroft. The registrar of Coslany states that the average 'is exceeded by about 100 deaths, principally from small-

* The districts comprise:—

The whole of London.

In the South Eastern Division.—Maidstone, Brighton, Isle of Wight, Portsea Island, Winchester, Windsor.

In the South Midland Division.—St. Albans, Wycombe, Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, Cambridge.

In the Eastern Division.—Colchester, Ipswich, Norwich, Yarmouth.

In the South Western Division.—Devizes, Dorchester, Exeter, St. Thomas, Plymouth, Redruth, Penzance, Bath.

In the Western Division.—Bristol, Clifton, Stroud, Cheltenham, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Kidderminster, Dudley, Walsall, Wolverhampton, Wollstanton, Birmingham, Aston, Coventry.

In the North Midland Division.—Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Basford, Derby.

In the North Western Division.—Stockport, Macclesfield, Great Boughton, (including Chester), Liverpool, West Derby (adjoining Liverpool), Blackburn, Preston, Rochdale, Bury, Bolton, Wigan, Prescott, Chorlton, Manchester, Salford, Ashton.

In the York Division.—Sheffield, Huddersfield, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Hunslet, Hull, York.

In the Northern Division.—Sunderland, Gateshead, Tynemouth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, Cockermouth, Kendal.

In the Welsh Division.—Abergavenny, Pontypool, Merthyr Tydfil, Newtown, Wrexham, Holywell, Anglesey.

pox. No deaths have occurred from small-pox after vaccination.' (The Registrar's Notes under Norwich.) Few of the victims of small-pox had been vaccinated; vaccination had not even been attempted in a great majority of cases; and thus, in one city, between 200 and 300 persons were suffered to perish in three months—others were blinded, maimed, and deformed for life—through the negligence of the parents in the application of the protection discovered by Jenner, and placed at the disposal of all by the Legislature. Other examples of the consequences of neglecting vaccination will be found in the Notes. Ashton-under-Lyne is the only parish in which it is mentioned that the 'Churchwardens and overseers have refused to carry out the provisions of the Act of 3 and 4 Victoria,'—to extend the practice of vaccination, by contracting with medical officers for the gratuitous protection of the poor. Sixty-one funerals took place in Ashton town from small-pox. In Jenner's Life an instance is mentioned of the cost of coffins convincing the overseers of a certain parish of the advantages of vaccination after all the higher arguments of humanity and justice had failed.

"The great mortality was due in part to the extreme coldness of the season; but, as is judiciously remarked by one of the registrars of Stockport, 'great as it is, there can be no question that the mortality would have been greater, in so severe a winter, had not the improved condition of the industrious classes enabled them to be both better clothed and fed.'

"In London, small-pox, scarlatina, and measles were epidemic; the deaths from diarrhoea and erysipelas were above, those from typhus below, the average. 411 deaths from hooping-cough were registered, which is 113 less than the average. The deaths from all pulmonary diseases rose; and 632 persons died of bronchitis, 606 of asthma, 1296 of pneumonia. There was a marked excess of deaths from scrofula, tabes mesenterica, cancer, atrophy, malformation, apoplexy, delirium tremens, and intemperance. 12 persons labouring under diabetes died (the average is 6); and it is worthy of remark that cold weather is always very fatal to this class of patients.

"*Districts in which the mortality was ABOVE the average of five March quarters:*—The five metropolitan districts, Portsea Island, Northampton, Norwich, Kidderminster, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Aston, Coventry, Nottingham, Stockport, West Derby, Blackburn, Chorlton, Manchester, Ashton, Bradford, Merthyr Tydfil, Holywell, and Anglesey.

"*Districts in which the mortality was BELOW the average of five March quarters:*—Cambridge, Liverpool, Wigan, Prescott, Salford, Hull, and Pontypool.

"The mean temperature of the thirteen weeks at Greenwich was 35°·4. The temperature of the corresponding week, on an average of 25 years, was 38°·9, according to Mr. Henry's observations. The temperature of the first four weeks of January was from 1° to 6° above the average; from the close of January to the end of March, the mean temperature was 8° below the average; and in one week (March 9th to 15th) it was 29°·1, or 13° below the average. On Wednesday morning, February 12th, a thermometer on grass fell to 6° below zero; the thermometer on flax, cleared of snow, was 12°·5 below zero, probably a point lower than has ever been recorded in this climate before. At the same time a ther-

mometer on long grass under snow was 26° ; showing, in a striking manner, the protection snow affords vegetation against sudden extremes of temperature. The temperature of the air fell in the night to $8^{\circ} 8$.

"40729 deaths were registered in the *Quarter ending June 30th*, 1845, which are 1235 more deaths than were registered on an average in the corresponding quarters of five previous years. The increase of deaths is not, however, in proportion to the probable increase of the population. After the necessary correction, the mortality of the Spring quarter is somewhat below the average.

"*Small-pox* has prevailed epidemically in many districts, and the mortality from that disease has been considerable among children unprotected by vaccination. Several persons said to have been previously vaccinated, and one who had been inoculated, also died of small-pox. In many districts no deaths from small-pox occurred; in others, the disease was introduced by migratory labourers, ill provided probably with household comforts and conveniences. The neglect of vaccination is adverted to by several registrars. The registrar of *Leicester* says, 'I have registered *fifty deaths* by small-pox from January 1st to June 30th, 1845; only *one* of the fifty persons had been vaccinated, and that was a doubtful case.' The registrar of *Heaton Norris, Stockport*, mentions, that, 'in one family, three infants (two sisters and a brother) all died of small-pox in the short space of eleven days.' 'Small-pox,' observes the registrar of *Great Marlow, Wycombe*, 'has appeared in part of my district. I find, on inquiry, that a vast number of parents have not availed themselves of vaccination, although perfectly aware that it can be done free of expense.' The number of deaths (143) in the northern sub-district of *Yarmouth* is much above the average, in consequence of the 'prevalence of small-pox, which has proved fatal in 62 cases. Of this number 61 died without previous vaccination. One case only is recorded in which vaccination is said to have been performed; a midwife was the operator, and the patient was attended by an old woman. The child was two months old.' *Measles* and *scarlatina* have been the epidemic in several districts.

"The 11267 deaths in the METROPOLIS are near the average of the season, if we allow for the increase of the population. The weekly deaths fell in the quarter from 884 to 756, as the temperature rose. The deaths from *small-pox* were 246—less by 235 than were registered in the previous quarter, but 102 above the average of the June quarter for five previous years. *One hundred and four* women died from childbirth in the metropolis within three months.

"*Districts in which the mortality was ABOVE the average of five June quarters*:—West, north, east, and south districts of the metropolis: Winchester, Northampton, Colchester, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Dorchester, Plymouth, Kidderminster, Dudley, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Leicester, West Derby, (adjoining Liverpool), Blackburn, Rochdale, Chorlton, Ashton, Bradford, Leeds, Merthyr Tydfil, Holywell, Anglesey.

"*Districts in which the mortality was BELOW the average of five June quarters*:—Central district of the metropolis: Devizes, Redruth, Penzance, Bristol, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Liverpool, Preston, Bury, Wigan, Prescot, Sunderland, Tynemouth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Kendal, Wrexham.

"The mean temperature at Greenwich was $51^{\circ} 9$, which is $1^{\circ} 1$ below the average of the season. The north and north-east winds prevailing, the temperature of the whole month of May was below the average; but the wind turning south-west, the temperature of June rose above the average of the month. The fall of rain was nearly 5 inches ($4 \cdot 8$). At Derby more than 8 inches of rain fell in the same time."

"The public health during the *Quarter ending September 30th* was good; for the deaths, notwithstanding the increase of the population, were only 36008, or 1870 less than the average of the corresponding quarters of five former years (1840-44). This favourable state of things was general, and was observed in the majority of the town districts of the kingdom. The southern coast has been unusually healthy through the summer; the deaths in Brighton, on an average 262, were only 219; in the Isle of Wight, the deaths, on an average 183, were 121; in the Portsea Island (Portsmouth), the deaths, on an average 299, were 239; in Exeter, the deaths, on an average 200, were 160; in Plymouth, the deaths, on an average 224, were 191; in Penzance, the deaths, on an average 292, were only 166 in the quarter ending September 30th, 1845.

"The mortality has been below the average in every district round the south-eastern and southern coast, from London to the Land's End; yet the average mortality itself is low throughout that part of the country. In the last Annual Report it will be seen that only 1·9 per cent., or 1 in 52, of the inhabitants die annually in the South Eastern and South Western divisions, while the annual mortality of the whole kingdom is 1 in 46.

"In Austria, including the northern parts of Italy, the annual mortality is 1 in 33;* and the mortality throughout Italy is not less than in Austria. In the cities of Italy the mortality, according to official documents, varies from 3 to 4 per cent. In France the annual mortality is 1 in 42.

"The mortality was *above* the average of the corresponding quarter in the following districts:—Northampton, Bedford, Yarmouth, Kidderminster, Leicester, Rochdale, Halifax, Bradford, Pontypool, Newtown, Holywell, and Anglesey.

"Leicester is an unhealthy district; the average mortality is high; the average number of deaths in the summer quarter is 325; in the last quarter no less than 457 deaths were registered. The registrar of the east district remarks—'Since that time (1840) vaccination seems to have been totally neglected; hence the great increase of deaths for this and the preceding quarter. I have registered 73 DEATHS FROM NATURAL SMALL-POX, and only 4 deaths of persons that had been vaccinated, and those very doubtful. *Measles* has been very fatal; I have registered 57 deaths from that epidemic.'

"The fatality of *small-pox* is mentioned by the Registrars of Yarmouth, Northampton, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, Coventry, Basford, Liverpool, Bury, Prescot, and other districts, in their remarks.

"LONDON:—76 deaths from *small-pox* were registered in the quarter: the average is 130. In the week ending September 13th, no death from small-pox was registered. Such an exemption has never before been

* Reg. Gen. 6th Report, p. xxxix.

observed since the new Tables have been published. *Measles* has been epidemic; 688 deaths have occurred from that disease. *Hooping-cough* has been prevalent. Of *scarlatina* only 194 persons, chiefly children, died: the average is 476. Only 2 deaths from privation were returned; the average of the quarter is 5.

"The weather presented this remarkable peculiarity—that the mean temperature of every week of the thirteen was below the average. The mean temperature of the quarter at Greenwich was 57°·1, which is nearly 4 degrees below the average of the season. The month of August was 5° below the temperature of the same month on an average of 25 years. Seven inches of rain fell at the Observatory. The results varied considerably in other parts of the country."*

"The mortality in the last quarter of 1845 was much lower than is usual, for only 39178 deaths were registered, which is less by 4740 than the number (43918) registered in the corresponding quarter of 1844; and 2357 less than the average of the corresponding quarter of seven previous years, notwithstanding the increase of the population at the rate of about 1·74 per cent annually.

"The fluctuations in the mortality, above and below the average, are exhibited in the following series of numbers. The lower line is deduced from the Return in the December quarter of 1838, and shows what the deaths would have been if they had increased in the same ratio as the population.

	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845
Deaths Registered in the December Quarters of 8 Years	40030	41598	44044	39165	39544	42449	43918	39178
Deaths which would have been Registered if the numbers had increased from 1838 at the rate of 1·74 per cent. annually	40030	40788	41560	42347	43149	43966	44799	45647
Difference above the calculated number	-	810	2484	-	-	-	-	-
Difference below the calculated number	-	-	-	3182	3605	1517	881	6469

* The potato rot was observed in this quarter.

The Board of Health in Naples, in 1845, placed vessels from England in quarantine. It will be seen from the table below that Naples is one of the unhealthiest cities in Europe.

NAPLES.†

Years.	Population at the end of the years.	Births, exclusive of Stillborn.	Deaths.	Marriages	Mortality per Cent.	Living to one Death.	Deaths that would have happened if mortality had been the same as in London, 1838-44.	Living to one Death in London.
1837	336302	-	-	-	-	-	-	} 39·7
1838	336537	12706	12993	3543	3·862	25·89	8485	
1839	337414	13890	13613	3177	4·040	24·75	8499	
1840	337865	13332	13465	2818	3·988	25·08	8515	
1841	338444	13445	13682	2896	4·046	24·72	8528	
1842	341050	13867	11932	2870	3·512	28·47	8568	

† The population, Births, Deaths, and Marriages, have been taken from Il Giornale del Regno delle Due Sicilie. The population includes those scattered through the villages around comprised in the quarters of the capital; they amounted to 15918 in 1839.

METEOROLOGY OF 1844 & 1845, from the Observations at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.

Quarters ending	Years	THERMOMETERS.										WIND.		Mean amount of Cloud, 0-10.	Rain in Inches (91 days).												
		Mean height of the Barometer, from 936 observations, corrected and reduced to 32 deg. Fahrenheit.		Mean.		Dew Point		Self-Registering.		In the water of the Thames at Greenwich by the Self-Registering Thermometer, read at 9 o'clock.		Difference between the Dew Point temperature and Air temperature.				Difference between the mean temperature of the Quarter, and the mean temperature of 25 Years.		Pressure in lbs. on the square Foot.									
March	June	September	December	Highest during any Week.		Lowest during any Week.		Highest on each day, 78 observations.		Lowest on each day, 78 observations.		Mean of 91 observations.		Highest in the Sun.		Lowest on the Grass.		Mean of 91 observations.		General direction.		Greatest pressure in the Quarter.		Mean for the Quarter.			
				1844	1845	1844	1845	57·6	59·0	18·6	8·8	43·7	40·0	33·4	30·9	38·6	35·4	52·3	49·6	6·3	6·0	27·1	23·8	37·2	37·2	17·0	13·0
-	-	-	-	59·0	57·6	8·8	18·6	40·0	43·7	30·9	33·4	35·4	38·6	49·6	52·3	6·0	6·3	23·8	27·1	37·2	37·2	13·0	17·0	0·6	0·63	7·5	7·2
-	-	-	-	83·3	83·2	34·0	29·5	65·4	60·5	45·5	44·2	55·0	51·9	88·6	80·0	21·6	12·2	37·0	36·3	54·9	54·1	10·0	12·0	0·36	0·5	5·5	6·4
-	-	-	-	85·1	80·5	40·6	35·3	66·9	65·0	51·4	50·1	58·9	57·1	111·6	111·6	22·5	22·5	44·2	44·2	61·0	60·6	9·0	9·0	0·29	0·4	6·3	6·9
-	-	-	-	65·9	67·1	21·6	28·3	44·3	51·6	38·7	40·4	42·4	46·1	87·2	84·8	7·9	15·0	33·4	33·4	45·1	47·4	8·0	15·0	0·35	0·	7·7	6·2
-	-	-	-	67·1	65·9	28·3	21·6	51·6	44·3	40·4	38·7	46·1	42·5	84·8	87·2	15·0	15·0	33·4	33·4	47·4	46·4	15·0	8·0	0·	0·35	6·2	7·7

* In reading the twentieth column, it will be borne in mind that + is read "HIGHER," and - "LOWER" than the average.

"The mildness of the season was one cause of the diminished mortality. This is illustrated by the annexed table of the deaths, exclusive of those by violence, registered in the metropolis, and the mean temperature at Greenwich of the last six weeks of 1844 and 1845. The deaths and the temperature were the same at first; on the fifth week the deaths were 1343, in 1844, and only 933 in 1845; the temperature in the previous week (the fourth) had fallen to $28^{\circ}\cdot 2$ in 1844, and only to $39^{\circ}\cdot 2$ in 1845.

Number of Weeks.	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	4th.	5th.	6th.
1844.—Mean Temperature of the last six weeks	44°·5	37°·6	31°·7	28°·2	37°·0	33°·4
1844.—Deaths Registered in the last six weeks	884	1037	965	1170	1343	1200
1845.—Deaths Registered in the last six weeks	886	943	935	949	933	898
1845.—Mean Temperature of the last six weeks	45°·5	46°·1	42°·4	39°·2	43°·6	40°·1

"A fall of the mean temperature of the air, from 45° to 4° or 5° below the freezing point (32°) of water, destroys from 300 to 500 lives in London. It produces the same results on a larger scale all over the country. Nor is it to be wondered at that a great change in the heat of the air which we breathe and live in should have such an effect.

"In the annexed Table, the deaths returned by the registrars for each year are given. [I now add in column 3, the deaths in the whole kingdom, for the sake of comparison.]

Years.	Deaths Registered in 115 Districts.	Deaths Registered in all England.
1838	162867	342760
1839	162605	338964
1840	171694	359687
1841	160733	343847
1842	161948	349519
1843	163201	346445
1844	167708	356933
1845	165789	349366

"In the first three years there were 497166 deaths in 115 districts; in the last three years 496698. The population increased in the districts, from which returns have been procured, about $1\cdot 74$ (nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$) per cent. annually, in the intervals of the last censuses,—and the excess of births over deaths has continued,—so that it may be safely assumed, that the numbers living have gone on increasing at the same rate—about 9 per cent. in the five years from the middle of 1839-40 to the middle of 1843-45. Now, the deaths, instead of increasing with the population 9 per cent. and consequently amounting to 541960, in the three last years were 496698: less by 45262 than if the rate of mortality which prevailed in the three years 1838-40 had been sustained. The improvement may, perhaps, be partly accounted for by other circumstances; but, as far as can be seen at present, it is fairly ascribable to the partial removal of nuisances from large towns, to some increase of employment, and, we may hope, a consequent amelioration in the condition of the great body of the people in the dense town districts of the kingdom. But an epidemic, generated in this or any neighbouring population, may speedily reverse the results of the Tables, and carry off the thousands of lives that appear to have been spared and saved."

I add the latest returns of the Marriages, Births, and Deaths, which I have been able to procure from France, Austria, and Prussia, for comparison with those of England.

Years.	MARRIAGES.				BIRTHS.				DEATHS.			
	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.
1838	—	273174	—	123644	463787	961476	—	545166	342760	846199	—	371756
1839	123166	266890	168872	128676	492574	957740	817300	553287	338984	780600	639737	408411
1840	122665	281998	169322	132281	502303	952318	826610	565145	359687	816486	649410	396494
1841	122496	283902	184122	136188	512158	976929	830005	568751	343847	804762	633600	392502
1842	118825	280412	176999	140744	517739	982896	882797	599643	349519	836152	682208	411252
1843	123818	285399	185303	140454	527325	983107	858867	581152	346445	811435	685437	421253
1844	132249	279667	—	—	540763	967324	—	—	356933	776526	—	—
1845	143743	—	—	—	543521	—	—	—	349366	—	—	—

The facts respecting Prussia are from the official Tables (dated October, 1845) of Mr. Dieterici of the Statistical Bureau. The Returns for Austria are exclusive of Hungary, Transylvania, and the military frontier.

The Proportion of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, to 10000 Persons living, in each of the Years 1838-45.

Years.	MARRIAGES.				BIRTHS.				DEATHS.			
	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.	England.	France.	Austria.	Prussia.
1838	—	806	—	869	—	2638	—	3830	2240	2497	—	2612
1839	795	784	790	887	3177	2815	3824	3814	2188	2294	2993	2815
1840	781	826	785	891	3197	2788	3832	3808	2290	2390	3010	2672
1841	770	828	846	907	3217	2848	3812	3787	2161	2346	2910	2614
1842	736	814	805	926	3209	2854	4017	3946	2167	2428	3104	2705
1843	758	825	835	913	3226	2843	3871	3779	2120	2347	3090	2739
1844	799	—	—	—	3264	—	—	—	2155	—	—	—
1845	856	—	—	—	3238	—	—	—	2082	—	—	—

Mean Annual Number of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, to 100 Persons living in the five Years 1839-43.

	Marriages to 100 Persons living.				To Persons Living.					
	England.	France.	Prussia.	Austria.	England.	France.	Prussia.	Austria.		
Marriages	—	·768	·815	·905	·812	—	130	123	110	123
Births	—	3·205	2·830	3·827	3·871	—	31	35	26	26
Deaths	—	2·185	2·361	2·709	3·021	—	46	42	37	33

I beg to direct particular attention to the series of Tables showing the mortality of the people, at different ages, in the several districts and counties of the first five divisions. I defer any comment on these important Tables until the series is completed in the next Report.* I publish them for as many districts as the calculations already extend to, in order to place as early as possible before Her Majesty's Government, and the people of the different parts of the country, a correct statement of the relative salubrity of the town and country districts of the kingdom.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

GEORGE GRAHAM,

Registrar-General.

The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart. M.P.

&c.

&c.

* The whole series is in the Appendix to the 9th Report, 8vo. edition.