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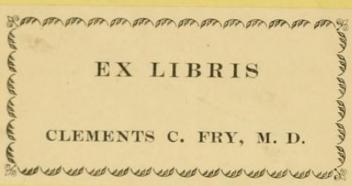
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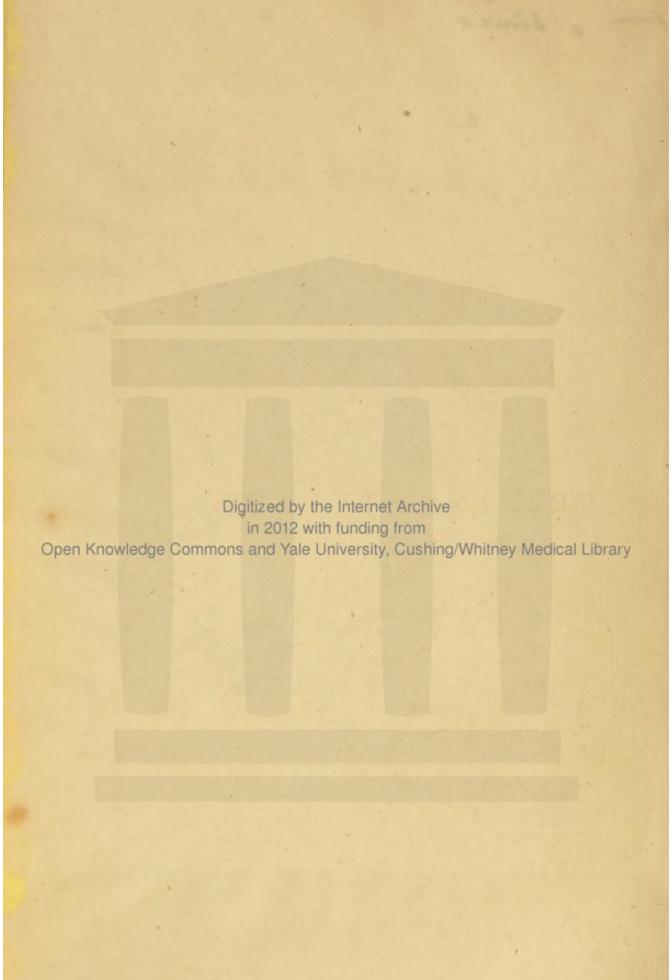
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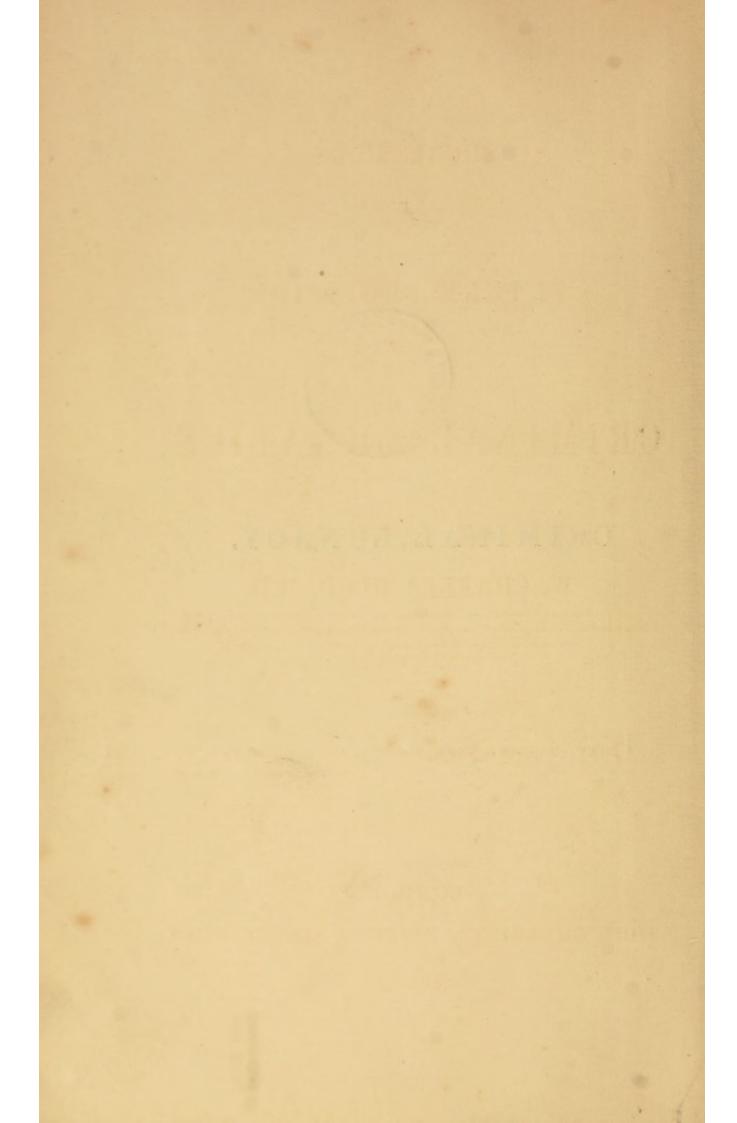
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CRIMINAL LUNACY.



SUGGESTIONS

FOR THE

FUTURE PROVISION

OF

CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

BY

W. CHARLES HOOD, M.D.

RESIDENT PHYSICIAN AND SUPERINTENDENT OF BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL;

LATE RESIDENT PHYSICIAN (MALE DEPARTMENT) OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY ASYLUM, COLNEY HATCH;

AND FORMERLY RESIDENT PHYSICIAN OF FIDDINGTON HOUSE ASYLUM,

MARKET LAVINGTON, WILTS.

"THEY SHALL BE KEPT, MAINTAINED, AND CURED."

STATUTE GEORGE 11. C. 6, S. 17.

LONDON:

JOHN CHURCHILL, PRINCE'S STREET, SOHO.

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RIGHT HONORABLE VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

HER MAJESTY'S

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR THE

HOME DEPARTMENT,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS LORDSHIP'S

VERY OBEDIENT AND HUMBLE SERVANT,

W. CHARLES HOOD, M.D.

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL, May, 1854.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION-GENERAL VIEW.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATISITCS OF INSANITY.

Proposed Statistical Inquiries — Sources of Information — Suggestions of the Statistical Society to obtain Returns of the Insane in the Census enumeration — Dr. Burrows' Statistical Inquiries — Discrepant views — Sir Andrew Halliday's Statistical Researches — Statistics of Insanity in 1829 — Returns of the Insane very different in different Counties—Nottingham—Cornwall—Origin of Lunacy Commissions — Select Committee, 1826-7 — College of Physicians: its privileges of Licensing and Visiting Lunatic Asylums suspended — Appointment of the Metropolitan Commission — Difficulty of

CHAPTER III.

STATISTICS OF CRIMINAL LUNACY.

Tables shewing the Total Number of Offenders Convicted, Acquitted, found Insane on Arraignment, or Acquitted on the Plea of Insanity, during three Quintennial periods, from 1838 to 1852—Results of the Statistics—The connection between Pauperism, Crime, and Insanity-Crime hereditary-Prevalence of Crime in Rural Districts—Table shewing the Number of Criminal Lunatics which each County respectively returned during the above three Quintennial periods - Enumeration of Counties returning Criminal Lunatics above and below the average—The different characters which Lunatics indicate necessary to be observed with a view to their classification-Illustrated by description of Bethlehem in the 16th Century by Dekkar-The Treatment of ordinary Criminals compared with that of Criminal Lunatics - Necessity of considering the Nature of the Offences committed -Tables specifying the Offences committed by Criminal Lunatics in the different Counties of England and Wales from 1838 to 1852 - Class I. OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON-Murder-Attempts to Murder, attended or unattended with Bodily Injuries-Shooting at, Stabbing, Wounding, &c., with intent to Maim and Disfigure-Manslaughter-Attempts to procure the Miscarriage of Women-Concealing Births of Infants-Sodomy-Rape and Carnally Abusing Girls under ten years of age-Assaults with intent to Ravish and Carnally Abuse - Class II. Offences against Property com-MITTED WITHOUT VIOLENCE - Cattle stealing-Horse stealing-Larceny-Sacrilege-Burglary-Class III. Malicious Offences against Property -Setting Fire to Houses, Warehouses, and Corn stacks-Tabular results

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

State of the Interior of Prisons in the early part of the present Century-Objections to Lunatics being confined in Common Gaols - Select Committee on the subject in 1807 — Their Report — Central Lunatic Asylum suggested -Proposed Site advised to be in or near the Metropolis - Sir George Paul's suggestions — Complaints of the undue detention of Criminal Lunatics— Divisional Wards proposed in connection with existing Institutions—Government Proposals to Bethlehem-Contract with the Governors-Original design too restricted — Additional accommodation required — Criminal Lunatics in Asylums and other places - Table showing their general distribution in County Asylums, Hospitals, Metropolitan Houses, Provincial Houses, and Bethlehem Hospital, from 1847 to 1852—The Returns of Bethlehem—Summary Table, shewing the Number of Criminal Lunatics Admitted, Discharged, Removed, or Died in Bethlehem Hospital from 1847 to 1852—Expediency of Criminal Lunatics being confined in Goals unless Lunatic Wards are provided for them - Abstract from Inspectors of Prisons' Report, 1851, shewing the Number of Criminal Lunatics confined in the Prisons of England and Wales from 1842 to 1849 — Their Proportion to the Prison population -- Inference that some more eligible arrangement should be made for their future accommodation p. 105 to 122

CHAPTER V.

SUGGESTIONS.

Competition to redress social evils—The plea of Insanity—Motives and Actions
—Relation between often unaccountable—Influence of cerebral organization
suggested in extenuation of crime—Views of Mr. Sampson—Objections to
the Brainular Theory of Crime—Motiveless Crimes—Opinions of the Judges
upon criminal actions generally—Irresistible Impulses—Crime a chronic
disease—Objections to a Central Lunatic Asylum—The object of Criminal
Lunatics being confined—By being congregated together their recovery
would be retarded—Popular odium to be anticipated—The existing resources
of Bethlehem Hospital, and County Asylums—Advantages of Bethlehem

Hospital—The capacities of County Asylums—A Criminal ward and airingcourt might be provided in each, and rendered secure against escape-The amount of accommodation required for this class not great-Pauper Lunatics not disturbed by Criminal Lunatics-Suggestion that their Classification, under the approbation of the Commissioners in Lunacy, should be left to the discretion of the Superintendents of Asylums-Their prolonged detention unjust-Practicability of the proposed Suggestions-Provision for Prisoners who become insane during their confinement-Lunatic wards proposed in connection with the Prison Infirmary-Occupation recommended-Not to be compulsory-Encouraging, if productive-Kind treatment necessary-The plea of insanity suggested by Horace-Liberation of Criminal Lunatics, but not after the crime of murder-Reasons for their continued detention-Unjust complaints against Bethlehem-Esquirol's Observations-The reference to Hadfield—Anecdotes of Hadfield—Why an unfit subject for liberation—The cases of Oxford and Captain Johnson—Puerperal mania—Infanticide arising from—Liberation at change of life suggested—Condition of Criminal Lunatics at present anomalous-Suggestion that Criminal Lunatics should be placed more immediately under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy— That the Commissioners should have power to recommend the Discharge of Criminal Lunatics, to the Secretary of State, when recovered-Evidence of the Inspectors of Lanacy in Ireland in favor of liberating, under certain circumstances, Criminal Lunatics-Summary of principal Suggestions-

SUGGESTIONS

FOR THE

PROVISION OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION-GENERAL VIEW.

The Commissioners in Lunacy, in their Annual Reports addressed to the Lord Chancellor, have repeatedly called attention to the complaints which have been urged against Lunatic Asylums being made receptacles for the class of patients denominated "Criminal Lunatics;" and with the view of collecting every possible information on the subject, they addressed in February, 1852, a Circular to the Visitors of County Lunatic Asylums and to the Superintendents and Proprietors of the Licensed Houses and Hospitals throughout England and Wales, requiring a return of all patients confined in such establishments under the Royal or Secretary of State's warrant, or committed by order of Justices as persons "apprehended under circumstances

denoting derangement of mind, and a purpose of committing an indictable offence." Furthermore, they requested that the Superintendents and Proprietors of Asylums would favour their Board with any practical observations which their experience might suggest, and particularly desired to know "what practical inconvenience (if any) may have attended the association of lunatics with the ordinary inmates of Asylums, as respects the feelings and comforts of the patients, and whether any and what objections are entertained to such association by their relatives and friends." One of these circulars I had the honour of receiving, and since replying to it, I have been induced by my official position in Bethlehem Hospital to consider the subject attentively in all its bearings; and I hope the suggestions which have occurred to me, and the observations I am about to make, will not be considered irrelevant, particularly at a period when it is generally anticipated that the Government purpose - probably, in the course of the present or ensuing Session — legislating upon the alleged grievance.

This expectation would appear to be justified by the proceedings which have recently taken place in Parliament. On the 18th of March, 1852, the Earl of Shaftesbury, in the House of Lords, moved an address to Her Majesty, "praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the expediency of establishing a State

Asylum for the care and custody of those who are denominated Criminal Lunatics."* The noble Earl called the attention of their Lordships to the extreme injustice of compelling ordinary patients, suffering under the affliction of insanity, to associate with persons who may have committed the worst crimes; and enumerated the reasons assigned by the Superintendents of Asylums for considering that this practice has not only morally a bad effect, but in many instances retards the recovery of noncriminal patients. The Earl of Derby, then at the head of Her Majesty's Government, in reply, commented on the anomaly of the expression "Criminal Lunatic," which he affirmed "was a contradiction in terms, inasmuch as the word 'criminal' obviously implies a knowledge of evil, while the word 'lunatic' as evidently implies an utter absence of that knowledge." His Lordship stated that he saw some difficulty in drawing a line between a "Criminal Lunatic" and a lunatic of another character; but he added, that he "agreed with his noble friend in thinking that nothing could be more injurious than the association of the two classes."

The principle, therefore, upon which the Earl of Shaftesbury founded his motion was so far fully conceded; but upon further explanation by the Earl of Derby, it appeared that the proposition for

^{*} Reported in the "Times" of Friday, March 19th, 1852.

such an address to Her Majesty was beset with financial difficulties. The erection of a State Asylum under the immediate approval of the Crown would involve the expenditure of a considerable sum of money; therefore if such a Bill were entertained at all, it became necessary that it should be introduced by the House of Commons. "If a Bill," said the Earl of Derby, "were originated in their Lordships' House, it would amount to an infringement on the privileges of the House of Commons;" nevertheless, he assured the noble Earl that the subject should "not be lost sight of, but would meet with every consideration from Her Majesty's Government." Under these circumstances the Earl of Shaftesbury withdrew his motion, expressing the gratification he had experienced at the manner in which it had been received by the noble Lord at the head of the Administration.

The next Session the subject was again brought under the notice of the House of Lords, by Lord St. Leonard's, the late Lord Chancellor, who, in bringing up the "Lunatics' Care and Treatment Bill" from the House of Commons, observed that "he had now to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to a duty which, he thought, peculiarly devolved upon them, that of introducing a measure for the providing, generally, for the Criminal Lunatics of the country. The law at present did not stand well on that subject. With such a law, as they

had a right to expect the administration of the law relating to lunacy in this country would be placed, he would fondly believe, upon a better foundation than existed in any other country in Europe. But, first, it was absolutely necessary that provision should be made for the care and maintenance of Criminal Lunatics. If that were done, he had reason to believe that the expense would be much less than it was generally supposed would be entailed. The country was now at considerable expense in that respect; and one asylum in the North, and one in the South of England would be sufficient." "It would (continued the Noble Baron) be particularly necessary to meet the case of women afflicted after their confinement, who, in a state of aberration of mind, committed, he could not call it a crime, but a deed, at which human nature shuddered. As the law now stood, when she ought to be in a hospital, and taken the greatest possible care of, she was treated as a criminal to be tried by the laws of her country; and if they were to have such laws, as he hoped they were very near passing, he repeated that it would be necessary to make provision for women of that description." His Lordship, furthermore, bore his testimony to having witnessed the ill effects of allowing Criminal Lunatics to be associated with other harmless unfortunates of the same description; and added, that "those who supposed that persons who had lost their mind

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were not deeply impressed with every thing which affected moral conduct were entirely mistaken." *

When we find one of the highest legal authorities in the kingdom declaring his conviction, in these emphatic and impressive terms, that "the law does not stand well on this subject," and that some measure is required for providing, generally, for the Criminal Lunatics of the country; and when, furthermore, we observe the most eminent statesmen of the realm participating in the opinions and sentiments so well and so humanely expressed by the noble Lord, we may reasonably anticipate that the subject will ere long be again brought under the consideration of Parliament.

It appears, however, that upon the very threshold of our inquiry, we meet with this difficulty: - the expression "Criminal Lunatic" is objected to, inasmuch as it is said to imply "a contradiction in terms;" but I confess, with deference to those who adopt this view, that I do not attach much importance to the objection. Res non verba quæso. critical inaccuracy of the expression does not, it seems to me, in any way affect the merits of the question at issue: besides, is the expression, after all, so very inapplicable? It happens, unfortunately, in law, as well as in medicine, that precision of language is not always attainable. "The word

^{*} Report in the "Times" of Wednesday, May 4, 1853.

crime," says one of the learned commentators upon Blackstone, "has no technical meaning in the law of England."* Our best lexicographers define it vaguely; even Johnson describes the word as signifying, "an act contrary to right—an offence—a great fault—an act of wickedness;" and the adjective Criminal as "faulty—contrary to right—contrary to duty—contrary to law." It is clear, therefore, without straining the interpretation of ordinary language, that a man—sane or insane—may commit a great fault, an act "contrary to right," "contrary to duty," and "contrary to law," without being, in the popular sense, "tainted with crime."

The conventional application of certain expressions is often made, irrespective of the strict and proper derivation of the words themselves, which are sometimes interpreted in a sense contrary to their radical meaning. Thus, the word contagion, applied to the propagation of disease, from con and tango, implies direct and immediate contact; the word infection, from in and facio, signifies the act or process of infecting which may take place indirectly as through the medium of the atmosphere; yet we habitually use these words in a sense contrary to their true derivation. We describe fever

^{*} Blackstone's Commentaries, edited by Edward Christian,
4 vols.—London: Taylor, 1830. Vide Vol. IV., p. 5, Note.

A criminal is one who commits a crime knowing it to be a crime or capable of knowing it

Lond Derby ohers his uprical turn of mind. Criminal lunatic is

Lond Derby ohers his uprical turn of mind. Criminal lunatic is

an allowed phrase with a feculiar meaning: He would be a criminal if not a lunatic.

It avoids a periphrasis.

or cholera as contagious where personal contact is not necessary to communicate the disease; and psora and porrigo, and other cutaneous diseases as infectious where direct contact is absolutely necessary for the communication of the virus. Again. We retain the word Lunacy, although we no longer believe that the moon has any influence over paroxysms of insanity. So also the word Idiot, from the Greek iδιώτης, originally signified a private man, one who had no share in the management of public business; and in this, "its primary sense," says the Professor of Divinity at King's College, "it is occasionally employed in English; as by Jeremy Taylor, when he says, 'Humility is a duty in great ones as well as in idiots." * The Romans, it appears, diverted the word from its original meaning, and Cicero, and other authors, used it to signify illiterate or unlearned persons. Eventually, it became applied in the sense in which it is now used by English Jurists, as the legal term, signifying a person who has been without understanding from his nativity, and whom the law therefore presumes never likely to attain any. †

We shall thus find that many words with which we are familiar have been diverted from their original meaning; but when they have, from conventional

^{*} On the Study of Words. Lectures by Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D.—London: Parker, 1853. P. 54.

⁺ Collinson. Shelford.

usage, become incorporated with our language, they cannot well be dispensed with. We perfectly understand what is meant by the expression "Criminal Lunatic," and that the adjective is applied, irrespective of any question of responsibility or irresponsibility, to denote a person who has committed some act justly considered criminal by society. Arson is not less arson because a house has been fired by the hand of a lunatic. Murder is not less murder because it has been perpetrated in a paroxysm of homicidal mania. The act having been committed remains irrevocable; and however insane the perpetrator may have been, he has nevertheless distinguished himself by committing a deed of criminality, which may afterwards very properly attach the prefix "criminal" to his designation, absolved as he may be, on account of his malady, from any responsibility or penal consequences. The adjective applies obviously to the act whereby the lunatic signalized himself, and which removes him out of the category of ordinary patients. It has been proposed to substitute the term "State Patient" for that of "Criminal Lunatic;" but every lunatic is, in point of fact, a "State Patient." The Lord Chancellor, officiating as "Parens Patriæ" on the part of the Crown, has special jurisdiction over this class of subjects. Hence, the Commissioners in Lunacy make their annual reports to the Lord Chancellor, and have powers delegated to them for the purpose

of carrying out the humane objects of the law, with which all persons must be well acquainted who are officially connected with Lunatic Asylums. It appears to me, therefore, that the denomination of "State Patient" would not sufficiently distinguish the class of patients who have been criminal offenders from those who were never addicted to vice, and whose ingenuous nature would recoil from the commission of any criminal action. Accordingly, I prefer retaining the expression "Criminal Lunatic," because it is the generally received term, and if understood in the sense I have explained, it is sufficiently expressive; at all events, we have no alternative, excepting to retain it until a better form of expression be substituted in its place.

Under the present system of confining Criminal Lunatics in Asylums, no distinction is drawn between them upon account of the different character of the offences they may have committed: hence we find the most cruel murderer associated with the most harmless person who may, perhaps under a temporary delusion, have committed a trivial misdemeanour. Moreover, convicted felons, who have become insane while undergoing penal servitude in gaols, or on board the hulks, are not unfrequently removed into Asylums, and associated with persons who have never been arraigned, and who may possibly, if tried, have been acquitted of the charges against them. "The law," says the Editor of Mr.

Sampson's work on Criminal Jurisprudence, "classifies crimes, but not criminals."* And if this be true as affects the disposal of criminals who are sane, how much more strikingly true is it as regards the disposal of those who are avowedly insane, and who without reference to the nature of their offences are indiscriminately sentenced under the authority of the Royal or the Secretary of State's warrant to confinement in the same establishment.

It is clear that persons of unsound mind cannot be held responsible for their actions; the law, however, lays down distinctions for their non-exemption, or exemption from punishment, which are suggestive of certain principles of classification. criminal cases," says Blackstone, "idiots and lunatics are not chargeable for their own acts if committed under these incapacities, (viz., a deficiency in will arising from a defective or vitiated understanding), no, not even for treason itself. . . . Also if a man in his sound memory commits a capital offence, and before arraignment for it he becomes mad, he ought not to be arraigned for it, because he is not able to plead to it with that advice and caution that he ought. . . . And if after he has pleaded the prisoner becomes mad he shall not

^{*} Rationale of Crime; being a Treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence considered in relation to Cerebral Organization. By M. B. Sampson. Edited by E. W. Farnham. - New York, 1846. Appendix, p. 142.

be tried, for how can he make his defence? . . . If after he be tried and found guilty he loses his senses before judgment, judgment shall not be pronounced. . . . And if after judgment he becomes of non-sane memory execution shall be stayed, for peradventure, says the humanity of the English law, had the prisoner been of sound memory he might have alleged something in stay of judgment or execution."* Here then we have, as described by Blackstone, five different classes of Criminal Lunatics; but it is clear that only those in the first division, who were actually insane at the time the offence was committed, are absolved from responsibility. If a man become insane under the second or third division, before being arraigned or making his defence, having been of sound mind when he committed the offence, and the trial be not proceeded with, not having been tried, it is impossible to pronounce whether he was guilty or innocent. But if under the two last distinctions he become insane after being found guilty, either before judgment or after judgment has been pronounced, he in that case has been proved, however insane, a convicted criminal, because he perpetrated the offence in a sane state of mind.

"The execution of an offender," observed Sir Edward Coke, "is for example—ut pæna ad paucos,

^{*} Blackstone, Op. Cit. Vol. I. B. iv. c. ii. p. 23-4.

metus ad omnes perveniat—but so it is not when a madman is executed; but should be a miserable spectacle both against law and of extreme inhumanity and cruelty, and can be no example to others."* In like manner if a convict become insane while undergoing his penal servitude, the continued infliction of the punishment would become a cruelty; it is therefore only proper that such execution should be stayed, and that he should be placed under immediate medical treatment: but as a convicted criminal it becomes a question, which I shall presently discuss, whether he ought to be placed in a Lunatic Asylum where he will be associated with persons who have never been found guilty of committing any crime.

We have in Bethlehem, in the Criminal Establishment, patients whose insanity at the time of committing the offence clearly absolved them from any responsibility; we have others whose insanity prevented their being arraigned upon the charges libelled against them, and who therefore cannot, never having been tried, be considered guilty; others

^{*} Blackstone—"Nothing is more certain law," says Sir John Hawkes, Solicitor-General in the reign of King William III., in his remarks on the trial of Charles Bateman, for high treason, "than that a person who falls mad after a crime supposed to be committed shall not be tried for it, and if he falls mad after judgment he shall not be executed."—Howell's State Trials, Vol. xi. p. 477.

again have, under the influence of insanity, committed petty misdemeanours; and many of the patients to whom I have just alluded having partially recovered, conduct themselves rationally and quietly. Among them are persons of good family, officers in the army and navy, literary men and artists, members of the learned professions; and many of these educated persons feel it an extreme hardship to be obliged to associate with convicted felons, whose insanity has only darkened and exaggerated the more revolting features of their character. The disposition and temper of insane persons, particularly when the disease assumes a chronic form, will be found upon inquiry to be very much modified by their previous habits of life. If an uneducated man when sane has been the companion of thieves and burglars, and given unrestrained licence to all the brutalizing impulses of his passions, he will, when insane, in all probability be a very dangerous lunatic, and unfit to be domiciled even in the same ward with patients, perhaps of gentle birth and refined habits, who have been well educated, and enjoyed, previous to their mental affliction, all the advantages of good society. On many occasions when I have listened to the complaints of this class of persons, I have truly sympathised with them, more especially because I have felt it out of my power to grant them any indulgence, which would have the effect of exciting the

jealousy and animosity of other patients, whereby their position would be rendered far more uncomfortable to them.

Here it may be well to explain that Insane Criminals are sent to Lunatic Asylums under two descriptions of warrant, viz.: - the Royal warrant, executed by command of the reigning Sovereign, and a warrant signed by one of the principal Secretaries of State.* If a jury acquit a person charged with treason on account of insanity, or a person indicted for any offence be found, upon arraignment, insane, the Act 39 & 40 Geo. III., c. 94, provides that "the Court before whom such trial shall be had, shall order such person in strict custody in such place and in such manner as to the Court shall seem fit until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known; and it shall, therefore, be lawful for His Majesty to give such order for the safe custody of such person, during his pleasure, in such place and in such manner as to His Majesty shall seem fit." This Act appears to have been suggested by a difficulty which occurred upon the trial of Hadfield, who remained for many years an inmate in Bethlehem Hospital, and there died in the year 1849. After the very

^{*} The statutes providing for the disposal of Criminal Lunatics are, at present, three—39 & 40 Geo. III., cap. 94; 1 & 2 Vict., cap. 14; 3 & 4 Vict., cap. 54.

[†] Statutes at Large, Vol. xviii., p. 446. See Appendix, No. 1—Copy of the Royal Warrant.

memorable speech which was delivered on that occasion by Lord Erskine - a speech unrivalled for the beauty of its language, the dignity of its style, and the perspicuity of its argument; the insanity of the unfortunate man was so clearly demonstrated that Lord Kenyon, presiding as Chief Justice, stopped the case, and directed the Jury to return a verdict of "Not Guilty;" but then arose the question, how the prisoner was to be disposed of? "For his own sake," said Lord Kenyon, "and for the sake of society at large, he must not be discharged, for this is a case which concerns every man of every station, from the King upon the throne to the beggar at the gate—people of both sexes and all ages may, in an unfortunate frantic hour, fall a sacrifice to this man, who is not under the guidance of sound reason, and therefore, it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of society, that he should be properly disposed of, all mercy and humanity being shown to the unfortunate creature; but, for the sake of the community, he must somehow or other be taken care of, with all the attention and all the relief that can be afforded him." Hereupon, the Counsel for the Crown, and the Counsel for the defendant, agreed that the safety of the community required that he should be taken care of. "It is laid down in some books," said the former, (Sir John Mitford, afterwards Lord Redesdale,) "that by the common law, the Judges of every Court are

competent to direct the confinement of a person under such circumstances." "That may be, Mr. Attorney-General," interposed Lord Kenyon, "but, at present, we can only remand him to the confinement he came from; but means will be used to confine him otherwise in a manner much better adapted to his situation." It was then suggested by Mr. Garrow (afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer) that "it would be for the benefit of posterity if the jury would state in their verdict the grounds upon which they gave it, viz.: that they acquit the prisoner of this charge, he appearing to them to have been under the influence of insanity at the time the act was committed. There would then," he added, "be a legal and sufficient reason for his confinement." * This recommendation was adopted by the jury, who returned a verdict in these terms. Thus originated the form of verdict now commonly returned in cases of this description.

It may, however, be interesting to observe, that fourteen years previous to this period, viz.: August 8th, 1786, after Margaret Nicholson had attempted to assassinate Geo. III. with a knife, having approached His Majesty's person under the pretext of delivering a petition, she was taken into custody, and afterwards examined at Whitehall by the Lords of the Privy Council. Upon the evidence of Dr.

^{*} Howell's State Trials, Vol. xxvii., p. 1354, et. seq.

John and Dr. Thomas Monro, she was found insane. It was proposed to commit her to Tothill-fields prison; but this was objected to, upon the ground that she was a State prisoner; "in consequence therefore of the determination" of the Privy Council, it is stated that "the unhappy woman was conveyed to a cell prepared for her in Bethlehem."*

In the January of 1790, another lunatic, named John Frith, attempted to assault His Majesty, by throwing a stone at the Royal carriage, as His Majesty was going in state to the House of Peers. This man, who was obviously insane, did not meet with so much clemency as Margaret Nicholson; for after undergoing several examinations at the Treasury Office, Whitehall, by the Attorney-General in the presence of the principal Ministers of State, he was committed to Newgate, and there imprisoned nearly two years. It was not until the 11th of December, 1791, that he was put to the bar, charged with committing high treason by throwing a stone at His Majesty. The affidavits of a physician and surgeon were produced, stating that they had attended the prisoner since his confinement, and had examined into the state of his mind, and found him insane. The Attorney-General said he had seen the affidavits, and was convinced of the truth of them: and had authority to

^{*} Annual Register, 1786, Vol. xxviii., p. 234.

inform the court that he was in possession of the King's sign manual, by which His Majesty consented to the prisoner being discharged from the Gaol of Newgate, upon condition that security was given that he should be confined in some proper place as a lunatic, or in some other manner taken care of, so as to answer His Majesty's most gracious intentions. Bail was accordingly produced, and the prisoner ordered to be liberated.*

These cases, and the subsequent one of Hadfield, shewed clearly the necessity for some further legislation on the subject; and accordingly, the trial of Hadfield having taken place on the 26th June, 1800, a few days afterwards, on the 30th June, the Attorney-General, in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in "The Treason Bill, and the Insane Offenders' Bill." The object of the "Treason Bill" was to give the life of the Sovereign the same protection as the law afforded to the meanest subject of the realm; for previous to the passing of this statute, it was necessary, on an indictment for high treason, even where the life of the Sovereign had been openly attempted, to prove the overt act by two witnesses; and a number of forms were provided by the old law, which were salutary and proper in cases where the charge wore a political

^{*} Annual Register, Vol. xxxii., 1790, p. 194, and Vol. xxxiii., 1791, p. 45.

aspect; where the treason consisted in an alleged rebellious conspiracy, or might be considered in the nature of constructive treason; or where the prosecutor might have an interest in bringing home the charge to the person accused: but where the life of the Sovereign was attempted by a simple act perpetrated in the face of the public, the facilities for conducting the prosecution were embarrassed, and the trial could not be conducted in the same way as if the party indicted were a common subject. The "Treason Bill" therefore provided that, in cases where a person was indicted for the assassination of the King, or any direct attempt against his life, the offender shall be tried in the same manner as if charged with murder; but be punishable, if convicted, by execution as in other cases of high treason.* The "Insane Offenders' Bill" furthermore provided for the safe custody of persons charged with such offences. Before this statute passed the law was so defective, that the Attorney-General stated to the House of Commons, that it had been found that persons who had committed the most shocking acts, and been acquitted on the ground of being deranged in their intellects, had been again allowed to go at large, and again committed similar atrocities. "There are," said the honorable gentleman, "several instances of His

^{*} Anno 39 and 40 Georgii III., c. 93 and c. 94. Statutes at large, Vol. xviii., p. 446.

Majesty's subjects having lost their lives for want of a due provision in this respect. By the common law, when a person of this kind is acquitted, the court before which he is tried have full power to direct the safe custody of such a person; but then the law has so little regulated that custody, and is so silent as to the rules to be observed with regard to it, that it may be said to be defective in that particular, and on reflection, I think it will be impossible to lay down any positive rule with regard to the manner of that custody, and therefore much must be left to the discretion of the executive government; but when we consider the circumstances of these unhappy persons, that generally they are of low habits and connections, and seldom have any friends to take care of them, it will appear to be humane to give to the executive government some discretion to dispose of them."* The same sentiments having been expressed by Pitt and Windham, leave was given to bring in the Bill; and the Committee having been empowered to divide them, they passed as separate Bills, and received the royal assent on the 28th July, 1800.

Under these statutes the law of Criminal Lunacy was administered until the accession of Her present Majesty; after which, upon the trial of Oxford, it would appear another difficulty arose. This young

^{*} Hansard's Parliamentary History, 1800, Vol. xxxv., p. 390.

man, it will be remembered, was indicted for high treason on the 9th July, 1840, under circumstances which are still fresh in the recollection of the public. He was found "guilty" of discharging the contents of two pistols at the Queen; but the jury added to their verdict, that "whether or not they were loaded with ball has not been satisfactorily proved to us, he being of unsound mind at the time." Hereupon the Court expressed a strong opinion that the case did not come within the statute;* the jury were directed to amend their verdict, and afterwards found the prisoner "guilty, he being at the time insane."† He was, therefore, under the Royal warrant, sent to Bethlehem; and here it is proper to remark, that although the avowed object of the Treason Bill and Insane Offenders' Bill, passed in the reign of George III., was to protect the person of the Sovereign, yet by the second section of the latter Act it was (39) & 40 Geo. III. c. 94,), held that a prisoner might be detained under it who had been acquitted of a misdemeanour on the ground of his insanity at the time of the commission of the offence, and at the trial.‡ In the month of August, 1840, shortly after the trial of Oxford, another Act was passed,

^{*} Shelford's Treatise of the Law of Lunatics, Idiots, and Persons of Unsound Mind. London, 1847. Ch. xii., p. 600.

[†] Report in the "Times," July 10th and 11th, 1840.

[‡] Shelford, Op. Cit., p. 600.

(3 & 4 Vict. cap. 54,) entitled "An Act for making further provision for the confinement and maintenance of Insane Prisoners," by which the powers of this Royal warrant were extended and more clearly defined. By its third section the same provision is made with regard to persons charged with misdemeanours, as was made by the statute referred to of George III. with regard to persons charged with treason, murder, or felony. Furthermore, by this Act, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State is empowered to grant a warrant, at the instance of two justices of the peace, and two physicians, or surgeons, who must sign certificates to that effect, for the removal of any prisoner who may have become insane to a Lunatic Asylum, who may be in any prison, or any place of confinement, under sentence of death, transportation, or imprisonment, or under a charge of any offence, or for not finding bail for good behaviour, or to keep the peace, or to answer a criminal charge, or under summary conviction or order by any justice or justices of the peace.

We have thus Criminal Lunatics sent to us under the Royal warrant, and also under the warrant of the Secretary of State. The former is considered to be an irrevocable instrument; at all events, few persons sent to a Lunatic Asylum under this authority are again liberated. But it is somewhat remarkable, that it should be issued in all cases where prisoners are acquitted upon the plea of insanity. In a revision of the laws of Criminal Lunacy, this is a point worthy of reconsideration. It appears to me that the Royal warrant should not be granted upon light and comparatively trivial occasions. person who has been guilty of what the French jurists significantly designate "parricide"—who has aimed at taking away the life of his Sovereign,although acquitted upon the ground of insanity, cannot, with safety to the State, be afterwards entrusted with his liberty, because he may relapse, and be again actuated by the same insane motives. Neither can a person who has committed murder under the influence of homicidal mania, with safety to society, be again liberated. The Royal warrant, therefore, implying detention for life in a Lunatic Asylum, I would suggest with deference, should be applied only to cases of this description—the highest class of crimes; and the Secretary of State's warrant be substituted in cases of minor offence, because such persons may, upon recovery, often be liberated without any apprehension of danger. Upon this subject I apprehend there is a misunderstanding abroad. It is supposed that the Secretary of State very rarely authorizes the discharge of Criminal Lunatics who have been restored to their senses; and a Noble Peer, in the House of Lords, lately declared that few belonging to this class of patients are liberated from Bethlehem. This is an error.

The first section of the Act 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 54, provides that,-"If it be certified to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, by two physicians, or two surgeons, that any such person has become of sound mind, the said Secretary of State is authorised to issue his warrant to the keeper or other person having the care of such Asylum, directing that such person shall be removed back to the prison or other place of confinement from whence he or she shall have been taken; or if the period of imprisonment or custody of such person shall have expired, he or she shall be discharged." So also, "if any convict confined in the Pentonville prison shall become or be found to be insane during such confinement, and be so reported by the Commissioners for governing such prison to one of the principal Secretaries of State, such Secretary of State may, by warrant under his hand, order that such insane convict shall be forthwith removed to such Lunatic Asylum as the Secretary of State may judge proper; and every convict so removed shall remain under confinement in such Asylum, or in any other Lunatic Asylum to which such convict may be lawfully removed, until it shall be duly certified to one of the principal Secretaries of State, by two physicians or surgeons, that such convict has become of sound mind, whereupon, if the time for which such convict was sentenced to be imprisoned shall not have expired, the Secretary of State shall issue his warrant to the governor or other person having the care of such Asylum, ordering that such convict be removed to the Pentonville prison, or, if the period of imprisonment of such convict shall have expired, that he shall be discharged."*

The power of discharging Criminal Lunatics thus vested in the Secretary of State is constantly exercised; and the Annual Reports of Bethlehem Hospital will show that not a year passes without some such patients being liberated.

The Royal warrant being, under the present system, issued for the confinement of all persons acquitted of any charge upon the plea of insanity, and the warrant of the Secretary of State being in like manner executed, without any reference to the offences which such persons may have committed, the worst Criminal Lunatics — those who have perpetrated the most heinous and revolting atrocities,are, as I have observed, sent to the same establishment as those who are comparatively innocent. But even this I conceive to be not so great an evil as that of transferring convicts who have become insane from gaols into Lunatic Asylums. The moral effect of this proceeding upon the minds of such patients as are capable of reflection, and who have themselves never been convicted, is extremely bad; they do not hesitate to ask, why convicts

^{* 5 &}amp; 6 Vict., c. 29, s. 23.

should be removed from prison to be associated with them? Why felons, who have become insane in Newgate, or on board the Hulks, should be brought into their wards, and be domiciled with them? And assuredly, it seems only just that some distinction should be drawn between convicted and non-convicted Criminal Lunatics. If a prisoner in Pentonville Prison fall ill,—if he be attacked with fever, or break his leg, - he is not removed from the Gaol and sent to the Fever Hospital, or to Guy's, or St. Thomas's Hospital; but he is removed into the Infirmary, and there, under the care of the Surgeon of the Prison, he receives proper medical treatment. Insanity is well known to be as curable a disease as many forms of fever, and perhaps, in the ordinary sense of the word, it is by no means so contagious; why, therefore, should it not be viewed in the same light as any other malady incident to the human body? The admission of insane convicts into Lunatic Asylums, is not only annoying to other patients, but greatly disturbs the ordinary discipline of the establishment; for be it observed, lunatics, whether criminal or non-criminal, are capable of some degree of reasoning; and their conscious incapacity of enjoying this faculty to its full extent, often recoils painfully upon their feelings, and becomes in itself a source of irritation. In providing, indeed, for the safe custody, and the management of the insane of all classes, we should

proceed upon the same principles as if we were legislating for professedly sane persons: because the mind is never totally eclipsed, there is always some lingering ray of light which the intact reflection may seize upon with instinctive truthfulness. For this reason, Feuchtersleben advises physicians not to enter into any unnecessary discussion with their insane patients, and acutely observes :- "The previously educated lunatic often penetrates deeper, at least for the moment, into the mind of one who engages in argument with him, than the latter does into his; so that it appears almost as if the understanding of the lunatic were less affected by insanity, than the reason of many sane persons by passions and prejudices." * Furthermore it should be remembered,—and I am satisfied of the fact, that Criminal Lunatics are more difficult to manage than other lunatics: there is more irritability of temper, and general restlessness about them; they are cognizant of the offences they have committed, and being under the impression that they will never recover their liberty, they are less disposed to be contented or happy. They are also conscious that they are separated into, and form a distinct class of patients, and this very circumstance establishes a species of fraternity among them: for they are in constant

^{*} Feuchtersleben Principles of Medical Psychology, by Messrs. Lloyd and Babington. Printed for the Sydenham Society. London, 1847. P. 358.

communication with each other, and their curiosity is naturally excited to ascertain the circumstances connected with every new arrival. They thus soon become acquainted with each other's history, which is often the cause of much quarrelling and mutual recrimination; the better class of patients are unhappy at being associated with the inferior order, —criminals whose manners and language are habitually of the most revolting description. Hence, I conclude, that the fundamental principle upon which we should proceed, in providing for the safe custody, maintenance, and medical care of our Criminal Lunatics, should be that of establishing a certain classification among them, founded upon the degrees, or nature of the crimes which they may have committed. This principle conceded, we have then to consider the expediency, or inexpediency, of organizing a State Lunatic Asylum for their common reception; the possibility, or impossibility, of each county providing adequate accommodation in existing asylums for its own Criminal Lunatics; and whether arrangements might not be made in prisons, and houses of correction, for the medical treatment of such prisoners as may, while undergoing imprisonment or penal servitude, become insane?

CHAPTER II.

THE STATISTICS OF INSANITY.

Before entering into any discussion upon the suggestions to which I have briefly adverted in the preceding chapter, it is desirable that we should ascertain the extent to which insanity prevails in this country. Is it a calamity continually and progressively increasing, making every allowance for the increase of the population? What is the average number of offenders found annually insane on arraignment, or detained upon the plea of insanity? Which are the counties in England and Wales that return a maximum and minimum number of such offenders? What is the predominating character of the offences perpetrated? What increase in the number of Criminal Lunatics may, in a given series of years be calculated upon? Finally, What is the nature and extent of the accommodation at present provided for this unfortunate class of subjects? It is obvious that these questions—the practical bearing of which must be manifest - can only be answered by appealing to the evidence contained in a variety of Statistical Reports, which may

possibly appear to be somewhat tedious; but without being founded upon precise and accurate data we cannot arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. Accordingly, I have availed myself of every authentic source of information, interspersing purely statistical references, with such collateral details as will, I hope, be found interesting. The humble collector of facts, the diligent collator of figures, places before men of science materials for induction; the same elements may by different minds be viewed under very different aspects: we cannot, therefore, in endeavouring to solve any social problem, produce evidence too elaborate. We require facts; and although their application and tendency may not at first be obvious: although newlyrevealed facts may appear to be detached and valueless; yet, when their mutual relations are ascertained, we discover how they may, like the links of a previously disunited chain, be connected: it is thus, by proceeding gradually, and advancing only step by step, upon the true principles of inductive philosophy, that the greatest triumphs in science have been achieved. Statician may fairly plead this as his apology for the unattractive formula he is constrained to employ; the details of his computations may be dry, but the results developed by them are not the less important.

The statistics of insanity have only recently as-

sumed an official character. The Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy; the Returns of the total number of Lunatics and Idiots in the different Counties of England and Wales, ordered at various periods by the House of Commons; the Tabular Statements contained in the Annual Reports of the County Lunatic Asylums; the Criminal Tables sent to the Home Office, giving an Annual Return of the number of Offenders in each County, -committed, convicted, or acquitted, or found insane before or after trial; and the Annual Reports published by the Poor Law Commissioners, which contain a Return of the number of Lunatics and Idiots chargeable to their respective Parishes in the Unions of each County in England and Wales-are the sources from which we must derive our information: but even these Returns are, from unavoidable causes, incomplete, and conduct only to approximative results. The Commissioners in Lunacy find an insuperable difficulty in obtaining a return of the number of single patients housed away in private families; and although the provisions of the "Lunatic Care and Treatment Bill," which has just come into operation, are very stringent, and place this class of patients upon the same footing as certified patients in licensed houses, it is well known that the relations and friends of the insane will often not place them even under medical treatment, much less will they communicate officially with the

Commissioners. Hence a large class of insane persons, belonging to the middle and upper classes of society,-not being placed under medical certificates,-no return is made of them, and we have not any means of forming an estimate of their number. Other difficulties exist. Pauper lunatics and idiots may, or may not, be sent to county asylums:-separated from the general body of paupers, a considerable number of them are placed in the idiot and lunatic wards of workhouses, where, it is true, they are under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners of Lunacy; -but the Commissioners themselves do not get an accurate return of their number: when we compare, therefore, the number of insane, idiotic, and imbecile inmates of workhouses visited by the Commissioners, with the analogous return in the Poor Law Commissioners' Reports, they do not correspond, for the simple reason that the Commissioners in Lunacy use their own discretion in visiting workhouses, and the number of the insane, idiotic, and imbecile returned by them in their Appendix, only applies to the list of the houses which they may have thought proper to inspect during the year. We thus find considerable difficulty in arriving at the true statistics of insanity, which would certainly be more accurately ascertained if the enumerators, in taking the decennial census, made a distinct return of this class of persons.

Before the Census of 1841 was taken, the Statistical Society of London appointed a Committee to consider the best mode of taking that census; and among other recommendations suggested, with a view of elucidating the statistics of health, that two columns, under the general heading of "health," should be added to the forms of enumeration: one of which was to present us with a return of "the healthy," the other of "the sick, or permanently infirm," under which they proposed that the number of the blind, the deaf, the idiotic and insane, should be given, which the Committee represented form subjects of enumeration in the census of almost every other country. The Census Commissioners, however, did not adopt the suggestions of the Statistical Society, because they did not find themselves authorised to enforce the information required by the Population Act, which prescribed the forms which were to be observed. Hence, after the Census of 1841 had been published, the Treasurer to the Statistical Society read a very interesting paper to that Association, entitled, "An Examination of some Facts obtained at the recent enumeration of the Inhabitants of Great Britain, so far as the same have been published by the Census Commissioners."

"It will be fresh," observes Mr. Porter, "in the memory of the Fellows of this Society, that its Council, deeply impressed with the importance of the work, appointed a Committee of its body, early in 1839, to

consider the best mode of taking the census, and that some of the recommendations contained in the Report of that Committee were adopted by Parliament, in the Population Act of last year. It may afford matter for regret that the suggestions offered by this Society have not been more fully adopted; that accurate returns relating to health and other particulars important to a better acquaintance with the condition and requirements of society, have not been obtained, as they might have been, with little or no additional labour on the part of those employed as It will, to take one instance, hardly enumerators. be doubted, that great advantage must have been derived from a knowledge of the number of insane persons in the kingdom, a subject on which the most contradictory assertions have at various times been offered. In a paper read before the Royal College of Physicians, in 1810, by Dr. Powell, then Secretary to the Commissioners of Lunatics, and who might be therefore considered a competent authority, it was stated, that the proportion of insane persons in this kingdom did not exceed 1 in 7,300 of the population. Ten years later, Dr. Burrows published to the world the ground of his opinion, that the proportion was 1 in 2,000; and in 1828, Sir Andrew Halliday estimated, from data then accessible, that 1 in every 1,588 of the population was thus afflicted. In the following year, having made further inquiries into the subject, the

same accomplished physician arrived at the conclusion that the proportion was 1 in 769 persons,and there are but too good grounds for believing that this increased proportion is still below the truth. We know, from Parliamentary Returns, that in 1836, there were chargeable to the various parishes in England and Wales 13,667 idiots and lunatics: being 1 in 1,090 of the whole population in that If we knew the proportion of the population from which these cases were taken, we should still have only imperfect data for estimating the whole number of lunatics in the country, as we should then have to determine whether, in any and in what degree, the condition of poverty promotes the development of insanity. That it does not promote it is the opinion of some celebrated physiologists who have entered upon the subject; and if we assume, what would indeed be a frightful picture of our social organization, that the lunatics who are chargeable as paupers are furnished by one half of the population, we must believe that nearly 1 in 500 of the people of this country are thus distressingly visited. Mr. Tuke, the Treasurer of the Retreat Asylum, near York, who has bestowed many years of unremitting attention upon this subject, has stated, as the result of twenty years' experience in that Institution, that there is probably 1 insane person for every 300 among the Society of Friends. Is it right that a subject of so

much practical importance, and where a correct knowledge of its extent is so necessary for the guidance of society in duly providing for the evil, should be thus left to conjecture or computation? The suggestions of the Census Committee of this Society, had they been fully adopted, would have set this question at rest, and would, in various other ways, have aided the investigations of science."*

The Statistical Society, it is evident, duly appreciates the importance of these inquiries; and it is much to be regretted that when the next census was taken, in 1851, although the inquiries were of a far more extensive character than those pursued at any previous enumeration, and although it was proposed by the Commissioners that a return should be made of the number of the blind, the deaf, and the dumb, the suggestions of the Society, as respects a return being made of the insane, were again disregarded. The importance of vital statistics is, I believe, becoming daily more appreciated; the Government and the public generally are by no means indifferent to sanitary questions; and it is to be hoped, that before the next census is taken, the Population Act will undergo a revision, and that the Commissioners will be authorized to enforce information respecting the health of the community. When Dr. Burrows wrote upon insanity, above twenty-five years ago, (although he availed himself of every register and

^{*} Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. iv., pp. 277-278.

document to which he could find access), he could obtain no authentic data for instituting any satisfactory induction; he, therefore, upon his own admission, was writing conjecturally when he affirmed that insanity is even, in proportion to the population, constantly on the decrease. "My conviction," he observes, "is, that if a fair investigation now took place, the number of insane persons in Great Britain and Ireland would be found diminished since my inquiries in 1819;" and yet he adds, that "the returns in that year were very defective and inaccurate, and those since made are so much more so that (in 1828) they are utterly useless." *

It is curious that Esquirol should apparently have been so far led astray by Dr. Burrows as to publish a Memoir in the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Medicine (*Tome I.*, 1828), in which, in reply to the question, "Existe—t-il dans nos jours un plus grand nombre des Fous qu'il n'en existait il y a quarante ans?" he fully adopts Dr. Burrows' views, affirming—"1st. That the writings of authors, especially Pinel, have powerfully contributed to incite an interest for the insane, and consequently, to induce a belief in the increase of the malady;—2ndly. That the great number of patients sent to Asylums encourages this belief; — and 3rdly. That

^{*} Commentaries on the Causes, Forms, Symptoms, and Treatment of Insanity. By George Man Burrows. London, 1828.

Note, p. 508.

as the increase is only apparent, it is not true that insanity is a calamity peculiar to the present time." Dr. Burrows quotes this passage from Esquirol's Memoir with evident satisfaction, notwithstanding his admission that the returns upon which he founded his statistical inferences were so "defective" and "inaccurate" as to be "utterly useless." The non-professional portion of the public may well be astonished at finding medical men not only differing in regard to their inferences as to plain matters of fact, but often coming to the most opposite conclusions, one or other of them arriving evidently at the very antipodes of truth. Dr. Burrows, in his "Inquiry," strongly affirms -"There is no document extant, nor any evidence whatever that does not favour the inference, that the ratio of insane persons to the population diminishes every year," * while Sir Andrew Halliday, in his Letter to Lord Seymour, declares, that from a series of returns, which are authentic and tolerably accurate, the disease is alarmingly on the increase, and that "the number of persons so afflicted has more than tripled during the last twenty years."

The first attempt to ascertain the number of

^{*} An Inquiry into certain Errors relative to Insanity, and their Consequences, Physical, Moral, and Civil. By George Man Burrows, M.D. London, 1820. P. 109.

[†] A Letter to Lord Robert Seymour, on the Number of Lunatics and Idiots in England and Wales. By Sir Andrew Halliday. London, 1829. *Preface*.

insane persons in this country, and their proportion to the population, was made by Dr. Powell; but his resources were so limited that he could institute nothing like a satisfactory induction. He computed, however, that the proportion of lunatics in England was one to seven thousand three hundred The proportion given by Dr. Burrows was persons. one to two thousand. In 1828 and 1829, Sir Andrew Halliday appears to have spared neither pains nor expense in carrying out the investigation. personally visited the different counties of England and Wales, entered into correspondence with county magistrates, clerks of the peace, and overseers, consulted such returns as were to be found in the Home-office, and the following were the results of his induction:—

SUMMARY OF SIR ANDREW HALLIDAY'S REPORT.

In E	NGLANI).	12.00	In V	VALES.	1 - 0 - 10	
approximated to	Males.	Females	Total.		Males.	Females	Total.
Confined in Public Asylums Confined in Private	1189	1314	2503	Confined in Public Asylums	13	10	23
Asylums Confined in Work Houses	1770 36	1964 52	3734 88	Confined in Private Asylums	6	9	15
Total in Confine- ment	2995	3330	6325	Total in Confinement }	19	19	38
Number of Persons at large, or with relations	3029	3193	6222	Number of Persons at large, or with relations	406	452	858
Total	6024	6523	12547*	Total	425	471	896+

^{*} Of these 6806 were Lunatics, 5741 Idiots.

[†] Of these 133 were Lunatics, 763 Idiots.

To these returns Sir Andrew Halliday added the number of the Insane at the Naval and Military Hospitals, represented in the following Summary:—

By returns of the Clerk of the Peace of the several	
Counties in England, as above	12547
By returns of the Clerk of the Peace in Wales, as	
above	896
By a return from the Victualling Board in the Naval	
Hospital at Haslar	155
By a return from the Army Medical Department in	
the Military Asylum at Chatham	122
AND REAL PROPERTY OF THE PROPE	
Total	13720

This return was made in the year 1829, and as the census of 1821 enumerated a population of 11,261,437, being an increase in ten years of nearly 2,000,000, Sir Andrew argued that it would be fair to allow a million and a-half for the increase of the population from 1821 to 1829, which would make the number of people in England at the latter period amount to 12,700,000, and the proportion of insane persons as about one in every thousand; but this refers to ascertained numbers, and was obviously below the reality. On a similar principle the population in Wales in 1821 was 717,438, having increased in ten years 105,000; so that adding 100,000 for the eight years that had elapsed since the last census, the population in 1829 ought to be estimated at 817,438. Accordingly, as the ascertained number of insane persons then amounted to 896, Sir Andrew Halliday calculated the proportion at one to every 800.**

It is proper, however, to observe, that Sir Andrew Halliday apprises us that the Returns of lunatics and idiots in Wales were very incomplete, and that in many of the counties of England he failed to obtain any reports from the Clerks of the Peace; but in most of these instances, through other channels, he succeeded in obtaining the information he desired. We are reminded by Mr. Farr, in his Essay on the "Statistics of English Lunatic Asylums," that the number of lunatics and idiots in England and Wales reported by Sir Andrew, did not correspond with the returns of the Poor Law Unions, and that a source of fallacy lay in the heading of the schedule handed to the overseer, in which "a true list of the lunatics and dangerous idiots" in the parish is demanded. "Nothing," he observes, "is said of dangerous idiots in the Act, and it is well known that the majority of idiots are not dangerous."† Notwithstanding, however, that the Report of Sir Andrew Halliday was, as he himself warns us, defective in many respects, yet the data he succeeded in collecting, and the calculations which he

^{*} Op. Cit., p. 70.

[†] On the Statistics of English Lunatic Asylums, and the Reform of their Public Management. By William Farr. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper. P. 26.

founded upon them are not the less valuable. Hence his induction, with all its imperfections, was adopted by the late Dr. Prichard in his very valuable "Treatise on Insanity."*

The investigations of Sir Andrew Halliday elicited some curious facts, which scarcely could have been anticipated, and which merit further elucidation. Among others, it appears that the proportion of the insane to the number of the population varies remarkably in different counties. Thus he reports, that "the average number of the insane in the inland county of Northampton, in proportion to the population, is greater than in any other county of the same extent in England, being 1 to every 650 of the population."† While that of Nottingham contains fewer lunatics and idiots than that of any other county in England and Wales, except Cornwall. In referring to Nottingham, Sir Andrew makes the following observations:-" The reader cannot fail to observe, what has occurred to me again and again, in the analysis of these Reports, that throughout the whole of England, wherever the majority of people are engaged in agricultural pursuits, the proportion of insane persons, particularly idiots, is more than the general average in manufacturing districts; and further, I think it is evident that the manufacturers of cotton

^{*} Vide Chapter x., Statistics of Insanity in Britain, p. 328.

[†] Op Cit., p. 29.

are not so subject to mental diseases as those engaged in several branches of our woollen manufactures. Is it because the cotton spinners are employed at a very early age, and are a more ignorant class of the community? or is there anything peculiar in the duties which the clothiers have to perform, or in the districts where this branch of industry is carried on?"*

In reference to the number of lunatics returned from Cornwall, being comparatively so few, Sir Andrew Halliday observes, that "the inhabitants of this county are distinguished from those of other counties of England by several peculiarities in their habits and employments. Their language, a dialect of the Celtic, and generally spoken about two centuries ago, which constituted them a distinct colony, and though now, I believe, extinct, the people still remain, in a great measure, an unmixed race, and are, it would appear, more exempt than common from mental diseases." Admitting the fact to be established that insanity prevails more in one county than in another county, it seems only reasonable to expect that each county shall be at the expense of supporting its own lunatic poor, whether criminal or non-criminal; for why should the inhabitants of Nottingham, presuming that the disease prevails to so small an extent in that county, be assessed for

^{*} Op. Cit., p. 31.

support of the lunatic poor of Northampton, where insanity, according to Sir Andrew Halliday, attains its maximum in proportion to the population?

The difficulties which embarrassed the inquiries instituted by Dr. Burrows and Sir Andrew Halliday have, by successive legislative enactments, been in a great measure surmounted. The Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy now supply us with certain authentic data; - a brief reference, therefore, to the origin of the several commissions may appropriately accompany the summary I am about to give of their returns. year 1774, the duty of licensing and inspecting Lunatic Asylums was, by an Act of Parliament, 14th Geo. III., c. 49, assigned to a Commission appointed by the College of Physicians, which annually elected five of its fellows to discharge these duties. The Commissioners were directed by the Act to make minutes, in writing, of the state of the houses they visited, the condition of the patients, and such other particulars as they might consider deserving of notice; and these minutes were entered by the secretary, by way of report, in a register kept by him in the College for that purpose, and read at the next meeting of the Commissioners. This Statute continued in force until the year 1828, during which period, I believe I am correct in stating, that no statistical returns of any value could be obtained. The number of houses licensed for the

reception of the insane was wholly inadequate to the demand; the supervision of these establishments in the provinces was imperfectly conducted, and so ineffective was the operation of the law in affording protection to this unhappy class of subjects, that Dr. Burrows estimated that the number of insane persons not included in the return of 1819, and who were at large, or confined in private receptacles not registered, amounted to as many as one-half of the ascertained numbers.* The necessity of further legislation upon the subject was indeed obvious, and accordingly a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons, in Session 1826-27, to inquire into the state of pauper lunatics and asylums generally, and to consider the propriety of extending the provisions of the 14th Geo. III., c. 49, and consolidating all Acts relating to Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums. This led to a very elaborate report; and the following Session, (February 19, 1828,) leave was given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law for the Regulation of Lunatic Asylums.

The power of licensing and inspecting Lunatic Asylums was, until this period, as I have just observed, vested in the College of Physicians; and the following were some of the reasons assigned,

^{*} An Inquiry into certain Errors relative to Insanity, and their Consequences, Physical, Moral, and Civil. By George Man Burrows. London, 1820. Pp. 97 and 100.

when the new Bill was read a second time, in the House of Lords, for depriving that learned body of these privileges:—

"As the law now stood (said the Earl of Malmesbury) any individual who went to the Royal College of Physicians and asked for a license could not well be refused; but a more extraordinary circumstance was, that if, in the course of their visits, the Commissioners found much that was reprehensible in the establishment, they could not revoke his license. That was a perfect anomaly. The law enacted, that the visitor, after taking notes, should inscribe them on a tablet, and hang them up in the chamber in which the College of Physicians met, in order to give publicity to their remarks. But not many persons had access to that chamber, and therefore, publicity for any useful effect was not given. The law, in fact, was found to be so ineffective that the College of Physicians had neglected to comply with the enactment, and had not for many years placed any tablet in their chamber."* Accordingly, two Acts of Parliament were passed (15th July, 1828), 1st. "An Act to amend the Laws for the Erection and Regulation of County Lunatic Asylums, and more effectually to provide for the Care and Maintenance of Pauper and Criminal Lunatics;" 2ndly. "An Act to Regulate the Care and Treatment of Insane Persons in

^{*} Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. XIX. New Series. 1828.

England." * By the second section of this latter Act, the Board of Metropolitan Commissioners was appointed, which enacted, "That His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department shall annually, on the first day of August in every year, or within ten days following, appoint not less than fifteen Commissioners, of whom five, at the least, shall be physicians, for licensing and visiting during the space of one year all houses receiving two or more insane persons within the cities of London and Westminster, and within seven miles thereof, within the county of Middlesex." It was provided that this Act "should continue in force for the term of three years, and from thence to the end of the ensuing Session of Parliament." The duties assigned to the commissioners were in the different sections clearly defined; the Asylums in the provinces, however, remained still under the jurisdiction of the justices of the several counties. With the view of obtaining correct returns of the number of lunatics from these asylums, it was enacted that the justices of the peace should, at the several petty sessions, issue their warrants to the overseers, requiring, in the form of a prescribed schedule, a list of all insane persons chargeable to their respective parishes, distinguishing the sex and age of each insane person,

^{† 9}th Geo. IV., cap. 40--41. Statutes at large, Vol. XXIX., pp. 387--401.

and whether such person be dangerous or not, and for what length of time they may have been disordered in their senses, and where and how confined. These returns, it was furthermore enacted, should be verified upon oath, and any overseer neglecting to make such return subjected himself to a penalty of ten pounds, to be levied by a warrant of distress.

It is necessary to bear in mind some of the principal regulations enacted by these and other statutes, in order to understand the provision which the Legislature has at different periods devised for the protection of the insane; and from this slight retrospect, it is easy to perceive the difficulty which has always attended our obtaining anything like accurate statistics of lunacy. We have to look to the returns of the Metropolitan Commissioners, who were required by the 26th section of the Act [9] Geo. III., c. 41, to transmit, within one month previous to the first of June of every year, a full and complete report to the Secretary of State of the several houses within their respective jurisdictions, with an alphabetical list of every patient confined during the twelve months; and also to the returns [under section 36, 9 Geo. III., c. 40,] obtained, under the warrant of the justices of the peace, from the overseers of different parishes in counties throughout England and Wales; but so apathetic have these local authorities ever been, that the absolute and complete accuracy of their returns can seldom

be depended upon. Notwithstanding the zealous efforts of the Select Committee, appointed by the House of Commons in 1826, to procure the ordinary forms of Parliamentary returns, they report that not less than eighteen counties, which are enumerated, "did not in any respect furnish the information desired."

The Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy entered assiduously upon their duties, and at the expiration of the first year published their Report. On the 1st July, 1828, the total number of insane persons in licensed houses, under their jurisdiction, was 2,047; viz., 940 males, and 1,107 females. Of these there were—

Male Paupers	471	Female Paupers	705
Male others	469	Female others	402
	940		1107

Between the 31st July, 1828, and the 1st May, 1829, there were admitted 683 patients, of whom 388 were males, and 295 females, viz.—

Male Paupers		Female Paupers Female others	
	388		295

The total number of patients on the 1st May, 1829, in the licensed houses within the Metropo-

litan district was 2048, of whom 949 were males, and 1,099 females.

The year following, in pursuance of the section 36, 9 Geo. IV., c. 40, just referred to, a very elaborate Report was printed by order of the House of Commons. It is dated the 28th April, 1830, and entitled a "Summary Abstract from each county, riding (or division of the county of Lincoln), in England and Wales, of the Returns made to the respective Clerks of the Peace under the provisions of Geo. IV., c. 40.; and a similar return from each liberty, county or city, county of a town, cinque port, or town corporate."*

The following is a brief recapitulation of this Return:—In the year 1830, there were in England (exclusive of the ascertained number of patients in the Metropolitan district), 8,259 insane persons, viz.:—

Lunatics . 1885 Male. 2474 Female. Total Lunatics 4359 Idiots.... 2067 Male. 1833 Female. Total Idiots... 3900

Total number of Lunatics and Idiots in England 8259

* It should be remembered that in England ten cities are counties of themselves, besides London, which includes the county of Middlesex in its sheriffdom, and thus creates no difficulty in its connection with that county. The others are as follows,—Bristol, Canterbury, Coventry, Exeter, Gloucester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, York. Five towns of England are counties of themselves,—Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Poole, and Southampton; also two towns in Wales, Carmarthen county borough, and Haverfordwest.—See Observations in the Population Returns of 1831. London; Moxon, 1832. P. 38.

In Wales the same year, there were—

Lunatics 94	Male.	115 Female.	Total Lunatics	209
Idiots 218	Male.	219 Female.	Total Idiots	437

Total number of Lunatics and Idiots in Wales 646

There were accordingly in the provinces throughout England and Wales, at this period, 8,905 insane persons, of both sexes.

If to this number we add 2,048 ascertained to be nearly at the same period in Metropolitan Asylums, the number will amount to 10,953; and if to this we add 232 for the number of patients reported in Bethlehem Hospital in 1831, the total number of insane persons in England and Wales will have been 11,185.

Now as the decennial census was taken in 1831, we are enabled to arrive at the proportion of the insane to the total number of population in the two countries; thus, there were in England insane persons distributed as follows:—

In Metropolitan Asylums	2048
In the Provinces	
In Bethlehem	
In Wales there were	10,539 646
Total	11.185

Accordingly as the population in England and Wales, in the year 1831, amounted to 13,897,187,* the proportion of insane persons to the total population of the two countries was 1 to 1,242½.

The next elaborate Return, in pursuance of the same Statute, was made five years afterwards—it presents us with three parallel columns which exhibit the number of lunatics and idiots in Asylums, (erected under the provision of 9 Geo. IV., c. 40), the number of both classes in private Asylums, and the number under care of Parish Officers.

According to this Report the total number of lunatics in England in 1836 was 12,668, distributed as follows:—

	1	UNATICS	3.		IDI	ots.	
ENGLAND.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Total of Lunatics & Idiots.
In Asylums built under provisions 9 Geo. IV., c. 40	1243	1342	2585	89	80	169	2754
In Private Lunatic Asylums	649	740	1389	34	53	87	1476
Under care of Parish Officers, or out-of- door keepers	773	1297	2070	2948	3420	6368	8438
Total	2665	3379	6044	3071	3553	6624	12668

^{*} This Return is taken from Mr. Porter's Statistical Analysis of the recent enumeration of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. Statistical Journal, Vol. IV., p. 279. 1842.

Upon referring to the Annual Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy, from June 1835 to June 1836, we find the total number of persons confined under their jurisdiction amounted to 2,498, of whom 1,289 were paupers, and 1,209 private patients.

The number of patients in Bethlehem in 1835—6 was 258, so that the total number of insane persons in England at this period appears to have been as follows:—

In the Provinces	12,668
In the Metropolitan District	2,498
In Bethlehem	258
In Gaols	40
Total	15,464

To this number we have to add the Returns from Wales, where the total number of lunatics and idiots was 999,—viz., 358 lunatics, and 641 paupers.

	1	LUNATIC	s.		IDI	ots.	
WALES.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Total of Lunatics & Idiots.
In Asylums built under provisions 9 Geo. IV., c. 40	17	8	25	1		1	26
In Private Asylums Under care of Parish	10	4	14	1		1	15
Officers and out- door keepers	142	177	319	299	340	639	958
Total	169	189	358	301	340	641	999

We find, therefore, in 1836 the number of ascertained lunatics to have been—

In	England																1	5,	40	3/1	į.
In	Wales																		98	9	
																	-	-	-	-	
								1	T	0	t	al					1	6.	46	3	

The population of England and Wales by the census return of 1831, we have seen, amounted to 13,897,187; and it has been shewn by Mr. Porter, that making allowance for the reduction by emigration during ten years, the increase of the population between 1831 and 1841 was 2,408,643.

To arrive therefore at the population of 1836, we must add to the Census Return of 1831 the increase of population during the five succeeding years, which will be found to amount to 1,204,321; so that the total population of England and Wales, in 1836, would have been 15,101,508. Hence, the total number of lunatics and idiots being 16,463, the proportion of insane persons to the total number of the population, in 1836, would have been 1 to 917.

Passing over several intermediate Lunacy Reports, upon account of my not finding statistical returns of insanity at corresponding periods in the provinces, I next come to the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners, addressed to the Lord Chancellor in 1844. This is a very interesting and elaborate report, and presents us with a full exposition of the state of lunacy in England and Wales at this period,

accompanied by explanatory observations and suggestions, which are well worthy of attentive perusal. The statistics of insanity — non-criminal and criminal—are here set forth in details which are perfectly clear and intelligible, and which supply us not only with authentic data for estimating the numbers of the insane of all ranks confined in County Asylums, Hospitals, and Licensed Houses in the Metropolitan district and provinces, but with a variety of facts calculated to elucidate the principles which should be observed in the medical and moral treatment of the disease.

It appears, from the annexed Summary, that there were in England and Wales, on the 1st January, 1844, 20,893 insane persons, of whom 9,862 were males and 11,031 females; of these, 4,072 were private patients, and 16,821 were paupers.

METROPOLITAN REPORT, 1844.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS ASCERTAINED TO BE INSANE, IN ENGLAND AND WALES.-JANUARY 1, 1844.

Whose Confined	Peiv	PRIVATE PATIENTS.	ENTS.		PAUPERS.			TOTAL.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
County Asylums	130	115	245	1924	2231	4155	2054	2346	4400
Ditto, under Local Acts	1	1	1	38	51	88	38	51	88
Military and Naval Hospitals	164	4	168	1	1	1	164	4	168
Bethlehem and St. Luke's Hospitals	178	564	442	98	35	121	264	299	563
Other Public Asylums	249	287	536	171	166	343	426	453	879
Licensed Houses :						3	000	1	1001
" Metropolitan	520	453	973	360	494	854	880	947	1827
" Provincial	748	849	1426	947	973	1920	1695	1651	3346
Workhouses and elsewhere	1	1	1	4169	0212	9339	4169	5170	9339
Single Patients under Commission	172	110	282	1	1	1	172	110	282
Totals	2161	1161	4072	1044	9120	16,821	9862	11,031	20,893

The Census of 1841—I here refer to the official folio Abstract presented to Parliament-gives a return of 14,995,138 persons, male and female, living in England, and 911,603 in Wales,-the total population being 15,906,741.* Here again, to arrive at the population of 1844, we must, upon the principles already explained, add the further population of three years, deducting as before for the decrease by emigration. During the three years the population would have increased 722,593, and the total population of England and Wales in 1844 would have been 16,629,334. Accordingly, the total number of insane persons being at this period, by the above statement, 20,893, the proportion of the insane of all classes to the total population of England and Wales was, in January, 1844, as 1 to 795.

These details may, I am afraid, appear somewhat prolix and elaborate; but how, otherwise, can we arrive at the true Statistics of Insanity? "I don't believe in statistics," said a gentleman to me one day;—and no doubt a chevaux de frize of figures may be repulsive to minds impatient of inquiry;—but they must be grappled with: the path, dreary as it may be, must be explored before we can arrive at safe conclusions upon many important points affecting our social condition. Hence the Metropolitan Commissioners state, that the importance

^{*} Abstract of Answers and Returns under the Population Act, 3 & 4 Vict., c. 99, presented to both Houses of Parliament. Fol. Clowes and Sons. Vide p. 459.

of the Statistics of Insanity is so great, that they were induced, in drawing up the present Report (1844), to resort to all accessible sources of information; and there is no doubt that, until this period, the materials for computation were of a scanty and uncertain nature, and the most erroneous views prevailed on the subject.

This Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners concludes with a series of suggestions for the amendment of the Law of Lunacy; and as the statute under which the Commissioners acted was about to expire, the Earl of Shaftesbury—then Lord Ashley—brought the subject, in the Session of 1844, again before the House of Commons. His Lordship pointed out with great perspicacity and with much feeling, the defects in the practical operation of the Act 9 Geo. IV., c. 41; and in the August of the following Session the law was again revised, and the Act 8 and 9 Vict. c. 100, passed, which appointed the present Commission in Lunacy.

The first Report of the Commissioners under this Act appeared on the 30th June, 1846, at which period we are informed that the Commission having been in operation only between ten and eleven months, found it impossible to render a full and detailed account of the several matters entrusted to their care; they, therefore, proposed to submit, as soon as it was practicable after the first year of their labours, to the Lord Chancellor, a more minute

account of such matters as came under their cognizance, and were deemed worthy of special notice. Accordingly, their second Report, dated the 30th June, 1847, was followed by a further Report, which was published in the same year in a thick 8vo. volume, which contained a vast amount of practical information.

In this Report we find, that the total number of insane persons in England and Wales amounted on the 1st January, 1847, to 26,516. These were distributed as follows:—

In the County Asylums, Hospitals, and Licensed	
Houses subjected to visitation, 3574 private pa-	
tients, and 9652 paupers	13,226
In Bethlehem and in the Naval Hospitals, not sub-	
ject to visitations	606
Paupers in Poor Law Unions and places under	
Local Acts	8,986
Paupers in Gilbert's Unions, and other places not	A STATE OF THE STATE OF
in Union	176
Also 307 of 542 single patients, found lunatics by	
Inquisition (235 being in Licensed Houses)	307
Other single patients in Private Houses under the	
charge of persons receiving profit, about	130
The excess of pauper patients in Workhouses, &c.,	
estimated by the Visiting Commissioners as at	
least one-third over the number returned by	
Parish Officers	3,053
Criminals in Gaols	32
Total	26,516

Of this number 21,835 appear (exclusive of Criminals in Gaols) to have been paupers, and 4,649 private persons belonging to the middle and higher classes of Society.

The population of England and Wales having by the census of 1841 been returned at 15,906,741, we have, presuming the same causes to be in operation, to add for the increase of the population during the six years 1,445,186, which would bring the total population of England and Wales, in 1847, to 17,351,927. As the Commissioners in Lunacy, therefore, report the number of insane persons at this period to have been 26,516, the proportion of insane persons in 1847, to the total population of England and Wales, would have been as 1 to 654.

The Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy have since this period not been so elaborate. They do not exhibit in the same tabular forms the total number of lunatics, private and pauper, with the number of the population of each county in a preliminary column; the result of which is that the statistical deductions are by no means so clear as in the Reports of 1844 and 1847. We have, it is true, a return of the number of insane persons confined in County and Borough Asylums, Hospitals, Metropolitan Licensed Houses, and Provincial Licensed Houses; -the number confined in Bethlehem, the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar, and the Royal Military Hospital Great Yarmouth; and in the Appendix we find a list of the workhouses which the Commissioners may have visited, with the number of the insane, idiotic, and imbecile therein domiciled; but no account is rendered of single patients in private houses, nor is any table given of the aggregate number of lunatics and idiots in different counties.

From the previous Returns to which I have referred, it is obvious that the apprehensions of Sir Andrew Halliday were too well founded, and that insanity, making every allowance for the increase of the population, has progressively very much increased. This is clearly proved by the following recapitulatory Table from the Commissioners' Reports.

	The Population of England and Wales.	Total Number of Insane Persons, Male and Female.	Proportion to Population.
1831	13,897,187	11,185	1 to 1,242
1836	15,101,508	16,463	1 to 917
1844	16,629,334	20,893	1 to 795
1847	17,351,927	26,516	1 to 654

The Summary Tables published in their more recent Annual Reports, still further establish the fact. Thus if we compare the Summary in the Report of 1847, with the Summaries in the Reports of 1850, 1851, and 1852, we shall find—

	In Asylums.	Hospitals.	Metropolitan Licensed Houses.	Provincial Licensed Houses.	Bethlehem Hospital.	Royal Naval Hospital, Haslar.	Military Lu- natic Hospital, Shorncliffe.	Total Lunatics.	Increase.
1847	5,486	1111	2767	3862	390	139	77	13,832	
1850	7,140	1208	2945	3786				15,079*	1247
1851	7,851	1248	2971	3780	379	133	94	16,456	1377
1852	10,217	1285	2326	2979	383	129	93	17,412	956

^{*} Exclusive of Bethlehem, Haslar, and Shorncliffe.

The Annual Returns of the Poor Law Commissioners throw considerable light upon the statistics

of insanity. Instead of looking to the overseers of different parishes for these reports, the guardians of each union are now required to make a return of the number of lunatics belonging to the several parishes, not only to the Clerk of the Peace of the County, but also to the Poor Law Commissioners. Selecting the Census epochs, I have, in the following Table, compared an abstract of the returns—published by the Poor Law Commissioners-showing the number of pauper lunatics and idiots chargeable to parishes comprised in each Union in England and Wales, for the year 1841, ending August, 1842—with the similar return for the year 1851, ending the 1st January, 1852.

RETURN OF PAUPER LUNATICS AND IDIOTS FOR 1841-2, WITH THEIR PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION, AND AMOUNT OF PAUPERISM IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

	Population,	Number of Paupers Receiving Parish Relief.	Total of Pauper Lunatics and Idiots,	Proportion of Pauper Lunatics and Idiots to the Population.	Proportion of Lunatic Paupers to the Number of Paupers.
England	12,978,377	1,007,369	12,712	1 to 1020	1 to 78
Wales	884,173	73,405	1,158	1 to 763	1 to 63
Estimates for Places not in Union	2,044,279	218,274	2,044	1 to 1000	1 to 106
Total England & Wales	15,906,829*	1,299,048	15,914	1 to 999	1 to 75

^{*} There is here a slight difference between the Return of the Population in 1841 as given by the Poor Law Commissioners and the Census Tables before me. This does not, however, in the least affect the results. The Census Return for 1841 was 15,906,741, instead of 15,906,829-a difference of only 88.

64 POOR LAW COMMISSIONERS' RETURN, 1851-2.

RETURN OF PAUPER LUNATICS AND IDIOTS FOR 1851-2, WITH THEIR PROPORTION TO THE POPULATION, AND AMOUNT OF PAUPERISM IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

innyas s	Population, 1851.	Number of Paupers Receiving Parish Relief.	Total of Pauper Lunatics and Idiots.	Proportion of Pauper Lunatics and Idiots to the Population.	Proportion of Pauper Lunatics and Idiots to the Number of Paupers.
England Wales	16,921,888 1,005,721	744,860 68,229	19,825 1,333	1 to 863 1 to 754	1 to 37 1 to 51
Total England & Wales	17,927,609	813,089	21,158	1 to 847	1 to 38

It will be observed by the above Table, that between 1841—2, and 1851—2, owing doubtless to emigration and other causes improving the condition of the labouring classes, there was a decrease of 485,959 in the number of paupers seeking parish relief; yet, notwithstanding this diminution of the pauper population, there was an absolute increase of 5244 in the number of pauper lunatics and idiots, and an increase in proportion to the population of 1 to 152.

The conclusion arrived at by Sir Andrew Halliday, that insanity is more prevalent in agricultural than in manufacturing districts, will be found to be fully substantiated by the Returns, both of the Commissioners in Lunacy and the Poor Law Commissioners. The twelve counties selected by Sir Andrew Halliday, where the inhabitants are principally employed

in agriculture, were-Bedford, Berkshire, Bucks, Cambridge, Hereford, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland, Suffolk, Wilts. total number of inhabitants in these twelve counties was, 2,012,979—and the total number of insane persons, 2,526. He therefore found the proportion of insane persons to the total population about 1 to 820, and the lunatics to the idiots as 5 to 7: the female lunatics and idiots exceeding the males nearly in the same proportion. The twelve counties which he selected, where the inhabitants are not employed in agriculture, were—Cornwall, Cheshire, Derby, Durham, Gloucester, Lancaster, Northumberland, Nottingham, Stafford, Somerset, York (West Riding), Warwick. The total number of inhabitants in these twelve counties was, 4,493,194, the total number of insane persons, 3,910. The proportion of the insane therefore, in the above counties, to the population, was very nearly as 1 to 1,200,—and in these districts there were considerably more lunatics than idiots: and although the female population was (as is generally the case throughout England) greater than the male, the insane of both sexes were very nearly equal. Taking the same twelve agricultural, and the same twelve non-agricultural counties, selected by Sir Andrew Halliday, we shall find the Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy develope the same result, thus :-

AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

In	1836	proportion of the i	insane to the population	1 t	0 614
,,	1843	ditto	ditto	1 t	o 810
,,	1847	ditto	ditto	1 t	0 712

NON-AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES.

In	1836	proportion of the insan	e to the population	1	to	1420
,,	1843	ditto	ditto	1	to	1109
,,	1847	ditto	ditto	1	to	939

The same result is elicited by the Poor Law Commissioners' Returns. In 1851, the number of insane paupers in the same twelve agricultural counties was 8,743, and their proportion to the population of the same twelve counties, 1 to 718. In the twelve non-agricultural counties, the number of insane paupers was 12,189, and their proportion to the population of the same counties, 1 to 1,015.

The late Dr. Prichard, commenting upon this remarkable fact, truly observes, that, "previous to inquiry, we should conjecture that the causes of insanity would have more influence, and the disease be more prevalent, in a manufacturing than in an agricultural county,—but the contrary is the case." He then adds, "The fact that insanity prevails so much in agricultural counties, indicates that its development is favoured by some of the circumstances connected with the condition of agriculturists. The labouring of women in the field during pregnancy is perhaps, as Halliday suggests, one cause. Hard labour and low diet, to which

males may be subjected, may perhaps have an influence on the offspring propagated by them; and in Wales and Scotland particularly this may enter into the number of causes which render idiotism so prevalent."*

In a recent number of the "Statistical Journal," we find a report "On the Statistics of the Insane, Blind, Deaf, Dumb, and Lepers of Norway," by Professor Holst, from which we learn, that in consequence of a proposal of the clergy, in 1825, to inquire into the condition of the insane in Norway, a Royal Commission was issued to consider measures for their amelioration. Hereupon, it was deemed necessary to obtain as much information as possible regarding the insane in the whole kingdom, with the view to determine the number and extent of the establishments which should be erected for their accommodation. This enumeration of the insane (the first which had been made) was undertaken by the clergy, in 1828; after which, in 1835, another enumeration was induced by a desire, on the part of the medical faculty, that returns should be obtained, in conjunction with the General Census, of the number of the insane in different departments of the kingdom. Here the advantage of requiring a return of the insane to be included in the General Census becomes manifest. The enu-

^{*} Treatise on Insanity. Op. Cit., pp. 334-337.

meration was taken in the towns by the magistrates and chief officers; and in the country by the parish priests, assisted by curates, tenants, school-masters, and assistants. The results are in many respects curious. In one of the Tables, the number of the insane in towns is compared with the number of the insane in rural districts; and the following is an abstract of this Return.

	TOTAL MALE.	TOTAL FEMALE.	TOTAL INSANE.	Proportion Insane Per Cent to the Population.
Towns	163	162	325	.0201
Rural Districts	1886	2079	3965	.0339
Total	2049	2241	4290	.0323

"It will be observed in the foregoing Table," observes the learned Professor, "that there was a considerable preponderance of insane among females, and that insanity prevailed one-third less in towns than in rural districts."*

In all our Statistical Returns of Insanity, we find that in England and Wales the proportion of insane persons is much higher among the pauper population than among the higher and the middle classes. Thus:

^{*} Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. xv., Sept., 1852. Article—Statistics of the Insane, Blind, Deaf, Dumb, and Lepers of Norway, by Professor Holst. Translated from the Danish by A. S. Oliver Massey, Esq., p. 250.

In January, 1844, the Metropolitan Commissioners report the total number of private patients at 3,790, while the Poor Law Commissioners return the number of pauper lunatics and idiots, receiving parish relief, at 16,674. Again. In 1851, the Commissioners in Lunacy return the total number of private patients, confined in Asylums, Hospitals, Metropolitan and Provincial Licensed Houses, at 4,397, while the Poor Law Commissioners return the number of pauper lunatics and idiots, chargeable to their several parishes, at 21,158. There can be no doubt, therefore, making every allowance for the number of single patients not under certificate, and not included in the Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, that insanity prevails to a greater extent among the pauper population than among persons belonging to the better classes of life.

The relative liability of the sexes to insanity has been the subject of much discussion, and until the appearance of Dr. Thurnham's able Treatise on the Statistics of Insanity,* the opinion adopted by Esquirol, Prichard, Guislain, and others, that women are more liable to insanity than men, generally prevailed in the profession. Dr. Thurnham pointed out that due allowance must be made for the excess which always exists in the female population, and that we

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^{*} Observations and Essays on the Statistics of Insanity, and on Establishments for the Insane. By John Thurnham, M.D.—London: p. 145.

should calculate the occurring instead of the existing cases of insanity. Taking, however, all the elements of calculation into consideration which Dr. Thurnham has suggested, I am inclined to agree with Dr. Webster, that insanity prevails to a greater extent among females than among males.*

In regard to the excess of the female over the male population—a computation suggested by Dr. Thurham—it appears that a remarkable uniformity at the different periods of the Census enumeration has been found to exist. Thus:—When the last Census—that of 1851—was taken, the proportion between the sexes was 100 males to 105 females;—very nearly the same as it was found to be in 1801. We may, however, observe, by the following abstract, that a well marked preponderance has appeared in all the returns of insanity upon the side of the female sex.

Date of Report.	Total Insane. Males.	Total Insane. Females.	Total Insane of both Sexes.	Excess on the side of Female Lunatics.
1844	5,521	5,751	11,272	230
1847	6,645	7,187	13,832	542
1850	7,074	8,005	15,079	931
1851	7,834	8,613	16,447	779
1852	8,247	9,165	17,412	918

^{*} Vide Transactions of the Medico-Chirurgical Society.— Vol. XXVI., p. 381.

When the Census of 1851 was taken, the number of persons residing in public institutions-barracks, workhouses, prisons, hospitals for the sick, &c., was included in the enumeration, and also Lunatic Asylums. But, as the Census Commissioners did not distinguish between the number of Lunatics, and the number of sane persons residing in these establishments, we cannot, from this return, draw any satisfactory conclusions. In 149 Lunatic Asylums they enumerated 21,004 inhabitants; viz., 9,753 males, and 11,251 females; and they observe, that they found generally in these Asylums a preponderance of females; but a large deduction must be made for servants, attendants, and the members of private families, living in and conducting these institutions. That the excess, however, of insanity is on the side of the female sex would appear from every computation; - thus, the Commissioners in Lunacy report, in 1851 — Insane males, 7,834; insane females, 8,613. Now, the male population in England and Wales was, by the Census of that year, returned at 8,781,225; and the female population at 9,146,384; accordingly, the proportion of insane males to the male population was as 1 to 1,120, and the proportion of insane females to the female population was as 1 to 1,061 — the excess of lunacy still being on the side of the female sex.

From the statistical data which I have now gone over, and which, I am aware, may be subjected to

a much more critical and elaborate analysis, I conceive that we are justified in drawing the following inferences:—

- First—That insanity is a disease which, making every allowance for the increase of the population, has been greatly on the increase.
- Second—That insanity is more prevalent in some counties than it is in other counties, and predominates more in agricultural districts than in towns.
- Third—That insanity, in proportion to the population of the two classes, prevails to a greater extent among paupers than among persons belonging to the middle and upper classes of society.
- Fourth—That the number of females afflicted with insanity, making allowance for the excess of the female population, is greater than the number of males.

CHAPTER III.

THE STATISTICS OF CRIMINAL LUNACY.

The facts developed by the statistics of ordinary insanity, whatever phase it may assume, may reasonably be expected to affect the statistics of criminal lunacy which have not hitherto been investigated; but uninviting as the inquiry may be, the information is required before making any suggestions for the future distribution of this unfortunate class of persons.

The Criminal Tables presented to both Houses of Parliament every Session, exhibiting the total number of offenders committed, convicted, acquitted, found insane on arraignment, or acquitted upon the plea of insanity, supply us with authentic data for elucidating the statistics of criminal lunacy, using the term criminal in the sense I have already explained. In pursuance, therefore, of the inquiry I have already suggested, I subjoin the following Table, shewing the number of criminals found insane during three quintennial periods, viz.—from 1838 to 1852. The preliminary information is of importance, as it is necessary to have some idea of the number of criminal lunatics for whom provision is required.

74 TABULAR RETURNS FROM 1838 TO 1852.

TABLES shewing the Total Number of Offenders Convicted, Acquitted, found Insane on Arraignment, or Acquitted on the Plea of Insanity, during Three Quintennial Periods, from 1838 to 1852:

		Total Offenders.	Convicted.	Acquitted.	Found Insane on Arraign- ment,	Acquitted as being Insane.	Total Insane.
riod,	1838	23,094	16,785	6,277	13	19	32
al Per 1842.	1839	24,443	17,832	6,588	13	10	23
ennis 8 to	1840	27,187	19,927	7,235	13	12	25
rst Quinter from 1838	1841	27,760	20,280	7,452	14	14	28
First Quintennial Period, from 1838 to 1842.	1842	31,309	22,733	8,553	10	13	23
434	Total	133,793	97,557	36,105	63	68	131
riod,	1843	29,591	21,092	8,470	12	17	29
ialPeri 1847.	1844	26,542	18,919	7,586	16	21	37
43 to	1845	24,303	17,402	6,870	12	19	31
ond Quinter from 1843	1846	25,107	18,144	6,935	11	17	28
Second QuintennialPeriod, from 1843 to 1847.	1847	28,833	21,542	7,251	15	25	40
	Total	134,376	97,099	37,112	66	99	165
riod,	1848	30,349	22,900	7,423	10	16	26
al Pe 1855	1849	27,816	21,001	6,786	11	18	29
18 to	1850	26,813	20,537	6,238	26	12	38
Quin n 18	1851	27,960	21,579	6,359	9	13	22
Third Quintennial Period, from 1848 to 1852.	1852	27,510	21,304	6,176	19	11	30
	Total	140,448	107,321	32,982	75	70	145
	of the 3 tennial ds	408,617	301,977	106,199	204	237	441

RESULTS	OF	THE	STATISTICS.

Proportion of the Insane to the number of Com-	
mitments	1 to 920
Proportion of the Insane to the number of Con-	
victions	1 to 684
Annual average of Offenders found Insane	29

Hence it appears, that during 15 years, from 1838 to 1852 inclusive, there were 408,617 offenders committed for trial, of whom 301,977 were convicted, 106,199 acquitted, and 441 detained as insane, 204 having been found insane on arraignment, and 237 having been acquitted on the plea of insanity. Furthermore, we may observe by these Tables, that the annual average number of commitments in each of the 52 counties of England and Wales was, during this period, 7,858, and the annual average number of offenders found insane on arraignment, or acquitted on the plea of insanity, in each county, was 8.25. It becomes, however, a matter of importance to ascertain the share which each county respectively bears in returning Criminal Lunatics; to determine which, I have compiled the following Tables from the same authentic documents.

In the course of these investigations, it has occurred to me that it would be extremely interesting to discover the relation which may prima facie be presumed to exist between pauperism, crime, and insanity. It is stated by the eminent statician, Mr. Neison, that in those counties where persons enjoy independent means, the range of crime is below the average.

"In England and Wales," he observes, "according to the last Census Returns, the average ratio of persons of independent means is 2.8 per cent., and by taking those counties in group 8, (Surrey, Westmoreland, Devon, Cumberland, Gloucester,) in which the proportion is increased at least 33 per cent., it will be found that the actual crime is below the average of the whole kingdom by 8.8 per cent."* It is also a curious fact, ascertained by Mr. Neison, that there is an excess of crime in agricultural districts above that of other parts of the kingdom. "In all the agricultural groupes of counties," he remarks, "there seems to be a remarkable uniformity in the tendency to crime, varying in an excess of crime above the average of the whole kingdom of from 5.3 to 6.8 per cent." † It is evident that the same causes which conduce to the increase of pauperism and crime promote also the development of insanity. Thus, under the head of pre-disposing causes, we recognize the influence of age, sex, and hereditary transmission; and among the exciting causes, - penury, irregular habits, intemperance, love of excitement, libertinism, general self-indulgence, and giving way to the impulses of the passions. There can be no doubt that the disposition to commit crime is often here-

^{*} Statistics of Crime in England and Wales. By F. G. P. Neison. Statistical Journal, Vol. XI., p. 155. 1848.

[†] Ibid. Vol. ix. p. 233.

ditary. "Nothing," says Mr. Hill, in his recent work on Crime, "has been more clearly proved than that crime is, to a considerable extent, hereditary - crime appearing, in this respect, greatly to resemble pauperism, which, according to the evidence of the Poor-law Commissioners, often proceeds from father to son in a long line of succession."* He adduces numerous cases in confirmation of the fact. One of the most striking applies to the families of three brothers, containing together fifteen members. Of these, no fewer than fourteen were utterers of base coin, while the fifteenth, who appeared to be an exception to his kindred, was, at length, detected in setting fire to his own house, which he had insured for four times its value. Supposing each of those employed in uttering base coin to have passed only one piece a day, and to have had a career of five years' duration (which there is reason to believe is about the average) no fewer than 20,000 offences might have been prevented by removing the three brothers permanently from society before they became fathers of families." The disposition to commit crime is often unquestionably an incurable form of insanity; hence we read of persons who are all their lives criminals, and only terminate one period of imprisonment to re-commence another. The case of a woman is cited by Mr. Hill, who continued in

^{*} Crime; its Amount, Causes, and Remedies. By Frederick Hill, Barrister-in-Law, late Inspector of Prisons, 1853. p. 55.

a career of crime for 25 years; and that also of another woman, 50 years of age, who had already been in prison sixty-seven times. Furthermore, he refers to another example, of a woman who had been a prisoner in the police cells in Edinburgh at least 1,000 times, chiefly for acts of violence.* The cause of crime and insanity prevailing more in rural districts than in towns may, perhaps, be ascribed to the circumstance of the uneducated poor in the country not having the same stimulus to mental activity as the working classes in towns. When the agricultural labourer has tilled the ground, and the seed has been sown, he is comparatively idle. He may, it is true, find other employment; but how, in adverse weather and during the long winter even-

^{*} The following anecdote in illustration of the hereditary tendency to crime is related with much naiveté, in a work entitled "Old Bailey Experience:"-" A gentleman recently returned from New South Wales told me (says the Author,) that he was present one day at a factory or barrack where the convicts are kept until engaged by a master, when a gentleman came in, and seeing a youth which he thought would suit him, he said to him-'Well, my lad, what are you?' 'A London thief,' was the boy's reply, touching his hat. 'What can you do?' 'Thieve, Sir.' 'No doubt of that,' said the interrogator; but how were you brought up?' 'To thieve, Sir,' was the boy's answer. 'Nonsense! What was your father?' 'A thief, Sir!' The gentleman now, probably humouring the conversation, continued to inquire concerning his mother and family, when it appeared that he had five brothers and five sisters, all of whom, in the same manner, were thieves."-Op. Cit. p. 34.

ings, does he pass his time? In towns the poorer classes find their way into mechanic-institutes, reading rooms, or perhaps, places of public amusement; -the current news of the day supplies them with ever-varying topics for conversation and reflection; but in the country no such resources exist. The village beer-shop is the common place of resort, where the ignorant and the idle indulge themselves in smoking, drinking, and in habits of intemperance, which impair the health, debilitate the mind, and lead to a perversion of the moral feelings, ending in the commission of crime and the development of insanity. This view is fully sustained by the authority of Mr. Justice Wightman, who, in his evidence before the House of Lords, stated, "According to my experience, at least three-fourths of the criminal charges that are brought to trial at the assizes originate in habits of intemperance, and spending all leisure time in public-houses, the parties usually being totally ignorant, unable to read or write, and, as it would seem, incapable of appreciating any other mode of enjoyment or occupying their leisure."*

The fact of crime predominating more in some counties than in others—even in proportion to the population—being proved, it becomes interesting to ascertain the number of Criminal Lunatics which each County returns.

^{*} Minutes of Evidence on the Execution of the Criminal Law. House of Lords, 1847, p. 11.

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS WHICH EACH

		BEDE	ORD.	Вет	RKS.	Buc	ks.	CAMBI	RIDGE.
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insanc.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
-	1838				1				
,	1839								
Serio	1840				I				
Period.	1841		1		1				1
1	1842								
	Total		1		2				1
-	1843		1						
	1844		1						
Serio	1845		11.	1.	1				
Period.	1846			·					
	1847	1			1				
	Total	1	2		2		·		
1	1848					1			
	1849								
Leric	1850							1	
Feriod.	1851								
	1852					2			
	Total					3	•••	1	••
uing	the 3 uen- eriods	1	3		4	3		1	1

COUNTY RESPECTIVELY RETURNED DURING THE THREE QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS.

_	7						(
	Сне	STER.	Corn	WALL.	Симве	RLAND.	DEI	RBY.	DE	von.
	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment,	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
						4				2
	1				1			1		1
	1	1					1			1
		1								1
	1									
	3	2			1		1	1		5
	1								1	1
	1		1							
										1
	2			1						
					1			1		
	4		1	1	1			1	1	2
	2	1		1						3
							1	1		1
	1					1				
	1	2	1		1					
	4	3	1	1	1	1	1	1		4
	11	5	2	2	3	1	2	3	1	11
-									9-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-10-	-

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF

-		-		- WEEK	-			Grone	PSTER	
100		Dor	SET.	Duri	IAM.	Ess		inclu	ding TOL.	
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.							
a (1838			1	1				2	
First Cunquennal Period.	1839	1						1		
Serio	1840							1		
urst 6	1841							1	1	
٩ (1842								2	
	Total	1		1	1			3	5	
III (1843				1	1	1			
d.	1844		1					1	1	
Period.	1845			1	1					
cona	1846 .	1	1			1		.:		
ž (1847						.:	1		
	Total	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	
niai	1848		2			18	1			
duem d.	1849						1		1	
Perio	1850					3		1		
Third Quinquennial Period.	1851.			**			2		,,	
= L	1852		2.1							
	Total	2.	2			3	4	1	1	
Quine	f the 3 quen- eriods	2	4	2	3	5	5	6	7	



CRIMINAL LUNATICS-continued.

Here	FORD.	Hert	FORD.	HUNTI	NGDON.	Ke	NT.	LANC	ASTER.
Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.								
1							1	2	1
		1							
			1			1	1	2	
						1		6	3
			1					1	1
1		1	2			2	2	11	5
	1					1	1	1	2
						2	2		4
						2		3	4
			1					2	1
		1				2	1	2	1
	1	1	1			7	4	8	12
							1	1	
	1		1		1				1
							. 1	4	3
		1					2	2	2
			1						
	1	1	2		1		4	7	6
1	2	3	5		1	9	10	26	23

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF

									-	
	-	LEICE	STER.	Linc	OLN.	Middle inches Los	LESEX, iding	Monm	OUTH.	
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.							
lial (1838					6	4			
nenn J.	1839				2	3	3			
Period.	1840			1		2	1	1		
Period.	1841.					3				
3 (1842 .		1		1	2		1		
	Total		1	1	3	16	8	2		
lain (1843			1	2	3	2			
queni	1814			1		4			1	
Second Quinquennial Period.	1845	1		2			1			
P P	1846						6			
Zec (1847				1	1	3	1		
	Total	1		4	3	8	12	1	1	
ia (1848					1	3			
lueni L	1849					2	2			
Period	1850				1	6	1			
Third Quinquennial Period.	1851	1			1		2			
1 (1852	2				2				
	Total	3			2	11	8			
Total of Quinq nial Pe		4	1	5	8	35	28	3	1	

CRIMINAL LUNATICS -- continued.

-						-			
Non	FOLK.	North	AMPTON.	NORTH LA	UMBER- ND.	Norti	NGHAM.	Oxi	ORD.
Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane						
1	1		1						
1	1	1							
	1								
			1						
					1				1
2	3	1	2		1				1
								1	
	1								
	1								2
		2					1		
	2						1		
	4	2					2	1	2
			1			1			
								1	1
				1			2		
		1							1
				1	1	1	1		•
		1	1	2	1	2	3	.:	2
2	7	4	3	2	2	2	5	1	5

(continued.)

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF

		RUTL	AND.	SAL	OP.	Some	RSET.	SOUTHA	MPTON.	
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	
Ē (1838.					1.			4.	
l.	1839				4.		4.			
- Frior	1840									
First Quinquennial Period.	1841		()	2						
至 [1842				2				2	
	Total			2	2				2	
nial	1843								2	
duen J.	1844			1		1		1	1	
Second Quinquennial Period.	1845						1		1	
ond (1846									
Sec.	1847	1		1	1				4	
	Total			2	1	1	1		8	
laid (1848					1		1		
Jueni J.	1849							4.	1	
Third Quinquennial Period.	1850									
ird (1851				1		٠	٠		
1	1852			1	1	1	1			
	Total			1	1	2	1	1	1	
Quine	of the 3 quen- Periods			5	4	3	2	1	11	

CRIMINAL LUNATICS-continued.

	STAF	FORD.	Sufi	OLK.	Sur	REY.	Sus	SEX.	WAR	wick.
	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.								
										1
		1.				1				
					1			1		
					1					2
-					1		1	1		
-					3	1	1	2		3
					1	1				1
-	3.			1	1	1	1.	1	1	2
-		1	1			1		1	1	
	1	1	·			1		1		1
		1				2		1		1
	1	3	1	1	2	6	1	4	2	5
-						1				
		1			3	1				
					2				2	1
			2				1.		1	1
		1	1		1	3			1	
		2	3		6	5			4	2
-	1	5	4	1	11	12	2	6	6	10

(continued.)

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF

										-
		WEST	MORE-	WII	TS.	Worce	STER.	You	RK.	
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.							
ig (1838				1		.,	1	3	
l.	1839					1		1		
Perioc	1840						1	1	4	
First Quinquennial Period.	1841						1		1	
E (1842									
	Total				1	1	2	3	8	
lain	1843					.:			1	
Second Quinquennial Period.	1844								2	
Quinq Period.	1845		1						2	
cond	1846			1	1				1	
og C	1847					2		1	4	
	Total		1	1	1	2		1	10	
lial	1848						1			
Third Quinguennial Period.	1849			1					4	
Quin	1850						1	3	1	
hird	1851		1			1				
= (1852				1			1		
	Total		1	1	1	1	2	4	5	
Quin	f the 3 quen- eriods		2	2	3	4	4	8	23	

CRIMINAL LUNATICS-continued.

				A STATE OF THE STATE OF				-	100000000000000000000000000000000000000	
1	Angli	ESEY.	BRE	con.	CARD	IGAN.	CARMA	RTHEN.	CARNA	RVON.
The state of the s	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
							1			
		1.								
							1			
								40		
	••					7.		••		
	4.									
			1							
						•	1			
			1				1			
				1						
			1							
			1	1						
			2	1			2			

(continued.)

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF

-					BANKS I				A STATE OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR	
-0.000		DENI	BIGH.	FLI	NT.	GLAM	ORGAN.	Meric	ONETH.	
		Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.							
ia	1838									
d.	1839						1			
Serio	1840							1		
First Quinquennial Period.	1841									
E L	1842					2		1	1	
	Total					2	1	2		
niat	1843	1								
Second Quinquennial Period.	1844			1	2					
Quing Period.	1845	1								
ond	1846									
Sec C	1847									
	Total	2		1	2					
ië	1848	1				1				
Juenz d.	1849	1								
Third Quinquennial Period.	1850									
nird (1851									
E	1852	1		1						
	Total	3		1		1				
Total of Quinq nial Pe		5		2	2	3	1	2		

CRIMINAL LUNATICS--continued.

				ALL LABOR.			The same	
	Montg	OMERY.	Ремв	ROKE.	RAD	NOR.	тот	'A L.
	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.						
							13	19
	1						13	10
							13	12
							14	14
							10	13
	1					38	63	68
-							12	17
							16	21
							12	19
							11	17
							15	25
					••		66	99
							10	16
							11	18
			1				26	12
							9	13
							19	11
			1				75	70
	1		1				204	237

92 COUNTIES ABOVE AND BELOW THE AVERAGE.

The AVERAGE NUMBER of CRIMINAL LUNATICS being 8.25 for each County, the following are the Counties which, during this period, returned the Number of such Offenders, above and below the Average:—

ABOVE THE AVERAGE.

CHESTER, MIDDLESEX, DEVON. NORFOLK. ESSEX, SALOP, GLOUCESTER, including SOUTHAMPTON, BRISTOL, SURREY, KENT. SUSSEX, WARWICK, LANCASTER, YORK. LINCOLN,

BELOW THE AVERAGE.

NOTTINGHAM, BEDFORD, BUCKS, OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE, RUTLAND, SOMERSET, CORNWALL, CUMBERLAND, STAFFORD, DERBY, SUFFOLK, WESTMORELAND, DORSET, DURHAM, WILTS, HEREFORD.

Leicester, Brecon,
Monmouth, Cardigan,
Norfolk. Carmarthen,
Northampton, Flint,
Northumberland, Glamorganshire.

HUNTINGDON,

We have next to consider the nature of the crimes committed by insane offenders, by which we may form some estimate of the different characters which we meet with among this unfortunate class of persons. The disposition and propensities of the insane are as clearly indicated by their overt acts as are those of sane persons; and if the principle which I have suggested be admitted, that our ar-

rangements for the future classification of criminal lunatics should be determined by the nature of the crimes they have committed, it becomes a matter of importance to obtain information on this point.

In one of the old English dramas, written by Dekkar in the 16th century, we find a remarkably graphic description of Bethlehem, in which some of the more prominent features of insanity are admirably pourtrayed: among others, the following description of the different characters which we meet with in lunatic asylums deserves, from its truthfulness, to be preserved:—

" Castruchio.—Pray, may we see some of those wretched souls
That here are in your keeping?

"Friar Anselmo (in charge of Bethlem.)—Yes, you shall:
But, gentlemen, I must disarm you then.
There are of madmen as there are of tame—
All humour'd not alike. We have here some,
So apish and fantastic, play with a feather:
And tho' 'twould grieve a soul to see God's image
So blemished and defaced, yet do they act
Such antick and such pretty lunacies,
That spite of sorrow they will make you smile.
Others again, we have, like hungry lions,
Fierce as wild bulls, untameable as flies:
And these have oftentimes from stranger's sides
Snatch'd rapiers suddenly, and done much harm;
Whom, if you'll see, you must be weaponless.*"

The gentlemen then disarm themselves of the

^{*} Old Plays. The Honest Whore, Act i., sc. 12. Collection by Reed and Gilchrist. London, 1825. Vol. iii., p. 310.

rapiers which it was then the fashion to wear, and enter. This picture is perfectly true to nature.

The principle of classification which I advocate for Criminal Lunatics is recognized in the conviction of criminals who are not insane; different degrees of punishment are awarded to different degrees of crime, and every effort is made in our prisons to separate and classify criminals, so that those who are the least shall not be associated with those who are the most corrupt; the reformatory tendency and spirit of our penal code is, indeed, one of the most gratifying characteristics of the enlightenment of the present age. But while everything has been done which Christian charity can suggest for the sane criminal—who, in prison, is provided with all the necessaries of life - and, if young, has even the advantages of education, nothing has been done for the unfortunate insane criminal. It is one of the recognised axioms of English justice that a man shall be accounted innocent of any offence he may be accused of until he be found guilty; not so, however, with the poor criminal lunatic-if he be found insane on arraignment, the humanity of the law protects him from being tried, but at the same time virtually pronounces him guilty; inasmuch as he is doomed to be confined for an unlimited period, in the same asylum with men who have been convicted of the most odious and revolting offences. Surely

humanity suggests that a distinction should be drawn between the non-convicted and the convicted criminal lunatic. The accused being insane, it may be an act of mercy not to insist upon his trial taking place, seeing how incapable he may be of producing evidence in self-defence: but it is by no means an act of mercy to find him insane upon arraignment, and then condemn him to be incarcerated, for an unlimited time, with convicted felons. The nature of the offence weighs in the sentence of the sane criminal, but not in that of the insane criminal, which is prima facie unjust.

We shall find on examining the Criminal Tables, from which the above returns are compiled, that the number of Criminal Lunatics arraigned for murder is not so great as the number arraigned for petty larceny. It may, however, be here proper to explain that Criminals are divided, in official documents, into six classes, viz.:—

- CLASS I.—Offences against the person:—murder, attempts to murder, shooting and stabbing, manslaughter, rape, &c.
- Class II.—Offences against property, committed with violence:—sacrilege, burglary, highway robbery, &c.
- Class III.—Offences against property, committed without violence:—cattle stealing, horse stealing, larceny, &c.
- CLASS IV.—Malicious offences against property:—setting fire to dwelling houses, killing and maiming cattle, &c.
- Class V.—Forgery, and offences against the currency:—counterfeiting coin, uttering forged instruments, &c.
- CLASS VI.—Offences not included in the above classes:—high treason, sedition, perjury, &c.

In this order of classification I subjoin the following Tables.

TABLES SHEWING THE NATURE OF THE OFFENCES COMMITTED BY CRIMINAL LUNATICS IN THE DIFFERENT COUNTIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES FROM 1838 TO 1852.

CLASS I Offences against the Person-MURDER.

						The same	
COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
Bedford	1841	A. The	1	Kent	1844		2
LIST MINIS					1845	2	
Berks	1841		1		1848		1
Bucks	1852	1	1	ALCOHOL: YES	1849 1851	1	i
DUCKS	1002	1			1001		1970
CAMBRIDGE	1848		1	LANCASTER	1838		1
	1850	1			1841		2
.,	1852		1		1842		1
			25 13		1845	2	1
CUMBERLAND.	1839	1			1846		1
	1847	1			1847	1	1
					1849		1
DERBY	1847		1		1850		2
	1849		1		1851		1
-				LINCOLN	1842		1
DEVON	1838		1	manus. It was	1843		1
	1840		1		1851		1
DORSET	1846		7	MIDDLESEX,	1838		1
	1848		1	including	1842	::	1
**	1040		-	LONDON.	1843		î
DURHAM	1838		1	LONDON. (1845		î
DUMIAM	1843		î		1846		2
	1845		î		1847	1	
	1010			July 10 Startferd	1849		1
Essex	1843	1	1	A Committee of the last	1850	1	1
	1848		1	4.,	1852	1	
	1849		1				-
	1850	1		NORFOLK	1838	1	
	1851		2		1844		1
GLOUCESTER,				NORTHAMPTON	1838		1
including	1840	1	1	District Contract	1846	1	.:
BRISTOL.		Name of		**	1848		1
Happener	1942		1	Nonmanana	1850	,	
HEREFORD	1843 1849		1	NORTHUMBER-	1850	1	ï
	1049		1	LAND			1
HUNTINGDON	1849		1	NOTTINGHAM .	1850		1
HUNTINGDON	1049		1		1852		1
	-	-					

(continued.)

NATURE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED.

CLASS I. Offences against the Person-MURDER-continued.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
Oxford	1849		1	WARWICK	1843		1
SALOP	1852	1		WESTMORELAND	1845		1
SOMERSET	1852	1		Worcester	1850		1
SOUTHAMPTON .	1849		1	York	1838	1	2
STAFFORD	1846	1	1		1840		2
	1847		1		1845		1
	1849		1		1846	*;	1
SUFFOLK	1851	1			1847 1849		2
	1852	1		BRECON	1850	1	
SURREY	1847		1	CARMARTHEN .	1847	1	
	1849	3	1	CARMARITEN .		1	
	1852	1		GLAMORGAN	1839		1
Sussex	1842		1	PEMBROKE	1850	1	

Total for Murder, 108; found insane on arraignment, 33; acquitted on the plea of insanity, 75.

ATTEMPTS to MURDER, attended or unattended with Bodily Injuries.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment,	Acquitted as being Insane.
BERKS	1838		1	NORFOLK	1839	1	
CUMBERLAND.	1852	1		SOUTHAMPTON .	1847		1
HERTFORD	1840		1				
	1842		1	SURREY	1841	1	
	1846		1		1844	1	
KENT	1851		1		1846	1	
					1848		1
LANCASTER	1841		1		1852		1
	1844		1				
LINCOLN	1843	1	1	Sussex	1842	1	
MIDDLESEX	1839	1		WARWICK	1844		1
	1840	1					
	1842	1		YORK	1838	1	2
	1843	1	1		1850	1	
	1844	2					10.15
	1847		1	FLINT	1844		1
	1849						

Attempts to Murder, 32; of whom 15 were found Insane on Arraignment, and 17 Acquitted on the plea of Insanity.

CLASS I.—Offences against the Person—continued.

Shooting at, Stabbing, Wounding, &c., with intent to Maim and Disfigure.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment,	Acquitted as being Insane.
CORNWALL	1844 1846	1		Suffolk	1851	1	
	1040		1	SURREY	1845		1
GLOUCESTER	1844		1		1847		ì
T	1041			TV.	1045		-
LANCASTER	1841	1		WARWICK	1845	1	**
	1843		2		1847		1
LEICESTER	1852	1		WILTS	1846	1	
LINCOLN	1847	1		York	1844		1 1
36	1000				1847		1
MIDDLESEX	1838	1			1850		1
	1844	1					
	1847		1				
	1849	1					
	1850	1		BRECON	1848		1
Norfolk	1838		1	Denbigh '	1845	1	
Nommana	1047	-	,	DENBIGH	1843	1	
NOTTINGHAM	1847	.;	1				
	1848	1				100	

For Shooting and Stabbing, 27; of whom 13 were found Insane on Arraignment, and 14 Acquitted on the plea of Insanity.

MANSLAUGHTER.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
Essex	1850	1		SOUTHAMPTON .	1843		1
Kent	1843	1		SUSSEX	1845		1
		Name of the last		WARWICK	1841		1
LANCASTER	1841 1843	1		Vone	1840		2
	1049			York	1850	1	

For Manslaughter, 10; of whom 5 were found Insane upon Arraignment, and 5 Acquitted on the plea of Insanity.

NATURE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED.

CLASS I.—Offences against the Person—continued.

ATTEMPTS to PROCURE the MISCARRIAGE of WOMEN.

COUNTY.	Year,	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
	••						

CONCEALING BIRTHS of INFANTS.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
CHESTER	1843	1		MONTGOMERY .	1839	1	

SODOMY.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
LANCASTER	1851	1		Northampton	1841		1
LINCOLN MIDDLESEX	1850 1852		1	SALOP	1844	1	
NORFOLK	1845		1	Warwick	1844		1

RAPE and CARNALLY ABUSING GIRLS under the age of Ten Years.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
				Oxford	1851		1

100 NATURE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED.

CLASS I .- Offences against the Person-continued.

ASSAULTS.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
CHESTER	1841	1		Oxford	1845		1
Kent	1850		1	STAFFORD	1852		1
LANCASTER	1845		1	Sussex	1846 1847		1
Middlesex	1838 1839	1	1 1	Worcester	1848		1
: 48	1841 1848	1		··	1849	i	
	1010						

Total, for Assaults, 14; of whom 4 were found Insane on Arraignment, and 10 Acquitted on the Plea of Insanity.

ASSAULTS with INTENT to RAVISH and CARNALLY ABUSE.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
FLINT MERIONETH	1852 1840 1842	1 1 1		Oxford	1842		1

CLASS II.—Offences against Property committed without violence. CATTLE STEALING.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
GLOUCESTER	1842		1	Stafford	1845		1



CLASS II.—Offences against Property—continued.

Horse Stealing.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment,	Acquitted as being Insane.
Essex	1850	1		Oxford	1845	1	
GLOUČESTER	1838 1841	1	1 1	SALOP	1841	1	
Kent	1849	1		Somerset	1845		1
LANCASTER	1844	5	1	Sussex	1840		1
Lincoln	1840	1		Worcester	1840		1
	1844	1	::				
Monmouth	1840	1		DENBIGH	1843	1	
Northampton	1851	1		GLAMORGAN	1842	1	

LARCENY.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
BEDFORD	1843		1	DEVON	1841	1	
	1844		1		1843	1	
	1847	1			1845		1
BERKS	1845		1		1848		3
The state of the s			1		1849		1
Bucks	1848	1			4000		A STATE OF THE STA
	1852	1		DORSET	1846	1	
CHESTER	1839	1			1848		1
	1840	î		DURHAM	1838	1	
	1846	1			1845	1	
	1848	2		Commence	1020		1
	1852	1		GLOUCESTER	1838 1844	i	The state of the s
CORNWALL	1852	1			1847	1	
CORNWALL	1002	1			1850	1	
CUMBERLAND .	1850		1		1000	1	
DERBY	1840	1		HEREFORD	1838	- 1	20011
Daniel	1849	i			2000		

(continued).

CLASS II.—Offences against Property.—LARCENY—continued.

		and the latest the lat				The state of the s	-
COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
Kent	1838	1000	1	SATOR	1842	+511	2
MENT	1840	i	1	SALOP continued.	1847	·i	
	1841	1	i		1851		ï
	1843	i					-
	1844		2	SOMERSET	1844	1	
	1847	1	ī		1848	1	**
Turanaman					1852		1
LANCASTER	1838	1		SOUTHAMPTON	1842		1
	1840	2			1843		1
10.00	1841	2			1844	1	
	1842 1844	1	.;		1845		1
	1845	1	1		1847		3
	1846	1			1848	1	
	1847	1		STAFFORD	1845	1	
	1848	1			1844		
	1850	3	1	SUFFOLK			1
	1851	2	i	SURREY	1839		1
-			-		1840	1	
LEICESTER	1845	1			1850	1	
	1851	1		WESTMORELAND	1851		1
	1852	1			1838		1
LINCOLN	1839		2	WARWICK	1841		1
	1845	2		18 E.	1844	1	1
MIDDLESEX	1838	4	1		1846	1 7 8 1	1
	1839		2		1850	2	î
	1841	2			1851	ĩ	i
	1843	1			1852	î	
	1844	1		Warne			
	1846		4	WILTS	1838	·:	1
	1847		1		1849		i
	1848	1	2		1852		
	1850	3		Worcester	1841		1
MONMOUTH	1842	1			1847		1
	1847	1			1851	1	
NORFOLK	1840		1	YORK	1839	1	
	1847		1	7	1841		1
		••	1		1843		1
NORTHAMPTON	1839	1			1844	1	2
	1846	1			1845		1
NORTHUMBER-	1842	:	1		1847		2
LAND	1852	1			1849		2
NOTTINGHAM .	1847	1	1		1852	1	
	1850	1		D	10.0	313	11-50
	1852		1	DENBIGH	1848	1	
				Cr irrong in	1852	1	
SALOP	1041	1		GLAMORGAN	1842	1	

Total for Larceny, 156; of whom 87 were found Insane upon Arraignment, and 69 Acquitted on the plea of Insanity.

NATURE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED.

CLASS II .- Offences against Property-continued.

SACRILEGE.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
CORNWALL	1848		1				

BURGLARY.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment,	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
Kent	1849	1		MIDDLESEX	1838 1839	;	1
DORSET	1839	1			1851		ï
GLOUCESTER	1839	1		Oxford	1843	1	
HERTFORD	1847 1849		·· 1	Brecon	1846	1	

CLASS III .-- Malicious Offences against Property.

SETTING FIRE to Houses, Warehouses, and Cornstacks.

COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.	COUNTY.	Year.	Found Insane on Arraignment.	Acquitted as being Insane.
CHESTER	1842	1		NOTTINGHAM	1846		1
	1846 1852	1	ï	SURREY	1844		1
DEVON	1838		1	WILTS	1846		1
Essex	1846	1		York	1850	1	
LANCASTER	1844 1846		1 1	Glamorgan	1848	,	
LEICESTER	1842		1	GLAMORGAN	1048	1	

Total—For Setting Fire to Houses, 13; of whom 5 were found Insane on Arraignment, and 8 Acquitted on the Plea of Insanity.

During this period one person was found guilty of high treason in Middlesex, and acquitted on the plea of insanity; and one was found insane upon arraignment, in Hertford, who had been committed for riot and sedition. We observe by the preceding tables that the greatest number of Criminal Lunatics, during a period of fifteen years, belonged to the Second Class of Offenders-those charged with committing offences against property, without violence;-156 having been accused of larceny, of whom 87 were found insane upon arraignment, and 69 acquitted upon the plea of insanity. It has been generally assumed that the majority of Criminal Lunatics commit the higher offences included in the First Class—those against the person; — murder, attempts to murder, manslaughter, &c.; but this appears to be an error. Of the above, 108 were accused of murder, of whom 33 were found insane upon arraignment, and 75 acquitted upon the plea of insanity; 32 were indicted for attempts to murder, of whom 15 were found insane upon arraignment, and 17 acquitted on the plea of insanity. Furthermore, 27 were indicted for stabbing and wounding with intent to maim and disfigure, of whom 13 were found insane on arraignment, and 14 acquitted as being insane. Lastly, 10 were committed for manslaughter, of whom 5 were found insane upon arraignment, and 5 acquitted upon the plea of insanity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS.

In the early part of the present century the expediency of making some special provision for the Criminal Lunatics of the country was brought under the notice of the House of Commons. Few County Lunatic Asylums had then been erected, and the private establishments which were open for the reception of insane persons were for the most part badly organised, and not under any efficient supervision. It was, therefore, found necessary, for the safety of themselves and the protection of the public, to send not only criminal, but frequently non-criminal lunatics, when troublesome, to Gaols and Houses of Correction. The results of this practice may easily be imagined. The interior of prisons at this period presented the miserable spectacle of abandoned men herding together, and exulting in their mutual career of infamy - gambling, swearing, drinking, singing obscene songs, robbing one another of food, clothes, and halfpence,-holding mock trials in ridicule of the tribunals of justice which had condemned them, were among the ordinary sports and pastimes which beguiled the tedium of gaol life, and obscured the consciousness of the confinement

itself being any punishment.* The younger and less hardened offenders soon became more deeply contaminated by their communication with the higher class of felons; and the scenes of riot and revelry which constantly occurred, and which have been so truly and vividly described by some of our best novelists, who may be justly esteemed the social historians of their age, seem to have worn the aspect of a perpetual carnival of wickedness, carried on triumphantly within the precincts of the prison. Such was the general laxity of discipline which prevailed in our metropolitan and provincial

* The Parliamentary Reports brought from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, so late as July 1835, prove that these and far worse iniquities were committed by prisoners at this period in Gaols and Houses of Correction .- "Some boasting of their former robberies, some cursing and swearing, some telling obscene stories, and singing vile songs." . . . "Gambling carried on all day long, card playing, pitch and toss, and chuck farthing." . . . "Prisoners robbing one another continually of bread and meat." . . . "Beer sold by the wardsmen to the prisoners, and during the night, pails-full being in their cells." "It was a common thing to fill two or three buckets and carry them up into the ward to be drunk at night." "Did the wardsmen go shares?" "Of course!" [p. 318.] Holding "mock trials," and "odious and nameless offences," also were committed. "Do not you believe that many prisoners leave the prisons of this country much worse than when they were committed?" was one of the questions put to Lieut. Sibley, Governor of the Brixton House of Correction: to which the reply was,-"Assuredly! A prison is destructive to every casual offender." Report, 1835. P. 139.

gaols! Yet these were the only receptacles open for the safe custody of persons who, having been found insane on arraignment, or acquitted on the plea of insanity, were ordered to be detained during His Majesty's pleasure. Admitted into this pandemonium, the poor criminal lunatics became objects of sport to their unfeeling fellow-prisoners, by whom they were taunted, ridiculed, and tormented, until becoming irritated and goaded to desperation, they often committed the most shocking outrages.

These evils cried loudly for redress! Accordingly on the 23rd June, 1807, Mr. Wynne moved in the House of Commons, that "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of Criminal and Pauper Lunatics in England and Wales." In so doing he stated, that "the consequence of the attempt made by Hadfield on the life of His Majesty, had been an Act of Parliament empowering the judges, in cases of acquittal on the ground of insanity, to order the person so acquitted to be detained until His Majesty's pleasure respecting them should be known. Under this Act several unfortunate persons were then lying in gaols, of all places the most improper for their abode." He then referred to the case of "a man, who having been tried for murder and acquitted on the ground of insanity, had been imprisoned in the county gaol, where all possible care was taken of him that could be expected from persons ignorant of the

mode of treatment peculiarly requisite for insane persons; nevertheless, in an apparently lucid interval, he evaded the observation of the Governor, and committed another murder on a felon in the same prison."* The Select Committee was duly appointed, and their Report printed on the 15th of the following July.†

This Report is in many respects curious, inasmuch as, the Committee and some of the witnesses examined, appear to have anticipated many of the suggestions which are now under discussion. The only law relating to Criminal Lunatics, as distinguished from other insane persons, then in operation, was the Act passed after the trial of Hadfield, which was thus far defective, that although it empowered His Majesty to give orders for the safe custody of criminals found to be insane, no provision was made for defraying the charge of their maintenance and care, except where they had sufficient property of their own, the result of which was, that it was found impossible in most instances to remove them from the county gaol. Hence, in the course of six years,

^{*} Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Vol. VIII., 1807-8, p. 514.

[†] Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of the Criminal and Pauper Lunatics of England and Wales, and of the Laws relating thereto, and who were empowered to report their Observations and Opinions from time to time to the House. Ordered to be printed, July 15, 1807.

between the passing of this Act and the appointment of the Committee, thirty-seven persons had been detained under the provisions of this statute, and were then incarcerated in different gaols, where, if paupers, they were of necessity maintained at the county expense. "This number," says the Report, "will, of course, annually increase, and if the parishes, upon whom the burden of the maintenance of a lunatic must otherwise fall, shall, in consequence of his committing an offence, be enabled to throw that expense during the remainder of his life upon the country at large, they will profit by the omission of that care and precaution which it was their duty to have taken for his safe keeping." The Report then refers to the manifold evils arising from the system of confining Criminal Lunatics in common gaols, and recommends that a separate building be erected for their special reception-"It appears to be highly desirable that a building should be erected for the separate confinement of all persons detained under the above-mentioned Act, for offences committed during a state of insanity, and that provisions should be enacted similar to those of the 17th Geo. II., c. 5, s. 20, directing the magistrates of the county where the trial has been had, in all cases where it shall not appear to them that the lunatic has sufficient property to defray the expenses of his own maintenance, to inquire into the place of his last legal settlement,

and to make an order upon such parish; or, if that cannot be ascertained, upon the county where he has been tried, to allow such weekly sum for his maintenance as shall from time to time be fixed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or such persons as his Majesty shall appoint to superintend such places of confinement." The Committee then suggests that "as one establishment of this nature will be sufficient for the whole kingdom, it may be expedient that it should be in or near the Metropolis, and that power should be given to the Secretary of State to make such regulations as may not only provide for the due care and management of the persons therein confined, but may also secure a full examination, by competent judges, into the state of mind of any person who may appear to be cured, previous to his being allowed to be discharged."

One of the witnesses examined by the Committee was Sir George Onesiphorous Paul, Bart., a magistrate belonging to the County of Gloucester, who stated, that he had for twenty-five years made observations upon the state of gaols, and was fully satisfied that, however well regulated, prisons were improper places for the custody of Criminal Lunatics, "because they must of necessity either be kept in society with other persons disposed to torment them and aggravate their misfortunes, or shut up in total solitude in a situation completely

inconsistent with any regard to their cure." In addition to the evidence given before the Committee by Sir George Paul, the Report contains the printed Copy of a "Letter of Suggestions on the subject of Criminal and Pauper Lunatics," which he addressed to Earl Spencer, the Secretary of State for the Home Department. Many of the observations contained in this Letter are peculiarly pertinent on the present occasion, and are evidently the result of mature consideration. Sir George complains that when the plea of insanity has been successfully sustained, the unfortunate Criminal Lunatic may be placed in a worse position than if — having been found guilty — he had been condemned to undergo the sentence which the Court would have pronounced against him if he had not been acquitted under plea of his insanity. He adduces the two following examples: - Charles Roberts having been tried on a charge of capital felony (perjury) was acquitted, and ordered to be kept in strict custody until His Majesty's pleasure should be made known. James Need, tried for an assault, was, in like manner, acquitted on the plea of insanity, and remanded for safe custody to gaol until His Majesty's pleasure respecting him should be signified. In the one case, Charles Roberts had been kept in gaol six years at the expense of the county; in the other, James Need had remained incarcerated three years: and in neither case had His Majesty's pleasure been signified, nor any further notice taken of them.

"It seems (says Sir George) by the wording of this Act, that it was not intended that the direction of the Legislature should rest here; but rather that the remanding to strict custody was a temporary expedient of an incomplete law, necessarily passed in the hurry of the momentous occasion which produced it, to be completed on a more deliberate consideration." He then proceeds to argue that "punishment, though merited, should have some fixed limits. In the case of Roberts, six years' imprisonment was four more than would probably have followed conviction on the very perjury by which he was acquitted, and three more than, according to the practice of the judges, would have followed a conviction of his felony." So, also, as regards the prisoner Need: - "This man will not easily find sureties. Is he, therefore, to remain in prison whilst he who has friends shall be discharged? At common law, idiots and lunatics are not punishable by any criminal prosecution whatsoever; but Need, in consequence of his re-commitment to prison, has been kept three years in the same ward, and in precisely the same state in which he would have been kept, probably for one year only, in execution of his sentence on his conviction, had no special finding taken place. It seems a great stretch of legislative authority to empower a court of justice,

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on the acquittal of a man, who, in a fit of insanity may have committed an assault, to imprison him in a common gaol for a time not limited; or, indeed, without a decision on his case as a lunatic, by the ordinary legal mode of inquiry, to submit him to any kind of constraint for life, deprived of the benefit of the Act of the 14th Geo. III., intended for the protection of persons in his unhappy situation, and to prevent their being longer deprived of liberty than they are divested of their reasoning faculties; and if it be said that this Act is not intended to mean confinement for life, then we come to the point of our inquiry—When, and in what manner is it to be terminated?"

Having, in his evidence, borne the most positive testimony to the evils and inconveniences of Criminal Lunatics being associated with the ordinary run of prisoners confined in public gaols, Sir George Paul suggests, that instead of a central asylum being erected, wards for their reception might be annexed to existing institutions. "If proper places," he observes, "are to be provided, and institutions established for their reception, and not for the infliction of criminal punishment, we are to consider—shall these places be dependent on other institutions, (say gaols or hospitals,) or shall they be sole or independent? For what extent or division of the county shall they be provided? From what fund shall the cost be paid—national, provincial, or parochial? I think

that wards for this purpose should be parts of existing and independent institutions, their primary construction should be at the expense of the Crown, and their expenses defrayed afterwards by the parish." Here I find Sir George Paul anticipated a suggestion which I had intended to make before meeting with his letter, and to which I shall presently return.

The Report of this Select Committee having been returned in 1807, the ensuing Session (20th June, 1808,) the House of Commons presented an address to His Majesty, praying that he would be pleased to give directions that a separate prison might be erected for the confinement of persons detained by virtue of the Act 39 & 40 Geo. III., entitled, "An Act for the custody of Insane Persons charged with Offences," and assuring him that the House would provide the requisite funds. In pursuance of this Address, an application was made to the Governors of Bethelem Hospital, the re-building of which was then under their consideration, to ascertain whether they were willing to set apart for that purpose a portion of the land for which they were in treaty in St. George's Fields. The propositions laid before the Governors of the Hospital, by Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, were as follows:-

¹st. "That a separate prison, sufficient for the reception of 60 Criminal Lunatics be erected by the Governors of Bethlehem.

- 2nd. "That this Government shall defray the expenses which will be incurred by the erection of such additional building.
- 3rd. "That Government shall be at the annual charge of maintaining such Criminal Lunatics.
- 4th. "That the control and management of the Lunatics shall be exercised under the superintendence of the Governors of the Hospital, and that such Lunatics shall be duly attended by the medical and other officers belonging to the establishment.
- Lastly. "That the yearly allowance of £200 should be distributed to the said officers of the establishment for their additional trouble."*

The Governors of Bethlehem Hospital having advised with the Law Officers of the Crown, who informed them that their compliance would not render them liable (under the Act 48th Geo. III., c. 96,) to the visitation of the County Magistrates, assented to the Government proposals, and two criminal wings were in consequence annexed to the

* House of Commons Miscellaneous Papers, Session 1 Feb., 1816, Vol. XVII. Copies of Correspondence between Mr. Beckett and Mr. Lushington, dated 24th April, 1816.

It is remarkable that the arrangements for carrying into effect the address of the House of Commons on the 20th June, 1808, were not concluded until eight years afterwards. In the "Miscellaneous Services" for 1814, we find "an estimate of the sum which will be wanted for the erection of a building for the reception of Criminal Lunatics, nineteen thousand eight hundred pounds, clear of fees and all other deductions." Parliamentary Estimate of Accounts, Vol. XI., 1814.

main building of the hospital—one for the reception of Male Criminal Lunatics; the other for the reception of Female Criminal Lunatics.

The statistics of insanity had not at this period been investigated; no attempt had been made to ascertain the extent to which the disease prevailed in the country, and the circumstance of its being an increasing malady did not enter into the calculations of the Government, otherwise the proposition would not have been limited to the erection of a building for only sixty Criminal Lunatics, particularly if, as suggested by the Committee, one establishment of this description were to be deemed sufficient for the whole kingdom. It has been a grave error in the foundation of many philanthropic institutions, that they have been originally designed doubtless with a view to economy, upon too restricted a plan, due regard not having been had to the prospective demand likely to be made upon them; the result of which has been, that the inadequacy of the original design has subsequently entailed upon such establishments much inconvenience and additional expense, which might, if a more liberal policy had been adopted in the first instance, have been obviated. Hence, a few years after the criminal wings of Bethlehem Hospital had been erected, the Government found it necessary to double the accommodation for this class of patients; shortly after which, still further

provision was required.* Hence an arrangement was entered into between the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Proprietor of Fisherton House, near Salisbury, for the erection of a detached ward, in connection with that Asylum, for the excess of patients at Bethlehem. The Commissioners in Lunacy state, in their Fourth Annual Report, that this "ward, having a separate yard, was expressly fitted up for the detention of lunatics whose conduct had brought them under the cognizance of the Criminal Courts; it being proposed to place in this ward 24 male patients of that class whose offences have not been marked by circumstances of violence or atrocity." † Here I may remark, en passant, that this is the first allusion which I have found in any official document to any principle of classification being adopted in the distribution of our Criminal Lunatics. It is also worthy of observation, that although the accommodation stipulated for at Fisherton House in 1849, was for 24 criminal male patients, there were, according to the Commissioners' Report, on the 1st January, 1852, as many as 60 patients of this class-56 males and 4 females, confined in that establishment.

^{*} Vide—Narrative of the Proceedings at the Laying of the First Stone of the New Buildings at Bethlehem Hospital, on Thursday, the 26th day of July. With Historical Notes, and Illustrations, and Official Documents. By P. Northall Laurie, Esq. 1838. P. 21.

[†] Fourth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, 1849.

An increase in the number of Criminal Lunatics may reasonably be expected from the circumstance that insanity generally has been considerably on the increase; but we must bear in mind that the figures which represent the increase of lunatics at successive epochs by no means indicate the existing number of insane persons in confinement at any given period, because allowance must be made for discharges and deaths. The proportion of recoveries, relapses, and deaths, to the number of admissions, opens a further field for statistical inquiry, into which it is not at present necessary to enter, inasmuch as the returns to which I am about to refer, shew the actual number of Criminal Lunatics in confinement at the periods specified. Thus, we find, by the annexed summary from the five last Annual Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, that the number and distribution of Criminal Lunatics from 1847 to 1852, were as follows:—

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER AND GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS, FROM 1847 TO 1852.

and district		1847.			1849.			1850.			1851.			1852.		
e lique sens	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male,	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
In County Asylums .	87	30	117	102	32	134	117	31	148	119	34	153	137	38	175	
Hospitals	4	1	5	4		4	5		5	5		5	8		8	
Metropolitan Houses	25	15	40	19	5	24	25	7	32	21	6	27	31	10	41	
Provincial Houses	51	13	64	51	12	63	64	15	79	83	14	97	96	12	108	
Bethlehem Hospital	90	91	111							86	19	105	85	19	104	
Total	257	80	337	176	49	225	211	53	264	314	73	387	357	79	436	

It is well known that crime predominates to a greater extent among males than among females. "Over the whole male population of the country," (says Mr. Neison,) "the tendency to crime is nearly five times greater than in the female sex."* "In England and in Wales, upon an average, five males are committed to prison for one female; and the proportion in London has been calculated to be about three males to one female."† Upon this principle we can understand the reason for an excess being found on the male side in the returns of Criminal Lunacy, which is contrary to what is observed in the statistics of ordinary insanity.

The Commissioners in Lunacy not having been required by the late Act of Parliament (8 & 9 Vict., c. 100.,) to visit Bethlehem, do not, in the Reports they have hitherto published, profess to give an official return of the number of Insane Criminals confined in this Hospital. Hence in the preceding Table, the number of Patients belonging to this class in Bethlehem does not appear for the years 1849 and 1850; and a slight difference will be observed between the return of the Commissioners for 1852, and the number given in the Annual Report of Bethlehem for that year. With the view, therefore, of supplying every information upon this subject, I have compiled the following Table, which

^{*} Statistical Journal, Vol. IX., p. 225.

[†] Ibid., Vol. I., p. 326.

exhibits the numbers of admissions, discharges, removals, deaths, and the number remaining in Hospital, on the 31st of December, for the last five consecutive years.

Table shewing the Number of Criminal Lunatics Admitted, Discharged, Removed, or Died in Bethlehem Hospital, from 1847 to 1852.

	1847.		1548.				1849.			1850.		1851.			1852.			
	Males.	Females	Total.															
Admitted	12	1	13	19	1	20	26	2	28	23	5	28	13	1	14	24	4	25
Discharged	5	4	9	10	1	11	4		4	4		4	3	1	4	5		5
Removed							20		20	20	5	25	12		12	10	1	11
Died	6		6	7		7	2	1	3	6		6	2		2	1		1
Remaining in Hospital	91	18	109	93	18	111	93	19	112	86	19	105	82	19	101	90	22	112

Hence, during these five years, 131 Criminal Lunatics were admitted into Bethlehem Hospital: 37 were discharged cured, by order of the Secretary of State; 25 died; and—the accommodation for them in Bethlehem being insufficient—68 were, by order of the Secretary of State, removed to another Institution.

In the Reports of the Commissioners in Lunacy, a return is given of the number of Criminal Lunatics confined in County Asylums, in Metropolitan and in Provincial Houses; but no return is made of those confined in Gaols. The inexpediency of Lunatics being associated with the ordinary Prisoners in Gaols, and Houses of Correction, was so clearly proved by

the testimony of all the witnesses examined before the Committee of Inquiry in the year 1835, that among other resolutions to which they called the "immediate attention of the House," they emphatically recommended, that "persons whose trials have been postponed, or who, having been tried, have been acquitted on the ground of Insanity, shall not be confined in the Gaols or Houses of Correction;"* but, notwithstanding their Report, a considerable number of Criminal Lunatics are still confined in these places.

From the last Report, published for the Home District, by the Inspectors of Prisons, in 1851, I annex the following summary.

TABLE SHEWING THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS CONFINED IN THE PRISONS OF ENGLAND AND WALES, FROM 1842 TO 1849, WITH THEIR PROPORTION TO THE PRISON POPULATION.

	Cases of La	inacy in the Pr	risons of Engla	nd and Wales	in each Year.
YEARS.	Total Prison Population in England and Wales.	Daily Average Number of Prisoners in England and Wales.	Number of Criminal Lunatics.	Number of Prison Population to a single Lunatic.	Proportion per Cent. of Lunatics to Daily Average Number of Prisoners.
99				One in	10
1842	153,136	16,718	76	2,051	.46
₹ 1843	152,445	17,218	64	2,382	.39
P 1844	143,979	16,062	96	1,499	.60
Z 1845	124,110	13,165	99	1,253	.75
₹ 1846	123,236	12,979	92	1,339	.71
2 1847	131,949	14,021	96	1,912	.69
A 1848	160,369	16,627	89	1,802	.54
1842 1843 1844 1845 1846 1848 1849	166,942	18,288	68	2,450	.37
Annual Mean	144,520	15,634	85	1,836	.56

^{*} Vide Report, p. 4.

[†] Vide—Fifteenth Report of the Inspectors appointed under the Provisions of the Act 5 & 6 Will. IV., c. 38, to Visit the Different Prisons of Great Britain.—1. Home District.—Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. London: Clowes and Son, 1851. P. 35.

It is proper to observe, that this Table does not include the number of persons belonging to this class confined in the Prison of Parkhurst, Pentonville, and Millbank.

With these facts before us, it is evident that the present distribution of our Criminal Lunatics is open to very grave objections; and that it is highly expedient that some more satisfactory arrangements should be made for their future provision.

CHAPTER V.

SUGGESTIONS.

Whenever any great social evil is proved to exist, and has become the subject of public discussion, a host of philanthropic theorists rush into the field, each eager to suggest some favorite plan for the removal of the grievance. Competition excites controversy. In the ardour of mutual zeal a variety of Utopian schemes-more fascinating than practicable—are not unfrequently set affoat; but the most ephemeral even of these should be viewed in every possible light before being positively condemned. It was a notion of Goethe, that in the secret archives of the vegetable kingdom there may exist a specific remedy for every known disease; and we are justified by our experience in believing that political wisdom, properly directed, may be brought to bear upon and redress every social wrong. There is no doubt difficulty enough in legislating for the protection of the civil rights of sane people; but when we contemplate the peculiar position of the insane, who may have committed criminal offences, and ask how they ought to be dealt with, the problem becomes exceedingly perplexing. It is fully admitted by the law of every

country, that no man who has committed an offence in an unsound state of mind, shall be held responsible for his conduct: but all human tribunals are fallible; and how, when this plea of insanity is raised, can we unveil the mind of the accused, and determine where responsibility ends and irresponsibility begins?

There is no physician, however conversant he may be with the phenomena of the disease, that can draw this line of demarcation. We may, it is true, be put into the witness-box—but what then?

"May it please your excellency, your thief looks
Exactly like the rest, or rather better;

'Tis only at the bar and in the dungeon
That wise men know your felon by his features."*

We may appreciate outward and visible signs; but we have no mentometer (if I may be allowed to coin a word) which will indicate the thoughts that may be passing through the mind. In medical jurisprudence the diagnosis between sanity and insanity is, in many cases, infinitely difficult; and it is upon this account that specialists in this branch of our profession so often come into collision with members of the bar, and draw down upon themselves occasionally animadversions from the Judges on the bench. There would be no such difference of opinion between the two learned professions if we could arrive at any fixed principles by which

^{*} Werner, Act II., sc. 1.

we could explain the silent operations of the mind—but this, so far as insanity is concerned, is as impossible in law as it is in medicine. We may adjudicate upon the overt act—but the motive which dictated it will very often elude the most searching examination. But this happens continually in sane as well as in insane life.

Every man performs daily a variety of actions, without having at the moment any ostensible object in view, or motive of which he is conscious; and if called upon to explain the principle which actuated him, he would be very greatly at a loss. "I suppose I had some meaning in my mind when I wrote these lines," said an eminent author,* when an unintelligible passage which he had written was pointed out to him, "but it has quite escaped my memory:"-so rapid is thought, and so imperceptible the connection between the motive and the action. We can scarcely, under the most rigorous self-examination, give an account of ourselves to ourselves; still less can we explain the motives which actuate others. The act alone-isolated and inexplicable—remains to be weighed in the scales of justice.

"We try the crime, the motive heaven will judge."+

This would be a harsh Spartan-like axiom, were it literally adopted; but this is not the case: for in our

* Coleridge.

⁺ Howard Payne's Brutus, Act V., sc. 1.

Criminal Courts every collateral circumstance—the age, sex, social condition of the accused; the temptation, the provocation, and every ostensible cause of the delinquency—are taken into consideration in mitigation of punishment;* and if the accused be found insane, he is, as we have seen, either not tried, or acquitted upon the plea of insanity. So far, therefore, does mercy temper justice: but although criminal actions are committed occasionally under insane delusions, and under impulses which paralyze the power of self-control, we are not thence to infer that all irregularities of disposition, and all moral transgressions are to be excused upon the same ground.

In his interesting work on Criminal Jurisprudence, Mr. Sampson adopts the views of the author of the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," and ascribes every criminal action to some abnormal or morbid condition of the cerebral organization. His fundamental proposition is, that "every manifestation of the mind depends upon the confirmation

^{* &}quot;I have not been in the habit (said Mr. Justice Coleridge, in his answer to the Select Committee of the House of Lords,) of sentencing to transportation, without taking into account the circumstances of habits, character, station, and property. I have had occasion avowedly only to imprison a young gentleman for a bad manslaughter where I should certainly have transported him if he had been a labourer, because the circumstances above mentioned would, I thought, have made the former punishment too severe for him. I should suppose that other Judges act upon the same obvious principle." P. 19.

and health of its material instrument, the brain; and as it is not the function of a sound and healthy brain to give rise to any other than healthy manifestations, so no error of judgment can ever arise but as the result of a defective condition of that organ."

Mr. Hurlbut, an eminent Counsellor, and one of the Supreme Judges in the State of New York, in his "Essays on Human Rights and Political Guarantees,"-a work which is well worthy of perusal,—promulgates the same doctrine; but I confess I cannot adopt this brainular theory of crime, which appears to me to have, thus far, a mischievous tendency,-that if all our actions, virtuous as well as vicious, resulted from this presumed condition of the brain, man would possess no more control over his actions, than the paddle-wheels of a steam-boat over the engine by which they are set in motion. All human responsibility would be thus annihilated; it would be as cruel to punish a man for horse stealing—if his brain impelled him to commit the act—as it would be to punish a man for shaking his limbs in a fit of ague. "It would be quite as rational" says Mr. Sampson, "to flog a man at the cart's tail for having become infected with scarlet fever, owing to a predisposition and exposure to the disease, as to pursue the same course to one, who falling into temptation, had given way to a predisposition for taking possession of whatever he could lay his hands upon."* * Op. Cit., p. 34.

Were this doctrine admitted, burglars and thieves might rejoice in their predestined career; police offices close; and the Central Criminal Court adjourn sine die! But happily for the wellbeing and protection of society, upon examining this theory more closely, it will be found to be physiologically and psychologically utterly untenable.

If the brain be, as Mr. Sampson argues, and as is generally believed, the "material organ of the mind," it cannot be the originator of thought; its vesicles or fibres may receive and transmit mental impressions, but can no more originate them, than the strings of a harp can originate the melody they may be made to express. The mind, independent in its own citadel, perceives, reflects, and passes through various consecutive states, which give expression to its intellectual and moral powers: it may incline to good or to evil, as virtuous or vicious principles predominate. We therefore attach just importance to the influence of education, and hold men accountable for their conduct, which would certainly be unjust, if, on Mr. Sampson's principle, they are to be regarded as automata acting under the necessitous influence of an organization for which they cannot be held responsible. It should also be observed that this occult condition of the brain is purely imaginary, and this organ being after all, confessedly only the instrument of the mind, we must trace all manifestations of the intellect and feelings to the higher power of the mind itself.

There can be no doubt that in a state of sound bodily and mental health, and in the full enjoyment of all their intellectual faculties, men unhappily have been known to indulge in habits of intemperance and profligacy—they have misdirected their intellectual and moral faculties—and yielding to temptation, some from sordid motives, calculating even the consequences awaiting them, have committed the most heinous atrocities. Ought not such men to be held responsible for their misdeeds? When persons speak of the "influence of the brain on criminal actions" they should, it is evident, substitute the word mind for that of brain; they may as well speak of the influence of the legs in walking, as if the desire to walk originated in the extensor and flexor muscles of the extremities, instead of their acting in obedience to the will of that mind which suggests and governs every conscious action we perform. "In nature," said a forgotten philosopher,—quoted by Sir William Hamilton,—"there is nothing great but man; in man there is nothing great but mind."+

But this human mind, albeit immaterial, may become obscured by disease: it may pass into a state of inexplicable aberration; under insane delu-

^{*} Vide—The Westminster Review, April, 1854.—Article: —)
"Criminal Legislation and Prison Discipline," p. 409.

[†] Reid's Collected Writings, by Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Edinburgh, 1825. P. 217.

sions and impulses, men may not only become incapable of distinguishing right from wrong, but impulsively lose even the power of self-control. In a chronic form, unattended with delirium or any obvious mental perturbation, insanity may pervert the moral feelings and propensities, and manifest itself by a disposition to commit the most unaccountable and motiveless crimes. A lady of rank and property, without the least conceivable motive, will commit a petty theft in a public bazaar, or in the drawing-room of her dearest friend. A man of education and fortune, without the least provocation, suddenly will attack another and commit a ruffianly outrage, which may end in the death of the assaulted person—and upon inquiry it may, perhaps, be found that his bodily and mental health had been previously much disturbed; and that he was, in reality, insane. How are we to deal with this class of offenders?

It may be true that every description of vice—every deviation from the path of virtue—every indiscretion indicates an ill-regulated mind; but we cannot suppose a state of society in which men shall be so perfectly rational and self-possessed as to commit no manner of transgression: such an idea did not even enter into the conception of Plato in the constitution of his Republic:—Humanum est errare—but there can be no doubt that habits of self-control and self-denial, acquired in early life,

will enable men to resist temptation, moderate their passions, and ward off insanity itself.* "My Lords," (said the Solicitor-General, the Honorable Charles Yorke, upon the memorable trial of the Earl Ferrers for the murder of his steward, John Johnson,) "in some sense every crime proceeds from insanity. All cruelty, all brutality, all revenge, all injustice, is insanity. There were philosophers in ancient times who held this opinion as a strict maxim of their sect; and, my Lords, the opinion is right in philosophy, but dangerous in judicature. It may have a useful and a noble influence to regulate the conduct of men, to control their impotent passions, to teach them that virtue is the perfection of reason, as reason itself is the perfection of human nature; but not to extenuate crimes, nor to excuse those punishments which the law adjudges to be their due." Tupon this principle the criminal law of the country is administered. "I hold," observed Lord Denman, in his evidence before the House of Lords, "the only legitimate end of punishment to be to deter from crime; but I think I perceive in some of the theories of benevolent men such a mode of administering the criminal law as to encourage instead of deterring." "I feel great confidence," furthermore

^{*} Vide—An excellent litte work in the series of "Small Books on Great Subjects," entitled "On Man's Power over himself to prevent or control Insanity." By John Barlow. London: Pickering, 1849.

[†] Howell's State Trials. Vol. xix., p. 95.

observed his Lordship, "on general grounds, in the effect of criminal law in deterring from crime. I believe it prevents men from adopting a vicious course of life. I think that the mind, when excited by temptation, does not look much to penal consequences, or, if it does, that the hopes of escape, from the various causes stated, (but scarcely susceptible of diminution,) would predominate; but I think I have seen many instances of forbearing to add aggression to the criminal act from fear of severer punishment-I allude to burglary and highway robbery." * This observation of the Learned Judge shows how the mind, in the actual commission of a criminal deed, may pause and weigh the remote consequences of the crime; indeed, it would be a humiliating revelation were we enabled to unmask the motives which enable many men to resist temptation. "No one, I think, can ever tell," observed Mr. Justice Patteson, "how many persons are prevented from committing crimes by their natural dispositions, education, religious and moral sentiments, their condition in life, their family connexions, pecuniary circumstances, the absence of temptation, the force of example, and a variety of other causes, which are perpetually operating; but, it may be safely said, that many are sometimes

^{*} Appendix to Report and Evidence on the Operation of the Criminal Law. Answers of certain Judges to the Questions submitted to them by the Select Committee. 1847. Pp. 4—6.

deterred from the commission of crime by the fear of punishment, and that if all penal laws were repealed, even for the shortest time, no one's life or property would be safe." *

Whatever may be the motives which restrain men from yielding to temptation, the fact itself indicates powers of reflection and self-control; but the disposition of some persons is naturally impetuous, and they are never able to obtain a complete mastery over their passions. They yield to impulses they cannot control. Others, again, are by nature weak, and cannot resist temptation. With them as with Werner—

"There are crimes made venial by the occasion,

And temptations which nature cannot master or forbear."+

Many such are predisposed to commit crime, and the plea of insanity may be fairly pleaded in their defence.

One of our highest legal authorities, Baron Alderson, in his answers to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, stated, in reference to the cor-

- * Appendix to Report and Evidence on the Operation of the Criminal Law.—Op. Cit.
- † Werner, Act II, sc. 2. In the "Canterbury Tales" by Sophia and Harriet Lee, in the German's Tale, "Kruitzner," we find the same passage "Conrad, Conrad! there are crimes rendered venial by the occasion, and temptations too exquisite for human fortitude to master or forbear." Vol. II. p. 205. Numerous passages in Werner are taken verbatim from this admirably written Tale.

rective effects of short imprisonments, "I believe crime to be a chronic disease, and not curable by a short process, if indeed curable at all." * The same Learned Judge also bore testimony to crime often being the consequence of what we may recognize to be impulsive insanity. "The great body of criminals," observed his Lordship, "act rather upon impulse than upon calculation, and think but little of the probable punishment at the moment of temptation." † The views of the Learned Judges, which I have here given, are clearly in accordance with the soundest and purest principles of justice and humanity.

We have now to consider what provision should be made for Criminal Lunatics found insane upon arraignment, or acquitted upon the plea of insanity. On the 1st January, 1852, according to the Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, there were 439 persons of this class in confinement in county and borough asylums, in registered hospitals, in licensed houses, and in the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem. To these returns we have to add the lunatics confined in gaols, the mean number of which we have seen has been computed at 85, so that the total number of Criminal Lunatics, making allowance for the last year's increase, will amount at present to above five hundred. The problem, therefore, which we have to consider is,—how they ought to be provided for.

^{*} Appendix to Report, p. 45.

[†] Ibid, p. 46.

Is it desirable that one great Central or State Asylum should be erected for their common reception? It appears to me - but I advance this opinion with much deference—that very serious objections may be urged against congregating all the Criminal Lunatics of the country under one roof. We must remember that these persons belong to very different classes of society; and—as the Tables in the preceding pages exhibiting the nature of the offences committed prove-they are committed for trial under very different circumstances. Would it be fair or humane to shut up a lady or a gentleman, who may, under a momentary insane impulse, have committed a very trivial misdemeanour, in the same ward, or even in the same establishment, with women or men belonging to the lowest classes of society, who may have committed revolting and nameless offences? There is no family in the kingdom-from the domestic circle of the highest peer of the realm down to that of the humblest peasant -that may not be stricken with the calamity of insanity; and a very trivial transgression may render the afflicted person amenable to trial in a public court of justice. Acquitted as being insane, is the hapless offender—who may be highly connected, well educated, and habitually sensitive and refined,-to be cast among coarse and ruthless ruffians, whose hands-insane as they may have been when they committed such offences - have

been tainted with the most atrocious and loathsome crimes? The object of the Legislature is to restrain, not to punish, these unfortunate beings. "The law," says Mr. Hurlbut, "having pronounced an act to be dangerous to society, the offender must be restrained of his liberty to prevent its repetition: if the issue be found against the prisoner, the judgment of the tribunal should be, that he be lodged in a safe place of confinement, provided by the State for persons of the prisoner's description, there to remain under appropriate treatment for his intellectual and moral condition, until he should be discharged by due course of law." * * * " If the plea of insanity," continues Mr. Hurlbut, "be made out, the prisoner is found not guilty, and discharged out of custody. His act may have been a homicide, occasioned by the destructive mania; the disposition to kill may be still as strong as ever; and the jury know it, and the court trembles when it discharges him, lest he should kill others." * * * "This verdict does not imply that he has not slain a fellow-beingdoes not mean that he is a safe man to go at large; on the contrary, by reason of his mania, he is the most dangerous of men. But what the jury mean by a verdict of acquittal is, that he is not a proper subject for punishment: i. e. no vengeance ought to be inflicted upon him because he is smitten of heaven, and is not morally responsible for his acts."

With the practical observations of Mr. Hurlbut I fully concur; the only comment which I feel bound to make upon this forcible and well-expressed passage is, that in the administration of the law of England vengeance is never contemplated: the sole object of punishment is to deter others from committing offences; and any person who will peruse the evidence given by the Judges in their answers to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, will perceive, that in this country humanity, and not vengeance, is the ruling principle of judgment in all—even in the worst criminal cases.

To return—The object of isolating Criminal Lunatics is not only to protect society, but to restore these afflicted persons to a state of bodily and mental health. The Act of Geo. II., c. 5, s. 17, is, on this point,—as quoted in the title page,—very explicit - "they shall be kept, maintained, and cured;" but the centralization of these unfortunates would, I apprehend, greatly interfere with this humane object. If lunatics only associated with, and never saw any other persons than lunatics, the chances of their recovery would be very materially diminished. It was well observed by Sir William Ellis, in the Report of Hanwell Asylum, dated 31st December, 1835, that "it is much to be lamented that some prejudices still remain in the minds of many persons very detrimental to this suffering class of our fellow-creatures which much

retards, if not entirely prevents, the cure of many of them. One of the worst is, that of totally excluding them from all rational society, until they can be proclaimed perfectly well. There is reason to believe, that if a proper degree of liberty be allowed, as the mind begins to open, and objects are presented to it with which it has been previously familiar and interested, many might be partially introduced into society, and enjoy much happiness, who are now in all ranks doomed to incarceration for life." That which is true as regards the treatment of non-criminal, is equally true as regards the treatment of Criminal Lunatics. How can they ever recover if they are to be associated only with one another, - listening to their mutual incoherencies and misdeeds, and breathing (so to speak) only the contaminating atmosphere of insanity? Under such a system, what moral or medical treatment can be expected to avail anything in curing the disease?

Other objections exist. In whatever county the proposed Central Asylum be erected, the relations and friends of the afflicted, living in remote places, would have to travel a great distance to visit them; — an inconvenience which would press heavily on the poorer classes, who would probably have to perform the journey on foot, losing many days' work in the performance of a filial, or it may be, a parental duty. This grievance, which would be

undoubtedly incurred, merits consideration. Again: The concentration of evil-doers, insane or sane more especially those afflicted with any disease, bodily or mental — is notoriously impolitic; and it may fairly be predicted that such an Asylum would soon assume the character of a prison rather than that of a curative hospital. It would be regarded in the light of a bastile, and would be however well conducted -- desecrated by no slight amount of popular odium. Already a great prejudice exists in the public mind against all Lunatic Asylums; the result of which is, that many families are reluctant to place their immediate relations under proper medical treatment in the early and curative stages of the malady. To this cause may be ascribed, in some measure, the increase of insanity; for were other diseases in their incipient stages equally neglected, there can be no doubt that the bills of mortality, in respect to them, would be very greatly augmented.

Furthermore — Financial considerations should have some weight. If arrangements can be made, and a proper system organized for the reception of Criminal Lunatics in existing institutions, the necessity of erecting a Central Asylum would be superseded. There can be no doubt that the erection of such a building would be attended with a vast expense; and whether constructed to hold five or eight hundred inmates, we are entitled to presume,

from the facts before us, that it would eventually be found inadequate to afford the accommodation required. We must, be it observed, calculate prospectively. And the history of every large Lunatic Asylum, which has been in existence many years, will prove how inexpedient it would be to erect a single building, with prescribed limitations, for the purpose proposed, which could not under pressing emergency be enlarged without a great additional, perhaps extravagant, outlay.

Such are the difficulties we have to contend with; and how are they to be met? It is desirable that whatever plan be suggested to the Government, that it should be comprehensive enough to provide for future contingencies; so that the arrangements in respect to the accommodation provided for this class of subjects shall hereafter not be found defective. One Central Asylum would, I have no doubt, be found, after some years, inadequate to the increasing demand upon it; nor would the erection of two eventually be sufficient. We may therefore, I think, fairly look to the resources which may be found in Bethlehem, and existing County Asylums, for providing the accommodation required. We must however, for the reasons I have already assigned, set out with some principles of classification. Criminal Lunatics, who have committed the higher class of offences-murder, treason, sedition, and nameless atrocities,—prosecuted by the State, may

very properly be regarded, however insane, as State prisoners, supported at the expense of the Government. These I would suggest should, under the Queen's warrant, be confined in Bethlehem, the criminal establishment of which is the recognized State Asylum; but insane persons, guilty of minor offences, might, I conceive, under the warrant of the Secretary of State, be very properly confined in their respective County Asylums, and the parishes to which they belong held liable for the expense of their maintenance.

It is not because I have the honour of being the Resident Physician at Bethlehem Hospital that I venture to make this suggestion; but I do so upon the ground that the criminal establishment of this Institution has unequivocally answered the purpose for which it was founded. It is secure as a place of detention; no Criminal Lunatic, who might be dangerous if he obtained his liberty, has any chance of making his escape; and the situation is so healthy, that no epidemic disease has ever prevailed within its walls — not even a single case of cholera, when that fatal malady was the scourge of the surrounding district. There is a feeling, I am aware, abroad, that Lunatic Asylums should be built in the style of palaces, and surrounded with beautiful and attractive scenery;—it has been even suggested, by the Medical Superintendent of an Asylum in Scotland, that such places

as Bethlehem should be "planted with trees, have a fountain, a proportion of ground prepared as a bowling-green, and should be stocked with sheep, hares, a monkey, and other domestic animals." * It is however obvious, that where the security and safe custody of a dangerous Criminal Lunatic is an object, pleasant and umbrageous avenues would afford opportunities for concealment and escape. The only guarantee we can have for the safe detention of such persons is, that they shall not—in whatever extent of area they may be confined—evade the sight of the attendant.

The possibility of every County Asylum being provided with a criminal ward for the safe custody of Criminal Lunatics belonging to the County, committed under the Secretary of State's warrant, cannot, if the proposition be fairly entertained, I think, be doubted. If we consider the enormous expence which has attended the erection of many of these magnificent buildings, the extent of acreage belonging to them, and their internal resources, we can scarcely conceive a difficulty in setting apart a ward and special airing-court for this class. The argument that there would be a risk of their escaping, will scarcely hold good, because it would militate against the management of any asylum, where such

^{*} Appendix to an "Account of Bethlehem Hospital, abridged from the Report of the Charity Commissioners." By F. O. Martin. London. Pickering, 1853. P. 31.

an event is likely to happen, inasmuch as the escape of other patients may be attended with equal danger. The security of the lunatic is one of the first objects contemplated in placing such persons in confinement, particularly when they are certified to be dangerous to others. Then again, the existing discipline and organization of a large County Asylum cannot be in the least degree disturbed by the very small number of Criminal Lunatics for whom provision would be actually required. From the Commissioners in Lunacy's last Annual Report, 1852, we find 175 Criminal Lunatics distributed through 27 different County and 4 Borough Asylums. The County Asylum of Devon, containing 429 Lunatics, with a command of 24 acres of land, only returned 6 Criminal Lunatics. Surrey Asylum containing 853 Lunatics, occupying an extent of 97 acres of land, only returned 4 Criminal Lunatics. And Stafford Asylum, containing 349 Lunatics, with an occupation of more than 40 acres of land, only returned 1 Lunatic belonging to this class. Now is it not manifest that these and other County Asylums,-the above examples I have taken at random, -- have the capacity of providing for the very few Criminal Lunatics which each County would respectively have to provide for? But it will be contended that there is an insuperable objection to Criminal Lunatics being associated with ordinary patients. propriety of their being separated as a general

principle, I fully admit, but we must not strain this argument too far: the entire distribution and management of Criminal Lunatics should be founded upon some principle of classification. There are features in every case which are peculiar, and require special consideration, it would be an act of extreme inhumanity to deny the poor Lunatic who has committed a trivial offence, the privilege of being again associated with those of his fellow creatures whose characters have never been impugned; this would be inflicting an amount of punishment upon him, which never enters into the sentence even of sane convicts. If the object be to cure the afflicted Lunatic, whatever offence he may have committed, his convalescence will depend very materially upon his moral treatment, and if he be condemned, as I have already stated, to be associated only with criminals who have committed perhaps greater offences than himself, what chance can there be of his recovery?

It is, furthermore, to be considered, that our County Asylums are almost exclusively open for the reception of paupers; and the feelings of this class of lunatics are by no means so acute and sensitive — speaking generally — as to render the society of Criminal Lunatics any infliction upon them. "I have carefully watched," says Dr. Bucknill, the Superintendent of the Devon County Asylum, "to detect any repugnance or unfriendly feeling among

the inmates of this establishment towards their fellow-patients who were known to have committed offences against the law, and have not only failed to do so, but have heard expressions of sympathy and pitv." * The Superintendents of other Asylums, with whom I have communicated, have, in reply to my inquiries, made the same statement; and I am, therefore, induced to suggest that the association of criminal with non-criminal lunatics should be left, under the approbation of the Commissioners in Lunacy, to the discretion of the Superintendents of Asylums. This would be far more humane than isolating them as a class, and leaving them to prey mutually upon their morbid associations, which cannot fail to aggravate their disease and render it perhaps incurable.

In the classification which I would suggest, there are many circumstances which should be very carefully weighed;—thus, a distinction ought clearly to be drawn between convicted and non-convicted Criminal Lunatics. If a criminal, while undergoing the sentence of imprisonment, become insane, I would propose that he should be put into a lunatic ward connected with the infirmary of the prison in which he may be confined, and there treated by the officiating surgeon in the same way as if

^{*} An Inquiry into the proper Classification and Treatment of Criminal Lunatics. By John Charles Bucknill, M.B. London, 1851. p. 17.

he were suffering from any other disease. The practice of sending insane prisoners from gaols to county asylums is, in every point of view, objectionable. The average period of imprisonment in England, upon the authority of Mr. Hill, does not exceed 50 days.* It appears, therefore, as Sir George Paul observed, to be a "great stretch of legislative authority" to transfer a criminal, labouring, perhaps, under a temporary paroxysm of insanity, to a lunatic asylum, under the Secretary of State's warrant, where he may have to remain for a much longer term in confinement than that to which he was originally condemned by the sentence of the Court. Supposing the Criminal to have been under treatment for insanity in a lunatic ward connected with the infirmary of the prison—assuredly, it would be only fair, when the period of his imprisonment has expired, that he should be liberated, whatever may be his state of health, from penal confinement.

Were these suggestions adopted, there would be no fear of the accommodation for Criminal Lunatics becoming exhausted; and the burden of supporting them—dispersed over different Counties—would be fairly equalized. The Resident Superintendents would soon become familiar with the history of every case,—the peculiar features of the malady, and the temper and disposition

^{*} Hill, on Crime. - Op. Cit. p. 183.

of such persons; and, taking every circumstance into consideration, would be best qualified to determine the most eligible way of classifying them in the Asylum. Some might be permitted with impunity, and even advantage, to associate with the inmates generally; others, on the contrary, it might be necessary to confine entirely to the criminal ward, and airing-court connected with it. To suppose that some part of a great County Asylum cannot be appropriated to such a purpose, and rendered sufficiently secure to guarantee the safe custody of any class of dangerous lunatics, appears to me unaccountable. And, after all, when thus distributed, the number of Criminal Lunatics which would be sent to each County Asylum would be very few; and whatever may have been their offences, they ought to be treated with as much consideration as ordinary patients. Many of these cases, indeed professionally considered, are extremely interesting to the physician engaged in this department of medical practice. Besides which, as regards their moral management, it is well known that Criminal Lunatics-the designation of whom as Criminals excites so much apprehension—are often the most quiet, docile, and inoffensive persons in these establishments. My experience upon this point accords with that of Dr. Bucknill, who has, in his "Inquiry," published a series of cases, to which he "confidently refers as proof, that the most criminally disposed

lunatics are not the so-called Criminal Lunatics; and that [the majority of the latter are as tractable and harmless as the average of insane persons to whom the stigma of crime has never been attached."*

When convicts under sentence of imprisonment become insane, I have suggested, that they should be confined in a lunatic ward connected with the infirmary of the prison, or in some other part of the building, and there placed under the usual medical treatment until the term of their imprisonment expires, or until they are pardoned upon medical grounds. In support of this proposition, we have to consider how very short is the average period of imprisonment, and how unjust it appears to transfer a prisoner from a gaol, in which he may have been sentenced to three months imprisonment, to a lunatic asylum, under the Secretary of State's warrant, where he may remain, without any further investigation into his case, for as many years,—at all events, for an indefinite period.

All lunatic asylums should be regarded as curative hospitals, not prisons; and if it be found expedient to send persons, who have become insane under conviction, to such asylums, it would only be humane to pardon them previous to their re-

^{*} Inquiry into the Proper Classification and Treatment of Criminal Lunatics. Op. Cit. p. 57.

moval. Let their crime be considered expiated; and the stigma attached to them removed. Their insanity may be justly urged in extenuation of further punishment; the greater calamity which it has pleased Providence to inflict upon them may plead in mitigation of the sentence against them being carried out to the utmost rigour of the law; and, upon liberation, their relations or friends, if possessing adequate means, might provide for them, without allowing them to be sent to a county asylum, whereby their respective parishes may become burthened with their future maintenance.

In vindication of this suggestion, I may also observe, that the medical officers, connected with our public prisons, are men of undoubted professional skill and experience,-many of them, indeed, enjoying a high status in their profession,—and that they are fully competent to deal with a disease which may, it is well known, by active treatment, be cut short in its early stages. It should be added that, while under temporary treatment in prison, this class of persons would still be under the supervision of the Commissioners in Lunacy: it being provided by 8 & 9 Vict., c. 100, sec. 110, (which has not been repealed,) "that two or more of the Commissioners (one of whom shall be a Physician or Surgeon, and the other a Barrister) shall once a year, or oftener, visit every Asylum for Lunatics,

and every Gaol in which there is a Lunatic."*
But to this point I shall presently return.

In the general management of Criminal Lunatics, I would strongly recommend their being induced to occupy themselves in some kind of productive employment, consonant with their former habits and stations in life. It is lamentable to see healthy and strong men sauntering listlessly about the wards or airing-courts of asylums, lounging away in idleness the remnant of their existence. Every description of occupation has, in cases of insanity, a curative tendency. It is inconceivable how much bodily exertion promotes mental activity; - "I must walk," said Rousseau, "if I have to think;" —it matters little what the employment may be: the object is to engage the attention, and thereby divert the mind from its delusions. In Dr. Forbes Winslow's excellent Journal of Psychological Medicine—which is a valuable répertoire of all the current observations and facts connected with insanity which are worthy of being recorded—there appears a Letter, by Mr. Charles Pearson, the late Member for Lambeth, -to which I have referred in my last Annual Report of Bethlehem Hospital,—in which

^{* &}quot;The new Statutes relating to Lunacy, comprising the Law relating to Pauper Lunatics, with the Practice and Practical Forms very fully given; also the Law respecting Lunatic Asylums, Public and Private." By John Frederick Archbold, Barrister-at-Law. London, 1854. P. 272.

he proposes that any Legislative enactment passed for the benefit of Criminal Lunatics, should provide for occupation being made compulsory. "I am of opinion," he observes, "that it would be just and proper to empower the Government authorities, to whom the custody of Criminal Lunatics is committed, to exact from the healthy and ablebodied a certain amount of labour, suited to their age, strength, and previous state and condition. Why should Mc Naughten and Oxford be maintained in idleness for the remainder of their days? They are competent to maintain themselves, and ought, in my judgment, to be required to do so."* There can be no doubt that constant employment has, in all cases a salutary effect, and tends greatly to promote mental restoration.

In a financial point of view also, employment encouraged upon productive principles, would relieve the funds of the asylum, and render such establishments, in a great measure, self-supporting. Due regard, however, must be paid to the capacities—physical and mental—of the patient, whose strength should not, for the sake of any pecuniary advantage which the institution may derive, be overtaxed. Indeed, considering these unfortunate persons are patients, suffering under

^{*} Journal of Psychological Medicine. Edited by Forbes Winslow, M.D., D.C.L. Vol. I., p. 188. London, 1851.

a grievous disease, I am doubtful whether occupation of any description should be made compulsory; and, from my own experience, I believe that a very slight amount of encouragement would induce the majority to employ themselves voluntarily, particularly if persuaded to do so kindly. We have, however, in Bethlehem this difficulty to contend with,-that if our Criminal Lunatics were employed in any out-door work, they would come into contact with other patients; they might, however, were the principle of productive employment recognised by the Secretary of State, be supplied with means of additional occupation beyond what they at present amuse themselves with; and many would gladly bestir themselves if they were given to understand that they would derive any advantage from their industry.

Under any circumstances, whatever system of moral management be adopted in the treatment of Criminal Lunatics, it should be characterised by the greatest possible amount of kindness and benevolence. They are as a class, owing to the *tristesse* of their position, more sensitive, more susceptible, and more excitable than ordinary patients, and many of them endure more mental suffering. It is impossible to imagine the sad thoughts and painful associations which may, with the returning light of reason, or during a lucid interval, recur to the mind of these afflicted persons, who may be fully

conscious, and bitterly lament the wrong which they may recollect having committed. Many who are partially recovered become victims of melancholia—"Io! vaga tristis Orestes!" It was suggested by Horace himself, that the most atrocious crimes which were invented by the genius of heathen fiction might be exculpated upon the plea of insanity.

"An tu reris eum occisa insannîsse parente?

Ac non antè malis dementem actum Furiis, quàm
In matris jugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?

Quin, ex quo est, habitus male tutæ meutis Orestes
Nil sanè fecit quod tu reprêndere possis."*

The liberation of Criminal Lunatics upon recovery, suggests a very serious and difficult subject for consideration; inasmuch as the greatest possible precaution should be taken that the safety of the public shall not be endangered by their being prematurely discharged. We have to bear in mind a very important statistical fact ascertained by Dr. Thurnham, viz., that the liability to a relapse or recurrence of insanity, after recovery from a first attack, all things considered, can scarcely be estimated at less than 50 per cent., or one on every two cases

* "Do you imagine that Orestes grew mad after the parricide, and was not distracted and haunted by execrable Furies before he warmed the pointed dagger in his mother's blood? Nay, from the time that you supposed him out of his senses, he really did nothing that you can blame." This curious passage occurs, Sat. 3, Book ii., L. 134, et. seq. Matthias Gesner subjoins the following note—"Furor non fuit pæna parricidii sed causa." Edinburgh. Ed. 1806. P. 377.

discharged. "In round numbers," says Dr. Thurnham, "of ten persons attacked by insanity, five recover, and five die sooner or later during the attack. Of the five who recover not more than two remain well during the rest of their lives; the other three sustain subsequent attacks, during which two at least of them die."* This liability to relapse, the prognosis of which can only be determined by the history of every case being carefully considered, must, in regard to Criminal Lunatics, be viewed in connection with the nature of the offence which they may have committed. The complaint has been, and I believe still is made, that Criminal Lunatics are detained in County Asylums, and in other places, not only long after they have perfectly recovered, but for a longer period than they would have been imprisoned if the judgment of the court had been pronounced in the usual way upon their conviction, without being stayed by the plea of insanity. Here again we must, I repeat, come back to some principle of classification. It may be

^{*} Statistics of Insanity, Op. Cit., pp. 121-123. Dr. Thurnham very justly adds that, "although the picture is an unfavourable one, it is very far from justifying the popular prejudice that insanity is virtually an incurable disease: the view which it presents is much modified by the long intervals which often occur between the attacks; during which intervals of mental health, in many cases of from ten to twenty years duration, the individual has lived in all the enjoyments of social life,"

very proper, and indeed it is only just, to liberate upon their recovery from insanity persons who may have committed certain offences without violence or malice; but in cases of murder, or attempts to murder under aggravated circumstances, particularly when the life of the Sovereign may have been assailed, the same course cannot with safety be adopted. It would be very hazardous to entrust such persons again with their liberty; three out of five may in the ordinary course of nature, as we have seen, relapse, and then the homicidal propensity recurring, other lives may be endangered.

Even Mr. Sampson, who conceives that the commission of crime is the result of some peculiar organization of the brain, and who, consequently, repudiates the idea of any punishment being inflicted upon criminals, admits that "the crime of murder should involve, as its penalty, the doom of perpetual imprisonment." He argues very justly that "although a person by whom it has once been committed may be apparently cured of the tendency, it can never be safely predicated that the impulse may not again arise under the sudden impulse of external excitement. He must be kept from temptation, because the maniacal tendency may always be presumed to lurk in the system; and even if the patient were to be so far brought back to habits of self-controul as to be no longer dangerous, the possibility of his transmitting the fatal tendency to

another generation should never be permitted. Although, therefore, in cases of murder, the confinement of the patient should be effected with as much humanity as possible, it should never under any pretence be remitted. Every effort should be made to bring him to that state which should induce him to acknowledge the justice of his fate, and to be sensible that it is inflicted out of regard both for the welfare of himself and of society, and that revenge has no voice in the administration of his doom. That these measures would operate powerfully in deterring others from the commission of the crime by which they became necessary, is well instanced in the suppression of the regicidal mania which existed in France during the reign of Louis Philippe. In the early instances, the usual impolitic course of a revengeful trial and a sanguinary death was resorted to by the authorities; it was not until that course was abandoned, and one of the offenders was consigned to the obscurity of a private madhouse that the regicidal epidemic appears to have been stayed." *

It has also been stated—and the charge I have reason to believe has been made with very little consideration—that many of the Criminal Lunatics in Bethlehem Hospital have been there kept in confinement long after they have sufficiently recovered,

^{*} Criminal Jurisprudence—Op. Cit., pp. 114, 115. The italics in the above quotation are Mr. Sampson's.

to be safely entrusted with their liberty.* The case of Hadfield, who lately died, has been repeatedly cited; and it has even been affirmed by a muchrespected medical authority, that upon visiting the criminal wards of the Hospital this man appeared to be sane. Here, however, I would caution the visitors of Asylums that they ought to be very careful what conclusions they draw from seeing patients apparently tranquil and rational. "There are some insane persons (says Esquirol) so reasonable that it is necessary to live with them and to follow them in every action of their life before pronouncing them mad. Some of them know so well how to disguise their situation and to justify their actions that it becomes extremely difficult even for judges to pronounce whether they are insane or not." † How impossible, then, is it for casual visitors, in passing through the wards of a Lunatic Asylum, to form a correct judgment of the real mental state of any of the inmates around them! The same eminent physician — Esquirol — in referring to the liberation of ordinary lunatics, makes the following very just observations: - "Amongst the numerous examples of insane persons, we meet with some individuals

^{*} Vide Appendix to "Martin's Account of Bethlehem Hospital." Loc. cit.

[†] Observations on the Illusions of the Insane, and on the Medico Legal Question of their Confinement. By Esquirol. Edited by W. Liddell.—London, 1833. P. 80.

who recover their reason as soon as they leave their home, and lose it again on their return. When restored to their usual habits, and left to themselves, they give themselves up to excesses, experience contradictions, become angry at what they see, dread the duties and customs of the world, and the bustle of business; a thousand suspicions, troubles, and opposing occupations and feelings exalt or discourage them, and delirium breaks out. I have seen, at the Salpêtrière, women who could only be reasonable in the Hospital, and who anxiously begged to be re-admitted, feeling, after passing some days in their family, that they were about to become ill again."

Upon inquiring into the history of Hadfield, it will be found, that although he had a perfect recollection of every incident connected with his attempt upon the life of George III., and described with much enthusiasm the zeal with which the illustrious Erskine pleaded his defence, expressing the utmost gratitude towards him for his extraordinary exertions upon that memorable occasion; yet, in the recital itself of every trifling detail, he evinced a morbid pleasure not consonant with an exactly sane state of mind. He used to relate with much vivacity and self-satisfaction an anecdote which occurred at the doors of the theatre, which he considered an excellent joke. In consequence of his Majesty's expected visit, an immense concourse of

people had assembled round the pit doors of the theatre, and when they were thrown open, the crowd made a prodigious rush — as might be supposed — into the house, in the midst of which a young woman, immediately behind Hadfield, cried out, "Oh, sir! the handle of your umbrella is running into my breast." "But"—Hadfield was wont to add, laughing—"the handle of my umbrella was the butt end of the pistol!"

There can be no doubt that this man was a very dangerous Lunatic, his homicidal propensities having been excited by religious delusions, which were suggested to his mind by another lunatic, who was a cobbler, named Bannister Truelock. It is impossible to account for the extravagance even of insane delusions. Hadfield imagined that he was to be God, and the cobbler Truelock, Satan, and that a happy change would then take place throughout the world. This millenium, Truelock persuaded Hadfield would be hastened by the death of the reigning Sovereign, and the deluded man forthwith furnished himself with a pistol to accomplish the projected deed. It should be remembered, however, that Hadfield, before this regicidal attempt, had betrayed the most inveterate homicidal propensities. One night he seized his own child - a boy of eight years of age-with the resolution of dashing his brains out, which he was prevented doing by the forcible interposition of the mother; and on several

occasions he threatened to murder his wife.* work entitled "Sketches of Bedlam," I find it stated that "Hadfield was confined, as a maniac, in the old Bethlem, where during his stay he killed a poor maniac named Benjamin Swain, by a stroke over his head, which tumbled him over a form and he died instantly. He contrived to make his escape from old Bethlem, but was apprehended at Dover, and for his better security was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 8th November, 1816, when he was brought here." † As far as the apparent rationality of Hadfield was concerned it can not be received as any criterion of his sanity-or accepted as evidence that the homicidal propensity was at an end and would never recur; he was, from the observations reported to me, by no means considered safe by those who watched him; he was often morose and sullen, gave way to gusts of passion and sudden impulses, which, bearing in mind his previous history, rendered him, in my opinion, a very unfit subject for liberation.

The cases of Oxford and Captain Johnson—the nature of whose offences must be still fresh in

^{*} These particulars are detailed in "Collinson's Treatise on the Law concerning Lunatics and Idiots" 2 vols. London. 1812. Vol. I., p. 487.

^{† &}quot;Sketches in Bedlam; by a Constant Observer; or Characteristic Traits of Insanity." London, Sherwood. 1823. P. 112. It is generally believed that this work was written by the late John Haslam—Author of "Observations on Insanity"—formerly Resident Apothecary at Bethlehem Hospital.

the recollection of the public-have also been made the subject of discussion and remonstrance,* and it has been argued that if their friends are willing to find security, that they shall leave the country upon liberation—it is hard upon them to be still kept in confinement. This proposition, however, if conceded, would not meet the difficulty. It is not easy to imagine any kind of security which shall guarantee the non-return of a man to any particular place when he is free to go where he pleases. But this is not all. If it be proved that he is dangerous at home, would it be consistent or right that the Government authorities should sanction his being sent abroad where it is possible he may carry with him the same homicidal propensity—eradicated as it might have been supposed - and peril the lives of innocent persons who would be utterly ignorant of his antecedents? It may appear very severe to doom a man to perpetual confinement; but in cases where murder has been committed, or malicious attempts to murder have been made, how otherwise can society be protected? It would be indelicate and improper for me to expatiate upon the peculiar features of any case under my charge in Bethlehem; but this much I can very confidently affirm, that the Criminal Lunatics—like other patients—receive every attention and kindness, and are provided with every comfort

^{*} Appendix to the Account of Bethlehem. Op cit.

compatible with their situation. It should also be remembered, in reference to these two men, that if it had not been for the reformation which has recently taken place in the Criminal Laws of this country, which has led to the present mild administration of our penal code, both of them would, unquestionably, have expiated their offences on the scaffold—a circumstance which should disarm the hyper-criticism of those professed champions of humanity, who presume to make animadversions upon the treatment and liberation of this class of patients, without having any knowledge of their mental condition, or any means of appreciating the mischievous consequences which might ensue if their injudicious advice were adopted.

There is one class of sufferers who have a peculiar claim upon our sympathies,—those unfortunate women, so considerately and humanely referred to by Lord St. Leonards,—who in a state of aberration, after confinement, destroy their own offspring. "I will not call it," said the noble Lord, "a crime, but a deed at which humanity shudders; they ought to be placed in a hospital, and treated with the greatest possible care." It is too true, that the most amiable and gentle of her sex may in the agonies of childbirth—or some days afterwards, be attacked with puerperal mania, and commit infanticide. The act having been perpetrated, and the unhappy woman acquitted on the plea of insanity,

she is, we will presume, sent under the Queen's Warrant to Bethlehem. How are such cases to be dealt with? The circumstances under which the fatal deed was perpetrated, the pains of labourthe fever—the delirium—the maniacal paroxysm being clearly proved, do not challenge dispute, or admit of contradiction. Nay, it is well known, that under immediate and active medical treatment this form of insanity is more curable than any other, so that the young woman soon recovers her reason only to discover that she has destroyed her child, and must be treated virtually as a prisoner for the remainder of her life. Nothing can be more truly melancholy and pitiable than her position—but what is to be done? In her very next accouchement she is liable to a repetition of the same attack, notwithstanding every medical and domestic care may be taken that she shall be properly treated, kept quiet, and continually watched. It would be the highest inhumanity and injustice, if upon her recovery, the sense of being under the ban of punishment were added to her bereavement and affliction: but it is necessary that this poor creature should be taken care of and protected, as it were, - even from herself. How is this to be effected?

It has been well shown by Dr. Tilt, that the development and decline of the ovarian and uterine functions at the two great epochs of woman's life, materially affect her moral and mental condition; and it has occurred to me that after what is familiarly called "the change of life" has taken place, when the phenomena connected with uterogestation are no longer liable to be called into action, these unfortunate women may, in many cases, be safely entrusted with their liberty. We must, however, draw a distinction between the insane act, arising from a homicidal propensity, which may never thoroughly be suppressed, and an act which is the manifest consequence of a temporary attack of puerperal mania, the recurrence of which can only take place at, or soon after, the period of child-birth. It is observed by Dr. Tilt, that after the change of life, "women are no longer hampered by a bodily infirmity periodically returning; they are less subject to be led astray by a too ardent imagination, or by wild flights of passion ever rising to be conquered, and the faculties of the mind become endowed with new vigour." * Happy should I be if this suggestion were the cause of any of these unfortunate persons being liberated; -no class of patients upon the recovery of their reason endure greater misery; —and grateful would they be if they were permitted to pass the evening of their life in the society of those who may be dearest to them.

The last suggestion which I will venture to make

^{*} Elements of Health and Female Hygiene. By E. J. Tilt, M.D. London, 1852. P. 343.

is, that the Criminal Lunatics of the country should be placed more immediately under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy, who should be armed with powers they do not at present possess. The position, indeed, of Criminal Lunatics is extremely anomalous. The Secretary of State is the head of the administration of the Criminal Department of Government; and the Commission in Lunacy—under the Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State—is at the head of the Lunacy Department. When, therefore, the Secretary of State issues his warrant for the confinement of a Criminal Lunatic in an Asylum, the man is in reality transferred to the department of the Commissioners in Lunacy, who have the immediate supervision of Lunatics of every description, whether confined in Asylums, Hospitals, Prisons, Workhouses, or living, as single patients, in unlicensed Houses. When, by virtue of his being a convicted prisoner, the Secretary of State sends a criminal to a Lunatic Asylum to be cured of his insanity, it appears to me that the functions of the Secretary of State, as respects the lunacy of this man, are at an end; - no longer a prisoner, he is now placed under the medical and moral treatment adopted in Asylums under the jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy. It is not to be supposed that the Secretary of State can enter into a variety of details connected with the subsequent treatment of the case; - he may, it is

true, and frequently does, institute special inquiries;
—but more than this is required.

Experience proves, that immediate and personal supervision is desirable in all lunatic asylums; the Commissioners in Lunacy, therefore, ought to have the same jurisdiction over this class of patients as they have over other patients. They visit the asylums in which they are confined; they see and converse with them, and may observe how they are progressing; but they are not empowered to give any directions respecting their removal or discharge upon recovery. The Act of Parliament specially exempts them from having this power; and the result is, that Criminal Lunatics, who have recovered their reason, remain in confinement, without notification of the circumstance being sent (as required by the Act of Parliament) to the Secretary of State.* Accordingly I would beg to suggest, that the Commissioners in Lunacy should have the same jurisdiction over Criminal as over other Lunatics; that they should be empowered to require the superintendents and medical officers of asylums to make a special return, at stated periods, to them of the bodily and mental state of health of every Criminal Lunatic so confined; and, that the Com-

^{*} The neglect doubtless rests with the asylum authorities; that it does occur is certain;—and the Commissioners, having this power vested in them, would ensure the objects contemplated by the Act 3 & 4 Vict., c. 54, being carried into effect.

missioners in Lunacy should be authorised to communicate with the Secretary of State on the subject, in order that such measures may be taken as might be deemed necessary for the discharge or removal of those who have recovered. The expediency of liberating Criminal Lunatics, under certain circumstances, upon recovery, has been well established by the experience of the Inspectors of Lunacy in Ireland. They state, in their last Report, that, "on mature consideration of the subject, they are inclined to think, that were it merely to serve by way of example, and as an encouragement to good conduct, it would be advisable occasionally to liberate recovered patients; but not without a minute examination into the antecedents of each case, and with a scrupulous regard to the feelings and just prejudices of the public."*

It only remains for me briefly to recapitulate the principal suggestions which I have now had the honor of making; they are as follows:—

First—That in the distribution of Criminal Lunatics a principle of classification should be recognized, and that the highest class of offenders should, under the Queen's Warrant, be confined, either in Bethlehem or in some other recognized State Asylum.

^{*} Lunatic Asylums, Ireland. Sixth General Report of the District Criminal and Private Lunatic Asylums in Ireland: with Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament. Dublin, 1853. P. 15.

- Second—That Criminal Lunatics who have committed offences of a minor description, should be confined under the Secretary of State's Warrant in the County Asylums which are established in the Counties to which they respectively belong.
 - Third—That—for the reasons above assigned,—
 it being inexpedient to erect a Central
 Lunatic Asylum; every County Asylum
 should be required to provide a special
 ward and airing-court in connection
 with it, where the safe custody of this
 class of patients shall be ensured.
- Fourth—That the association of Criminal Lunatics with other patients must depend upon circumstances, which should be left to the discretion of the Superintendent or Medical Officer of the Asylum, whose reasons for allowing such association should in every case be submitted to the Commissioners in Lunacy for their consideration and approval.
 - Fifth—That Convicts becoming insane in prisons should not be sent to County Asylums, but that a criminal ward, or some other appropriate place, in connection with the infirmary of the Prison, should be

appointed for the confinement of such patients, who should be placed under the immediate charge of the Medical Officer of the Prison, and there remain under his treatment until the term of their imprisonment has expired; a report of the case being at the same time forwarded to the Commissioners in Lunacy, to be by them transmitted to the Secretary of State.

Sixth—That Criminal Lunatics, when received into Lunatic Asylums by the Warrant of the Secretary of State, should be placed under the immediate jurisdiction of the Commissioners in Lunacy, who should be empowered to require periodical reports from the Superintendents and Medical Officers of such Asylums respecting their bodily and mental state of health. Furthermore, that the Commissioners in Lunacy should be empowered to take measures for the discharge of such Criminal Lunatics as recover their reason, whether by reporting their state of sanity to the Secretary of State, or otherwise; - and that they should have the entire control over the classification and general management of this class of patients.

It only remains for me to add, that I submit these suggestions with great deference to the consideration and judgment of the Legislature and the authorities connected with the administration of the Laws of Lunacy, in the full assurance that,—desirous of ameliorating the condition of all classes of insane persons—they will readily listen to any propositions which may be made with a view of removing the evils and inconveniences attendant upon the present distribution of our Criminal Lunatics; and that they will duly appreciate any practical measures which can be devised for organizing a better system for their future provision.

APPENDIX I.

(to page 15.)

COPY OF THE QUEEN'S WARRANT FOR THE CONFINEMENT OF CRIMINAL LUNATICS IN BETHLEHEM AND OTHER ASYLUMS.

WHEREAS, was Indicted for and being found by a Jury duly taken in that behalf, to be Insane, the Court in pursuance of the Act of Parliament made and passed in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of King George the Third, did order the said to be kept in strict custody until our pleasure should be known. And whereas humble suit hath been been made unto us to be graciously pleased to order the said to be removed from the Gaol of WE, taking the premises into our royal consideration, do, by virtue of the before mentioned Act, hereby signify our pleasure, that you do receive the said from the said Gaol, and keep * * in custody in the said Lunatic Asylum, until our further pleasure shall be known: and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at St. James's the * * day of * * 18 in the * * Year of our Reign.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved
The * * *

* By her Majesty's command.
and all others whom it may concern.

COPY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S WARRANT.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE * *

One of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State,

&c. &c. &c.

Whereas, by an Act passed in the 6th and 7th years of Her Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act for regulating the Prison at Millbank," It is enacted, that if any Convict in the said Prison shall become, or found, to be Insane during such confinement, upon the certificate of two Physicians or Surgeons, and shall be so reported by the Inspectors to one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, it shall be lawful for such Secretary of State, by warrant under his hand, to order that such Insane Convict shall be forthwith sent to such Lunatic Asylum as the said Secretary of State may think proper; and Whereas the Inspectors of the said Prison have reported to me that

I do, hereby, in pursuance of the before mentioned Act, authorize and require you to receive the said * * from the said Prison at Millbank, and keep * * in custody in the Criminal Lunatic Asylum in St. George's Fields, in the County of Surrey, there to remain until further order shall be made herein: and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the * * * * day of * * in the * * year of Her Majesty's Reign.

To the Right Worshipful the President and Treasurer, and the Worshipful the Governors of Bethlem Hospital, and all others whom it may concern. COPY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S WARRANT.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE * * * *

one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council,
and Principal Secretary of State,
&c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS, by an Act passed in the third and fourth years of the reign of her present Majesty, intituled "An Act for making "further provision for the confinement and maintenance of Insane "Prisoners:" It is enacted, "That if any person while impri-"soned in any prison or other place of confinement, under any " sentence of death, transportation, or imprisonment, or under a "charge of any offence, or for not finding bail for good behaviour, " or to keep the peace, or to answer a criminal charge, or in con-" sequence of any summary conviction, or order by any Justice or "Justices of the Peace, or under any other than civil process, " shall appear to be insane, it shall be lawful for any two Justices " of the Peace of the county, city, borough, or place, where such " person is imprisoned, to inquire, with the aid of two Physicians " or Surgeons, as to the insanity of such person; and if it shall "be duly certified by such Justices, and such Physicians or Sur-" geons, that such person is insane, it shall be lawful for one of "her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon receipt of "such certificate, to direct by warrant under his hand that such "person shall be removed to such County Lunatic Asylum, or "other proper receptacle for insane persons as the said Secretary " of State may judge proper and appoint."

And whereas, it has been certified to me, under the hands of

* * * two Justices of the

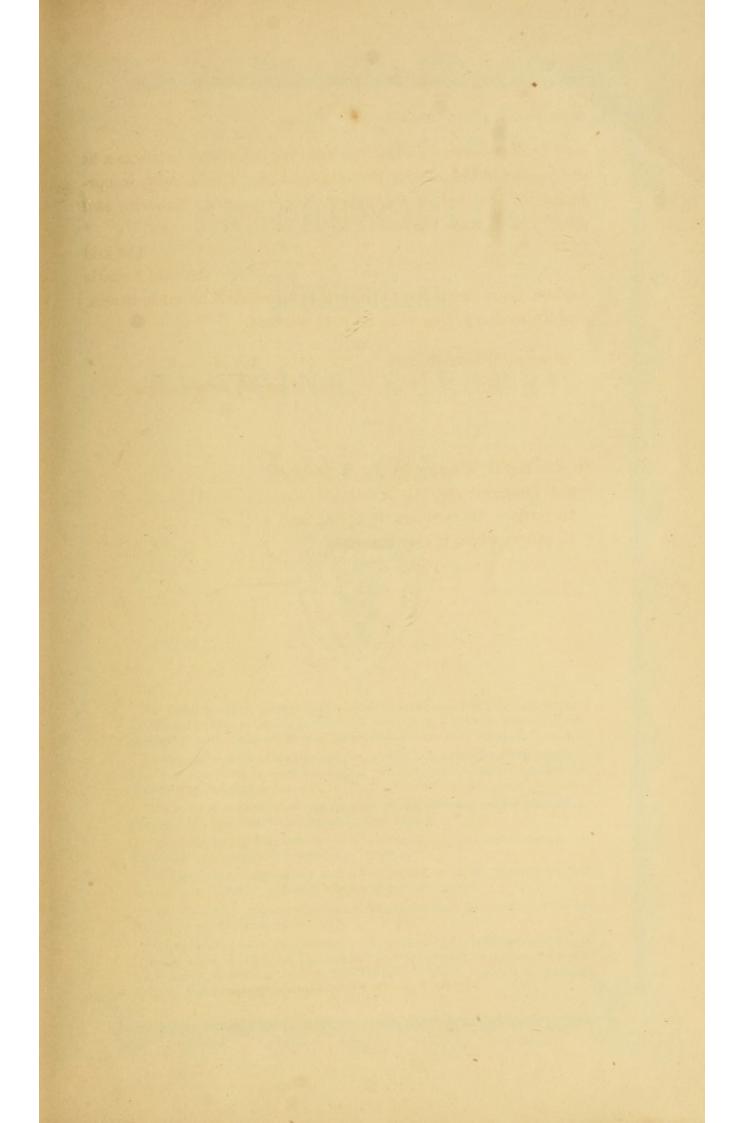
Peace, and under the hands of * * * *

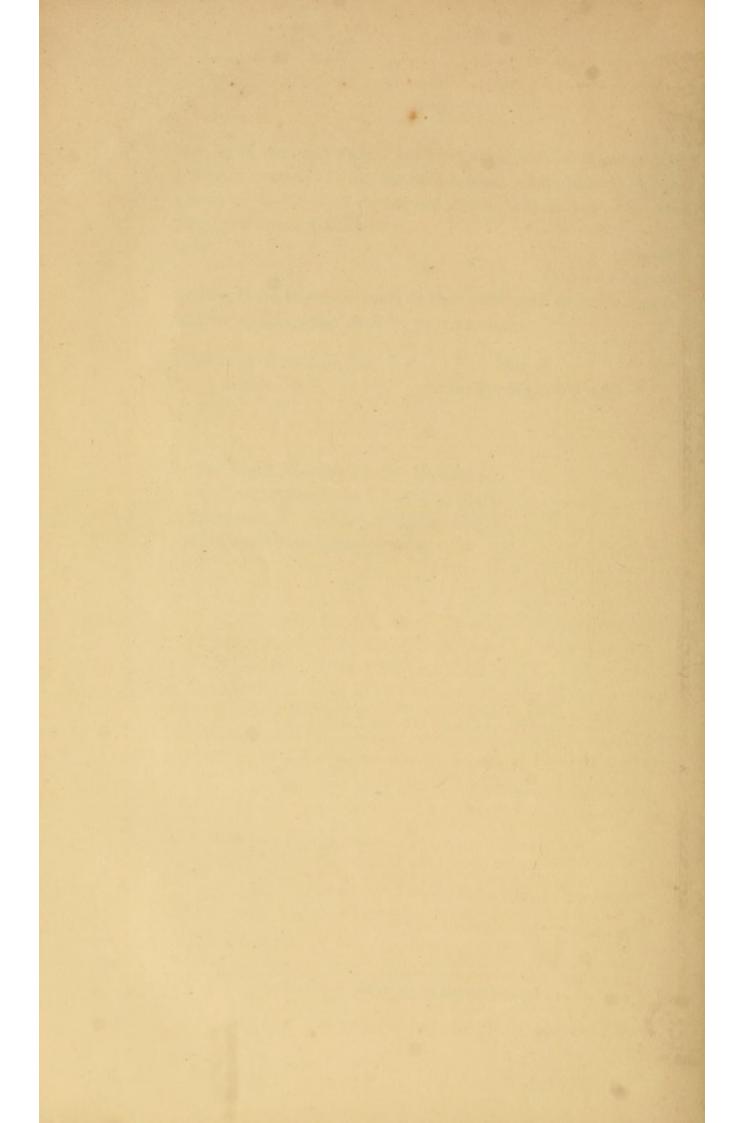
being persons authorized as aforesaid, that * * *

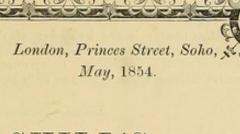
ha become insane.—And whereas, the Criminal Lunatic Asy-

Given at Whitehall, the * * day of * * in the * * year of her Majesty's reign.

To the Right Worshipful the President and Treasurer and the Worshipful the Governors of Bethlem Hospital, and all others whom it may concern.







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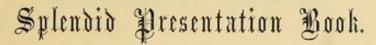
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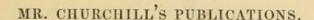
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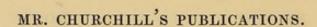
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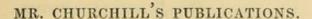
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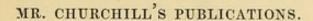
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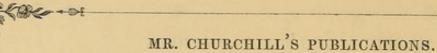
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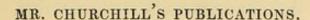
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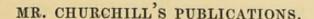
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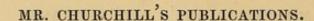
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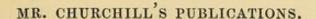
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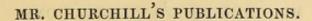
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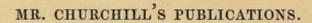
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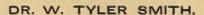
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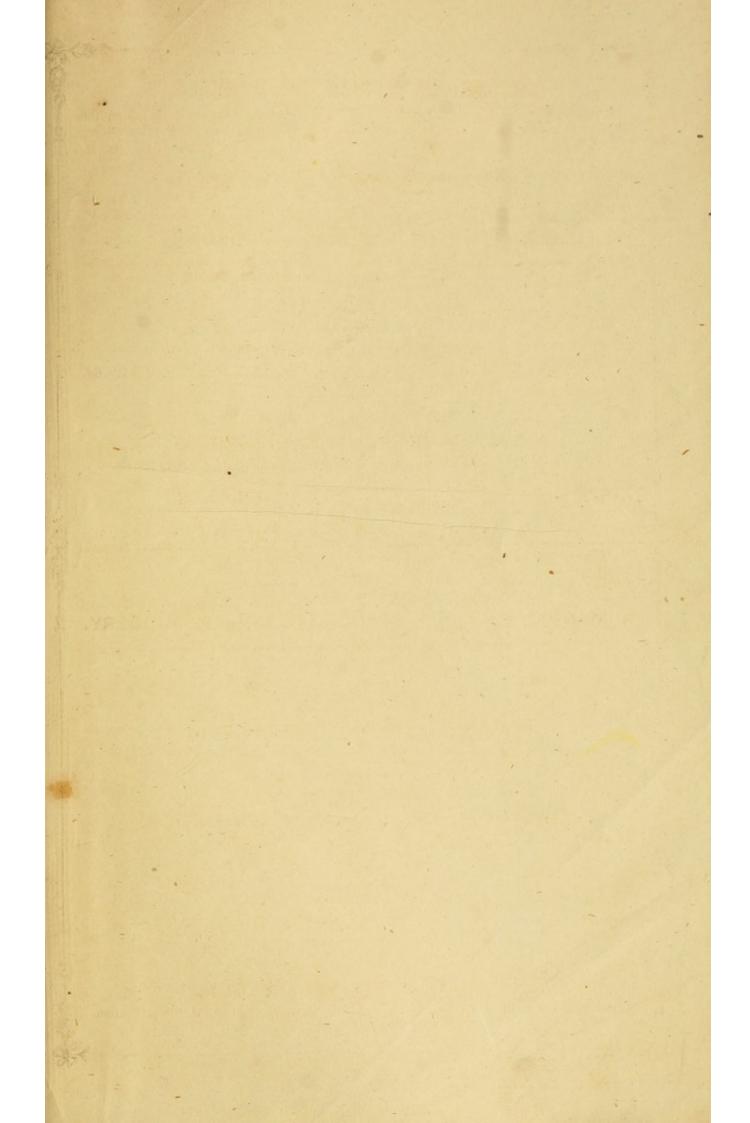
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