SIR WILLIAM WILDE AND THE 1851 CENSUS OF IRELAND

by

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Preface

In every census of Ireland from 1851 to 1911 social and biological data on serious physical and mental handicaps were collected in addition to the customary information. Some were compiled during the main census; others by supplementary enquiry. Many were unique, and at the time of the 1851 census were collected in no other country. This was a great pioneer achievement made possible by local circumstances and by the efforts of Sir William Wilde, Oscar's father, who was a Commissioner for the 1851, 1861, and 1871 censuses, and medical adviser and compiler of the tables of the causes of death in the census of 1841.

These data have limitations but they are of interest to the demographic and medical historian. They are little known and seldom used. A brief description of their scope with particular reference to deaf-dumbness, the circumstances of their compilation, and the work of Wilde as Assistant Commissioner for the census of 1851, are the principal subjects of this paper.

Irish Censuses of Population prior to 1851

The first modern census of Great Britain was taken in 1801;¹ that of Ireland in 1813.² These were not the first attempts to estimate the population of either country; in Ireland there were at least thirty estimates³ from 1672 (when Sir William Petty⁴ put the population at 1,100,000—which was 'rather a rough conjecture than anything else'⁵) until 1804 when Newenham⁶ put it at 5,395,436. They were, however, the first enumerations authorized by statute, and in Great Britain started, and in Ireland anticipated, the decennial series.

Earlier attempts to establish a periodic census were unsuccessful. In Great Britain a Bill⁷ aimed at an *annual* enumeration was introduced in 1753. It passed the Commons⁸ but was thrown out at its second reading in the Lords as being 'profane and subversive of liberty'.⁹ Its opponents argued that it would be revealing to enemies,¹⁰ would be costly,¹¹ and would invite Divine retribution.¹² Nevertheless it very nearly became law. In Ireland a Bill to authorize a single census was introduced in 1806 but was thrown out at the first reading.¹³ It was amended and became law in 1812.¹⁴ It was unimaginative and copied its British counterpart¹⁵ 'more closely than the different circumstances of the two Islands would justify'.¹⁶ In Ireland, local government was in effect the Grand Juries,¹⁷ and they were made responsible for the supervision.¹⁸ The results were disastrous. The Juries had no check upon the enumerators, described as 'inferior agents'¹⁹ (they were the barony constables²⁰), who had to return numbers but not names.²¹ Also, there was widespread hostility to government agents,²² especially if, like the constables, they were Protestants; and fear that the census was to prevent tax-evasion or recruit men for militia service.²³ After two years, of the forty counties as well as the counties of cities and towns, only ten had furnished complete returns, six had supplied no information at all, and the returns from the remainder were unsatisfactory.²⁴ The census was so defective that the results were neither printed nor presented to Parliament.²⁵ 4,598,284 persons were enumerated, and the population estimated at nearly six million.¹⁶

The next census was in 1821. The authorizing Act was passed in 1815; thus six years were available for the arrangements.²⁶ The time was well spent. The 1821 census was well conceived, ably supervised, and competently administered,²⁷ and 'appears to have been by far the most perfect in its machinery and method of any that has yet been executed in these islands'.28 Furthermore, the punctilious Shaw Mason, the responsible government officer, had organized and published the three-volume Parochial Survey, and had conducted a survey of the barony of Portnehinch in Queen's County in 1819 intended to serve as a model for the census.²⁹ Supervision was now vested in the Bench of Magistrates either at Quarter or special Sessions, aided by the legal coadjuter for each county.³⁰ The Bench nominated the enumerators, usually the local tax collectors, each of whom had to make a satisfactory test 'Return' to ensure that he was 'possessed of the qualifications requisite for the undertaking'.³¹ Starting on 28 May 1821 the enumerators entered into note-books the name, age, and occupation (agriculture; manufacture, trades, or handicrafts; other pursuits) of each individual in their districts.³² Fortnightly reports were sent to the Chief Secretary's Office.³³ When completed, the entries in the note-books were certified by affidavit before magistrates, copied into large volumes (258 in all), and abstracts were laid before Parliament in July 1823, only two years after the census commenced.³⁴ The population was put at 6,801,827, which was probably an underestimate.35

The census of 1831³⁶ was broadly similar although with two important differences, viz. only the names of actual householders were recorded, and the enumerators considered that they would be paid—and in many instances were paid—in proportion to the numbers they counted.³⁷ This latter ensured a generous estimate of the population, which was put at 7,767,401. The results were further examined in 1834, and the religion of each householder added at the instance of the Commissioners for Religious and Public Instruction.³⁸

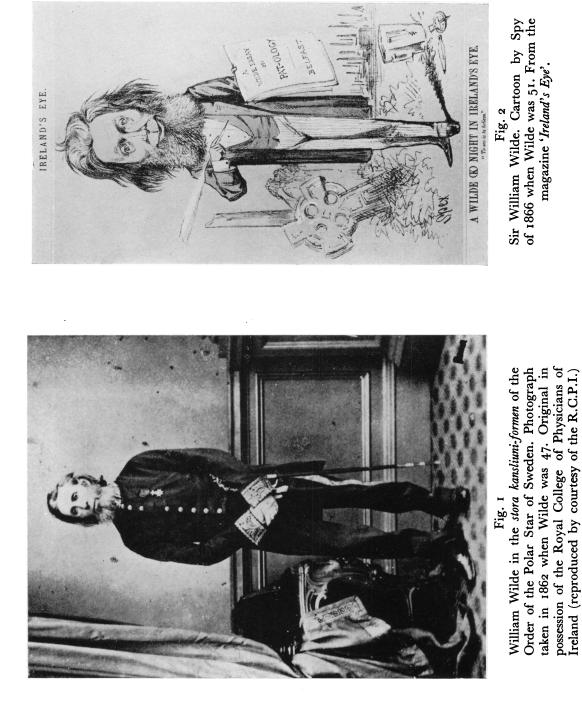
The 1841 census broke fresh ground and is a subject in itself.³⁹ Briefly, a Census Commission was appointed, ordnance survey maps were available to fix the orthography, the police served as enumerators, classifications for housing, occupation, and education, were devised, recording schedules were more detailed, and the 'family form' (to be completed by the head of the family) was used. The census was *de facto* for 6–7 June (as in Great Britain), and data were presented on all forms of rural economy and education. Births, marriages, and deaths were also examined because, unlike Great Britain, there was no

general civil registration in Ireland in 1841. The births and marriages could be examined by lay statisticians; but deaths, and particularly their causes, required medical knowledge. The Commissioners ambitiously intended to analyse the causes of all deaths in existing families and public institutions which were ascertained through the census as having occurred in the previous ten years, and they cast around for a doctor with the following qualities: statistical knowledge, experience of Irish folk habits and mores, literary ability, fluency in Gaelic, time and enthusiasm, and of sufficiently modest means to welcome a small gratuity. Their eye fell on William Wilde, shortly returned from extensive postgraduate study abroad. He fulfilled their needs exactly. He was young (26), immensely energetic, learned, fluent in Irish, and had already published a popular and well-reviewed two-volume travel book.⁴⁰ Also, he was a member of, and had read papers to, both the Royal Irish Academy and the British Association. He readily accepted the post-exactly when or how is not known, but it was probably not later than June 1841,⁴¹ just after his return from Vienna. Within a very few years he was to achieve pre-eminence and an international reputation in many diverse fields of activity.

William Robert Wills Wilde (1815-1876)⁴²

Wilde was born near Castlerea in County Roscommon. His father was a local practitioner, his grandfather was land agent to Lord Mount Sandford, and his great-grandfather left Durham to become a builder in Dublin. Wilde's mother was of the celebrated but erratic Finn family of Ballymagibbon, County Mayo. Wilde was educated locally, and when seventeen went to Dublin to study surgery. He was apprenticed to Abraham Colles (of Colles' fracture) at Steevens' Hospital, and became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1837 aged twenty-two. After two trips abroad he settled to permanent practice in Dublin. When thirty-six he married Jane Francesca Elgee, grand-daughter of Archdeacon Elgee of Wexford, who was an author and poetess under the name of 'Speranza'. There were three children; William a barrister and later a journalist on the Daily Telegraph, Oscar the poet and playwright, and a girl Isola who died in childhood. Wilde received many foreign decorations, was knighted in 1864, and died on 19 April 1876, aged sixtyone, of an unspecified chest complaint. Speranza died in 1896, his son William in 1898, and Oscar in 1900.

Into this life Wilde packed ten lifetimes' activity. His profession was aural and ophthalmic surgery, and in this he had an international reputation. Many of the nobility, and at least one King, were among his patients, and he was the first Surgeon Oculist in Ordinary to the Queen in Ireland, an office specially created for him. He founded, supervised, and at times ran and financed almost single-handed, St. Marks, then one of the leading ophthalmic hospitals in the British Isles. He published a text-book on ear diseases which immediately became a standard work;⁴³ treatises on epidemic ophthalmia,⁴⁴ infantile leucorrhoea,⁴⁵ and malformations of the eye;⁴⁶ a social demographic work on the deaf and dumb;⁴⁷ and contributed dozens of articles on surgery to profes-



sional journals. He founded (in 1846) and edited for three years the Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, one of the foremost medical publications of the period.⁴⁸ He was unquestionably one of the greatest ophthalmic surgeons of the nineteenth century and was early portrayed in the British Journal of Ophthalmology series 'British Masters of Ophthalmology'.⁴⁹ His outside pursuits were if anything more remarkable. He wrote popular yet erudite books of literary value on his journeys in Ireland and abroad.⁵⁰ He wrote a book on Irish folklore,⁵¹ a memoir on Robert J. Graves, one of the leading physicians and teachers of the period,⁵² and a standard work on Swift.⁵³ He contributed important articles on natural history, ethnology, topography and allied subjects, several of which were published separately.⁵⁴ He was the leading contemporary Irish prehistorian. He was a noted archaeologist, conducted many successful diggings in Ireland, and compiled the great Catalogue of Antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy which is still unsuperseded.⁵⁵ He was a generous host, enthusiastic teacher, and lively speaker. He led an energetic private life and left behind many natural children, known colloquially as 'Wilde's breed'. One of these, Henry Wilson, born in 1839 when Wilde was twenty-four, became Wilde's assistant and then successor at St. Marks, and wrote the first book in English on ophthalmoscopy. Wilde also left behind three uncompleted manuscripts. One was planned to be a definitive history of Irish medicine, still unwritten. The second, on Irish folklore, and the third, a critique of the eighteenth century painter and architect Gabriel Beranger, were completed and published by his wife.⁵⁶ One other work appeared posthumously.⁵⁷

In appearance Wilde was unprepossessing. He was small and slight, untidy and even dirty, with a mass of hair—which he grew long—brushed back from a wide forehead and mingling with side-whiskers and a substantial beard which covered a receding chin. He wore no moustache and this accentuated his wide mouth. His eyes were large and expressive and mirrored his changes of mood (Figure 1). In later life he appeared unkempt, dispirited and cantankerous, his long white hair, straggling beard, and protruding eyes giving him a singular appearance. There is little indication of his great intellect and boundless drive in the well-known pictures of his later life, but a cartoon by Spy has caught these characteristics (Figure 2).

Wilde's Report upon the Tables of Death in the 1841 census ran to 205 tables and 78 foolscap pages of close-written letter-press including a 94-item classification of disease equating standard English medical terminology with colloquial terms, Irish names (in Gaelic and English script), and their literal English translation.⁵⁸ His gratuity was £315.⁵⁹ The Report delighted the Commissioners and reviewers: 'we have no hesitation in saying that it does him infinite credit, both as to the mode adopted for obtaining accurate results, and the labour and extreme care bestowed'.⁶⁰ It only whetted Wilde's appetite for statistical enquiry, and from that time on he was determined to play a major role in the census of 1851.

The Census of Ireland, 1851

This was one of the greatest national censuses ever conducted. The results were published in ten foolscap volumes totalling 4,533 pages.⁶¹ Two of these volumes,⁶² containing 710 pages, were written solely by Wilde. The first, the *Status of Disease*, contains the statistics on handicaps—which will be referred to later; the second, the *Tables of Death*, is one of the longest Blue Books ever written by one person. It contains, in addition to the customary analyses and report, over 300 pages in tabular format tracing the history of 'pestilences, cosmical phenomena, epizöotics and famines', in Ireland from the pre-historic period to 1850, with a full description of sources. This is a classic of great scholarship, erudition and industry, and is the standard reference work in the subject. Moreover, as the sole Assistant Commissioner he had general responsibility for the eight other volumes, and actively helped to compile the volume of agricultural statistics.⁶³

The whole census reflects the energy and enthusiasm of the Commissioners, especially Wilde; yet the circumstances were inauspicious. The country was disrupted by the Famine and mass emigration. Administration was hampered by poor communications, far inferior to those in England. Thomas Larcom, the organizer of the great ordnance surveys, was ill and could not serve as a Commissioner.⁶⁴ There was widespread illiteracy. The peasantry were more than usually hostile to the Government, blaming it for much of the recent suffering. Moreover, the intention to collect statistics on handicaps meant including questions which might be construed as offensive. At the outset few would have predicted success.

In 1850⁶⁵ the authorizing Act was passed. William Donnelly, the Registrar-General of Marriages,⁶⁶ was appointed Chief Census Commissioner by warrant of Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, on 9 October 1850, 'to superintend the enumeration of the population of Ireland'.⁶⁷ Edward Singleton was named as secretary. The same day Clarendon appointed Wilde Assistant Commissioner.⁶⁸ Donnelly, Singleton, and Wilde, then settled to organize the census. The first steps were to find premises, choose enumerators, employ ancillary staff, and decide scales of payment and expenses.

PREMISES

Donnelly's offices in Dublin Castle were inadequate; further accommodation was needed. The Castle rooms used for the 1841 census were unavailable⁶⁹ and Donnelly rented 5 Henrietta Street, from a Dr. Wylie, to serve as the Census Office,⁷⁰ and additional premises when the analysis of the returns commenced in 1852.⁷¹ Wilde found room in his own house, at 21 Westland Row, for several clerks whom he paid out of his own pocket.⁷² At the peak between forty and fifty clerks, taskworkers and other civilians were employed analysing the returns and compiling the report.

ENUMERATORS

These had been a problem in earlier Irish censuses. In the 1813 census

the enumerators were the barony constables, who were inappropriate. In 1821 and 1831 they were civilians, frequently the local tax collectors. In 1841 they were members of the recently formed Irish Constabulary (I.C.) and Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.).⁷³ Tax collectors and police had both proved satisfactory, and for the 1851 census it was decided that the police would act if possible; if not, local tax collectors would serve. On 17 October 1850, Clarendon wrote to the Inspector-General of the I.C. and the Commissioner of the D.M.P. requiring them to 'afford information and assistance upon all matters relating to the census as to which the [Census] Commissioners may find it expedient to communicate with them'.⁷⁴ Scales of pay were negotiated with the Treasury based on the total estimated cost of the census, and forwarded to the police on 27 December on the understanding that they might not always be able to act if 'insufficient or otherwise employed'.⁷⁵

For the police the rates were generous. Each officer or man employed on census duty received a week's salary⁷⁶ as well as certain expenses.⁷⁷ This largesse was because in Ireland the enumeration districts were considerable and took several days to cover, whereas in England the districts were '[no] larger extent of country . . . than an active man could travel over between morning and sunset on a summer's day . . .';⁷⁸ and because of the supplementary enquiry on deaf-dumbness (see later). Some thought the census duties should be treated as normal routine and thus be unpaid;⁷⁹ in fact since 1848 the police had been collecting the agricultural returns without any sort of payment at all.⁸⁰ Donnelly did not agree and he ultimately had his way. For civilians the rates were less generous being 3/6d. per day for a maximum of twenty days. Oddly, this was less than the 5/- per day paid to the enumerators in 1821.81 Although it was recognized that the newly formed police forces might not always be able to cope, it was anticipated that civilian enumerators would be few and only used in special circumstances. For example, it was known that the first census day (31 March 1851) might in some counties clash with the Spring Assizes and the police be required for Assize duty.⁸² Whatever the reason, possibly because the police were few, many civilians were in fact employed; of the £4,289 5s. 9d. expended under the heading of 'Enumeration', 83 £2,353 115. od., i.e. over 50%, was paid to civilian enumerators. 84

The civilian enumerators were allowed only twenty days, while the police rarely took longer than a week.⁸⁵ Such limitation was essential; some previous enumerations had been too prolonged. Thus, returns for the 1813 census took nearly two years; in the 1821 census, in Donegal (the county with the most complete extant records) the forty-six enumerators averaged about six weeks;⁸⁶ in 1831 there was little improvement, although in 1841 the 'enumeration was, except in a few places, completed within the week'.⁸⁷ A scale of pay independent of numbers enumerated was also desirable in order to avoid overestimates such as had occurred in the 1831 census. A more serious threat to the success of the census, however, was the antagonism of the populace, intensified by the experience of the Famine into deep hatred and suspicion of government agencies. The Commissioners were aware of this, and on 17 March 1851, just a

fortnight before the appointed day, they issued a circular, as they had in 1841, but this time to a wider range of recipients,⁸⁸ to 'The Clergy of every religious denomination in Ireland, to the Magistracy, Medical Men of Public Institutions, and other persons likely to have influence in their respective spheres... to exert your influence among the peasantry and the less enlightened classes in your neighbourhood, so as to remove any prejudice that may exist, and to induce them willingly to afford the information asked for'.⁸⁹ This was followed by another 'addressed to no particular class but distributed in all directions'.⁹⁰ Both were signed by Donnelly and Wilde. These well-intentioned circulars were to be the subject of severe criticism.

STAFF

On 7 January 1851 there were eleven clerks engaged at the Census Office drawing 3/6d. or 5/- per day.⁹¹ By February there were seventeen. During April and May, as the returns started to come in, more clerks were needed.⁹² At first some second-rate ones were supplied by the Government.⁹³ Donnelly complained, and starting with a batch of ten early in May the standard improved.⁹⁴ Between then and the end of the year there were 321 applications for about thirty posts,⁹⁵ some of them from medical men to help Wilde.⁹⁶ Successful applicants had to conform to the usual civil service standards of physical and mental fitness; nevertheless some were unsatisfactory. A Mr. Gibbons Tuke, clerical taskworker on the agricultural returns, made a trifle of 465 'errors of which an account has been kept',⁹⁷ and was dismissed despite his direct appeal to the Lord Lieutenant as 'a member of the Committee of the North City Ward... and a Protestant Elector [who has] also four votes in his family'.⁹⁸

PROGRESS

The enumerations started on 31 March 1851. Until then Wilde's duties had been organizational; for the next five years he was to be deeply immersed in those parts of the census for which he was directly responsible. Of these, his history of 'pestilences, cosmical phenomena, epizöotics, and famines' in Ireland is the best-known, but it was not unique. In other countries chronological tables of natural phenomena had been compiled, although of more modest scope. His analysis of the mortality returns was remarkable but again not unique, it simply served for annual reports of deaths published in most European countries but not then in Ireland. In fact the Irish returns were deficient since they relied on the honesty of families and on their memory going back over a ten year period which included the Famine, and on the accuracy of hospital and institutional records which were frequently almost non-existent. Extinct families and deaths outside the country-and there were probably many of both—could not be reckoned in the analysis. It is a tribute to Wilde's skill that the interpretation of the results was at all meaningful. His report, the Status of Disease, listing statistics on 'the deaf and dumb, blind, lunatic, idiotic, paralytic, and the lame and decrepit', 99 as well as on

persons returned as sick at home or in an institution, is however unique in some ways, and was Wilde's particular brain child. For nearly the first time worthwhile comprehensive social and biological data on a national level were collected for the main categories of physical and mental handicap. Of these the deaf and dumb most interested Wilde, and since the data are of some value and the method of their compilation unique, they are described below.

CENSUS RETURNS OF THE DEAF AND DUMB

Deaf-dumbness is a patent handicap; its prevalence and distribution of interest to the early demographers. In the nineteenth century many European States enumerated the deaf and dumb either by special surveys, e.g. counting those in institutions, or at the general census. The exact methods employed are seldom certain being described variously as 'partial' or 'complete', as 'official' or 'private', as 'educational count' or 'county count', as 'geistlich' (ecclesiastical agency) or 'amtlich' (government agency). Primary sources are frequently inaccessible, and many of the States concerned are now parts of larger national units, while there have been many changes in the boundaries of jurisdiction of countries still in existence. Appendix I is compiled from accessible sources but is not complete and contains inconsistencies. What is certain is that the 1851 census of Ireland was not the first attempt in Europe to enumerate the deaf and dumb on a population basis, although it was certainly the best; however, except for the Belgian census of 1835 (which categorized the deaf and dumb by age, sex, county of residence, maternal age, paternal age, co-existing anomalies, and the number of affected in the family)¹⁰⁰ it was the first to collect data of biological and social significance on any worthwhile scale.

To obtain the requisite information there were three courses open to Wilde: (1) Pertinent questions could be asked on the main census form to be completed by the householder or enumerator at the time of the general enumeration. (2) The deaf and dumb could be ascertained at the census and further details completed at a supplementary inquiry by lay enumerators. (3) The deaf and dumb could be ascertained at the general enumeration, as in (2) above, and the further requisite details completed by doctors after examining each case enumerated. Clearly the last-named would yield the most reliable data, especially since some purely medical information was to be sought, but it would be impossible to organize on a national basis and raised the ethical point that since census material was confidential and to be used only for the purpose of official statistics, doctors should not be apprised of potential patients in this manner. This method was in fact subsequently employed in Cologne in 1867,¹⁰¹ but the German Government refused to extend it in their national census of 1880 mainly because of the ethical problems raised.¹⁰² Wilde was more convinced by pragmatic than ethical considerations, and the method he employed was (2) above in preference to (1) (so as not to jeopardize the main enumerations), frequently augmented from his own case notes and by doctors' reports compiled at his request: 'It is highly creditable to the country practi-

tioners of Ireland, to state that, although the [medical] opinion was requested gratuitously, it was almost invariably given in the cause of science and humanity'.¹⁰³

On the main Family Schedule (Form A), the last column asks every householder to state whether anyone who slept in the house on the night of 30 March 1851 was deaf and dumb, or blind. Forms E, F, I, and L, obtained similar information from masters of workhouses, superintendents of hospitals, keepers of lunatic asylums and gaols, and principals of schools, respectively. 5,680 persons were returned as deaf and dumb and were subsequently visited by the enumerators, when the supplementary form was completed on the spot, or communicated with directly if of 'families of the intelligent and more educated classes' so as to preserve 'the utmost delicacy and due respect to the feelings of all the parties concerned'.¹⁰⁴ Only one family in the whole of Ireland refused. There were powers under the Act to obtain answers under penalty of a f_{15} fine but these were not used either here or in the more common refusal of schools to complete the Education Form L.¹⁰⁵ Of these 5,680 persons, 4,747 (2,688 males and 2,059 females) alive and resident in Ireland were found at the supplementary enquiry or after medical examination to be both deaf and dumb. The form used at the supplementary enquiry comprised nine questions aimed at a complete categorization of the deaf and dumb by all possible levels of social and biological variables likely to be reasonably accurately ascertained (Appendix II). It is a remarkable document since it contains every question that would now be asked in a population genetic study except for birthweight, numbers and rank of miscarriages and stillbirths, and month of birth (other than questions aimed to elucidate factors now known to be causative, e.g. maternal rubella), and includes only one datum not now usually sought, viz. maternal 'fright' as a causal factor. It is in every way a modern schedule and demonstrates Wilde's grasp both of the fundamentals of demographic enquiry and of the information required to compile meaningful epidemiological and genetic statistics. From the answers Wilde specified, frequently in tables, the following for each deaf and dumb person: age, sex, occupation, father's occupation, county of origin, whether or not 'educated', whether or not in an institution, gaol or hospital, whether or not attending a school for the deaf, cause of the deafness viz., congenital, acquired (34 agents specified) or uncertain, age of onset of deafness, co-existing gross anomalies, birth rank, relationship to deaf maternal or paternal relatives, whether or not married and if so to a deaf or hearing partner with number and hearing state of progeny, whether or not a twin and if so hearing state of other twin; and the following for each sibship containing one or more deaf and dumb person: size, number of affected, and degree of consanguinity (if any) of the parents. His report on the deaf and dumb was completed by detailed case notes and a history of the education of the deaf and dumb in various countries.

Offsetting this sophistication are the limitations of the data collected since they depended ultimately on the knowledge and veracity of the householder, often illiterate, frequently hostile, and always suspicious. To many of these

Wilde drew attention. Some of the questions raised controversial issues, e.g. close consanguineous marriage which the church forbade. Answers to others must frequently have been guesswork, e.g. the alleged 'cause' of the deafness. Answers to question I ('whether born deaf and dumb, or became so afterwards') must be unreliable; deafness cannot be diagnosed with certainty until the child is at least two years of age and thus all data on children under, say, three years of age, must be suspect. Further, parents frequently ascribe what is in fact true congenital deafness to childhood infection or injury, often trivial. This is a source of misclassification in modern surveys,¹⁰⁶ and would have been an important one in 1851. In addition to these inevitable errors some of the specifications were very incomplete, e.g. over half the deaf did not give an occupation. Wilde was well aware of these limitations and tried to improve diagnosis by having many of the deaf medically examined (see above). He also carefully scrutinized the returns as they came in and was thus able to correct obvious errors, e.g. as when an enumerator returned as deaf and dumb every infant under a year in his district on the ground that they were unable to speak.¹⁰⁷ Errors, however, inevitably remain; their extent unknown. Much has been made of the very high ratio of congenital to acquired deafness obtained by Wilde (8.5:1) which was 'so much at variance with all other statistical returns that I cannot but doubt its correctness'.¹⁰⁸ Certainly it contrasts oddly with the ratio of 2:1 then generally accepted for European countries,¹⁰⁹ (although the careful census of Belgium of 1835 put the ratio at 4:1 which is nearer Wilde's figure¹¹⁰), and considerably higher than that of 2:1 accepted now¹¹¹ when if anything—although this is a difficult point—it should be lower, but even so Wilde considered his ratio should be even higher. For reasons already given there is difficulty in distinguishing congenital from early acquired deafness; all that can be said is that Wilde did everything humanly possible, and considerably more than was done in other countries, to ensure the validity of his data.

The results were published in full in 1854, as Part III of the census. Wilde was justly proud of the achievement, which '[has] been pronounced by the Press and by the best authorities to be in many respects unsurpassed in Europe',¹¹² and presented a précis to the British Association at their meeting in Belfast in 1852,¹¹³ published a summary in his text-book in 1853,¹¹⁴ and reproduced many of the data again as part of a separate publication in 1854.¹¹⁵ The results constitute without doubt the most important and comprehensive population data on a physical handicap collected up to that time. As important, and perhaps more noteworthy, the census was completely above politics and the results used purely for scientific purposes. This was a remarkable achievement and may be contrasted with the Sixth Census of the United States of America (1840), notorious for its political application. This census enumerated the blind, the deaf and dumb, and insane and idiots, and the figures showed that these handicaps, especially insanity and idiocy, were more common among free than bound slaves. 'Here is proof', said John C. Calhoun the pro-slavery Secretary of State, 'of the necessity of slavery. The African is

incapable of self-care and sinks into lunacy under the burden of freedom. It is a mercy to give him the guardianship and protection [of slavery] from mental death'.¹¹⁶ This was a legitimate although dangerous interpretation of the statistics, but the statistics were in this respect grossly inaccurate. They were published in 1842 under the *imprimatur* of the State Department and were studied closely. One student was Dr. Edward Jarvis from Concord, Mass., convalescing from a broken leg. He found many inconsistencies, e.g. for eleven towns in Maine the census enumerated only five Negroes, yet thirty-seven Negroes were entered as insane. In Worcester, Mass., there were 133 inmates in the Asylum—all of them white; but they were all entered as Negro in the census. The blind and deaf-dumb statistics were equally distorted, e.g. for ten towns in Pennsylvania with no Negro inhabitants seven deaf and dumb Negroes were listed. The census was in fact stuffed with patent errors and crude fabrications.¹¹⁷

Congress ordered an enquiry in February 1844. Calhoun appointed a Mr. William A. Weaver to chair the enquiry, an odd choice since Weaver himself had been the Superintendent of the 1840 census.¹¹⁸ While Weaver was favourably enquiring into his own work Britain was applying diplomatic pressure on the Union to end slavery, and on Texas to remain independent. Calhoun wished for neither and used the census returns as a main weapon in his counter-attack: 'The census shows that they [the freed slaves] have been invariably sunk into vice and pauperism, accompanied by . . . deafness, blindness, insanity, and idiocy—to a degree without example; while in all other States which have retained [slavery] they have improved greatly in every respect'.¹¹⁹ In February 1845 Weaver presented his report completely vindicating his own findings. Calhoun defended him in a remarkable letter to Congress and the episode was finished.¹²⁰

The Americans made three fundamental mistakes which were not repeated in Ireland. Firstly, the enumerators, the U.S. Marshals, were in effect political appointments and tied the census to local politics. In the south the slavemasters completed the slaves' forms and greatly understated the prevalence of handicaps so as to maintain market prices.¹²¹ In Ireland the Constabulary, although not perhaps the civilian enumerators, were politically independent and held in high regard for their intelligence and integrity.¹²² Secondly, in America the census findings were used to defend publicly national policy rather than solely for the purpose of official statistics. In Ireland, although the 1851 census was the first since the Famine, the Commissioners did not make political capital from their findings although there was scope and even justification for them to do so. Thirdly, in America the returns were not closely scrutinized as they came in, whereas in Ireland they were.

SUBSEQUENT PROGRESS

Between the first returns in April 1851 and the completion of the last volume in June 1856, Wilde, Donnelly, their colleagues and ancillaries laboured on the report. It is incredible to realize that for Donnelly, and particularly for

Wilde, it was part-time work. Donnelly was Registrar-General for Marriages; while during these five years Wilde ran an important ophthalmic hospital, one of the largest consultant surgical practices in Dublin, travelled abroad, conducted archaeological excavations in Ireland, was secretary for foreign correspondence in the Royal Irish Academy, contributed regular articles to learned journals, was married and had two sons, and published five books.¹²³ Only a person of the most exceptional vitality, drive, and ability, could have achieved all this. His census work was, however, a labour of love, and after completing his report on diseases and handicaps in March 1854 he turned with incredible vigour to the more lengthy Part V containing the analysis of deaths and the history of pestilences, to complete which 'I gave up all society and recreation for 18 months [November 1854-May 1856] and more than once ... impaired my health by the incessant daily and nightly labour devoted to this voluminous work'.¹²⁴ The form of the analysis of deaths followed closely that of 1841, already mentioned, although greatly facilitated by Donnelly's success in obtaining payment for Masters of Workhouses 'and others who have furnished Returns of Death' to a total of f_{000} ,¹²⁵ by the Lord Lieutenant's instructions to the Clerks of the Crown and Peace requiring them to furnish findings on all inquests for the preceding decade, 126 and hindered by remarkably few incidents.¹²⁷ So far as Wilde was concerned the census produced only two sour notes: the bitter attack mounted against him in the Dublin Medical Press; and money.

The ethics of Wilde's position as Assistant Census Commissioner was called in question by Arthur Jacob, professor of anatomy in The Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. Wilde and Jacob were bitter rivals in most fields of activity. Both were internationally famous oculists, both edited medical journals-Wilde the Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine from 1846-9, Jacob the Dublin Medical Press its great and influential rival.¹²⁸ Both had literary pretensions and had achieved scientific reputations outside their immediate profession. Jacob in fact first described Jacob's Membrane, now known as the layer of retinal rods and cones, and his name is an eponym for rodent ulcer of the eyelid. He had also been assistant editor of the Dublin Journal of Medicine before Wilde's tenure, but had been asked to resign after writing and publishing a controversial paper on medical politics. Some, although not all, of his hatred of Wilde was misdirected bitterness for what he considered to be spiteful treatment by the Journal. Through the columns of the Dublin Medical Press during the first half of 1851, Jacob attacked Wilde on two main points: first, for unlawfully adopting the style Assistant Commissioner to inflate his importance, and second, for using his position for professional advertisement. The attacks were vitriolic. 'The Act [Census Act, 1850] does not contain one single tittle of authority to create any such office [Assistant Commissionership], much less to nominate anyone to it.... We are convinced that the assertion of a claim to the Title by this new mushroom of the [Dublin] Castle hotbed [Wilde] is one of the "pure fictions" of recent medical Irish History'.¹²⁹

In fact, Jacob's remarks, of which the above is only one example, were

misplaced. Admittedly the Act did not specify any named posts, but a private letter from the Lord Lieutenant to Wilde of 9 October 1850, i.e. six months before Jacob's attacks, states categorically: 'His Excellency has been pleased to name you as Assistant Commissioner'.¹³⁰ What, if anything, Wilde said to Jacob is not known, but Jacob shifted his ground slightly, although not his tone, and in the very next edition attacked Wilde for advertising, under the unambiguous heading *More Advertising on Pretence of the Census*. This was not Jacob's first attack, he had launched a bitter one six weeks earlier,¹³¹ but it was more caustic:

Since we last noticed this scandal, another circular... [has] reached us...signed by the *soi-disant* Commissioner Wild [Jacob always misspelt Wilde's name to annoy him].... It is clear that such refreshers are well calculated to keep patients in prospect in mind of the Commissioner. It is true that the gentle hint may, *en passant*, be given to another man's patient; but what of that?... This *locum tenens* Commissioner will bring someone into trouble if not 'pulled up', and all parties concerned had better, therefore, look to it.¹³²

In theory Jacob had a point, but he allowed his personal animosity to blunt it. Wilde's name was undoubtedly projected throughout the country by his census correspondence as an influential doctor interested in diseases of the eye and ear. Wilde, however, needed no advertisement; he was internationally famous and refused paying patients every day. No-one aware of the circumstances, Jacob's hatred for Wilde, and the altruistic nature of Wilde's census work, could seriously countenance this viewpoint: any misuse of his census office—and there is no real evidence to support it—would more likely have been due to vanity than a wish to advertise. In any event some practising doctor had to be employed on the census because there was none in Government service—and Wilde was the obvious choice. As he himself accurately but immodestly put it: 'Lord Clarendon [when offering Wilde the post] said "I offer you the Assistant Commissionership because I am aware that you are the person best qualified for it in the country"'.¹³³ Whatever the reason Jacob soon discontinued his attack.

The other sour note was money. Personally, Wilde was generous and philanthropic. His first dispensary in Dublin was entirely for the poor and was fitted from his then meagre resources;¹³⁴ later he contributed liberally towards the expense of St. Mark's Hospital.¹³⁵ On the other hand when dealing with institutions who could pay he insisted on a fee commensurate with his talents —which he placed highly.¹³⁶ However, he was no extortionist and 'cared less for the accumulation of fees than for the enlargement of the bounds of science'.¹³⁷ With the completion of the census in 1856 the question was raised of the Commissioners' gratuities. The Lord Lieutenant recommended £700 each for Donnelly and Wilde,¹³⁸ and Trevelyan, Assistant Secretary at the Treasury, approved.¹³⁹ This sum was based on the precedent of the 1841 census when the gratuities were paid out of the unexpired balance of the estimate. In 1851 this was about £1,800, and after Donnelly's and Wilde's payments £223 6s. 8d. was to be paid to Henry Wilkie—who was assistant secretary to Singleton from 9 June 1855 to 31 December 1855, and with Singleton's absence through

illness was acting secretary from 1 January 1856 to 4 October—this sum to be additional to his salary as official accountant.¹⁴⁰ Singleton had received \pounds_{350} p.a.¹⁴¹

Wilde heard the news of the $f_{.700}$ on 5 November 1856. He was furious and contemptuously refused the gratuity as 'quite inadequate to my services and not in accordance with the arrangements under which I accepted the paid Commissionership... I consider nothing short of £2,000 to be reasonable'.¹⁴² Wilde supported this claim by estimating his losses in medical earnings as f_{200} p.a. 'at the very least', and in literary earnings as f_{100} p.a., and he had paid clerical assistants about f_{100} from his own pocket. He had lost, in fact, at least $f_{1,600}$ over the period. In addition he visited the census office 'almost daily', and several times was near to collapse from overwork. Apart from this Wilde with good reason reckoned his work greater than that of the Assistant Commissioners in England each of whom 'were paid $f_{1,800}$... for producing one third of the published results'. Further, Clarendon had told Wilde on appointment that he would be paid but that Donnelly would not: 'I'll see you paid, Mr. Donnelly's office is honorary'.¹⁴³ Now Wilde was offered a miserable gratuity of the same amount as that paid to Donnelly-and Donnelly, according to Wilde, was not to be paid at all. Donnelly in fact was getting money that Wilde considered should be due to himself.

The Treasury were sympathetic but would not authorise a greater sum¹⁴⁴ unless the present Lord Lieutenant would revoke Clarendon's recommendation of six years previous 'that the course adopted in 1841 [paying the Commissioners out of the surplus of the estimate] should be followed [in 1851]'.¹⁴⁵ Fortunately there was a loophole in Clarendon's original letter for he had added the rider '... and the consideration of this point be deferred until their [Commissioners'] labours [on the 1851 census] shall have terminated'.¹⁴⁶ Some correspondence is lost, but six months later Wilde was voted an extra $f_{1,500}$ making $f_{1,500}$ in all tax free 'being the largest amount granted to any one person connected with the census in England',¹⁴⁷ which he accepted. Poor Donnelly had a harder struggle. He refused the original $f_{,700}$ and asked for $f_{1,200}$. Twice the Treasury refused on the ground that his salary of $f_{1,800}$ p.a. as Registrar-General and the gratuity of £100 p.a. for his work on the Agricultural Returns were generous,¹⁴⁸ despite highly favourable references from Irish peers, the former Chief- and Under-Secretary for Ireland, and William Farr, the compiler of abstracts at the General Register Office in London.¹⁴⁹ The third time, however, on the personal representation of his mentor Larcom, whose prestige was enormous, Donnelly received the £1,200 in August 1858,¹⁵⁰ exactly seven years and ten months after being handed his warrant of office as Chief Commissioner by Clarendon in the great hall of Dublin Castle.

LATER EVENTS

On this petty note ended one of the greatest demographic studies ever conducted. Of the principals, Clarendon was now Foreign Secretary, Donnelly

resigned through ill-health shortly afterwards, Trevelyan had been appointed Governor of Madras, Singleton was dead. Only Wilde remained, his energy unimpaired. Within a few months of completing the census report he performed one of his most remarkable feats of concentrated work-compiling (gratuitously), in the four months before the British Association meeting in Dublin in August 1857, Part I of the Catalogue of Antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy,¹⁵¹ This contained detailed descriptions, history and provenance, illustrations, references and historical allusions, of the stone, earthenware, and vegetable materials in the R.I.A. museum, and its compilation demanded a minute knowledge of the subject, wide scholarship, a prodigious memory, and a fanatic's drive. It was no stopgap affair and was much praised at the Association's meeting as 'the only scientific Museum Catalogue in the British Isles'152, and has never been superseded. It temporarily enervated Wilde: 'Had I known the amount of physical and mental labour [required] ... I would not have considered it just to myself to have done it; for I may fairly say it was done at the risk of my life', ¹⁵³ and although there was much great work to come the first seeds of his long physical and intellectual decline were sown.

Wilde was indispensable to the censuses and was re-appointed for those of 1861 and 1871, although with a Dr. Abraham to assist him. During the sixties honours were showered on him. He received the Order of the Polar Star of Sweden in 1862, he was elected an honorary member of the Antiquarian Society of Berlin, he was awarded the Diploma of the Royal Society at Uppsala, and in 1864 received the degree of M.D., *honoris causa*, from Dublin University.¹⁵⁴ All these were for his professional and antiquarian work, but his crowning distinction, his knighthood, conferred by the Lord Lieutenant in the great public rooms of Dublin Castle, was for his work on the censuses:

Mr. Wilde, I propose to confer on you the honour of knighthood, not so much in recognition of your high professional reputation—which is European and has been recognised by many countries in Europe—but to mark my sense of the services you have rendered to statistical science, especially in connexion with the Irish census.¹⁵⁵

Wilde's report on the 1871 census was one of the last works he published. His obituaries were kind but unenthusiastic; certainly nothing like those he deserved. He had made many enemies and in the eyes of society was disgraced when he was joined with his wife as an unsuccessful defendant for conformity in a great libel trial of 1864—involving Moll Travers, daughter of the Professor of Forensic Medicine at Trinity College, Dublin, one of Wilde's many mistresses and by whom he had had a child—which exposed the less attractive aspects of his private life. The trial established what half of Dublin wanted to believe, that 'Sir William Wilde was a pithecoid person of extraordinary sensuality and cowardice . . .', ¹⁵⁶ and has flavoured opinions of him since. He has inspired only one biography¹⁵⁷ and has been largely overshadowed by his son, but judged purely on achievement Wilde's contribution to surgery, archaeology, and demography must be almost unique.

APPENDIX I Census Enumerations of the Deaf and Dumb in Europe before 1851 (First occasion only)

State (and Date)	Method of Enumeration	Data specified
Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg, 1805.	Teachers returned deaf children under 15 years of age.	Total only. ¹⁵⁸
Grand-duchy of Baden, 1810.	'Census' of Dr. Flachsland, Office of Sanitation.	Age, sex, domicile, cause of deafness. ¹⁵⁹
The Netherlands, 1823.	'Partial census'.	Total only. ¹⁶⁰
1830.	'Complete census, but unreliable'. (First reliable census statistics were in 1859).	Total only. ¹⁶⁰ (Sex, and also age if in Institutions). ¹⁶¹
The Kingdom of Prussia, 1825. ¹⁶²	Government census. Local authorities completed questions on deafness; individuals not asked. ¹⁶³	Age. ¹⁶⁴
Duchy of Modena, 1826.	'amtlich'.	Total only. ¹⁶⁵ Sex in 1838. ¹⁶⁶
Grand-duchy of Hesse, 1827. 1829.	'County count'. 'Educational count'.	Total only. ¹⁶⁷ Total only. ¹⁶⁷
Kingdom of Bavaria, 1829.	Screening of 460,000 male conscripts.	Sex and age. ¹⁶⁸
1840.	Government census.	Total only. ¹⁶⁹
France, ? 1831. ¹⁷⁰	General census.	?
Kingdom of Württemburg, 1831.	Estimate in children aged 6–15 years.	Total only. ¹⁷¹
Kingdom of Hanover, 1833.	'amtlich'.	Total only. ¹⁷²
Denmark, 1834.	⁴ amtlich ² . ¹⁷³ Only Denmark proper and excludes Schleswig, Holstein, Lauenburg, Faroes, and Iceland. ¹⁷⁴ First full enumeration was 1855. ¹⁷⁵	Total by sex.
Duchy of Parma, 1834.	'Private census.'176	?
Duchy of Weimar, 1834.	'amtlich.'177	?

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State (and Date)	Method of Enumeration	Data specified
Sardinia, 1834.	'geistlich'. ¹⁷⁸	?
Norway, 1835.	General census.	Sex. ¹⁷⁹
Belgium (including the duchy of Limburg and the grand- duchy of Luxemburg), 1835.	General census.	Age, sex, province, maternal and paternal ages, number of affected per family, coexisting anomalies, cause, i.e., congenital or acquired. ¹⁸⁰
Duchy of Brunswick, 1835.	'Private' census by Dr. Mansfield. ¹⁸¹	Total only. ¹⁸²
Kingdom of Bohemia, 1836.	'amtlich'. ¹⁸³	?
Papal States, 1836.	ʻgeistlich'. ¹⁸⁴	?
Altenburg, 1836. Kingdom of Saxony, 1837.	'geistlich.' ¹⁸⁵ State and 'geistlich' censuses. ¹⁸⁷	Total only. ¹⁸⁶ Sex and district (State census). Sex, age and district ('geistlicht' census).
Sweden, 1840.	General census.	Sex, age and district. ¹⁸⁸
Grand-duchy of Tuscany, 1843.	?	Sex, ? other specifications. ¹⁸⁹
Swiss cantons, 1820s and 1830s.	Mostly 'amtlich'. ¹⁹⁰	Variable specifications. ¹⁹¹
Finland, 1848.	?	Totals by age. ¹⁹²

APPENDIX II Census of Ireland, 1851. Supplementary Form

... having been returned on Form A, for the locality specified above, as 'Deaf and Dumb', you [The Sub-Inspector of Constabulary at...] will please to have Inquiry made and Answers returned to the following Questions, with respect to such person.

These Inquiries, which are instituted in the hope of directing public attention to the subject, should be made with the utmost delicacy, and a due respect to the feelings of all the parties concerned. As the answers can only be satisfactorily obtained through the Constabulary by personal inquiry, this paper should be completed on the spot—

By order,

Edward Singleton, Secretary

- 1. Whether born deaf and dumb, or became so afterwards.
- 2. If... born deaf and dumb; to what cause is such defect attributed by the friends or relatives; —whether to fright, heredity predisposition, or the near relationship of parents such as the intermarriage of cousins? If attributed to any of these causes, state the degree of relationship existing between the parents, and specify the nature of the fright or accident experienced.
- 3. If... became deaf and dumb since birth; state at what age; and to what cause or disease has such been attributed?
- 4. Is . . . paralytic, idiotic, or in any other way mentally or physically affected?
- 5. Whether any other members of the family, parent or parents, or grandparents, uncles, aunts, or cousins, have been deaf and dumb, and whether they were by the father's or the mother's side? If such relatives were living on the 30 March 1851, please state their names, and the barony, parish, and townland in which they were then residing.
- 6. Whether other members of the family, either dead or absent, such as brothers or sisters, were afflicted with deaf-and-dumbness; and if so state the number and the position of each in the family, such as first, second, or third child, etc. If they were alive upon 30 March 1851, state where they lived; and if dead, give the date and cause of death, and the age at which they died.
- 7. If the person is educated, state where and by what means such education was acquired.
- 8. State ...'s position in the family, whether first, second, or third child in a family of ... living, and ... dead.

N.B. State the number of living and dead as required by this query.

9. If . . . has been married, state the result of such marriage in males and females, and whether any of them have been either mute from birth, or became so by accident or disease.

NOTES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

J.H.C.	Journals of the House of Commons.
P.R.O.	Public Records Office (Ireland).
S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers	State Paper Office (Ireland), Chief Secretary's Office
	Registered Papers.
S.P.O., C.S.O. Unreg. Papers	State Paper Office (Ireland), Chief Secretary's Office
	Unregistered Papers.

References to Parliamentary Papers are in the form adopted in the General Index to the Papers.

1. 41 Geo. III, c. 15 (Great Britain). The census started on 10 March 1801. In England the Overseers of the Poor, and in Scotland the Sheriffs-Substitute of Counties or the Provosts or other Chief Magistrates of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs, were responsible for the returns. *Abstract of the Population Returns of Great Britain*, 1831...1833 (149) XXXVI, 8.

- 3. CONNELL, K. H., The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1950, pps. 3-5.
- 4. HULL, C. H. (Editor), The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty together with the Observations on the Bills of Mortality more probably by Captain John Graunt, Cambridge, University Press, 1899, p. 141. Petty, the founder of the Lans-

^{2. 52} Geo. III, c. 133.

downe family, used his office of Superintendent of the Survey of the Forfeited Lands after the ill-fated rising of 1641 to make several estimates of the population. This one was based on hearth-tax returns.

- 5. NEWENHAM, T., A Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland, London, Baldwin, 1805, p. 89. This was also based on hearth-tax returns.
- 6. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 7. Bill of 26 Geo. II (1753), for An Act for taking an Annual Account of the Total Number of People, and the Total Number of Marriages, Births, and Deaths, . . . in Great Britain. See—The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803, London, T. C. Hansard, 1747-1753, 14, 1317-1331. The Bill was introduced by Thomas Potter, son of the eighty-third Archbishop of Canterbury, and member for St. Germans.
- 8. Only one member opposed the first reading, eighteen the second reading, and fifty-seven (a large minority) the third. *Ibid.*, 14, 1317 ft.-note.
- 9. STEPHEN, L. and LEE, S. (Editors), Dictionary of National Biography, London, Smith, Elder, 1896, 46, 221.
- 10. Hansard, op. cit., 14, 1317 et seq. Speech of William Thornton.
- 11. The estimated annual cost was £25,000-£50,000 to be met out of the poor rate of each parish. *Ibid.*, speech of Matthew Ridley.
- 12. Ibid. This was based on Biblical experience (II Samuel, ch. 24), but the belief was shared by other cultures. See BRITTON, R. S., Census in ancient China, Population, 1934, I (3), 83-94.
- 13. J.H.C., 61, 20, 49, 205, 208.
- 14. 52 Geo. III, c. 133. Also, J.H.C., 67, 87, 110, 474, 533.
- 15. 51 Geo. III, c. 6.
- 16. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 421.
- 17. See McDowell, R. B., The Irish Administration 1801-1914, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.
- 18. This was a bad decision. See MASON, W. S., A Statistical Account, or Parochial Survey of Ireland, drawn up from the Communications of the Clergy, Dublin, vol. III, 1819, pps. xvii-xxvi.
- 19. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 422.
- 20. At this time the constables were part-time and poorly paid Protestants, subject to no real discipline or supervision, often illiterate, and altogether unfit to conduct the enumerations. For details see FROGGATT, P., 'The census of Ireland of 1813', *Irish Historical Studies* (in press).
- 21. WOOD, H., 'Methods of registering and estimating the population of Ireland before 1864', J. Stat. and Soc. Inq. Soc. of Ireland, 1909, 12 (pt. 89), 219-229. Returns from the county of Dublin and the half barony of Upper Lecale, Co. Down, named the head of, and number in, each family. (R. C. SIMING-TON, Irish Manuscripts Commission, personal communication.)
- 22. 'The Catholics . . . having too often experienced what they deemed treachery or injustice . . . naturally distrusted whomsoever approached them in [the Government's] name'. J.K.L. (Rt. Rev. Dr. James Doyle), Letters on the State of Ireland, addressed by J.K.L. to a Friend in England, Dublin, Coyne, 1825, p. 96.
- 23. TOWNSEND, H., Statistical Survey of the County of Cork with Observations on the Means of Improvement, Dublin, Graisberry and Campbell, 1810, p. 227.

- 24. FROGGATT, P., op. cit.
- 25. WOOD H., op. cit., p. 227.
- 26. When the Act was passed (J.H.C., 70, 353, 437) the year of the intended census was not decided. See MASON, W. S., op. cit., p. xxvi.
- 27. See Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 422 seq.
- Report to the Council of the Statistical Society of London, from the committee appointed to consider the best mode of taking the census of the United Kingdom in 1841, J. Statist. Soc. Lond., 1840, 3, 72-102.
- 29. MASON, W. S., Survey, Valuation, and Census of the Barony of Portnehinch, compiled in the Year 1819, Dublin, 1821.
- 30. The coadjuter was the Assistant Barrister in counties, and the Recorder in cities and counties of towns. They ensured consistency in the proceedings. See THOMPSON, W. J., The development of the Irish census, and its national importance, J. Stat. and Soc. Inq. Soc. of Ireland, 1911, 12 (pt. 91), 474-487.
- 31. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 425.
- 32. There was no civil registration of births, and to ascertain the correct age each enumerator was instructed to use all possible information.
- 33. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1822 (36), XIV, 738 (ft.-note).
- 34. This was a remarkable achievement in view of the contemporary primitive communications. For a list of the complete data obtained, see Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 427-428.
- 35. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1824 (577), XXII, 426.
- 36. 1 Will. IV, c. 19.
- 37. Report of Commissioners (Ireland), 1843 [504], XXIV, viii. See also OTWAY, Rev. C., quoted in Dubl. J. Med. Sci., 1844, 25, 142.
- 38. WOOD, H., op. cit., p. 227; LARCOM, T. A., 'Observations on the census of the population of Ireland in 1841,' J. Statist. Soc. Lond., 1843, 6, 323-351; Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1843 [459], LI, 321.
- 39. 3 & 4 Vict., c. 100. For details see Report of Commissioners (Ireland), 1843 [504], XXIV, o seq.
- 40. WILDE, W. R., Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean . . . and on the Climate, Natural History, Antiquities, etc. of the Countries visited, Dublin, W. Curry Jun. & Co., 1840.
- 41. Wilde returned to Dublin in the spring of 1841. His report on the mortality tables is dated 7 August, 1843, and he said that it took him 'just over two years' to compile. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 42. Biographical facts from: WILSON, T. G., Victorian Doctor: Being a Life of Sir William Wilde, London, Methuen, 1942.
- 43. Practical Observations on Aural Surgery and the Nature and Treatment of Diseases of the Ear, London, Churchill, 1853.
- 44. Observations on the Epidemic Ophthalmia, which has prevailed in the Workhouses and Schools of the Tipperary and Athlone Unions, Dublin, McGlashan, 1851.
- 45. Medico-Legal Observations upon Infantile Leucorrhoea, London, Churchill, 1854.
- 46. An Essay on the Malformations and Congenital Diseases of the Organ of Sight, London, Churchill, 1862.
- 47. On the Physical, Moral, and Social Condition of the Deaf and Dumb, London, Churchill, 1854.
- 48. Formerly the Dublin Journal of Medical Science published every two months, and (since 1921) the Irish Journal of Medical Science.

- 49. STORY, J. B., 'Sir William Robert Wills Wilde (1815–1876),' Brit. J. Ophthal., 1918, 2, 65–71.
- 50. As well as note 40 (above), Wilde wrote the following travel books: Austria: Its Literary, Scientific, and Medical Institutions, etc., Dublin, W. Curry Jun. & Co., 1843. The Beauties of the Boyne, and its Tributory the Blackwater, Dublin, McGlashan, 1849. Lough Corrib, its Shores and Islands: with Notices of Lough Mask, Dublin, McGlashan and Gill, 1867.
- 51. Irish Popular Superstitions, Dublin, McGlashan, 1852.
- 52. Biographical Memoir of . . . Robert J. Graves, Dublin, McGlashan and Gill, 1864.
- 53. The Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life; with Remarks on Stella, and on some of his Writings hitherto unnoticed, Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1849.
- 54. Lecture on the Ethnology of the Ancient Irish, Dublin, Kirkwood, 1844. An Essay, on the Unmanufactured Animal Remains in the Royal Irish Academy: illustrative of the ancient Councils of Ireland, Dublin, Gill, 1860. Description of the Tonymore Crannog on the Property of Lord Farnham, in the County of Cavan, Dublin, Gill, 1863. Ireland, Past and Present: the Land and the People, Dublin, Gill, 1864.
- 55. Part I: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Gill, 1857. Part II: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Animal Materials, and Bronze, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Gill, 1861. Part III: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities of Gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Hodges, Smith & Co., 1862. Part IV (on silver and iron objects, coins and miscellanea) was not published during Wilde's lifetime, but parts were published later (ARMSTRONG, E. C. R., 'Catalogue of the silver and ecclesiastical antiquities in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, by the late Sir William Wilde, M.D., M.R.I.A.,' Proc. R.I.A., 1915, Sect. C, **32** (18), 287).
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- 59. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 60. Dubl. J. Med. Sci., 1844, 25, 142-156.
- 61. Part I (4 vols.) contains statistics by county in each Province. Part II contains returns of agricultural produce. Part III (see note 62 below). Part IV contains the report on ages and education. Part V (see note 62 below). Part VI contains the general report, with appendix, county tables, miscellaneous tables, and index to names of places.
- Part III: Report on the Status of Disease, Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1854 [1765], LVIII, 1: Part V (Vols. I and II): Tables of Deaths, Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1856 [2087-1], XXIX, 261; 1856 [2087-11], XXX, 1.
- 63. Letters from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 64. Ibid.

- 65. 13 and 14 Vict., c. 44.
- 66. Marriages other than those between Roman Catholics were registered in 1845 (7 and 8 Vict., c. 81) and all marriages in 1864 (26 Vict., c. 90). Births and deaths were first registered in 1864. (26 Vict., c. 11).
- 67. Warrant attached to letter from Donnelly to Larcom of 22 March 1858. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 68. S.P.O. Country Letter Book 1850-1851, p. 179.
- 69. They were occupied by the Constabulary and the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums. S.P.O. Government Letter Book 1849-1850, pps. 265-266.
- 70. Letter from Lord Lieutenant to Donnelly of 22 October 1850. S.P.O. Country Letter Book 1850-1851, p. 194.
- 71. No address is given. The rent was £35 p.a. and the first lease was for 6 months. S.P.O. Irish Department Book 1851-1853, p. 248.
- 72. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 73. Formed under 6 and 7 Will. IV, c. 13 and 29 respectively.
- 74. S.P.O. Constabulary Letter Book 1846–1850, p. 290; S.P.O. Country Letter Book 1850–1851, p. 190.
- 75. Letter from Donnelly. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 76. These were: Officers First Class, £3 os. od.; Second Class, £2 105. od.; Third Class, £2 os. od.; Head Constables, First Class, £1 55. od.; Second Class, £1 os. od.; Constables, 14/-; Sub-Constables 10/-. Ibid.
- 77. Subsistence allowance: Head Constables 1/6 per 24 hours if absent from quarters at night, and 1/- if not absent; all grades of constable 1/- and 6d. respectively. Also, each enumerator, police or civilian, had 2/- stationery allowance. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1851), 0/3258/631.
- 78. Abstract of Answers and Returns, etc. (Enumeration Abstract, 1841) . . . 1843 [496], XXII, v.
- 79. ADDISON, H. R., Recollections of an Irish Police Magistrate and other Reminiscences of the South of Ireland, London, Ward and Lock, 1862, p. 78 ft.-note.
- 80. Letter from Lord Lieutenant to Trevelyan of 4 January 1851. S.P.O. Government Letter Book 1849-1850, pps. 265-266.
- Statements of accounts of enumerators for the 1821 census survive for only one County (Donegal). See P.R.O. Official Papers, Second Series, 1790-1831, (1822), 579/527/14, p. 3.
- 82. This was frequently so. In Galway, however, the military were told off for Assize duty leaving the police free for the census. S.P.O. Country Letter Book 1850-1851, p. 328.
- 83. Paper on 'Costs of Censuses'. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 84. Ibid., letter from Wilde to Larcom of 24 January 1862. This may not have included interpreters' fees of 3/6d. per day.
- 85. James Hunter, local rate collector for Doagh and enumerator for the 15,000 statute acres of the barony of Upper Antrim, took 29 days, but was refused payment for the last nine. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1852), 0/59/217.
- 86. P.R.O. Official Papers, Second Series, 1790-1831, (1822), 579/527/14, p. 5 et seq.
- 87. Report of Commissioners (Ireland), 1843 [504], XXIV, vi.
- 88. *Ibid*.
- 89. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1851), 0/1866.
- 90. Dubl. Med. Pr., 1851, 25, 283.

- 91. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 92. Ibid. These appointments rested with the Lord Lieutenant.
- 93. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1851), 0/2837/631.
- 94. Ibid., 0/3043/631.
- 95. S.P.O., C.S.O. Unreg. Papers, (1851), 115/1851.
- 96. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1851), 0/5351/632.
- 97. Ibid., (1852), 0/3883/61.
- 98. Ibid.
- 99. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1854 [1765], LVIII, 4.
- 100. SAUVEUR, D., 'Statistique des sourds-muets et des aveugles de la Belgique, du Duché de Limbourg et du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, d'aprés un rencensement en 1835,' Bulletin de la Commission Centrale de Statistique (Bruxelles), 1847, 3, 305-375.
- 101. LENT, H., Statistik der Taubstummen des Regierungsbezirks Köln, etc., Cologne, 1870.
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- 103. Accounts and Papers (Ireland), 1854 [1765], LVIII, 8.
- 104. Ibid., p. 7. Subsequent information from ibid unless otherwise referenced.
- 105. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1851), 0/2935/631.
- 106. HALLGREN, B., 'Retinitis pigmentosa combined with congenital deafness, with vestibulo-cerebellar ataxia and mental abnormality in a proportion of cases,' Acta psychiat. scand., 1959, 34, suppl. 138.
- 107. Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, etc., of the United Kingdom, with Evidence and Appendix. Report of Commissioners, 1889 [5781], XX, 319. (Para. 9335.)
- 108. HARTMANN, A., op. cit., p. 34.
- 109. MYGIND, H., Deaf-Mutism, London, Rebman, 1894, pp. 11-12.
- 110. SAUVEUR, D., op cit., p. 306 (table).
- 111. FRASER, G. R., 'Studies in the etiology of congenital deafness,' Clin. Res., 1962, 10, 212.
- 112. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
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- 114. WILDE, W. R., Practical Observations on Aural Surgery, etc., op. cit.
- 115. WILDE, W.R., On the Physical, Moral, and Social Condition of the Deaf and Dumb, op. cit.
- 116. WOOD, R. W., Memorial of Edward Jarvis, M.D., Boston, 1885, p. 11.
- 117. Facts from JARVIS, E., 'Insanity among the coloured population of the free States,' Am. J. Med. Sci., 1844, 7, 71-83.
- 118. DEUTSCH, A., 'The first U.S. census of the insane (1840) and its use as proslavery propaganda,' Bull. Hist. Med., 1944, 15, 469-482.
- 119. CRALLÉ, R. K. (Editor), Reports and Public Letters of John C. Calhoun, New York, Appleton & Co., 1874, Vol. V, pps. 333-339. Letter from Calhoun to British Ambassador, of 18 April 1844.
- 120. Ibid., pp. 458-461. Letter from Calhoun to Speaker of the House of Representatives of 8 February 1845.

- 121. DEUTSCH, A., op. cit.
- 122. Report of the Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, etc., op. cit., 1889 [5781], XIX, 420.
- 123. See notes 43, 44, 45, 47, and 51, above.
- 124. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 125. Letter from Lord Lieutenant to Donnelly of 3 March 1852. S.P.O. Irish Department Book 1851-1853, pps. 241-242.
- 126. Letter of 17 June 1851. S.P.O. Letter Book, First Division, 1851-1876, p. 146.
- 127. One was the theft, from mailbags at Galway, of returns of deaths from Lettermore dispensary.
- 128. Jacob was editor and part-owner. In 1866 its headquarters were moved to London when it became *The Medical Press* until its demise in 1962.
- 129. Leading Article, 30 April 1851, Dubl. Med. Pr., 1851, 25, 283.
- 130. S.P.O., C.S.O. Country Letter Book 1850-1851, p. 179.
- 131. Leading Article, 26 March 1851, Dubl. Med. Pr., 1851, 25, 206.
- 132. Leading Article, 7 May 1851, Dubl. Med. Pr., 1851, 25, 303.
- 133. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 134. WILSON, T. G., op. cit., p. 119.
- 135. CAMERON, C. A., History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and of the Irish Schools of Medicine, etc., Dublin, Fannin & Co., 1886, pp. 678–679.
- 136. WILSON, T. G., op. cit., pps. 171-172.
- 137. Obituary Notice, Med. Pr., 1876, 21 (n.s.), 351-352.
- 138. Letter of 11 October 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 139. Ibid., letter of 1 November 1856.
- 140. Ibid., letter from Donnelly to Lord Lieutenant of 4 October 1856.
- 141. Letter from Lord Lieutenant to Trevelyan of 4 January 1851. S.P.O. Government Letter Book 1849-1850, pp. 265-266.
- 142. Letter from Wilde to Chief Secretary of 12 November 1856. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Papers, (1882), 43571.
- 143. Facts from *Ibid*.
- 144. Ibid., letter from Treasury to Lord Lieutenant of 10 March 1857.
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- 146. Ibid.
- 147. Copy of Treasury Minute of 24 August 1857. S.P.O., C.S.O. Reg. Paper, (1882), 43571.
- 148. On 24 August 1857 and 18 April 1858. Ibid.
- 149. Letter from Donnelly to Larcom of 22 March 1858. Ibid.
- 150. Copy of Treasury Minute of 10 August 1858. Ibid.
- 151. See note 55 above.
- 152. WILSON, T. G., op. cit., p. 241.
- 153. Ibid.
- 154. Ibid., pp. 243, 247.
- 155. Dubl. Med. Pr., 1864, 51 (second series 215), 133.
- 156. Letter from R. Y. Tyrrell, sometime Regius Professor of Greek in Trinity College, Dublin, to Frank Harris. HARRIS, F., Oscar Wilde, London, Constable & Co., 1938, p. 15.
- 157. WILSON, T. G., op. cit.

- 158. SCHMALZ, E., Ueber die Taubstummen und ihre Bildung in ärztlicher, statistischer, padagogischer und geschichtlicher Hinsicht, etc., Dresden und Leipzig, 1838, p. 173, ft.-note. An earlier book (SCHMALZ, E., Kuze Geschichte und Statistik der Taubstummenanstalten und des Taubstummenunterrichtes nebst vorausgeschickten ärztlichen Bemerkungen über die Taubstummheit, Dresden, 1830) gives less complete statistics and no authorities.
- 159. UCHERMAN, V., Les Sourds-Muets en Norvège, etc., traduit du Norvegien par Joachim Nicolaysen et Théophile Chauvin, edited by Albert Cammermeyer, Christiania, 1901, p. 6. See also SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op cit., p. 138.
- 160. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 147.
- 161. I am indebted to Prof. J. IDENBURG, Director-General of Statistics, The Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics, for this and other information about the Netherlands censuses.
- 162. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 307.
- 163. HARTMANN, A., op. cit., p. 32.
- 164. PEET, H. P., List of pupils of the New York Institution, etc., Amer. Ann. Deaf, 1854, 6, 193-241.
- 165. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 163.
- 166. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table). Primary sources for this and later references to Sauveur are in footnotes to the table on pages 307-308 of that work.
- 167. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 141.
- 168. Ibid., p. 134.
- 169. ESCHERICH, D., 'Ueber den Einfluss geologischer Bodenbildung auf einzelne endemische Krankheiten,' Ver. phys.-med. Ges. Würzburg, 1854, 4, 124-147.
- 170. Some authorities say that deaf and dumb statistics were collected at the 1831 census, at least in Paris (Report to the Council of the Statistical Society of London, from the committee appointed to consider the best mode of taking the census of the United Kingdom, J. Statist. Soc. Lond., 1840, 3, 72-102). However, SAUVEUR (op. cit., p. 309) writing in 1847, says 'Il est fâcheux que la France n'est pas encore fait procéder à un recensement de ses sourdsmuets....' They were certainly enumerated in every census from 1881 (I am indebted to Mme. C. IEGEARD, Institut National D'Études Démographiques, for this information).
- 171. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 136.
- 172. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table).
- 173. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 60 seq.
- 174. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table, ft.-note 2).
- 175. I am indebted to G. HøJBERG, Det Statistiske Department, Copenhagen, for this datum.
- 176. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 166.
- 177. Ibid., p. 60 seq.
- 178. ESCHERICH, D., op. cit., p. 145 (table); SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table, and ft.-note 10).
- 179. BROCH, O. J., Kongeriget Norge og Det Norske Folk, etc., Kristiania, 1876. (I am obliged to G. SKANCKE, Statistisk Sentralbyrå, for confirming facts about this census).
- 180. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 305 seq.
- 181. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 60 seq.

- 182. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table).
- 183. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 142.
- 184. Ibid., p. 165.
- 185. Ibid., p. 60.
- 186. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 307 (table).
- 187. Ibid., p. 308 (table); ESCHERICH, D., op. cit., p. 145 (table). SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., appendix tables, gives break-down by district. See also DEVERELL, W. R., 'Statistics of the population of the Kingdom of Saxony, to December 1837... with incidental and general remarks,' J. Statist. Soc. Lond., 1839, 2, 103-114, for break-down by sex.
- 188. I thank V. BRIVKALNS, Central Bureau of Statistics, Sweden, for this information.
- 189. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table).
- 190. SCHMALZ, E., 1838, op. cit., p. 60 seq.
- 191. SAUVEUR, D., op. cit., p. 308 (table).
- 192. Royal Commission on the Blind, Deaf and Dumb, etc., op. cit., Report of Commissioners, 1889 [5781], XIX, 212.