Gray, Jonathan, 1779-1837.

A History of the York Lunatic Asylum...1815.

A HISTORY OF THE York Lunatic Asylum.

Price 4s.

HISTORY

OF THE

York Lunatic Asylum:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE ON THE CASES OF ABUSE LATELY INQUIRED INTO BY A COMMITTEE, &c.

ADDRESSED TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esquire,

One of the Contributors to LUPTON's FUND.

York:

PRINTED BY W. HARGROVE AND CO., HERALD-OFFICE;

FOR J. WOLSTENHOLME, YORK;

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PICCADILLY, LONDON.

1815.

To William Wilberforce, Esq.

Dear Sir,

When I had the pleasure of seeing you last spring, you expressed considerable interest in the proceedings at the Asylum, of which you had heard rumours, and you were desirous of further information.

The Dean of Carlisle happened to be in this neighbourhood in the autumn of 1813, *when a controversy respecting the Quaker's Retreat and the Asylum first appeared in the newspapers—he predicted that good would arise out of it—and has since been particular in his inquiries as to the result. It may be presumed that there are many other persons to whom a fuller account would be acceptable, than a conversation—a private letter—or detached newspaper paragraphs can afford.*

Several pamphlets have, however, already appeared on the subject, which I ought to mention to you.

The first of these was, A Letter from Mr. Higgins to Earl Fitzwilliam, on the subject of the abuses in the Asylum.—*To this letter there is subjoined a copious and very useful Appendix, containing the whole of the report of the Committee of Inquiry, into rules and management—the new rules of the institution—and every official document on the subject of the Asylum, which appeared from November,* 1813, *to September,* 1814, *the period at which Mr. Higgins published his letter.*

The next publication was, A few free remarks on Mr. Higgins's publications—by Corrector.

To this succeeded—A Vindication of Mr. Higgins from the Charges of Corrector—by a New Governor of the Asylum.

And lastly—Retaliation—or Hints to some of the Governors of the Asylum—by Mr. Atkinson, the late Apothecary.

You will naturally ask, why—after so much has been written on the subject, that the public is said to be weary of it—I should attempt to add more?—I answer, that each of these publications relates only to a limited part of the History of the institution.

Mr. Higgins *was unacquainted with the Asylum, and its affairs, until the circumstance which brought it to his notice about fifteen months ago—His letter details chiefly those transactions in which he himself has taken a part.*

Corrector *has endeavoured to expose what he considers the errors of Mr. Higgins.*

The writer in vindication of Mr. Higgins, *has taken a more extended view of the subject—still, however, he was necessarily in a great measure confined by his professed object, to a further elucidation of those proceedings, in which Mr. Higgins had taken a share.*

Mr. Atkinson's *object, is to show the injustice with which he conceives that himself, as Apothecary, and his wife as Housekeeper, have been treated.*

You will perceive, therefore, that to any person desirous of information respecting the History of the Asylum in general, a more comprehensive account was wanting, than can be obtained from any, or all of these pamphlets.—Some of them, however, contain interesting details and explanations; and I refer you to them generally—and particularly to Mr. Higgins's Appendix—for further information.

I am, Dear Sir,

with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient Servant,

JONA: GRAY.

York, Feb. 3, 1815.

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HISTORY

OF THE

YORK LUNATIC ASYLUM.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Asylum, during the Life of Dr. Hunter.

THIS charitable institution originated in a public advertisement, dated the 7th August, 1772, signed by the late Lord Archbishop Drummond, and twenty-four gentlemen of the county of York, including the late Dr. Hunter. Sensible of the deplorable situation of many *poor lunatics* IN THIS EXTENSIVE COUNTY, who have no other support but what a needy parent can bestow, or a thrifty parish officer provide, they recommended a subscription towards erecting a public edifice, for the reception of such unhappy people.

On the 27th August, 1772, a very respectable meeting was in consequence held at the Castle—the Archbishop in the chair; and his Grace, after explaining the nature of the meeting, proposed a subscription for the erecting a suitable building for the reception of lunatics, "*being either parish poor, or belonging to distressed and indigent families.*"

This proposal was unanimously approved of; the sum of 2500l. was immediately subscribed, and a Committee appointed to further the view of the subscribers. An inquiry was shortly afterwards made, by the Committee, into the number of lunatics within the three Ridings of the county of York; and the returns made were "so numerous and alarming," that the Committee called a general meeting on the 30th of July, 1773, when it was resolved that the late Alderman Carr should be desired to give in a plan of a building, the body of *which might contain* 54 *patients*, with the power of extending two wings backward on any future occasion.

On the 25th August, 1773, Mr. Carr's plan was approved of, and agreed to be carried into execution; and an *advertisement* was directed to be published, calling for further subscriptions and benefactions; *and "signifying to the public that the surplus money already subscribed, and also all future subscriptions and benefactions, are intended to be placed out at interest, and the produce applied* TOWARDS THE RELIEF *of parishes and private persons in indigent circumstances sending patients; and that the principal will be applied in enlarging the building, for the reception of more patients,* IF WANTED."

This is a quotation verbatim from the Order-book; but such pains have been taken to obliterate it, that there was great difficulty in decyphering the passage.

The obliteration will appear less extraordinary, on reference to Dr. Hunter's subsequent assertions, that the *public fund was never considered to extend beyond the building of the house, and keeping it furnished and repaired, and that parishes were not to be relieved.* (See his letter in the Appendix, p. 2.)

Some doubts may be started as to the genuineness of the obliterated passage, and whether it might not have been erased by order, before the meeting separated. It is

therefore necessary to quote the advertisement which appeared in pursuance of the obliterated resolution, and in which, though the framer of the advertisement has altered *the resolution of the meeting, there is a sufficient recognition of the obliterated passage. The advertisement runs thus :—

" The overplus of the money now subscribed, and all future subscriptions, will be applied in enlarging the building, if requisite ; and in the mean-time will be placed out at interest ; and the produce applied towards the relief of parishes, and private persons in indigent circumstances, by whom patients shall be sent in."

In another advertisement, dated 25th August, 1772, it is stated, " The surplus-money arising from this subscription, after defraying the expenses of the necessary buildings, &c. will be applied towards constituting a fund for the maintenance of the patients."

And in a subsequent advertisement, dated April 24, 1777, " Should the subscriptions fortunately exceed the charge of the necessary buildings and furniture, in that case the overplus-money will be converted into a fund for lessening the weekly payments of the patients."

On the 11th March, 1774, Drs. Hunter, Withers, Swainston, and Wallis, reported as follows :—

" Upon the supposition that 54 patients will constantly be in the house, we are of opinion, that † *one head keeper, one matron, three men servants, and three women servants,* with the assistance of such patients as are quiet and governable, will be sufficient for all the necessary business

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* In the original resolution, a fund for the poor is the *prominent* object ; and buildings are *secondary*. In the *advertisement* the order is reversed.

† The number of attendants in 1813, was precisely the same for 200 patients as the four Physicians in 1774 had thought necessary for 54.

of the house. As much depends upon the care and abilities of the *House Apothecary*, we recommend to the Committee to procure a person for that office, who has been brought up at Bedlam, or St. Luke's."

In April, 1777, an advertisement appeared in the newspapers, stating, that the expense of the main building, and of the necessary offices, had so far exceeded the estimate, that they could not be finished and furnished in the plainest manner, nor could the bills already brought in be fully discharged, without an additional sum of money.

In the same month, an "Earnest Application" was addressed to the public, concerning the state of the Asylum, soliciting donations. It is here stated, "That no attending Physician or Surgeon will receive either fee or reward, as long as the Hospital continues to receive only paupers, or persons in low and indigent circumstances, agreeable to the original design of the charity."

On the 20th of September, 1777, apartments were opened for the reception of ten patients, at 8s. per week each: and the following salutary rule was adopted at the meeting that day:—"No keeper or hired servant of the Asylum to accept any money or other gratuity for his or her own use, on the behalf of any patient, on any pretence whatever."

On the 21st of September, (the day after the Asylum was opened,) a meeting of the Committee took place;—present—Dr. Hunter, Mr. Johnson, Re . Mr. Preston, two Messrs. Jubb, and Dr. Wallis. On this occasion, the following resolution was passed:—

"It is the sense of this Committee, that it is most proper to have one Physician only, for the Asylum, and Dr. Hunter being desired to attend as such, he *consented thereto*."

In this resolution, as in a former one, there are some

erasures; and the clause "*until the next general meeting*" seems to have formerly concluded the sentence:—"though there is considerable difficulty in ascertaining precisely what the words have been.—In point of fact, however, Dr. Hunter's appointment by this Committee, although never confirmed, must have been acquiesced in by the Governors at large.

The whole of the donations having been exhausted in the buildings, there remained no fund for the maintenance of the patients: and hence the indigent were virtually excluded. —A jealousy began to exist in the minds of the public, that as the additional sums from time to time subscribed, continued to be expended in buildings, the intention of the foundation would be wholly frustrated. Lady Gower and other benevolent ladies, therefore, about the year 1778, contributed liberal donations to the charity, under this express condition, that the money should be applied "*for the relief of patients only;*" (i. e. not laid out in buildings.) By means of these donations, there was established in the year 1778, a fund called the "Reduction Fund;" the principal of which was vested in the public funds; and the dividends were to be applied in reducing the weekly payments of those patients, in low circumstances, who pay for themselves, and have no parish relief.

Still, however, the assistance afforded by this fund was extremely inadequate to the purpose; the weekly charges were higher than persons in distressed circumstances could afford to pay; and many parishes would not be at the expense of maintaining their paupers in the Asylum. Hence the number of patients continued to be small.—This state of the institution led to an important change of system. It was determined at the August meeting, 1784*, that

* 1784 is the date of some useful directions for the subordinate officers and servants.

a limited number of patients of a "*superior*" or "*opulent*" class, or as they are sometimes described, patients "*in easy circumstances,*" or "*of a better condition,*"—should be admitted at a suitable rate of payment;—in order "*to create the means of relieving the necessitous.*"

This plan, though unexceptionable in itself, was liable to abuses, and required extreme vigilance in its execution. A resolution was at the same meeting passed, that a Committee of 7 should be appointed, *the Physician to be one;* and that any two of this Committee should have the power of fixing the payments of the patients. Till this period, Dr. Hunter had been Physician *gratis;* and had he continued so, the vigilance of the Committee might have been a sufficient guard against abuses. But after opulent patients had gained admission, it was soon discovered that it would be highly unreasonable to expect from the Physician a gratuitous attendance on these, who, as it is observed, "would *in another place* have been his own *private patients.*"

Dr. Hunter was therefore *requested* by the Governors at the August meeting 1785, "to do justice to his own interest by receiving from the friends of such patients the reasonable emoluments of his profession:" and by one of the rules it was ordered "that such patients shall pay reasonable fees to the Physician for his attendance."

From this period, the influence of the Physician upon the Committee must have been injurious; and after three or four years we cease to hear of any Committee.

To what number the opulent class was originally restricted does not appear; it certainly was limited; but a blot of ink has obliterated the word in the Order-book: No doubt the Physician would be inclined to admit as many opulent patients as possible.

The salutary regulation against the taking of presents

by the servants was presently repealed. It had been ordered that a board should be put up in the Hall to prohibit any money being given; but on the 7th July, 1785, it was resolved that this Order, "and the proceedings therein had been rescinded."

There is a resolution soon after this period of rather a curious nature.

"The Committee having taken into their consideration the present improved state of this Asylum, and the present stock of the County Hospital at York, are of opinion, that the Annual Sermon * which has for many years been preached by some benevolent clergyman, may after this year be discontinued; and that it would be desirable that the same favour be for the future desired for the benefit of the County Hospital."

Dr. Hunter had not enjoyed for more than two years the privilege of taking fees, when he requested the Governors to allow him as an experiment, a salary of 200 *l.* for one year, in lieu of fees. The Doctor's letter on this occasion deserves attention, and is inserted in the Appendix, page 1.

This proposition appears to have originated in upright as well as prudential motives. Though the patients of the highest class have been termed "*affluent*," the amount of their payments has doubtless been exaggerated by report; and the amount probably never averaged more than a guinea and a half per week for each patient.

It is not uncommon for patients possessing an income of from 300 l. to 500 l. per annum, to be placed in such establishments at a payment of a guinea or a guinea and a half per week: deprived of those comforts to which

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* The Sermon always produced from 80 *l.* to 120 *l.*:—but probably the friends of opulent patients might revolt at the mention of a Charity Sermon.

they have been accustomed. It is not probable that those who from mercenary motives place their friends in such establishments as the Asylum, at a payment of less than 100l. per annum, for board, lodging, and medicines, would be liberal in their fees to the Physician. Dr. Hunter would find a difficulty in obtaining even those "moderate and reasonable" fees which the Governors had sanctioned. "Hitherto," (observes the Doctor, in a long explanatory letter, dated 5th January, 1788) "these fees have been *moderate indeed.*" Unless, therefore, the Physician were to violate the rules of the Institution, and abuse the confidence of the Governors, by appropriating to himself a portion of the payments to the Charity, there was no alternative but the proposition of a fixed salary. Dr. Hunter hints broadly at the temptations thrown in his way by the existing plan. "Taking fees at the discretion of the attending Physician from patients of better condition, may at a future period be attended with *bad consequences.*" And again, in his letter of the 5th January, 1788, speaking of fees.—"*I do not approve of a discretional power of that nature being in the hands of any man.*" In return for the abolition of fees, the Doctor advised, that the payments of the affluent patients should be increased, for the benefit of the general fund; and that from this fund an equitable and determinate sum should be given to the Physician, in the room of fees.

This proposal of Dr. Hunter was adopted for a year; at the end of which, probably the income of the Institution was found inadequate to meet the salary. It is also well known, that Earl Fitzwilliam and others of the old Governors, objected against a salary to the Physician from the funds, conceiving that the attendance on the poorer classes ought to be gratis. On one or both of these grounds, probably—the Governors on the 23d August, 1788, *requested* the

Physician, "*henceforth to receive such moderate and reasonable* FEES *from the class of* AFFLUENT *patients,* AS HE WAS ACCUSTOMED TO RECEIVE HERETOFORE."

It was about this period that the late Rev. Mr. Mason, (Precentor of York) Dr. Burgh, Mr. Withers, and other respectable individuals, were alarmed at the growing influence of the Physician over the proceedings of the Governors. They contended that as parish paupers were originally objects of the charity, the system of charging for the paupers the full amount of their actual maintenance, and of reducing the payments of those indigent patients only who did not receive parish relief, was contrary to the design of the original donors, and was in effect to exclude parish paupers from the Asylum. On the other hand, Dr. Hunter, and the Governors speaking his language, with some reason maintained, that it was more in the true spirit of charity to relieve necessitous individuals, than to ease and accommodate the opulent proprietors and inhabitants of a parish. The Doctor had also a further objection, which with him had doubtless considerable weight, after he had begun to study the accommodation of affluent patients. "I am convinced, (he says) that at no time the payments from the parish poor should be reduced; as under such an alteration, the house would be immediately filled *with the lowest and meanest of the* poor, to the exclusion of those of a middling rank and in low circumstances, for whom the Asylum was originally constructed."

In the admission of the opulent patients, and their emoluments to the Physician, Mr. Mason and his friends imagined they saw the Asylum converted from a public charity, into an hotel, for the reception of persons of condition only. —It appeared to them that the promised advantages did not arise from this change in the constitution; and that the sum appropriated from the surpluses of the affluent to the

relief of the poor, bore no due proportion to the income arising from the former—hence, they suspected that Dr. Hunter did not content himself with fees, but applied a part of the income of the charity to his own use.—The Doctor however had the address to persuade the Governors that these objections arose not from pure or charitable motives, but from personal hostility. The Governors had no suspicion of Dr. Hunter's integrity; they disregarded the remonstrances of Mr. Mason and Dr. Burgh; and the effect produced was only to confirm the power and influence of Dr. Hunter.

It was in 1788 that Mr. Mason published his "Animadversions on the present Government of the York Lunatic Asylum."

At the Annual meeting in August 1788 it was resolved, "that the thanks of this Court be given to Dr. Hunter, the Physician, for his great attention to all the interests of this institution, especially for his assiduous care and successful treatment of the patients; and, *particularly at this time*, for the disinterestedness of his whole conduct from the first establishment of the Asylum to the present day."

Resolved "That the Governors present rely upon the candour of the Subscribers to give credit to their assurances, that no sinister motives ever have influenced or ever can influence their conduct. They trust that all the regulations they have established, and the whole œconomy of the institution, have merited the approbation of every Subscriber; and they hope that all will agree with them in opinion, that such Governors as profess themselves friends to the Asylum, would express their good-will to it much better by attending in their places at the times of meeting, and there giving their advice for the regulation and improvement of the institution, than by prejudicing the minds of the public by their misrepresentations."

Dr. Hunter shortly afterwards published an anonymous answer to Mr. Mason, in a "letter to the Governors."

To Mr. Mason, however, and his friends, the public and the supporters of the charity are indebted for the fund called Lupton's fund, which promises to be of essential service.

The late Rev. Dudley Rockett, (a friend of Mr. Mason) was executor of Mr. Lupton, who left a considerable sum, at the disposal of his executor, to charitable uses. Mr. Mason, on the 1st October, 1789, introduced Mr. Rockett to the Governors as an intended donor to the charity. Mr. Rockett as executor of Lupton, gave a benefaction of 400l.; and Mr. Mason himself 100l.—"to be appropriated SOLELY for the maintenance of Lunatic PARISH PAUPERS, AND OTHER INDIGENT LUNATICS within the City, Ainsty, and County of York." * The dividends were directed to

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* These are the words of the original entry in the Order-book; but after a period of 6 years, Dr. Hunter prevailed on the Governors to erase and alter a part of the clause. Mr. Mason, though a poet and a genius, was, it seems, slovenly and obscure in his use of adverbs; and the Court of Governors is found after an interval of 6 years, sitting in critical judgment on Mr. Mason's style, and shifting the adverb to the end of the sentence.

It now stands thus—"to be appropriated for the maintenance of Lunatic Parish Paupers, and other indigent Lunatics *within the City, Ainsty, and County of York ONLY.*" A Memorandum appears in the margin that the alteration was made in consequence of a verbal order of a General Court, August, 28, 1795. The accurate reader will consider how far the declared intention of Lupton's executor is varied by this alteration. His favourite object certainly was—either—*solely* the MAINTENANCE of lunatics—in opposition to expenses of *buildings and furniture;* or *solely* the maintenance of PARISH PAUPERS AND OTHER INDIGENT LUNATICS—in opposition to that of *the affluent.* But as the sentence now stands, it might in future be supposed to be the particular and pointed object of Lupton's fund to confine its benefits to the "*City, Ainsty, and County of York only.*" This though one of its objects, was comparatively subordinate.

accumulate until the Archbishop of York for the time being should think the fund so considerable that the dividends might be applied to the intended purpose. Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Henry Thornton, Dr. Burgh, and others, shortly afterwards contributed to the same fund.—(See Appendix p. 52.)

The creation of a fund like this, solely for the benefit of the poor, and to be brought into operation, not at the will of the donors, but at some future and indefinite period, at the discretion of the Archbishop of York, can scarcely be attributable to any other than pure and benevolent motives. It was not calculated to affect the system of Dr. Hunter, till long after Hunter himself would probably be no more.

Yet a jealousy was entertained of the fund—In 1791 a rule was passed, excluding future contributors to Lupton's fund and the Reduction fund, from the privileges of Governors, on the alleged ground, that these funds are "intended for partial and not for general purposes." The objects of these funds, however, are precisely those of the original foundation of the charity.—Lupton's fund soon ceased to be noticed in any advertisements, or reports, relating to the charity; nor were the names of contributors to it made public.

In August 1794 a motion, "that a statement of Lupton's fund, from its commencement to the time being, be annually published, together with the general state of the Asylum," was rejected as "FULL OF IMPROPRIETIES!" Under all these discouragements, the fund is gradually though silently accumulating, and it now consists of 7450l. 3 per cents consolidated.

In the year 1790, Dr. Hunter advertised in the newspaper a "House of Retirement, for pers ns of condition only," although he had lately declared in a letter to the Governors, that the Physician's establishing a house of

his own "would evidently counteract the design of the original foundation of the Asylum."

This measure was effected without any notice on the part of the Governors; except a proposal by Mr. Mason in October 1790 that the assertion (which still continued to be made in the quarterly advertisements)—that "*this institution is intended to lessen the number of private mad-houses* *,"—should in future be omitted. Mr. Mason's motion was negatived!

A circumstance, apparently of a trivial nature, was about this period remarkable for the event to which it led. In the year 1791, a female of the Society of Friends was placed in the Asylum; and her family residing at a considerable distance, requested some of their acquaintance to visit her. The visits of these friends were refused, on the ground of the patient not being in a suitable state to be seen by strangers—and, in a few weeks after her admission, death put a period to her sufferings. This circumstance, related by Mr. Samuel Tuke, in his "Description of the Retreat,"

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* Two *public*, and numerous *private* mad-houses, in York and the vicinity have been established—all of them apparently owing their existence to the York Asylum.—The following is a list for 1815.

The Quaker's Retreat—(in the East Riding.)
The Appendage to ditto.—(in the Suburbs of York.)
Hunter's House of Retirement—(now Dr. Best's.)
House on Barker Hill—(Dr. Best.)
House at Clifton—(Dr. Belcombe and Mr. Mather.)
Barker's, in the Groves—(Ditto.)
Midgeley's House, on Lord Mayor's Walk.
House at Upper Helmsley—(Mr. Beal.)
House in Gillygate—(Mr. Backhouse.)
House at Acomb—(Mr. Taylor.)
House at Osbaldwick—(Mr. Hornby.)
House at Heslington —MC. Atkinson.)
House at Acomb—(Mr. Skipwith.

is stated to have first suggested to the Quakers, the propriety of attempting an establishment for persons of their society—which it was shortly afterwards determined to institute.

Mr. Mason and his friends for some time continued their endeavours, to procure some improvement in the management of the Asylum; but their efforts were ineffectual. A specimen or two may suffice.

At the August meeting 1793, Mr. Withers moved that an annual subscription of one guinea and upwards be admitted, for the benefit of the Asylum. This was negatived.

At the August meeting, 1794, Dr Burgh moved "that a Committee be appointed, to inqure into the state of the charity, with respect to its *constitution*, its *management*, its *receipts* and *disbursements*, from its commencement, and that they be required to report the same at the next general annual court." This was also negatived.

From this period, the opponents seem to have abandoned the matter as hopeless. From Lupton's Fund they might indeed expect some advantage at a future and remote period. "Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days"—might afford them some consolation; yet what assurance had they that this fund, being connected with the Asylum, would not be perverted from its intention, and brought under the sole controul of the Physician? It cannot be doubted, therefore, that Mason, and Burgh, and Withers, quitted the world under an impression that their labours in this benevolent cause had been worse than useless, having been repaid only by obloquy and misrepresentation.

1794 is the latest period in which we hear of any opposition to the plans of Dr. Hunter; it is also the latest period in which we hear of visitors. From 1782 to 1794, visitors had been occasionally appointed; *Dr. Hunter being*

however, usually one. From the period that the Governors of the Asylum ceased to be watched, the very name of visitation appears to have been unheard of.

About the year 1795, an extensive wing was added to the building—In 1797 Mr. Surr was elected Steward, and Mr. Atkinson, Apothecary: those offices having before been united in one person—In 1798, Dr. Hunter was induced to wish for an assistant in the superintendence of the Asylum, and of his various private places of confinement for lunatics. On the 14th of October, 1798, Dr. Hunter communicated to the court his intention to instruct a medical gentleman in the practice of the Asylum, and "*to communicate to* HIM ONLY, *the forms of the medicines prepared by himself.*" The Doctor stated that he judged this proceeding necessary to obviate *any inconvenience that might arise from his death or retirement.* The court recommended the proceeding to the consideration of the Annual meeting, being of opinion that *the proposed communication would contribute to the greneral good of such persons, as might at a future time become the objects of the charity.*

The August meeting 1799, permitted the Doctor to take a pupil or pupils.

From 1797 to 1804, there was a gradual diminution in the number of Governors; the average number of new contributors being only two in a year—From 1805 to 1809, in prospect probably of the election of a Physician, there was a considerable annual influx.

In December, 1804, Dr. Best was introduced into the Asylum, as pupil to Dr. Hunter, with the approbation of the Governors, and on this occasion, Dr. Hunter wrote the letter to Mr. C. Atkinson, which is inserted in the Appendix, p. 3. This letter the Governors directed to be inserted in their order-book, and that all the directions contained in it should be observed.

Speaking of Dr. Best, Dr. Hunter says, " to assist his studies in this *obscure branch of medicine,* I mean freely to disclose to him the manner of preparing the different medicines, so successfully made use of at the Asylum; and *of which the composition is unknown to every person but myself.*"

Do the Governors and the public then really believe that Dr. Hunter communicated to his successor the secret of some extraordinary nostrum, for the cure of insanity? —That he could

> —— " Minister to a mind diseased;
> Raze out the written troubles of the brain;
> And with some sweet *oblivious antidote*
> Cleanse the foul bosom of that perilous stuff,
> Which weighs upon the heart?"—

Surely it were better to " throw physic to the dogs," than thus impose upon the credulous.

Number of patients in the Asylum, at different periods, during the life of Dr. Hunter:

1777	10	1793	74
1778	23	1794	80
1779	23	1795	83
1780	28	1796	83
1781	41	1797	85
1782	32	1798	96
1783	39	1799	99
1784	37	1800	112
1785	43	1801	127
1786	47	1802	127
1787	55	1803	130
1788	68	1804	141
1789	72	1805	142
1790	75	1806	150
1791	70	1807	166
1792	74	1808	188

CHAPTER II.

The History continued.—From the accession of Dr. Best, until the decision of the Governors upon the case of Vicars.

WE have seen Dr. Hunter introducing Dr. Best as his pupil; in other words, as his intended successor.—In consequence of Dr. Best's precarious state of health, he was induced, in the autumn of 1808, to remove to Lisbon; and Dr. Hunter became apprehensive that, in the event of his own death, the election might be in favour of Dr. Belcombe, the Physician to the Retreat, against whom he had uniformly avowed an antipathy. He therefore, on the 23d of March, 1809, (a short time before his death,) addressed a paper to the Governors, "respecting the medical regulations of the Asylum;" which was ordered to be taken into consideration at the Annual meeting in August. In this paper, *(which cannot now be found)* he is understood to have recommended the appointment of three Physicians, with fixed salaries, in lieu of fees; and that they should be graduates of one of the English Universities, or of Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dublin. This proposal, if adopted, would have excluded Dr. Belcombe, who graduated at an University on the Continent.

A few weeks afterwards Dr. Best, unexpectedly, returned to England—Dr. Hunter died—and on the 19th of July, 1809, Dr. Best was elected sole Physician. These circumstances help to explain what would otherwise appear

very extraordinary—the inattention of the Governors to the last recommendation of their deceased Physician on the subject of medical regulations. The Annual court in August, 1809, resolved, that "IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEATH OF DR. HUNTER, *it is not necessary to take into consideration the paper presented by him at the Quarterly court on the 23d of March last;—and which was then directed to be produced at the Annual meeting.*"

To guard against such dangerous proposals as that of Dr. Hunter for increasing the number of Physicians, the same meeting also resolved, "that no proposition for increasing the number of officers of this institution shall be made, except at the General Annual meeting, nor taken into consideration but at a Special court then to be appointed, and to be holden within three months from the said General Annual meeting, and of which Special court, notice shall be given in the York papers."

At this meeting a proposition was submitted by the Magistrates of the County, for uniting with the Asylum an establishment under the provisions of the 48th of George the 3d. c. 96. This proposition was rejected, "as *inconsistent with the nature and character of this institution*"—and the Magistrates of the North and West Ridings have since determined on the erection of buildings for the reception of their pauper lunatics.

It is observable that the reception of parish paupers was a part of the original design, both of the Asylum and of Lupton's fund.—The Asylum, therefore, must always continue open to parish paupers; or otherwise the excluded paupers may justly claim a portion of its funds, as having been created for their benefit.

On the 28th of January, 1813, a rule was adopted on Dr. Best's proposition, "that no person shall be allowed to visit any of the patients without a special written order of

admission, signed by the Physician." At this resolution, so worded as in effect to close the doors against the Governors themselves, some of them may be supposed to have taken umbrage. It is certain at least, that at the next meeting (February 8, 1813) it was determined to alter the resolution, and it was ordered to stand thus; "that no persons *unconnected with the Asylum* shall have the liberty of visiting any of the patients without a printed order of admission, signed by the Physician.

Dr. Best had now obtained an absolute dominion; every thing was under his sole controul. Official visitation had ceased, and all intrusive observation was shut out. The Governors had confidence in the Physician; and no persons, except Governors, could enter the Asylum without his permission. At no period had a change in the management of the institution seemed more hopeless.—During the vacancy after Dr. Hunter's death, there was a fair opening for some approximation to the original design of the institution; and an attempt was at that time made, by a surviving contributor to Lupton's fund, to recal the attention of the Governors to the subject *. But this temperate and seasonable representation had been disregarded. There had then been an influx of new Governors; and the paramount consideration seemed to be, to invest Dr. Best with the situation and undiminished emoluments of sole Physician. No reference was made to the original design; no guards were placed against abuses.—Every avenue to reform, therefore, seemed now closed.

At this juncture, a controversy arose in the newspapers, which it appears proper to notice as connected with this history.—The growing celebrity of the Quaker's Retreat, (an institution of which the origin has been noticed) had

* See a Pamphlet, entitled "Observations on the present state of the York Lunatic Asylum." (1809.)

rendered it an object of general attention; its rules and modes of treatment were the frequent subject of inquiry. In 1813, Mr. Samuel Tuke published a "Description of the Retreat;" and recommended "*a more mild system of treatment than has been generally adopted.*" Dr. Best conceiving this to intend a reflection on his Asylum, attacked Mr. Tuke by a letter in the newspapers *. Mr. Tuke, in reply, disclaimed all intention of alluding to the Asylum.—Some anonymous paragraphs, from different hands, afterwards appeared; intimating a suspicion that all was not right at the Asylum, and that under its present system, abuses must be the unavoidable result. It is not intended to swell these pages with the detail of the newspaper

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* "To the Editor of the York Herald.

Sir,

When a vessel or a fort becomes the subject of attack, it matters not whether hostilities be carried on by storming, boarding, grape or shells, or by sapping, mining, catamaran, or torpedo. The intended effect is the same, and the same necessity exists for active defence. In like manner, when an attempt is made to injure the reputation and interests of any public body, or private individual, it is of little moment to the assailed party, whether the measure be accomplished by open libel, or masked insinuation. If no means of defence are employed, the mischief may be equal from either method, and it is, therefore, equally incumbent on the object of either species of attack, to notice and repel it.

The following brief statement will illustrate these remarks:—

In an account of the Quakers' Retreat for Lunatics near York, published a short time ago, some highly indecorous and injurious insinuations were thrown out against other Establishments for the same purpose, the intended application of which no one could misunderstand, and which were as strikingly illiberal, as they were grossly unfounded. To this attack it was not thought necessary to reply; but a PRINTED HAND-BILL having been recently received, which informs its readers in terms characteristic of similar productions, that the PHYSICIAN to the Quakers' Retreat, has formed an establishment for the reception of persons afflicted with insanity "with a view to *introduce*, on a small scale, *the mild methods of treatment in use at that Institution*," it would be an act of culpable supineness, to allow it to pass by, without some degree of notice. It must be obvious to every one, that the words of this Advertisement

controversy; though a collection and republication of the different articles in their order, would form a curious episode to the History of the Asylum.—It seems, however, fair to observe, that the Retreat being a receptacle for *Quakers only*, its managers could derive no advantage by depreciating the character of the Asylum.—These were not rival institutions. The Physician of the Asylum, therefore, at the fountain head of Lunatic practice, might surely have permitted the quiet unoffending Quaker to partake of the stream at some distance below him—without prefering the accusation—" You disturb the water I am drinking."

In the month of October, 1813, (the period of this controversy) a parish pauper who had been sent by Mr. Higgins, a Magistrate of the West Riding, to the Asylum, returned in a state which indicated neglect. The man's relations complained to Mr. Higgins;

(which may be considered in the light of a *torpedo*) were intended to impose a belief on its readers, that methods of treatment of an *opposite* description, were employed at the other Establishments for insane persons in York and its Vicinity; an insinuation in itself as disingenuous, and as totally destitute of foundation, as the *manner* of making it is perfectly unprofessional, and palpably incorrect.

The object of this letter being merely to expose these proceedings, from a sense of duty to others, and of justice to the Writer's self, all feelings of personal animosity are utterly disclaimed; at the same time, should any one be desirous of ascertaining your Correspondent's name, which it is not thought necessary to obtrude upon the public, it may be easily known by inquiry at your office.

I am, Sir, &c.

EVIGILATOR."

York, Sept. 23, 1813.

As Evigilator seems conversant in military tactics, he might have learnt a lesson from the events which were at this time passing on the Continent. The Emperor of the French, in the zenith of his power, had made an unprovoked attack on Moscow.—He was now obliged to fight for his own Capital.

—and that gentleman stated the circumstances to Dr. Best—at the same time intimating his intention to lay the case before the public. Dr. Best deprecated the publication; assuring Mr. Higgins that the circumstances should be investigated by the next Quarterly court. The Doctor then published an advertisement, appointing the Quarterly court to be held on the 2d of December, *(six weeks earlier than the usual time)* and calling upon any persons whatsoever, having "any thing to allege against the management or treatment of the patients, to take that opportunity of bringing forward their charges."—Dr Best does not appear to have thought any sanction of the Governors necessary, previous to this step.

A few days before the Quarterly court, Mr. Higgins published the statement in the Appendix p. 6.—His object evidently was, not only to call the general attention of the Governors to the case, but to draw the eyes of the public upon their proceedings, and thus to induce them to act with the greater circumspection.

Owing to the concurrence of several circumstances, Mr. Higgins's statement produced an impression on the public mind, beyond that which a mere solitary instance of neglect was calculated to do. The animadversions of Mr. Mason and his friends, had long ago convinced many respectable persons that the system of the institution was radically bad. It was the general opinion that the rich patients were attended to, and the Physician benefited, but the poor were neglected. It was also suspected that the attendants were unfeeling and harsh in their treatment of the patients; and circumstances occasionally came to light which confirmed the suspicion *. Dr. Best's recent attack

* To mention one within my own observation. About fifteen years ago an unfortunate young man, who had been my class-fellow at school, became deranged whilst at Cambridge. His mother, a person in limited circumstances,

on Mr. S. Tuke and Dr. Belcombe, and the controversy to which it gave rise, assisted to excite a more than ordinary attention to Mr. Higgins's case of alleged abuses; and the eyes of the public were anxiously turned to the proceedings which the Governors would adopt at their Quarterly meeting.

THE QUARTERLY COURT was attended by *twenty-seven* Governors; at that time an unusual number. Mr. Higgins's statement was read; after which, the accused servants of the house were called in and *sworn.* They denied upon oath, the truth of the charges.—No other evidence was called for, nor was any minute committed to writing of what had been sworn by the servants.

Before the meeting separated, the following resolutions were passed, and were directed to be advertised in the York and Doncaster newspapers.

" The Governors having taken into their consideration the statement published in the York and other newspapers, respecting the treatment of WILLIAM VICARS, lately a Patient in this Asylum, and having examined UPON OATH SUCH WITNESSES AS WERE COMPETENT TO AFFORD INFORMATION ON THE SAME, are unanimously of opinion, that during

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placed him in the Asylum, where his health was rapidly declining. He expressed a wish to see me; I called, and was introduced to him in a room (I believe the kitchen) through which the attendants were occasionally passing. He appeared thin and emaciated; and there were black marks on his hands, which the keepers said were occasioned by his sitting too near the fire. He was perfectly collected—complained much of the want of his books—and begged *to return home to his mother.* The keepers were aware that this was the point which particularly touched his feelings. " You'll go home to your mother, Mr. Green, will you?—You want to go home to your mother, don't you, Mr. Green?"—was the language repeatedly and tauntingly addressed to him by the keepers. My unfortunate friend, thus *delivered to the tormentors,* died in the Asylum a few months afterwards. (Aug. 22, 1801.)

the time that the said William Vicars remained in the Asylum, he was treated with ALL POSSIBLE CARE, ATTENTION, AND HUMANITY.

RESOLVED,

That whilst the Governors are at all times ready and anxious to promote an inquiry into the supposed existence of any abuse in the conduct of this institution, they cannot but regret the mode by which an *ex-parte* statement of the cause, which has this day come under their consideration, has been circulated in several newspapers previous to an opportunity being afforded to the Governors of a regular investigation of the grounds of the complaint.

RESOLVED,

That this Court be adjourned to FRIDAY the 10th day of December instant, at Twelve o'clock."

CHAPTER III.

The History continued.—Influx of new Governors, and investigation of further cases of abuse.

THE publication of the resolutions upon the case of Vicars, was evidently intended to quiet the public mind, and to whitewash the institution — the effect produced, however, was directly the reverse. The proceedings on this occasion proved, that a fair investigation was in vain to be expected from the Governors. Several persons in York, of opposite political and of various religious opinions—who could, therefore, be least suspected of party views, were disposed to make an attempt to rescue the charity from the state into which it had fallen. It was a *forlorn hope*—many who wished success to the attempt, declined the task of joining in it. "It is an Augean Stable, you will never be able to cleanse it"—was the remark of a shrewd observer.

Besides the case of Vicars, which fell within Mr. Higgins's immediate notice, he had collected some other cases, and laid them on the table of the Governors. The court stood adjourned to the 10th of December, to dispose of these cases.

On that day, Mr. Nicoll and twelve other persons went down to the Asylum, at the hour of meeting, and paid the requisite donations to become Governors. After some hesitation as to the point of regularity, (this being an ad-

journed meeting) they were admitted to act and vote as Governors.

It would be difficult, to conceive the surprise occasioned by this unexpected incursion. Considerable indignation was naturally felt and expressed; but the impartial and dignified conduct of the chairman, (the Archbishop of York) contributed to restrain the meeting within the bounds of decorum. His Grace's efforts were exerted at this and every subsequent meeting, to unite all the Governors in a cordial co-operation, for an improvement in the system of the charity.

Though the court, on the 2d of December, appeared to have decided erroneously on the case of Vicars, the new Governors forbore to propose any revision of that case, or even to allude to it, conceiving that this would be an unnecessary attack on the measures of those with whom they were now to be associated. They were persuaded, that out of Mr. Higgins's remaining cases, if properly investigated, enough would be proved to evince the necessity of a change of system.

On the first of these cases, therefore, being brought forward, Mr. Nicoll proposed, that instead of an inquiry by the whole court, a *Committee* of investigation should be appointed. Mr. Nicoll's proposal was violently opposed—there were only "a couple of lousy cases, which might be disposed of in half an hour."

The Archbishop, however, declared himself so decidedly in favour of a Committee, as the preferable course, that the opposition to it was withdrawn, and this mode of proceeding was agreed to be adopted. Mr. Nicoll then proposed nine names for the Committee—including *three* of the new Governors. Mr. Alderman Wilson proposed a different list, which included only *one* of the new Governors. On a division, there were 18 for Mr. Nicoll's, and 17 for Mr. Wilson's list.

FOR MR. NICOLL'S LIST.	FOR MR. WILSON'S LIST.
Tho. Smith, Esq. (Lord Mayor)	The Archbishop of York
Mr. Bland	Dr. Best
Col. Lloyd	Rev. Mr. Preston
Mr. Robt. Swann	Rev. Mr. Dealtry
Dr. Belcombe	Mr. Palmes
Mr. Nicoll	Mr Fenton
Mr. Russell	Dr. Lawson
Rev. Mr. Graham	Dr. Beckwith
Mr. Priestman	Mr. Alderman Wilson
Rev. Jas. Richardson	Mr. Cattle
Mr. Dyson	Mr. E. Wallis
Mr. Daniel Tuke	Mr. Healey, (Governor of the Merchant's Company)
Mr. Rawdon	Mr. Saltmarshe
Mr. Gimber	Mr. Brook
Rev. Mr. Wellbeloved	Mr. Roper
Mr. Crosby	Mr. Prince
Mr. S. Richardson	Mr. Hodgson.
*Mr. J. Gray**	

Mr. Nicoll next proposed, that the committee should inquire *generally* into the *rules* and *management* of the institution. This was opposed, as being premature, until some ground for a general inquiry should be established.

At length, Mr. Nicoll agreed to withdraw the motion, the Archbishop promising to second it at a future meeting: and his Grace, at the same time, stating his opinion, that, whatever might be the result of the examination into Mr Higgins's remaining cases, there *ought* to be a *general inquiry* into the rules and management.

The inquiry by examination of witnesses—*upon oath*, was strongly objected to by the new Governors.—In lieu of it, another mode, which however seems liable to still greater objection, was adopted. The witnesses were to be examined *without an oath; after which*, it was

* The names of the new Governors are in italics.

to be proposed to them to confirm *upon oath*, the deposition so taken.—An oath ought certainly not to be administered, except where it is prescribed or authorized by the legislature, and is accompanied with penal sanctions.

The following were the resolutions of this meeting:

RESOLVED,

That the cases now before the court be referred to a Committe of nine persons, who shall investigate the same, take down the evidence in writing, on both parts, and report the same to the next adjournment of this court.

That every Governor have liberty to attend the Committee, and that Dr. Best be empowered to ask any questions.

That the Committee be requested to propose to the parties examined, that they shall sign their depositions and afterwards make voluntary oath to the same, before a Magistrate.

That the Committee consist of,

The Archbishop	Col. Lloyd
The Lord Mayor	Mr. J. Gray
Mr. Brook	Mr. Ald. Wilson
Rev. Mr. Graham	Mr. Nicoll.
Mr. Bland	

And that any five of them have power to act.

RESOLVED,

That this court be adjourned to Friday the 7th day of January next.

RESOLVED,

That the thanks of this court be given to the Archbishop; for his patient, polite, and judicious conduct in the chair.

The Committee met on the 20th, 21st, 23d, 24th, and 27th days of December, and on the 7th of January; and

Mr. Higgins's remaining cases of abuse were inquired into The expense of the attendance of witnesses from a distance, (which had been urged as an objection by the court) was defrayed by a subscription amongst some ladies in York.—In the Appendix, p. 8 to 40, will be found the substance of the depositions, with the opinion of the Committee upon each case.

CHAPTER IV.

The Fire.

ON the 28th of December, 1813, (the day after the committee had closed their examinations) the detached wing of the Asylum was destroyed by *fire*. This is a calamity extremely rare in the City and suburbs of York; and it therefore made the greater impression on the public mind. It also happened at a time when a general attention was excited to the institution.

On the following day a number of Governors assembled to inquire into the circumstances. It could not be ascertained from the keepers what number of patients was missing—the apparent remains of two human bodies had been found, and two patients were stated to have escaped. It was proposed by some of the new Governors that the names of all the patients should be called over, and the keepers should give an account of those under their respective care—but this was over-ruled; as it was said to be unusual and improper to make a disclosure to the Governors at large, of the names of the patients. The meeting separated at the end of three hours, without ascertaining what number of human lives had been lost.

On the next day, December the 30th, a Special court, (at which 28 Governors attended) was held, and the circumstances were more fully investigated.

It appeared that at about five o'clock, on the evening of the 28th, the chimney of a day room on the ground floor,

occupied by patients, had been observed by the Apothecary and Servants to be on fire, by the sparks issuing out of it. The chimney had not been swept for some time.—The fire in the range was stated to have been in consequence extinguished; and all appearances of fire had ceased.—At a little past eight the same evening, one of the female patients having gone up stairs with a candle, to attend on the gardener who was sick, came down into the kitchen and told the keepers that the house was on fire.—The testimony of a lunatic had been rejected by the committee as entitled to no credit; but a different rule of evidence prevailed amongst the keepers.—They instantly took the alarm. The apartment on fire was a lumber room, in which flocks were deposited. There had not been a fire in the room for a fortnight. The door was locked, and Mrs. Atkinson kept the key. The flock room was on the second story—the flue of the chimney which had been on fire was contiguous to the chimney of the flock room, but not at all connected with it. It seemed possible that sparks out of the one chimney might have fallen down the chimney of the other, among the flocks; but these are not of an inflammable nature; and the flue of the flock room chimney was bent out of the perpendicular, which would render the passage of the sparks down the chimney difficult. This therefore does not satisfactorily account for the fire, but no other account has ever been given.

This accident, it will be observed, took place at a time when an investigation into abuses was in progress, and the domestic officers and keepers might be expected to be on the alert.—It appeared that the *Physician* had been called to attend a patient at a distance from York, in a case of emergency.—The *Steward*, who was superintendent of the house, and had the controul over the servants, was at his residence at the Asylum gate, a quarter of a mile

from the building. At his advanced age of 82, he could scarcely be expected to take an active part. He was not, however, unemployed. Fearing lest the Asylum should be plundered by a mob, he barred the gates against any access to those who were running to assist, on the first appearance of the fire; so that they were obliged to make their way through the fields, and over walls and fences.

Mr. Atkinson, the Apothecary, whose office appears limited by the rules, to the preparation and administration of medicines, having probably performed those duties for the day, was gone out with his wife *(Mrs. Atkinson, the Housekeeper)* to spend the evening. Of the four men servants, who had the charge of about 120 male patients, one had intrusted a fellow-servant with the locking up his patients; and was absent. Another had put his patients to bed, according to his own admission, AT A LITTLE BEFORE the usual *hour of eight* *: that he might go to a dance. There remained in the house two male attendants. One of these, since dead, being old and asthmatic, could not bear the smoke of the building. The other, Henry Dawson, exerted himself to the utmost in rescuing the patients. The fire broke out in the men's gallery, in which a considerable number of patients were locked up in their rooms. Henry states that he opened all the doors, roused all the patients, and pulled many of them out of bed. Many were instantly on the alert, and glad to escape. Others insensible to the danger, were obliged to be conducted to a place of safety; and some obstinately refused to quit their apartments,

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* Whether the daily immuring in the dark, at so early an hour, a melancholy lunatic, who from habit has not been accustomed to retire to rest till 10 or 11—be conducive to restore chearfulness or to nourish gloom—may be easily conceived, even by those who profess no extraordinary knowledge in this "obscure branch of medicine."

and it was necessary to take them away by force. In the mean time, owing to the quantity of straw, the fire spread rapidly; and at length the remaining patients were removed by Henry at the risque of his own life. He flattered himself he had succeeded in rescuing them all; and it was not till too late that he began to suspect that some were missing. In doing justice to his exertions, one cannot but remark, that if he had at first had another attendant to assist him, no lives would have been lost.

Four patients perished in the flames; or, as the Steward has entered it in his book—" *Died.*"

Notwithstanding the efforts made to subdue the fire, it was so rapid, that the roof of the whole building had fallen in within less than two hours after the fire was discovered. The City engines and firemen were wholly inefficient—but an engine obtained from the Minster, was found serviceable. The favourable direction of the wind, prevented the flames from spreading to the main building.

At the meeting of the 30th December, it was resolved " that a Committee, consisting of Dr. Best, Mr. Cattle, Mr. Russell, the Rev. Wm. Bulmer, and Mr. Roper, be authorized to make such purchases of furniture and other articles, as may be necessary for the immediate purposes of the Asylum, and to make also such other arrangements in the apartments, as the emergency of the case may appear to require.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Directors and Subscribers to the Retreat, for their friendly and liberal offer of the accommodations which that establishment can afford to the patients in the Asylum under the present distressing circumstances. That the Governors, *on the representation of Dr. Best,* have reason to hope that it may not be necessary to have recourse to the offered accommodation—but should they be disappointed in this expectation, they will thankfully avail themselves of the proposed kindness."

The sum of 2392l. 4s. 2d. was received from the County Insurance Office, for damages occasioned by the fire.

At the adjourned court of the 7th of January, the fire was again the subject of discussion. Suspicions had been entertained, that some of the unfortunate sufferers by the fire, had been chained; it was, however, stated by Dr. Best and Dr. Beckwith, that neither those patients, *nor any other patient in the house*, were, on the night of the fire, under any personal restraint. A resolution was therefore passed, " that it appears on inquiry, that none of the unhappy accidents, which occurred on the late fire, can be attributed to any of the sufferers being in a state of restraint, from chains or otherwise."

Another resolution was also passed, thanking " those individuals who exerted themselves in rendering assistance on occasion of the fire." *

The fire Committee made a report, containing suggestions of alterations and arrangements in consequence of the fire—these they were authorized to carry into effect—and nearly the whole of the sum received from the County Fire Office has since been expended under the direction of this Committee.

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* Though the resolution, to avoid partial distinctions, omits the mention of names, it may be permitted to me to particularize Mr. Townend and Mr. T. Brook, as having been eminently active and serviceable on this occasion. It would have been desirable, had there been a precedent for it, that these gentlemen should have been voted honorary Governors, as the only mode in which the court could mark its sense of their services. Individuals in humbler stations were suitably remunerated for their assistance, by the fire Committee.

CHAPTER V.

The History continued—Inquiry into the rules and management.

The Quarterly court stood adjourned to the 7th of January, on which day the Committee for inquiry into abuses, were to make their report. The number of new Governors was already increased to about *forty*; of whom Mr. Higgins was one—and *sixty-six* Governors attended the adjourned meeting of the court. The report of the Committee was received and approved—their opinion on the cases was confirmed; and Mr. Nicoll's motion for an inquiry into the rules and management was afterwards carried, without opposition. It appeared to those Governors, who had promoted the inquiry into Mr. Higgins's cases, that as enough had been done to obtain the desired object—viz. an investigation of that system, under which abuses had existed—it would be a waste of time to inquire into other cases of dirt, neglect, or abuse. Hence, though Mr. Nicoll held in his hand several cases, which he was prepared to prove, and which Mr Higgins truly describes as "very disgraceful to the management of the Asylum," he stated that he should not propose a reference of these to the Committee.* The resolution adopted was as follows:—"that it be referred to the following Committee.

* To instance two cases, which occurred before Dr. Best's appointment. 1. Eliza West, of Louth, in Lincolnshire. Admitted Aug. 17, 1796. Removed May 8, 1797. Delivered of a male child August 19, 1797.—2. Dorothy Exilby, of Kirby-Malzeard. Admitted February 8, 1801. Discharged cured

(any five of whom shall have power to act) to make an inquiry into the rules and management of the institution, and to report facts and their opinion thereon, to the next or subsequent Quarterly court of the Governors, or to the General meeting in August, viz :—

His Grace the Archbishop of York	Benj. Brooksbank, Esq.
	Wm. Carr, Esq.
Thomas Smith, Esq. (Lord Mayor)	Thos. Wilson, Esq.
	Henry Bland, Esq.
The Rev. Thos. Preston	The Rev. John Graham
The Rev. Wm. Dealtry	Mr. Brook
George Palmes, Esq.	Mr. J. Gray
S. W. Nicoll, Esq.	

"That Dr. Best be requested to attend the meetings, to answer such questions and inquiries as may be proposed to him, and to offer any suggestions which may occur to him, as beneficial to the institution."

The first work of the Committee, was an examination of the books, and an arrangement of those *rules*, which were found to be scattered through the order books, never having been collected or digested into any regular form. These are published in their Report; and the most important of them have been already noticed.

They then proceeded to investigate the *management*.

Under this head, one of the first points which engaged the attention of the Committee was, the mode of admitting patients, together with their payments to the institution, and to the Physician.

February 20, 1802. Delivered of a male child 21st September, 1802.—In the former case, a keeper in the Asylum, was apprehended on a charge of being the father of the child, and he paid the parish of Louth 30 l. for the maintenance. This fact was notorious, and it was equally notorious that THIS KEEPER WAS NOT DISMISSED—THAT HE CONTINUED TO ENJOY THE CONFIDENCE OF THE GOVERNORS; AND ON HIS RESIGNATION, RECEIVED FROM THEM A TESTIMONY OF "APPROBATION OF HIS CONDUCT DURING A SERVICE OF 26 YEARS."—In the other case, the *father* of the child was a patient.

For the purpose of drawing out an average of the number of patients of each class, Mr. Surr, the Steward, was desired to send to the house of a member of the Committee, his account books, for the *four quarters of the year* 1813. Four Quarterly books were, in consequence sent, but in selecting these, Mr. Surr had unintentionally occasioned a remarkable discovery. *Three* of the books sent, were the Steward's accounts, with the Governors for the 2*d*, 3*d*, and 4*th* quarters of the year—the *fourth* book—sent instead of that for the *first* quarter, proved to be *another account* for the second quarter of the year. There was, therefore, no account for the *first*, but *two* accounts for the *second* quarter, both professing to contain the weekly payments of the patients. Upon a comparison of the two books for the same quarter, it was found, that in the book which appeared to have been sent by mistake, Mr. Surr had entered one set of patients at 15s.—another set at 12s.—and a third set at 10s.—per week. In the *other* book, the *very same patients* were entered as follows:—Those who paid 15s. were set down as paying *eleven shillings;* those who paid 12s. as paying *ten* shillings; those who paid 10 shillings, as paying *nine* shillings. *In Mr. Surr's accounts with the Governors, he only gave credit for the smaller sum*—the book sent by mistake, therefore, did not tally with the Steward's accounts with the Governors *—on the contrary, it proved, that a portion of the payments from three classes of the patients, amounting to no less a sum than 65l. 13s. for a quarter, or 262l. 12s. per ann. had never been brought to account. On inquiry, it appeared, that this sum was paid over by the Steward to the Physician.

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* Mr. Surr has since burnt this book, and the series of Quarterly books to which it belongs, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Committee—but, the fact which was accidentally disclosed, stands uncontroverted.

The Committee also found, that for the opulent patients (sixteen in number) the Steward neither received nor gave credit in either of the sets of books, for more than 14s. per week—but, in the private account already alluded to, each of these patients was marked B.—and it was explained, on inquiry, that the accounts of this class, did not pass through Mr. Surr's hands. They were "*private patients*," whose accounts were settled with the Physician, and for whom he accounted to the Steward for 14s.

With the exception of the Reduction fund already noticed, (which produced about 35 l. per annum) the Asylum was without any fund for the maintenance of the patients, or the salaries and maintenance of the officers and servants. The interest of 8400l. (3 per cent cons.) was relied on for buildings, repairs, and furniture only. The weekly payments of the patients, therefore, discharged not only their board and lodging, but the board and lodging of the Apothecary, Housekeeper, and Domestics—besides salaries and wages amounting to 361 l. 12s. per annum.

The total sum paid to the house, by patients, in the year 1813, is about 92 l. 1s. per week; to which 13s. from the reduction fund being added, the total is 92 l. 14s. per week. This sum divided by 199—the number of patients in July, 1813, gives 9s. 6d. per head, as the average sum paid by each patient, for board, lodging, and attendance. Of this sum, the opulent patients contribute 14s. per week; the parish paupers 9s. The 14s. for the opulent patient, cover all charges "for board, lodging, coals, candles, tea, and medicines." "The upper classes have tea twice a day; the lower classes have no tea." They have "gruel, or milk and oatmeal for breakfast." "The better classes dine at one table, and the paupers at another." "There are about 12 gentlemen and ladies, whose diet is the same as that at Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson's table." "The middle class

have three meagre days: the paupers have three meagre days, and have roast meat only on Sundays. On Saturdays the middle class have principally cold meat, and the lowest class have offal in hash." Mrs. Atkinson "separates the coarsest parts for the lowest patients."

From the report of the Committee, it therefore appears, that whilst a few gentlemen and ladies, with an excellent table, tea and sugar twice a day, and the best apartments in the house, were paying only 14s. each per week for board and lodging, 125 poor persons, coarsely fed and ill accommodated, were paying 9s. each. Thus it is evident that the 125 paupers, each paying nearly the average cost of a patient—but maintained in the narrowest space and on the cheapest fare—were the great support of the house—that their "*overflowings*" were the means of providing the affluent with board and lodging, and medicines, at 14s. which, in no other place, they could have obtained under twice that sum. Surely there must at least be some inaccuracy in the statement made in a published report, which will shortly be alluded to, that "*the expenses of the indigent are reduced by the payments of the more affluent patients.*"

It must have already appeared, that the admission by the Physician of those persons as his private patients, and for his own sole benefit, who ought to have been patients of the house—and his participation in the weekly payments, not only of patients who were barely above the condition of paupers, but of 17 patients in the 9s. class—were contrary to several rules, as well as to the original design of the Charity. Still the question arises—had not the existing system of 1813 received the implied sanction of the Governors?—Did not the Physician so consider it?

It happens that in this very year, 1813, Dr. Best thought fit to publish a report of the state of the institution; and

it is the only one which has appeared for the last fourteen years. To this report, therefore, (Appendix p. 4.) it is important to refer, in order to learn what was now considered by the Physician and the Governors to be the authorized system.

The report is thus sanctioned by the Quarterly court, in January, 1813: "Resolved, that the report now produced, and submitted to the court by Dr. Best, be adopted, and that the same be printed and distributed." It contains the following passages:—"The friends of the pa-
" tients pay a weekly sum in proportion to their ability;
" and by this arrangement the utility of the institution is
" extended to the various classes of society, and at the
" same time *the expenses of the indigent are reduced by the*
" *payments of the more affluent patients. Parish and other*
" *paupers* are maintained at the expense of 9s. *a week.* The
" weekly payments of persons *in low circumstances, but*
" *not absolutely in the condition of paupers,* is from 10s to
" 15s. Patients in better circumstances, and in the higher
" stations of life, are charged with moderation, according
" to their respective means. A certain number of patients
" in very distressed circumstances, who pay for their own
" board, and have no assistance from their parishes, re-
" ceive the benefit of 35l. per annum (being the interest
" of the "Reduction Fund,") *along with the* OVER-
" FLOWINGS *of the payments of the more affluent pa-*
" *tients.* The above payments discharge lodging, board,
" coal and candle, tea, washing, and medicines; but
" those patients whose expenses exceed 9s. a week, are
" separately charged for their washing." *The Physician is*
" *required to attend gratis on the paupers, and on those who*
" *are maintained at reduced payments; but is authorized to*
" *receive from the friends of the more affluent patients the*
" *reasonable emoluments of his profession.*"

We are told that "parish and other paupers are maintained at *nine shillings*;" and we are given to understand, that the Physician receives emoluments from the affluent only. Yet from seventeen of the patients maintained at *nine shillings*, the Physician was receiving one shilling per week each. We are told the Physician "is authorized to receive *reasonable* emoluments from the affluent." Mr. Wilson paid one hundred and nine pounds four shillings per annum—of which the Physician only accounted for *thirty-six pounds eight shillings*—retaining the remaining sum of *seventy-two pounds sixteen shillings*, as his *reasonable* emolument. The *thirty-six pounds eight shillings* paid to the house, was also to leave *overflowings* to the distressed patients.

Previous to the Committee making their report, it was observed by a friend of the Physician, that Dr. Best had been the greatest benefactor to the Asylum—having contributed to it more than 1000 l. This assertion was grounded on Dr. Best's statement to the Committee, that the highest class of patients, or those called Dr. Hunter's own, at the period of Dr. Hunter's death *, paid only ten shillings per week each to the institution—which Dr. Best advanced to 14s. That the sum of 15s. per week paid by the next class, was divided in Dr. Hunter's time into portions of 5s. to the Physician, and 10s. to the house—which Dr. Best made 4s. to himself, and 11s. to the house.

Though this charge by Dr. Best against his predecessor rests on his own assertion, and the books which might

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* When it was attempted to justify Dr. Belcombe's advertisement of a private madhouse, by referring to the authority of Dr. Hunter, this was said to be "an expiring effort to defend the *improprieties* of the living, by disturbing the ashes of the dead." How soon is Dr. Best himself obliged to have recourse to this expedient!

have proved it are burnt, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of Dr. Best*. As to the merit claimed for Dr. Best, on account of the augmentation to the house, it must be observed, that as its support is dependant solely on the payments of the patients, it was prudent for the Physician to take care that the sums paid to the house should be adequate to the growing expenses of the times, and the highest class of patients had been paying *ten shillings per week* to the house as far back as the year 1796, and probably longer. It does not appear that from the above augmentation, there arose any surplus—or any addition to the number of distressed objects. Even if this were made out, it would still be incumbent on those who claim for the Physician the merit of a gift to the charity, to show that these payments were his *right*—the reverse of which appears from the report of 1813.

The sums received by the Physicians are therefore to be considered a debt due to the charity.—It is true the Governors have acquitted Dr. Best of any criminal intention, attributing his conduct to mistake: but the misapplication is fully admitted.

As to the actual amount of the sums misapplied, it appears considerably over-rated. There are in fact no suf-

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* So long ago as 1796, Dr. Hunter appears to have received a proportion of the weekly payments of the patients, at the rate of about 175 *l.* 10 *s.* per annum. In 1799, he received a proportion, amounting to only 192 *l.* 14 *s.* per annum. It cannot, however, be ascertained by the books, whether at this period, there were any patients whose accounts did not pass through the Steward's hands—if there were not, it is improbable that Dr. Hunter at a more advanced age, should have, begun to take from the Steward the burden of keeping any accounts. There were two practices in existence—both contrary to the rules—the one was the Physician's participation in the weekly payments made to the Steward—this clearly originated with Dr. Hunter—The other was the withdrawing from the Steward the accounts of the opulent patients, and paying him a small sum for their board. By whom, and at what period this practice was begun cannot be discovered.

ficient data on which to form an accurate estimate. The sums received from the private patients were forborne to be inquired into—there were different bargains with different patients—in some cases the payment was to include wine and other extras—so that the Physician could not himself easily ascertain his net profits.

When the new Committee lately succeeded to the management of the Asylum, there had been in consequence of the fire a reduction in the number of patients—*seven* out of the *sixteen* affluent patients had been taken away. One of those who were removed had paid *three* guineas a week—the payments of the rest were not known. None of those nine who remained in the house paid so much as *two* guineas a week.—Mr. Higgins's estimate of two guineas a week as the average—(on which he has calculated the Physician's profits at 1417*l.* a year, and the whole sum misapplied at 39,676*l.**)—seems to be much too high; and a *guinea and a half* is probably nearer the mark since Dr. Best's appointment.—In Dr. Hunter's time the estimate ought to be taken considerably lower.

	£.	s.	d.
Sixteen patients at a guinea and a half per week, deducting fourteen shillings paid over to the charity—leaves - - -	728	0	0
The payments to the Physician from the three middle classes amount to - - -	262	12	0
Fees on admission - - - - - - - -	30	0	0
Per annum	£1020	12	0

But on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that whilst a court of equity would require the Physician to account for his receipts, he would receive a liberal allow-

* Mr. Higgins has, however, thrown off *twenty thousand pounds*, to allow for errors in his calculation.

ance in lieu of those fees which by the rules of the institution he was entitled to have taken.

Supposing, therefore, the average sum paid by the affluent patients to have been *a guinea and a half* per week, or 78 guineas per annum, we may suppose the 78 guineas equitably divisible as follows:

	Guineas.
Board, lodging, and medicines - - -	50
To lessen the payments of the poor patients -	14
To the Physician - - - - -	14
	78

Fourteen guineas a year to the Physician for 16 patients, give 235l. 4s. as the annual sum to be allowed him in compensation for fees.

From 1020 0 his supposed actual receipts,
Take 236 4

£784 16—Annual balance in favour of the institution.

The rules of the institution appeared to have been little attended to in other particulars. The Committee for the admission of the patients, and regulation of their payments, had long ceased, and all admissions were by the Physician. Visitation, it has already been observed, had also ceased—and not an entry had been made in the visitors' book for 27 years.

Other topics of inquiry related to officers and servants.—The Steward was vested by the rules "with full powers over every servant in the house." Yet this officer, in whom the superintendence was placed, was residing, with the approbation of the Governors, at some distance from the Asylum. His infirmities often prevented him "from going out and visiting the Asylum during the winter season." The Committee found an "almost total want of

subordination and vigilance amongst the servants in the absence of a watchful and confidential head."

The Steward, in the copy which he gave to the house-keeper of the regulations for her conduct, had omitted ten rules out of fifteen; he had also placed the key of the beer and bread in the hands of an inferior male keeper, and Mrs. Atkinson exercised only "a partial and contested authority in the house." The Apothecary was not vested by the rules with authority over the servants, and did not consider himself possessed of any.

The description given by Blackader and Dawson, two of the keepers, of the internal regulations of the Asylum, is such as might be expected. Blackader, the nominal head keeper, says: "the doors *used* to be locked at ten; "but for several years the regulations have not been so "strictly enforced; any servant can go in and out of an "evening. The servants refuse to obey his orders or di-"rections.—Backhouse *used* to have the principal power, "though Blackader was called head keeper.—There is not "any one keeper with particular powers. Henry Dawson "has the whole power over the other two keepers. He is "looked on as having the head power." Henry Dawson says the "back kitchen door is never locked, night or day. "A servant may go out at this door and be out all night. "When patients are confined, the cells are cleaned out "three or four times a week."

The servants received for the higher classes more than 100l. a year for perquisites; besides the cast clothes of the patients, which they take, "*when they consider them to have been worn a sufficient time.*"

On the 28th of January, 1814, the Archbishop of York and the rest of the Committee, were conducted through the different wards and apartments. They found the "structure of the building and the disposition and dimen-

sions of the day rooms ill adapted for the accommodation and superintendence of the patients."

Mr. S. Tuke observes, "there were* only 93 sleeping rooms for the 200 patients, the resident officers, and the servants. We must remember too, that the opulent patients occupied more than an equal proportion of this space, and the same may fairly be presumed, as to the servants and officers.—What was the actual average space allotted to each poor patient, it would be a matter of painful curiosity to ascertain."

"There were not any day rooms with contiguous airing courts. There were but two airing courts for all the classes of patients, except the opulent, who took their exercise in the garden. All the other classes of men were turned into one court, and the women into the other.—There was no provision in either court, for shelter against the rain or heat. Very few of the patients were allowed hats, and shoes and stockings were not unfrequently wanting. In this state, you might see more than 100 poor creatures shut up together, unattended and uninspected by any one; the lowest paupers and persons of respectable habits, the melancholic and the maniac, the calm and the restless, the convalescent and the incurable. It is needless, and it would be painful, to enumerate the evils and the dangers resulting from this system of indiscriminate association. The danger of patients injuring each other, was also very great, from their being shut up in considerable numbers in their day rooms, without any attendant or inspector. Nor must we forget, in this short sketch of the domestic evils which existed in the Asylum, that utter neglect of ventilation and cleanliness, which rendered so many parts of the place alike disgusting and unwholesome. It is almost impossible to conceive any place in a more damp and offensive state, than that part of the building

* *i. e.* Before the Fire.

called the low grates. The light, in several of the rooms, was obstructed by the erection of pig-styes, and other disagreeable offices; and the little air which was admitted, passed immediately over these places. The upper galleries suffered in some degree, from the same causes as the lower one. Their elevation prevented them from being damp; they were, however, with some exception in favour of that part occupied by the opulent, as gloomy as ingenuity could devise to make them, and, as defective as possible in ventilation*."

Upon occasion of the fire, offers of accommodation had been received from the Asylum at Nottingham and the Retreat at York; but these had been declined† on Dr. Best's representation that such assistance would not be wanted. The Asylum was, however, found by the Committee to be excessively crowded. The building designed for 54 patients, contained 160; and additional patients continued to be received.—Numbers were huddled together in small day rooms; and some slept three in a bed. The air was in consequence extremely offensive and unwholesome.

It is remarkable that immediately before the fire, when a writer in the newspaper was challenging a comparison between the Asylum and the Retreat, as to their comparative number of deaths, the unfortunate patients crowded together in uncleanly and unventilated apartments, were perishing in great numbers. About the beginning of July there had died 5 patients in 18 days—about the beginning of November (the period of the controversy) there died 7

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* See the Appendix to the "Vindication of Mr. Higgins."

† The offer from Nottingham was never even acknowledged—a circumstance which excited dissatisfaction there; and certainly did not tend to retrieve the credit of the York Governors for attention.

patients in 16 days.—On the 28th of December, the day when four patients perished by fire, a fifth lay dead in the house.

The number of patients in the house, at different periods during Dr. Hunter's life, has been already stated.—The average was 84—and the deaths on an average* were eight per annum—or about a tenth of the whole. Since Dr. Hunter's death the number of patients has been as follows:

1809	——	156	1812	——	186
1810	——	168	1813	——	200
1811	——	168	1814	——	173

The average number of patients is 175. The deaths on an average have been 25 in a year, or a seventh of the whole.

During the year ending the first of July, 1814, the number of patients was as follows:

1813	July	200	1814	January	173
	August	198		February	160
	September	196		March	160
	October	199		April	159
	November	188		May	139
	December	186		June	121

The average number for the year—173. The deaths were 33, or nearly a fifth of the whole.

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* Nothing can be more fallacious than to institute an inquiry into the mortality in an institution, by comparing the number of deaths with that of admissions. Supposing Mrs. Barber's hotel, instead of being remarkable for comfortable accommodations, were as uncleanly and unwholesome as a Lunatic hotel, and should send out 33 funerals in a year, a very plausible annual statement might nevertheless be drawn up as follows:

In the hotel at the beginning of the year	80	Quitted the hotel, relieved, and refreshed.....	10917
Received into the hotel during the year	10950	Died only	33
		Remaining in the hotel	30
	10980		10980

The inquiry must always be, what is the average number of persons in family,

The Annual report of deaths published in the newspapers, under the Apothecary's signature, was found to have been extremely incorrect, and below the actual number. The total to July, 1813, was stated at 221. It ought to have been 365. In one year, alone, Mr. Atkinson had taken off from the deaths a cool hundred. It appears at first sight a mere mistake in transcription, or an error of the press; but this does not account for it. The statement is a debtor and creditor account—every patient received being entered on one side—every patient discharged, or dead, or remaining in the house, on the other. The admissions are correctly entered; and an accidental error of a number in the deaths would have been discovered by the casting up the totals—the account would not have balanced.—But the numbers taken from the deaths are clearly, in one instance, added to the *cures**, and thus the

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* Extract from the York Herald of August 17, 1811 :—

Admitted from the first Establishment in 1771, to 1st July, 1810	2254	Cured	996
From the 1st July, 1810, to 1st July, 1811	92	Relieved	592
		Incurable and removed by their friends	294
		Died	292
		Remaining in the house 106 men—66 women	172
	2346		2346

Extract from the York Herald of August 22, 1812 :—

Admitted from the first Establishment in 1771, to 1st July, 1811	2346	Cured	1112
From the 1st July, 1811, to 1st July, 1812	99	Relieved	616
		Incurable and removed by their friends	312
		Died	210
		Remaining in the house 116 men—79 women	195
	2445		2445

The number of *deaths* to 1812, is reported *less* by 84, than the number to

account is made to balance. This is something more than either accident or carelessness.

The Committee of Rules and Management on reporting the general result of their investigations, added the following observations:

"On a deliberate review of the results of their investigations, your Committee feel it their duty for the present to subjoin the following observations:—

1. That the admission of private patients of the Physician, on the plan for many years past adopted, is a practice not sanctioned by the rules of the institution, and in itself objectionable; and that the principles on which the Physician to the Asylum shall be remunerated require the most serious attention.

2. That though the admission of opulent patients, if subjected to proper and specified limits, may be expedient for the purpose of deriving assistance for poor patients from their liberal payments, no sufficient advantage at present results from the admission of such patients.

3. That the permission given to the servants to receive perquisites from the richer patients, is calculated to occasion a neglect of the poorer classes, who have it not in their power to purchase the same attentions.

4. That as the appointment of visitors seems indispensably necessary in all public institutions, committed in a great

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1811. Instead of which, there were in fact, 19 deaths to be added for 1812—so that the error of the report for 1812, as to deaths, is 101 omitted.

The number of *cures* to 1812, is reported *greater* by 116, than the number to 1811—whereas the whole number of cured, relieved, removed, and buried, during the year, was, in fact, only 76. The average number annually reported *cured*, for the 4 preceding years, was 15. Deducting this number from 116, we have an error of 101, the excess in the number reported cured. One hundred and one dead men were, therefore, reported as cured. The error was not corrected in the report for 1813; on the contrary, twelve more dead men were either wholly omitted, or included amongst the cures.

measure to the care and management of hired servants, your Committee feel the greater cause to lament their discontinuance at the Asylum, where the necessity for their attendance is particularly urgent, as the Steward who is vested with the authority of a superintendent of the house, does not reside in it.

5. That the structure of the building, and the disposition and dimensions of the day-rooms, appear to your Committee ill adapted for the accommodation and superintendence of the patients.

6. Your Committee consider the present number of servants wholly inadequate to perform the work of the house, and give the requisite care and attention to the patients, who in consequence of this insufficiency in the number of keepers, are too frequently left to themselves.

7. As the deviations from the existing rules which your Committee have remarked, appear to have existed before the appointment of Dr. Best, your Committee are of opinion, that in case any censure should be considered by the Governors, as attaching to these deviations, it ought not to be imputed to him."

The Committee met on the 21st, 26th, and 28th of January, and on the 8th of February. On the last of those days their report was prepared; but previous to the Archbishop's departure to London, they determined to adjourn the revision and alteration of the rules until they might again have the benefit of his Grace's assistance. No further meeting, therefore, took place until the month of June.—The report as to rules and management was in the mean time submitted to the Quarterly court in April.

During the March assizes, two remarkable circumstances engaged the public attention.—A pauper from Bishophill, York, was sent to the Asylum, and was immediately lodged in the same apartment with three other

lunatics—one of them in a violent state. The new patient received mortal bruises, and died a few days afterwards in the Asylum. The Steward entered him in the book—"Died"—and for greater secrecy, instead of a coroner being sent for, the body was removed into Bishophill, and put into a coffin, and notice was given to the minister and parish clerk for the funeral. The clergyman, however, (the Rev. J. Graham, one of the new Governors of the Asylum) having heard a rumour of the circumstances, procured an inquest to be held—and the jury found a verdict, stating that the lunatic, John Bardwell, "*died of bruises given him by all, or some, or one of three other lunatics, who were confined and slept in the same room.*"

The other fact alluded to, was published by Mr. Higgins, in the York Herald of the 26th of March.

"Visiting the Asylum early this morning, (March 24th) says Mr. Higgins, I discovered to my great surprise, that the house is yet in the most shocking state. I discovered a number of *secret* cells in a state of filth, horrible beyond description, and which in my opinion it was impossible could be produced by the occupation of one or two patients in less than several nights; in one of these cells was a chain, with handcuffs affixed, FASTENED TO A NEW BOARD in the floor. These cells were occupied the last night by women, the most miserable objects I ever beheld. Upon inquiry, I find that these cells were kept secret from the two Committees who were appointed to examine the state of the house, &c. and that they were informed, as I was, before I discovered the door which led to these hidden cells, that they had seen the whole of the house. A Special meeting of Governors being held about 2 hours after my discovery, at which Col. Cooke, of Owston, presided, I was enabled to have these cells examined by at least 20 of the Governors, but not until all the straw, *perfectly soaked*

with urine and excrement had been removed, and clean straw put in the place. The state they were in even after this operation, I leave to the Governors to describe."

In the next week's newspaper, Dr. Best inserted an answer to Mr. Higgins's statement: he described the cells as "of a very sufficient size, entirely lined with wood, and "furnished with ventilators, straw-beds,* blankets, &c. "With respect to the chain and handcuffs, (proceeds the "Doctor) they have been particularly examined by a Com-"mittee of Governors. The locks of the handcuffs being "entirely filled up and the hinges obliterated by rust, it is "evident, on the most casual inspection, not only that they "are incapable of being used at present, but that they can-"not have been employed as far as can be judged from "their appearance for a long series of years. It is quite "impossible that this circumstance can have escaped the "notice of Mr. Higgins, and yet he has deliberately at-"tempted to disseminate a belief, that this chain and these "handcuffs are still in use at the Asylum; or in other "words, he has laboured to mislead and inflame the pub-"lic mind to the deep prejudice of individuals, by an in-"sinuation, WHICH AT THE TIME HE WAS BRINGING IT FOR-"WARD, HE KNEW TO BE WHOLLY UNFOUNDED."

This gross and unjustifiable attack on Mr. Higgins, was made in consequence of his simple statement of the fact, that he had discovered a chain and handcuffs in the Asylum. Mr. Higgins stated that the chain was fastened to a new board—and *it proved on inquiry, that the board had been put down only about six months before.* Was it not perfectly natural, under these circumstances, for Mr. Higgins

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* Would the public have supposed from the term "*Straw-beds*," that these patients were bedded like horses on loose straw!

to conclude that the chain was fixed into the board for the purpose of being used?—It is admitted that Dr. Best convinced of the unpopularity of chains, had ordered them to be disused, and removed from the Asylum—yet it is very possible, that amongst the keepers, there was still an inclination for chains; and as this chain had remained so long without the knowledge of the Physician, it is easy to suppose that unknown to him, it might occasionally have been in use*.

At the Quarterly court of the 14th of April, the circumstances of Mr. Higgins's discovery of secret cells, came under discussion. Three of the Committee, who considered Mr. Higgins's publication as a censure on that body for their remissness of inspection, thought it necessary to state in vindication—that when the Committee were conducted by Dr. Best and the keepers through the Asylum, these cells were not shown; and that they were led to believe, they had seen the whole building.

The following motion was then put and carried by a considerable majority.

"That it appears to this court, that when the Committee of rules and management were conducted through the Asylum on the 28th of January last, the four cells for female patients recently discovered by Mr. Higgins *in a state of extreme dirt and neglect, were not shown to them.*"

Dr. Best having declared that he had no intention of concealing the cells, a motion was made, to the following effect—*That it appears to the court that there was no* INTEN-

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* A few weeks afterwards, one of the newly appointed visitors discovered in a closet some *heavy irons*, intended to confine the person in a painful position. On his inquiring of one of the keepers respecting the irons, the reply was—"they were the irons of Turpin, the highwayman."

TION * *on the part of Dr. Best to conceal these cells from the knowledge of the Committee.*—Mr. Nicoll seconded the motion, and took considerable pains to procure for Dr. Best, a vote of exculpation. He said he was perfectly convinced that there had been no intention of concealment on the part of Dr. Best—and he was the more anxious to express his sentiments, as he had a motion to bring forward, which materially affected that gentleman. On a division, the motion was *negatived* by a small majority.—It was put in a new shape, and again supported by Mr. Nicoll—but the result was the same.

Mr. Nicoll then brought forward the other motion to which he had alluded.

" That it is the opinion of this court, that Mr. Higgins is entitled to the thanks of the Governors, for his upright, persevering, and successful exertions in bringing to light the abuses which have prevailed in this institution."

Mr. Alderman Wilson, though he did not oppose the vote of thanks, said he considered it out of season. He objected to its being brought forward at this particular period. Another Governor objected to it, because he thought it was intended to convey an implied censure of Dr. Best. Mr. Nicoll said his intention had not been misunderstood. He *did* intend a censure of Dr. Best, for his unjustifiable charge against Mr. Higgins : this, he said, was his reason for bringing forward the motion at the present time. Mr. Wilson declared, that now that Mr. Nicoll had avowed the real object of his motion, he would oppose it with all his might †. Violent altercation and recrimination ensued;

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* This, it will be observed, was a question of *intention*, and no man can be certain of the unmixed nature of his own. We are apt to forget those things which it is not convenient for us to remember—and we have no suspicion that this forgetfulness is in some degree intentional.

† At the Quarterly court in December, 1814, the proceedings of this meet-

and at length a division took place, when Mr. Nicoll's motion was carried by a small majority. The names of the minority were published in the newspapers, as having protested against the vote.

Mr. Palmes then made a motion, which he begged the court would allow to be carried without opposition:—"That the chain found in one of the four cells was in that state of rust and decay, that it could not have been used for a considerable length of time." Mr. Palmes' pleading for a friend, was irresistible, and the motion was accordingly carried, *nem. con.*

Undoubtedly the chain was extremely rusty—but it is possible to conceive that an extreme degree of rust may be produced in no considerable time, under the circumstances in which the chain was found—soaked in moisture. As to *decay*, the chain would have secured the strongest man in the room.

The Quarterly court in April, for the first time after a lapse of twenty-eight years, appointed visitors.—The visitors found an old rule, that in order to prevent fraudulent charges, no bills (except for subsistence) should be sent by the Steward to the friends of the patients, without the signature of the visitors—and they gave notice of this rule to Mr. Surr; who did not choose to submit to the new regime.

At an adjourned Quarterly court on the 5th of May, "Mr. Surr having been called in and desired to explain

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ing were referred to by Mr. Alderman Wilson—and Mr. Nicoll stated the ground on which he had put his motion of thanks to Mr. Higgins, detailing the transactions of the 14th of April, in substance as above given. Dr. Best immediately accused Mr. Nicoll of asserting a falsehood. Another Governor supported him. In consequence of this indecorum, the Archbishop properly interfered, to stop further altercation. A statement of what passed at a public meeting, cannot be considered as falsified by the *lie direct* of one or two individuals. The recollection of a large majority of the Governors present at the April meeting, must confirm the correctness of the statement now given.

why he refused to observe the order required of him by the visitors, said he was not aware such an order existed; that he had been so long, (viz. ever since he was appointed Steward) accustomed to sign his own bills only, that he should consider it an *impeachment of his integrity* if such an order was now enforced; and that he would rather resign his situation than comply with such a requisition."

It has already appeared in the instances of the fire, and of the discovered cells, that the knowledge of the inquiries which were going on, and the observation to which their conduct was exposed, had produced in the keepers, no degree of vigilance, or of attention to the persons of those under their care—that their feelings were become callous by habit. Another instance of the same kind which occurred about this period, is authenticated by Mr. Samuel Tuke.

"Mr. Tuke visiting the house, accompanied by the architect, between ten and eleven o'clock one morning, in the month of April, 1814, found a male patient, *without any clothes whatever*, standing in a wash-house on a wet stone floor, apparently in the last stage of decay; he was indeed a mere skeleton; his thighs were nearly covered with excrement in a dry state, and those parts which were not so, appeared excoriated, as did also some parts of his waist. A keeper, who was called, said, that the patient was not accustomed to leave his bed, that he was a perfect child, and could do nothing for himself; that his attendant was busy *killing pigs*, and could not, therefore, attend to him. The bed which he was said to have left was in the most filthy state, and corresponded with that of his body. He was spoken of by all (indeed it was impossible to see him and consider him otherwise) as a dying man. The further history of this poor creature proved, however, the fallacy

of appearances. He was removed to another part of the Asylum where he was better attended, and, in a few months, was so much recovered, as to be removed to his parish, in an inoffensive, though imbecile state of mind."

It cannot be wondered that such a spectacle should make a strong impression on one who had been accustomed to witness the humane attention of the managers and keepers at the Retreat.

CHAPTER VI.

Petition against Mr. Rose's Mad-House Bill.

AT a special meeting of the Governors, held the 16th of July, 1814, it was determined to petition the House of Lords, against the bill which had then passed the House of Commons. There were several grounds for this petition. Though the regulations of the bill might be extremely salutary in private mad-houses, (of which the York Asylum, previous to 1814, was one) yet in the case of an institution vigilantly attended by a Committee and by visitors, the vesting such a controuling power in the Magistrates, as in effect to take the management out of the hands of those who are interested in the welfare of the charity, would produce injurious effects. Public charities are encouraged, because they are under the management of their patrons. If abuses arise, the public either makes an exertion to remedy them, or withdraws its countenance from the abused institution.—The Asylum might, it was apprehended, be guarded against a relapse into its former state of neglect, by requiring an affidavit of visitation to be annually made by the visiting Governors.

Another reason for petitioning was, the heavy and unnecessary tax to which this bill would have subjected the funds of the Asylum. This had been pointed out in the Committee of the House of Commons; and the Right Hon. Chairman (who listened with humane and patient attention to every suggestion for the improvement of the bill) adopted a clause for lightening the burden, not only in the case of institutions for parish paupers, but in that of insti-

tutions like the York and Nottingham Asylums, which are of a mixed nature—admitting many patients, who though not technically *paupers*, (i. e. maintained by parishes) are equally objects of charity. It was therefore justly a matter of surprise, that after the bill had been committed and recommitted, printed and reprinted, it came down into the country, containing indeed the mitigating clause alluded to—but by the omission of two words*, wholly deprived of its effect. Under these circumstances, the Governors of the Asylum united in the petition against the obnoxious clauses of a bill—the general intention of which must be admitted to be excellent, and its effects—when it shall have been matured and passed into a law—likely to be salutary.

Mr. Higgins, about the same time, presented a counter petition, praying the House not to listen to the Governors, but rather to *make the law more strict with respect to the Asylum.* Both petitions concur in pointing out the expediency of a visitation by Magistrates of the *county* as well as *city* of York. (Copies of the petitions are inserted in the Appendix, page 46 to 49.)

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* The missing words had been afterwards supplied, unknown to the petitioners.—The bill, however, was withdrawn; but will probably again come before Parliament during the present Session.

CHAPTER VII.

Projected Alterations in the System of the Asylum.

THE Committee of rules and management assembled occasionally during the months of June and July, to consider of the arrangement of a new code of rules. These were laid before the Quarterly court in July, in order that they might be in the hands of the Governors, and might be weighed and considered by every individual before the great Annual meeting in August, of which an account will be given. In the present chapter, it is intended to notice only a few topics, which were not afterwards particularly discussed at the General meeting.

1. It was supposed by many, that the appointment of *two* or more Physicians, instead of *one*, would be proposed by the new Governors, as a sovereign cure for all evils and abuses—that the situation of Physician to the Asylum, like the rectory of Simonburn, was too fat a living for one, and would afford to carry double at least. The fact, however, was, that most of the new Governors thought one Physician sufficient—they had no wish for a change of the individual. Dr. Best was as acceptable to them as any other man; and his professional abilities were unquestionable. Even if a change were to have been made, there is no point on which we should have entertained such various opinions, as on the nomination of a successor to Dr. Best.

As opulent patients, however, were to be admitted for the sake of the poor, it seemed reasonable that the Gover-

nors should not be restricted from admitting the patients of other Physicians; and it was therefore proposed in the Committee, that affluent patients might be attended by any regular medical practitioner whom their friends chose—(a rule adopted in the Asylum at Glasgow). This was strenuously resisted by Dr. Best and his friends, and was negatived—the numbers in the Committee being equal, *pro* and *con*.

2. To improve the annual income, it was proposed to admit subscribers of two guineas per annum, as Governors. The patients had been materially reduced in number, in consequence of the fire; yet it appeared that it would be necessary to support the same establishment of officers and servants, whose salaries and board must be provided for out of the payments of the reduced number of patients. It was apprehended that without some additional aid the charity would either be soon bankrupt, or be unable to admit the poorer classes at a moderate weekly sum. The proposed method of improving the income of the charity, excited the jealousy of the country gentlemen, as calculated to introduce amongst the Governors, a lower order of persons, who, *unlike the Old Governors*, would be disposed to promote jobs and private interests, instead of the good of the charity. On this ground the proposal was negatived.

3. It was also proposed in the Committee to supply the want of a Chaplain to the Asylum. It had been observed, that on the morning after the fire, a bible and the "Whole duty of man" were found in the apartments of the patients —the leaves partly consumed. One of these lay open near the remains of a patient's apparel, and had evidently been in his hands before he retired to rest.—There can be no doubt that in a state approaching to convalescence, the offices of religion must be consolatory and advantageous. Mr. S. Tuke observes, "to encourage the influence of re-

ligious principles over the mind of the insane, is considered of great consequence, as a means of cure."—" Many patients attend the religious meetings of the Society, held in the city; and most of them are assembled on a first day afternoon, at which time, the superintendent reads to them several chapters in the bible. A profound silence generally ensues, during which, as well as the time of reading, it is very gratifying to observe their orderly conduct, and the degree in which those who are much disposed to action, restrain their different propensities."

It was, therefore, proposed in the Committee, "*that the minister for the time being of the parish, should have free access to the Asylum; and visit the patients as often as he should see occasion.*"—*Some mad Methodist, perhaps*—was the remark of a clergyman, to the Archbishop of York on the proposal being made *.

It had more than once been stated in the Committee, as an established fact, that fanaticism is the principal cause of lunacy—and therefore, it seems not wholly foreign to

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* This is not the first time that it has been attempted to impress the Archbishop of York with a persuasion that there is a body of mad enthusiasts amongst the Clergy of his diocese.

The Rev. Sydney Smith, in a visitation sermon preached at Malton, thus presents the heads of his brethren in a charger to the Archbishop. " It is impossible not to observe that there is gradually growing up among us a new faction of ministers, pretending to more than ordinary sanctity, and emphatically *distinguishing themselves* † by the name of the Evangelical Clergy.—What we have to fear from all this fresh impetuosity is, that it will produce a crisis—it can never be stationary ; it must come to an end ; it is a contest of extravagance, a perverted struggle, where the least wise is the most honourable, and where the object seems to be to *lash mankind* to a state of the *greatest folly and delirium* which the wide limits of human imbecility will permit."—" That such men as I have described have entered, and are entering into our establishment, is one of the greatest misfortunes by which the church is this day afflicted."

† They do not assume the appellation—it is given to them as a term of reproach.

this history, to inquire into the grounds of the assertion. It appears to be founded on the opinion of Mr. Haslam, the apothecary to Bethlem hospital—" In his " Observations on madness," page 265.

" We see nothing in the solemn pomp of *Catholic worship*, which could disorganize the mind; as human beings, they have employed human art, to render the impression more vivid and durable. The decorous piety and exemplary life of the *quaker* has signally exempted him from this most severe of human infirmities. The established church of this country, of which I am an unworthy member, will delude no one by its terrors to the brink of fatuity."—" The pastors of this church are ALL men of liberal education, and many of them have attained the highest literary character; they are, therefore, eminently qualified to afford instruction."—" Although the faction of faith will owe me no kindness for the disclosure of these opinions, yet it would be ungrateful, were I to shrink from the avowal of my obligations to METHODISM, for the supply of those numerous cases, which has constituted my experience of this wretched calamity."

Mr. Haslam in a note on the word " *methodism*" quotes the following passage from the Edinburgh Review for January, 1808, p. 342—" We shall use the general term of *methodism* to designate these three classes of fanatics, Arminian and Calvinistic methodists, and the *evangelical clergymen* of the church of England—not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades, and nicer discriminations of LUNACY, but treating them all as in one general conspiracy against common sense, and rational orthodox christianity."

It must be evident from a perusal of these extracts, that Mr. Haslam is meddling with a subject with which he is wholly unacquainted.

"There is nothing," he says, "in the pomp of Catholic worship to disorganize the mind."—Were religion under any of its forms amongst the causes of madness, there is none more likely to affect the mind than the Roman Catholic. The rapturous discourses of its divines—the pomp of its religious rites—the sublime musical compositions which accompany its Te Deums and masses,*—the vows and penances which it exacts—are all calculated to work strongly on the passions of the worshipper.—The Pope himself would scarcely venture to promise the Catholic a dispensation from lunacy.

Mr. Haslam's ignorance of Quakerism is no less remarkable. "The decorous piety of the Quaker, has signally exempted him."—Mr. Haslam is evidently ignorant of the peculiar tenets of this sect—and of the frequently impassioned manner of their public speakers—or they would have been honoured with a place in his list of fanatical methodists. Even in the sphere of his own profession, he is also ill informed on the subject of the Quakers. Because they have taken care that their lunatics shall not be placed in the clutches of Mr. Haslam—the secrets of whose prison-house are now before parliament—he rashly concludes that they are "signally exempted" from insanity. Yet in the Retreat at York, at the very time Mr. Haslam was writing, there were SIXTY lunatics belonging to this religious society.

After complimenting the establishment, and pronouncing the clergy to be "*all* men of liberal education," he informs us of his obligations to *methodism* for the supply of numerous cases—and, adopting his creed from the Edinburgh

* Whoever is acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Latrobe's selections of sacred music, from the composers of Germany and Italy, must admit that it is there we must look for the finest church music in the world.

Review, he includes under this term, *Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists*, and the *Evangelical clergy of the church of England.* Yet out of about fifty cases, noticed in his book, there is only one in which the patient's disorder is attributed to enthusiasm—and this Mr. Haslam only takes from report.—Out of 150 cases recorded by Mr. S. Tuke, at the Retreat, he does not trace *one* to religious impressions.—"In one instance," he observes, "the disorder came on during *the singing in a methodist meeting-house* *; but an extraordinary excitement had been previously observed, which it is at least highly probable, led the patient to the place where the ebullition of his mind could no longer be repressed."

To Mr. Haslam's questionable evidence on this head, is opposed the counter testimony of Mr. Crowther, the surgeon to Bethlem; who says—"As for the opinion which some entertain of the prevalent effect of methodism, in producing insanity, *proof*, in place of bold and bare assertion,

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* This anecdote, notwithstanding the guarded manner in which Mr. Tuke has introduced it, will doubtless be considered by some members of his Society, as furnishing an additional argument against the use of music in divine worship, and perhaps by some members of the Establishment as an objection to that congregational singing sought to be introduced into our churches. Yet this is a practice of as high antiquity as the establishment of Christianity itself. The Christians in the first century were accustomed to sing responsive hymns to Christ as God. † When two of the first preachers of Christianity were thrust into an inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks, they sang hymns to God; and though it was midnight, they sang so loud, that the prisoners *heard them.* Could Paul and Silas now visit the churches, it is difficult to say whether their surprise would be greater on attending the Quakers' meeting, where they would find no singing at all—or on entering one of our churches, where the idle people pent up opposite to each other in those vile inclosures, called pews, have resigned the work of praise to the execrable solo of the parish clerk.

† Carmenque Christo quasi Deo canere secum invicem—Plin. lib. 10. Epist. 97.

is required to settle this point." (Crowther's practical remarks.)

Joanna Southcott has lately deluded a number of persons with the promise of a new Messiah—The number of her followers has been estimated at *one hundred and ten thousand.* Never perhaps, since the time when the prophets of Baal, vainly cutting themselves with knives and lancets, were exposed to the mockery of Elijah—have impious expectations been more completely overwhelmed with contempt and derision, than by the opening of the body of Joanna Southcott.—At this period, if fanaticism were the grand cause of insanity, we might expect our mad-houses to be crowded with the disappointed followers of Joanna—Let the inquiry be fairly made throughout the kingdom—all I can say is, that though her disciples were numerous in Yorkshire, no application has been made to admit any one of them into the Asylum.

It seems, therefore, scarcely necessary to observe on the improbability of the charge preferred against the *evangelical clergy.* These are for the most part useful and respectable men—remarkable in the closet for a diligent study of the scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, and in public for the other duties of their office. Their zeal, of which it has been prophesied that it must come to an end, has in many instances been burning with a steady and unabated flame for a period of 20, 30, or 40 years. Under such pastors the heads of our church need not be alarmed, lest the people should be lashed to delirium. There is more danger from apathy than from enthusiasm.—The present, it should be observed, is no new attempt to raise a cry against religious zeal, as the proof of a disordered intellect. Of the author of our religion his countrymen said—" he hath a devil, and is mad; why hear ye

him?" * Of his great apostle a pagan governor said with a loud voice, "Paul thou art beside thyself;" and the disciples were taught to expect such accusations. "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more will they call them of his household?"

To return to the proposal before the Committee respecting the clergyman of the parish; if fanaticism be amongst the causes of insanity, we are furnished with an additional argument for allowing the attendance of a judicious chaplain. How otherwise are the erroneous notions which have been the cause of the disease to be eradicated?—Till this is done, we cannot expect an effectual cure.

Notwithstanding the alarm endeavoured to be excited, the motion was approved by the Archbishop, and adopted by the Committee.

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* His friends sought to lay hold of him; for they said, "ὅτι ἐξέστη."

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings of the Annual Court.

IT will have already appeared that the report of the Committee of rules and management was neutralized, for the purpose of producing unanimity. It was not likely to meet the sanguine views and expectations of Mr. Higgins; and that gentleman was apprehensive lest the result should be unsatisfactory. Previous to the Annual meeting, he therefore published a letter in the newspapers, alluding to the principal abuses of the Asylum, and labouring to make a strong impression on the minds of the Governors*.

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* *To the GOVERNORS of the YORK LUNATIC ASYLUM.*

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

As the abuses, which are now not denied to have existed in the York Lunatic Asylum, will probably be laid before Parliament in the ensuing Session, it is unnecessary to say much about them.

Let me however briefly remind you, that it appears from the reports of your Committee, that large sums of money arising from the admission of opulent Patients have not been applied, according to the original intention, to the relief of the poorer classes; and that the lunatic poor, who have been confided to the care of your officers and servants by the Magistrates, have been neglected and abused. It does not, however, appear that any of the persons, who have thus abused your confidence, or betrayed their trust, have yet been dismissed from their situations, or even censured for their misconduct.

Under these circumstances, I hope you will not fail to attend at the General meeting, which is fixed for Friday in the ensuing Race week, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

I think it now both my right and my duty to call upon you to do justice to the institution and the public, and I feel confident I shall not call in vain.

In the name of all those persons, whose violent deaths are so stated in your books, as to disguise the facts from you, I call for justice.

In the name of *one hundred and forty-four* Patients, whose deaths have been concealed from the Public and from you, I call for justice.

The general Annual court of the 25th of August, held at the Guildhall, was attended by about 80 Governors. The

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I call upon you to clear the house of every individual, who has neglected his duty or abused his authority.

I call upon you to cleanse the Augean Stable, from top to bottom.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

GODFREY HIGGINS.

Skellow-Grange, Aug. 1814.

In consequence of this letter, Dr. Best published the following:

YORK LUNATIC ASYLUM.

To the EDITOR of the YORK CHRONICLE.

Sir,

From the nature of the letter published by Mr. Higgins, in the York Herald of Saturday last, it is not to be doubted that decided steps will be taken by the Governors of the Asylum, at the approaching Meeting on Friday.

Should the facts, to which the Governors are referred, be found to warrant the contents of that letter, *justice demands* that the suggestion therein contained, should be acted upon without hesitation, in regard to every officer and servant of the house. Should it appear that the charges are not warranted by the facts to which reference is made, it follows as a matter of course, that suitable notice will be taken of conduct, on the part of the accuser, which it would in that case be impossible to designate by appropriate expressions.

In either event, whether the guilt be affixed on the accused or on the accusing party, justice will not be complete, in circumstances of such enormity, unless some ulterior measures be resorted to by the public at large, or by the Magistrates of the County.

I am, Sir, &c.

August 23*d*, 1814. Y. Z.

It is certain that the General meeting acquitted Dr. Best of criminality, and did not censure Mr. Higgins. According to Dr. Best's declaration, therefore, *justice will not be complete in circumstances of such enormity, unless some ulterior measures be resorted to by the public at large, or by the Magistrates of the county.*

first proceeding in order and importance was, the consideration of the new rules proposed by the Committee. An attempt was, however, made to divert the attention of the meeting to the discussion of Mr. Higgins's letter. Mr. Hall Wharton, M. P., the Rev. Mr. Dealtry, and others, expressed themselves warmly against Mr. Higgins, and intimated that he ought to be censured. Lord Milton observed that the business before the court was the regulation of the Asylum, and that Mr. Higgins was not amenable to their tribunal. It was decided, by a large majority, to proceed to consider the rules. The principal of these will here be noticed in their order.

1. It was determined unanimously, that there should be *one Physician:* and (by a majority) that *the friends of patients might call in any regular Physician in consultation.*

2. That the *Apothecary* should be *the superintendent* of the house.

3. The *qualification of Governors* was fixed to be *a donation of £20 or upwards to general purposes.*

4. The powers of the Quarterly and Annual courts were defined.

Under this head a resolution was adopted, that *no Governor, or other person, shall be present, when any matter relating to himself is under consideration, unless with the approbation of the court.*

Lord Milton proposed (and the resolution was adopted by a majority) that

No Governor, being an officer of the establishment, shall be of the quorum, either at a General, or a Quarterly, or Special court.

5. *A Committee of seven* was directed to be regularly appointed by ballot at each Quarterly court, for the general superintendence and government of the house.

It was moved by Lord Milton, and carried by a majority, that

No officer of the institution shall be eligible to act on the Committee.

6. *Visiting Governors* are to be appointed at each Quarterly court—*and ladies* (whether contributors or not) are to be requested *to visit the female wards.* The proceedings and observations of the Committee and the visitors to be entered in writing, and read at the Quarterly courts.

On the motion already alluded to—that the minister of the parish should be a visitor—being put, Mr. Higgins moved as an addition, that patients of different persuasions should be attended by their own ministers. This amendment occasioned some difficulty, and, in the end, the original motion was withdrawn, and the matter was left to the discretion of the Committee.

7. The admission and classification of patients came under consideration. These were divided into various classes, from three guineas a week downwards.

Earl Fitzwilliam here expressed his great surprise, on learning from the report of the Committee, that the highest class of patients at present in the Asylum, paid only 14s. a week. This, his Lordship observed, was contrary to the rules. What (he asked) had become of the higher classes, who, according to the rules, were to pay 20s. per week and upwards?

These, it was answered, were Dr. Best's *private patients,* for whom he received what he thought fit, and paid the house only 14s. Earl Fitzwilliam declared his astonishment; he had been a Governor for a long period of

years, and regularly attended the Annual meetings, but he never before heard of any private patients of the Physician.

8. The Physician, *in addition to his professional duties, is to notice any negligence or misbehaviour which he may observe in any of the officers or servants.*

To which Earl Fitzwilliam moved, that it be added,

He is expected to pay attention to the state of the persons of the patients, and to remark the condition of their apartments. This was carried.

9. The *remuneration of the Physician* came next under consideration. A fixed salary was proposed in lieu of fees. This Lord Fitzwilliam strenuously objected to. He showed, from the state of the finances, that the charity was without any funds for the maintenance of the patients: he had no objection to the Physician's receiving his fees from the affluent patients, according to the old rules, but would never consent to vote him a salary, which the charity had no means of paying, and which must therefore come out of the pockets of the poor lunatics. To this it was replied, that the system of fees was liable to abuses.

On a division, *the remuneration by salary* was carried by a large majority; *the physician to accept no fees or gratuities.*

On the *quantum* of salary, various opinions were entertained—and it was determined that the question should be first decided, whether the Physician should be precluded from having private establishments.

Lord Milton strenuously contended against this privilege to the Physician, as detrimental to the interests of the charity, and calculated to occasion the removal of those affluent patients from the house, whose overflowings were relied on for the relief of the poor. Upon a show of hands, Lord Milton's motion for precluding the Physician from pri-

vate establishments was declared to be lost. The noble Lord called for a division, when there appeared a majority of six against the motion.

On this occasion, many of the leading promoters of reform voted in favour of this privilege to the Physician. To prohibit Dr. Best from private establishments would, in effect, have been a dismissal—for though a liberal salary might be allowed, his private lunatic establishments were conceived to be a source of greater emolument. If the Governors were not prepared to dismiss their Physician upon a direct motion for the purpose, there seemed a hardship towards him in adopting a rule, which, however desirable for the charity, was in effect—though indirectly—compelling Dr. Best to resign.

Different sums were then proposed for the salary: 400l. was negatived without a division: 200l. and 300 guineas were then proposed. Mr. Thompson, of Hull, M. P., remarked, that it was very unusual to give so large a salary for attending any charitable institution. Most of these were attended gratis; and he doubted not if the situation was vacant, offers would be made by many Physicians of their gratuitous services. The credit of the situation, and the introduction to private practice, (from which the Physician would not be restricted) was a sufficient inducement without any salary at all. In the great hospitals in London, he understood 50l. or 100l. per annum, was the highest salary. He therefore could not vote for so large a sum as was proposed. Earl Fitzwilliam repeated his determination to vote for no salary at all, until it was proved there were funds to make it good. Several shows of hands now took place; and at length, the majority was declared to be in favour of *a salary of THREE HUNDRED GUINEAS per ann. till further order.*

10. The duties of the situations of *Treasurer*, *Apothecary*, *Steward*, *Matron*, and *Servants in general*, were defined.

11. It was decided that *the present and future contributors to Lupton's Accumulating Fund should be Governors, whenever that fund should be opened.*

The whole code of new rules being adopted, Mr. Higgins proposed, that as abuses had prevailed, and as a new constitution was now adopted, the whole of the officers of the house should (in a parliamentary phrase) be sent back to their constituents; in other words, that their places should be declared vacant; and a new election take place on a future day. The motion was regularly made and seconded. Mr. Higgins was now called upon by Mr. Hall Wharton and others, to lay a ground for his motion, by showing that abuses had existed. This Mr. Higgins proceeded to do in the three instances alluded to in his letter: and though he was repeatedly interrupted and attacked, he preserved the greatest temper and coolness. He showed, in the first place, from the report of the Committee, that large sums, arising from the payments of the opulent patients, had never been placed to the credit of the institution, for the benefit of the indigent, according to the intention of the charity; and that even of the sums received from the middling classes, only a part had been brought to account.

Here Mr. Higgins was interrupted by Dr. Best and his friends, who charged Mr. Higgins with a personal attack on the Doctor. Mr. Higgins disavowed any such intention—he had been called upon to state facts, and he had confined himself to a plain statement, without attributing blame any where. Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton declared they now heard, with the utmost astonishment, that the Physician, instead of taking moderate and reasonable fees from the affluent, which the Governors had authorized him to do, had put in his own pocket those sums which were intended for the support of the poor lunatics; and

that though he was allowed to take fees from the affluent only, he had even participated in the weekly payments of patients paying so low as 10s. per week. Dr. Best underwent a long interrogation from the two noble Lords, during which, he vindicated himself on the grounds of the practice of his predecessor, and the presumed connivance of the Governors. Earl Fitzwilliam held up his hands in great agitation at the discovery—he said he had been deceived in Dr. Hunter; his Lordship was almost the oldest surviving Governor, and had audited the accounts at every Annual meeting; yet so far from conniving at, he had never even entertained a suspicion of such practices.

Dr. Best called on the Governors to come to an immediate decision, whether or not he had misapplied the funds. It was late in the day; and Lord Milton proposed an adjournment, but Dr. Best's friends were pressing. A motion was made and seconded—that *Dr. Best was not guilty of misapplying the funds of the institution.* This motion being strongly opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam and others, as contrary to the facts, it was withdrawn, and another was substituted by Mr. Nicoll—" *that no* CRIMINALITY ATTACHES TO Dr. BEST *for misapplication of the funds of this institution.* This resolution was carried with only a small minority—amongst whom were Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Milton.

The court adjourned, at about six o'clock, to the following day.

The next morning Mr. Higgins resumed his proof of abuses, in which he had been interrupted by the discussion already noticed.

Having proved misapplication of funds, he proceeded to prove from the report of the Committee, neglect and ill treatment of the patients—particularly those of the poorer class—and concealment of the actual number of deaths.

Mr. Higgins had now made good his case, and might fairly have urged his motion for a general dismissal of officers and servants, which had not been postponed, and never withdrawn.—Another motion, however, was now introduced by the Rev. Mr. Graham, and supported by Mr. Nicoll—that the offices of Steward, Apothecary, and Matron, should be declared vacant.

This motion was severely animadverted on by Lord Milton, on account of the omission of the Physician—"*why* (exclaimed his Lordship) *not pounce upon the head?*"—Other Governors wished the subordinate officers to have a hearing; but most of those who had been strenuous to save the Physician from dismissal, seemed indifferent as to the fate of the inferior officers. They were called in, however, and indulged with the formality of a hearing—after which, Mr. Graham's proposition was carried with very few dissenting votes.

It is acknowledged, that with a view to the FUTURE *welfare* of the charity, it might be sufficient to change the domestic officers—retaining the Physician—but if the proceeding had reference to *the past*, and to the comparative responsibility which attached to the superior and to the subordinate officers, this line of conduct was extremely hard and unjust towards the latter—justice *to them* called for that general removal which Mr. Higgins proposed.—The marked forbearance shown towards the Physician, was also liable to misconstruction. Dr. Best had before publicly declared in the newspapers, that the characters of himself and of Mr. Higgins, were at issue, on the event of this meeting; and the friends of the Doctor were now emboldened to claim a decisive victory. The public were congratulated in the newspapers that "after a most scrutinizing and minute investigation into the direction, management, and treatment of the pa-

tients"—only the two cases of Kidd and Schorey had been proved. As to the Physician, it was said, that a "severe "scrutiny" had led "to a perfect conviction on the mind "of every gentlemanly observer, that the conduct of that "officer had been *peculiarly correct*, and that his unsolicited "resignation of some of the emoluments which his prede-"cessor enjoyed, as proved at that meeting, had been "*nobly disinterested*."

It cannot excite surprise, that under these circumstances, Mr. Higgins and the active promoters of reformation conceived that further explanation was necessary. Mr. Higgins's letter to Earl Fitzwilliam appeared soon afterwards.

There was an adjourned General court on the 7th of October, for the election of an Apothecary, a Steward, and a Matron. Mr. Miller, of Malton, was elected Apothecary—Mrs. Harrison (then the Matron to the County Hospital) Matron—and Mr. Pyemont, Steward.

At this meeting, a case of conscience was stated by Dr. Best, on the rule which prohibits fees or gratuities to the Physician, from the friends of *patients in the Asylum*.—A patient recovered and discharged, had sent him a brace of partridges. Was he either to throw them out into the street, or be charged with criminality? Whilst it is impossible not to remark on this occasion, a splenetic attack on the promoters of the new system, it may also be noticed as an instance of successful attention on the part of the Physician, and of gratitude on the part of the patient.—It happened to me last winter, to be in company with a gentleman recently discharged out of the Asylum, after a short confinement—*cured*—who considered himself greatly indebted to the care and assiduity of Dr. Best—Let it not be concluded that the horizon of the Asylum was universal darkness—that its moon was too far in the wane to afford the smallest light, or the cloud which covered it, so un-

broken, that not a single star appeared. Doubtless there have been many, (whose malady was materially connected with bodily indisposition) to whom medical skill and attention were beneficial, and it is also hoped a few solitary instances, in which the patient *when he saw that he was healed, returned, giving glory to God, and thanks to the Physician.*

CHAPTER IX.

History of the Asylum, from the General Meeting, 1814, *to the end of the year.*

THE election of a new Apothecary, Matron, and Steward, on the 7th of October has been noticed. On the same day, a new set of attendants was introduced into the Asylum. The attention of the visitors had indeed already produced very salutary improvements in the appearance of the house, and the condition of the patients; the effects of the reformation were already apparent—nor did it appear that any other disorders or irregularities had ever occurred amongst the servants, except such as might be expected in a large establishment, left wholly to itself. Yet still it was feared that habits had been acquired of a callous insensibility to the comforts and enjoyments of the patients, which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to correct; and therefore, the Committee, to whose discretion it was left, conceived it desirable to have an entirely new establishment of servants. The difficulties arising from the inexperience of the new officers and servants were temporary, and less than could have been supposed.

At the Quarterly court of the 14th of December, 1814, the report books of the visiting Governors—of the Ladies, visitors of the female wards—and of the Committee, were read. These reports were of considerable length, embracing a number of regulations, most of them important, and

others though minute in themselves, yet tending to promote the accommodation and comforts of the patients. It was sufficiently apparent that a progressive improvement was taking place in the management of the Asylum.

A few circumstances had also transpired during the quarter, which were noticed in the report of the Committee, and tend to show more fully (if it were necessary) the defects of the old system.

The Committee reported that the Matron had been in the habit of charging a profit on articles purchased by her for the use of the house*—There was an unaccountable deficiency in the stock of linen, beds and bedding, notwithstanding considerable recent supplies.—But the most extraordinary circumstance reported by the Committee, as connected with the old system, was the conduct of Mr. Surr, the late Steward.—The Committee being in want of his quarterly books of account as to the patients, on the Monday before the Quarterly court, Mr. Pyemont, the new Steward, was dispatched to apply to Mr. Surr for these books—he returned twice without them—Mr. Surr did not know what books the Committee wanted. The Committee waited on him in person. He peremptorily refused to deliver them up, or to give any account of them. The Committee, therefore, reported to the Quarterly court, that they conceived these books to be the property of the institution, and submitted that Mr. Surr should be required to deliver them up.—In consequence of this re-

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* Mrs. Atkinson admitted to the Committee that the rugs for the patients' beds were too short, and the blankets would not tuck in. In an *obscure branch of medicine*, experiments are laudable—an application of extreme cold to the *head* had been vouched to the public as efficacious in the cure of insanity—the late managers of the Asylum might wish to try the experiment of a similar application to the *feet*.

port of the Committee, Mr. Brook, the treasurer, was deputed by the Quarterly court, to demand the books—he returned with an answer, that Mr. Surr, after the Committee left him on Monday night, had *in a moment of irritation*, BURNT THE WHOLE OF THE BOOKS—except the book for the quarter just expiring.

The following resolution was then passed:

"That the conduct of Mr. Surr, in withholding from the Committee, several account books belonging to this institution, and destroying them, deserves the severest reprehension of this court, and is a most ungrateful return for the indulgence shown him by the last Annual court, in allowing him to reside in the Steward's house until the 6th of April next."

A no less extraordinary circumstance occurred at the next meeting of the Committee—sufficiently proving that if the burning of the books really took place, it was not a sally of passion, but a deliberate act of selection. Mr. Surr produced to the Committee those quarterly books which tally with his accounts, and are so contrived, that whilst the Physician was receiving considerable sums out of the weekly payments of the patients, he does not appear to receive a single shilling—the other set of books, which would have disclosed the Steward's actual receipts, he still declared he had destroyed.

In the Asylum investigations, CONCEALMENT appears at every step of our progress. 365 patients have died—the number is advertised 221. A patient disappears, and is never more heard of, he is said to be "REMOVED." A patient is *killed*—his body is hurried away to prevent an inquest. He is *cured*—but it is by some medicine, the composition of which is known only to the Doctor. The public cry out, that a patient has been neglected—there is a *levy en mass* of respectable Governors to quell the distur-

bance, and to certify that the patient has been treated "with *all possible care, attention, and humanity.*" A Committee of investigation desires to be shown the house—certain cells "in an extreme state of filth and neglect" are omitted to be pointed out to them. The Governors examine the accounts—there are considerable sums, of which neither the receipt nor the application appears. They inspect the Physician's report—it only aids the concealment. The Steward's books are inquired for—in a moment of irritation he selects for the flames, such of them as he thought it not adviseable to produce. And yet every circumstance of concealment is imputed by some to mere accident—and every attempt to tear off the mask, and exhibit the Asylum in its true character, is stigmatized as a libel, or an indelicate disclosure!

It is not, however, suspected that there is any material fact concealed from the public, which the burnt books would have disclosed, nor that any individual was privy to the act of burning them.

The only Quarterly books of this series which have escaped the flames, are the accounts of Mr. Eastburn, the former Apothecary, for the first and second quarters of 1797, and the account of Mr. Surr for the second quarter of 1799. The latter was accidentally found out of its place, amongst the bundles of Quarterly accounts delivered up by the late Steward.

	Mr. Eastburn's Accts. 1st Qr. of 1797.	*Mr. Surr's Accts. 2d Qr. of* 1799.
Patients at 24s. per week, of which Dr. Hunter received of the Steward 14s.	1	0
——— at 16s. of which Dr. H. received 6s.	1	0
——— at 15s. of which Dr. H. received 5s.	0	1
——— at 14s. of which Dr. H. received 4s.	1	1
——— at 12s. of which Dr. H. received 2s.	2	2
——— at 10s. 6d. of which Dr. H. recd. 1s. 6d.	1	1
——— at 10s. of which Dr. H. received 1s.	27	25
——— at 10s. accounted for without deduction	12	5

Parish Paupers, &c. at 8s.	48	47
Indigent Lunatics at 7s.	2	0
——— 6s.	13	16
——— 5s	1	2
——— 4s.	7	10

Mr. SURR's ACCOUNTS.

2d Quarter of 1813.

Dr. Best's private Patients, whose accounts do not pass through the Steward's hands—for whom the Steward received of the Physician 14s.—and who were distinguished in the burnt books by the letter B*	16
Patients at 15s. of which Dr. Best received of the Steward 5s.	16
——— at 12s. of which Dr. Best received 2s.	11
——— at 10s. of which Dr. Best received 1s.	17
Parish Paupers, &c. paying 9s.	110
Indigent Lunatics at 8s.	13
——— 6s.	7
——— 5s.	4
——— 4s.	4

As there are in the Quarterly accounts for 1797 and 1799, a few patients at 10s. a week, which sum the Steward gives credit for without deduction, it may be presumed that these patients either requited Dr. Hunter by fees, or were his private patients, and settled their accounts with the Doctor himself—in which case, the 10s. entered by the Steward, was the sum received by him of Dr. Hunter for each patient.

If there were patients in 1797, whose accounts were settled with Dr. Hunter himself, and for whom he only allowed the Steward 10s. per week, it seems extraordinary that in 1797, the Steward was keeping an account for a

* Mr. Wilson, who was accidentally discovered to have paid 2 guineas a week, was in this class. At the time of the fire there was a patient at 3 guineas—the payments of six others, since removed, are unknown—one patient, remaining last September, paid £120. per annum, which in this single case included clothes and all other etceteras—3 others paid 1l. 11s. 6d. or 1l. 10s.—five were at lower rates, from 16s. to 30s.

patient at 24s.—since this patient would have belonged to the class of private patients, if such a class existed. It may be answered, that the patient at 24s. was probably removed into the private class between 1797 and 1799—this was not the fact—the 24s. patient of 1797, is the same person who is the 15s. patient of 1799, so that Dr. Hunter's profit upon him was reduced from 14s. to 5s. per week; and he was still a patient of the higher class, according to Mr. Surr's books. There is, however, no doubt, that the class of 10s. patients (12 in number in 1797, but only 5 in 1799) were patients of the higher class, for whom Dr. Hunter was either remunerated by fees, or by retaining a proportion of their weekly payments.

It appeared important to enable the reader to form an opinion for himself, whether or no Dr. Hunter had, at this period, begun the practice of keeping the accounts with the affluent patients, a practice which, from age and infirmities, he was very unlikely to adopt at a later period of his life. Dr. Hunter's profits in 1797, exclusive of what he might receive from the 12 patients at 10s.—are at the rate of 175l. 10s. per ann.. : in 1799, exclusive of what he might receive from the five patients at 10s. they are at the rate of 102l. 14s. per ann.

Remarks in Conclusion.

It is unnecessary to swell these pages with an account of the proceedings of the Committee in the internal regulation of the Asylum. These are so simple and obvious in themselves, that they must have occurred in the management of all similar establishments; and it is only a matter of surprise that here they should never before have been attempted.

To provide the patients with the means of employment and amusement, and to prevail on them to use these means, is a great desderatum in an establishment for lunatics. The malady induces habits of desponding inactivity, and the patient must be roused to exertion. Here an active and intelligent superintendent possesses advantages over the Physician, who can only be a periodical visitor. The patient, from indolence or perverseness, may refuse those employments or recreations in which he is desired to join—but the superintendent can watch a favourable opportunity for accomplishing the point.

Such of the patients, the nature of whose malady will allow it, are now taken to some place of worship every Sunday, and they appear highly gratified, and desirous of proving themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them.

There is a circumstance connected with the new system, which has been justly complained of by those who had been in the habit of being employed about funerals from the Asylum, and to whom "custom hath made it a property of easiness." There has now (Feb. 3, 1815) been no death amongst the patients since the 14th of July last—a period

of nearly seven months*. Too frequent visitation, it is said, unsettles the patients; zeal certainly is the fault of young beginners. This fault is cured by time; and the patients may, perhaps, soon be again permitted to die without interruption. In the former year, exclusive of the four deaths by fire, there was a mortality of one-sixth of the whole of the patients (29 out of 173). The same proportion would allow of 17 deaths during the present year. It must, therefore, be a high satisfaction to those Governors who have been active in reforming the institution, to be assured, that several human lives have, in all probability, been already saved through their exertions.

If there had been a change in the Physician, the public might have erroneously ascribed this remarkable cessation of mortality to a superiority of medical ability in the successor to Dr. Best. It is therefore material to remark, that the change has taken place under *the same Physician* †. It is believed that there had been no want of medical skill; but a want of those *common attentions* to the patients which are due from one human being to another. A clergyman was considered by the keepers *no better* than a dog—a parish pauper *much worse*. The patients were left at the mercy of tyrannical and unfeeling servants. The poor were crowded together, that the rich might be accommodated. There was a neglect of cleanliness and ventilation.—The change on which the Governors may now congratulate

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* The number of patients has been as follows:—

1814, July	115	—— December	101
—— August	99	1815, January	105
—— September	101		
—— October	100	Average	103
—— November	100		

† Dr. Best is now relieved from that responsibility which attached to him whilst he was acting not merely as Physician, but as sole manager, and exercising "a general superintendence over the subordinate officers and servants."

themselves, is therefore the result of *common attentions*, and it respects rather the improved bodily health of the patients, than their restoration to sanity. Madness appears to be nearly out of the reach of medicine, and to baffle all the efforts of human skill.

> " Therein the patient
> " Must minister to himself "—

Or, rather, we must look to that " unerring Providence," to whom it may seem fit, " presently to remove from us this great calamity, or still to suspend it over us."

Yet something may doubtless be done by the perseverance of an observing and judicious superintendent, always on the spot, marking the different cases of the patients, with their daily vacillations. The Reviewer of Mr. Samuel Tuke's work (in the Edinburgh Review for April, 1814) has made some forcible observations on this subject, which deserve to be quoted.

" Very little dependence (he observes) is to be placed on *medicine alone* for the cure of insanity. The experience, at least, of this well governed institution (the Retreat) is very unfavourable to its efficacy. Where an insane person happens to be diseased in body as well as mind, medicine is not only of as great importance to him as to any other person, but much greater ; for the diseases of the body are commonly found to aggravate those of the mind—but *against mere insanity, unaccompanied by bodily derangement, it appears to be almost powerless.*"—" They" (the Quakers, observes the Reviewer)—" are always ready with their money, and what is of far more importance, with their time and attention, for every variety of human misfortune. They seem to *set themselves down systematically before the difficulty*, with the wise conviction that it is to be lessened or subdued only by great labour and thought, and that it is always increased by indolence and neglect. In this instance they have set

an example of *courage, patience, and kindness,* which cannot be too highly commended, or too widely diffused; and which we are convinced *will gradually bring into repute a milder and better method of treating the insane.* For *the aversion to inspect places of this sort is so great, and the temptations to neglect and oppress the insane so strong,* both from the love of power and the improbability of detection, that we have no doubt of *the existence of great abuses in the interior of many mad-houses.* A great deal has been done for prisons; but the order of benevolence has been broken through by this preference; for *the voice of misery may sooner come up from a dungeon, than the oppression of a madman be healed by the hand of justice.*"

Speaking of the Quaker's Retreat, the same writer observes—"the great principle on which it appears to be conducted, is that of *kindness to the patients.* It does not appear to them (the Quakers) because a man is mad upon one particular subject, that he is to be considered in a state of complete mental degradation, or insensible to the feelings of kindness and gratitude. When a madman *does not do what he is bid to do, the shortest method to be sure is to* KNOCK HIM DOWN; and straps and chains are the species of prohibitions, which are the least frequently regarded. But the Society of Friends seems *rather to consult the interest of the patient than the ease of his keeper;* and to aim at the government of the insane by creating in them the kindest disposition towards those who have the command over them. Nor can any thing be more wise, humane, or interesting, than the strict attention to the feelings of the patients, which seems to prevail in their institutions."—"*An attendant on a mad-house exposes himself to some risk, and to some he ought to expose himself, or he is totally unfit for his situation.* If the security of the attendant were the nly object, the situation of the patients would soon be-

come truly desperate. The business is not to risk nothing, but not to risk too much*."

The foregoing narrative may serve to show the nature of those abuses, to which charitable institutions, particularly receptacles for the insane are liable—the danger of implicit confidence, and the necessity that the Governors, and Committees, and Visitors of the Asylum, and of all other charities, should be vigilant. It may also vindicate the new Governors from the charges which have been circulated, that they stepped forward without necessity, excited unnecessary clamour, or were influenced by personal considerations. "What," (said a shepherd's boy in sacred history) "have I now done? is there not a cause?"

MISMANAGEMENT, like the Goliath of the Philistines was stalking abroad, and challenging attack. In vain had the two great champions, Mason and Burgh, wielded their swords; for the Giant "was armed with a coat of mail;" and "one bearing a shield went before him." In this hopeless situation of things, Mr. Higgins and Mr. Nicoll, together with a few humble individuals, (who were tauntingly told that their donations of twenty pounds did not make them gentlemen) stepped forward—like the scorned

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* It ought not to be omitted to be mentioned, that the Reviewer speaks of Mr. Tuke's work in terms of commendation. "The present account is given to us by Mr. Tuke, a respectable tea-dealer, living in York; and given in a manner, which we are quite sure *the most opulent and important of his customers could not excel.*"—If, as there seems reason to suspect, the ingenious Reviewer lives not so far north of York as Edinburgh, it is extremely desirable, that he would lend his assistance to the improvement of the Asylum. His vigorous and powerful mind would be beneficially employed in devising appropriate plans of treatment, for the different classes and degrees of lunacy—a subject which perhaps has never received that attention which its importance deserves.

stripling, they " drew near to meet the Philistine"—and they have prevailed.

To exhibit the hideous features of the slain giant, and to prevent the possibility of his ever rising to life again, the writer of these pages has ventured to appear before the public " WITH THE HEAD OF THE PHILISTINE IN HIS HAND."

APPENDIX.

Copy of a Letter, sent by Dr. HUNTER to the GOVERNORS of the LUNATIC ASYLUM.

YORK, August 24th, 1787.

GENTLEMEN,

AT the request of several of the Governors of the Lunatic Asylum, I here give a few thoughts on that charity; and as they are the result of nine years' attention, I flatter myself that they will be of use, in case of my death, or resignation. In the first place, I am convinced that at no time the payments from the parish poor should be reduced, as under such an alteration the house would be immediately, and most pressingly, filled with the lowest and meanest of the poor, to the exclusion of those of a middling rank and in low circumstances, for whom the Asylum was principally constructed, and its government planned. The Institution has already reduced the number of many miserable persons kept in places of private confinement; and has been fortunate in restoring many such objects to their friends, in bodily health, and in sound mind, without any material injury to their fortunes. This, I have ever considered, as the spirit of the Institution, and I have invariably conducted it upon that plan. During my attendance on the Asylum, I have studied to make the payments of the patients as advantageous as possible to the charity; but my successor may not be willing, or able, to make such a sacrifice. I therefore recommend that a salary should be given to the attending Physician; and which I think should not be less

than two hundred pounds per annum. This will attach him to the Asylum, and *prevent his establishing a private house of confinement, which would evidently counteract the design of the original foundation of the Asylum.*

At the same time, the salary of the Apothecary should be raised to one hundred pounds per annum, which will secure to the house the attendance of a judicious and regular person in one of the most important departments of the Asylum.

The Physician's salary being fixed, all fees from persons of superior condition will cease, and the full amount of the fees and pensions be paid into the hands of the Steward, for the use of the charity.—

As I apprehend that at sometime the Asylum must be under such a regulation, would it not be well to try the experiment at present?

If the Governors approve, I shall willingly make the trial, for one year, in my own person, with this assurance, that I will remit the whole, or any part of the salary, in case the payments from the patients should not exceed the expenses of the house; under which, all kinds of provisions, Apothecary's salary, and Servants' wages, are comprehended.

The incidental expenses will naturally be provided for by the interest of money already in the funds. Under the article, incidental expenses, are comprehended bad debts, and wear of bedding and furniture.

Taking fees, at the discretion of the attending Physician, from patients of better condition, may, at a future period, be attended with bad consequences; it is on that account that I recommend a salary, in preference to the mode at present practised, and recommended at the General Court, held in August, 1785.

The sum of the whole is this:

First, As the house was built and furnished by the public for the reception of Lunatics of different denominations, so it ought to be kept furnished and repaired out of the public fund.

Secondly, *As the public fund was never considered to extend beyond this idea, the whole expense regarding the board of the patients,*

together with medicines, salaries, and Servants' wages, must be defrayed by the patients themselves, or their friends, by weekly payments proportioned to their respective abilities.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. HUNTER.

Dec. 27, 1804, Quarterly-Court.

Ordered, That the letter written by Dr. Hunter to Mr. C. Atkinson, dated 11th December, 1804, be inserted in the Order Book, and that Dr. Best be admitted as Dr. Hunter's pupil; and that all the other directions contained in the letter be observed:

Copy of Dr. HUNTER's Letter to Mr. C. ATKINSON, Apothecary to the York Lunatic Asylum.

YORK, December 11th, 1804.

SIR,

Acting under the order of a General Court, held on the 23d August, 1799, I desire you to take notice, that I have accepted Dr. Best as my Pupil at the Lunatic Asylum; and I would have you and every other person holding an office in the Asylum, to consider that I have done so in consequence of a perfect knowledge of his medical abilities, he having regularly studied in the University of Edinburgh, where he took a most honorable degree, and having also spent two years in attendance on the medical schools in London; since which time he hath been engaged in regular practice in this City, visiting frequently the patients in the Asylum, both with me and for me, when business called me from home. I speak confidently of the gentleness of his deportment when visiting at the Asylum, and this I conceive a necessary qualification in an attendant on an Asylum, established for the reception of insane persons. To Dr Best I mean to communicate all the knowledge I have gained from the experience of

twenty-five years. And further, to assist his studies in this *obscure branch of medicine*, I mean freely to disclose to him the manner of preparing the different medicines so successfully made use of at the Asylum, and of which the composition is unknown to every person but myself. You will therefore take notice that you keep nothing secret from him; and as neither Dr. Best nor myself can be always present when a patient comes in, you will take care to collect from the patients' friends an accurate account of the case in writing, for the inspection of Dr Best and myself, to be afterwards corrected and inserted in a book kept for that purpose.

Some persons have imagined that this letter is intended to prepare the public for my resignation: on the contrary, I declare that it is my fixed and unalterable resolution to continue in my honourable office to the utmost period of my life.

A. HUNTER.

REPORT OF 1813.

"8th February, 1813.—At an adjourned Quarterly Court, &c. ORDERED, That the Report now produced and submitted to the Court by Dr. Best be adopted, and that the same be printed and distributed."

1813.

YORK LUNATIC ASYLUM.

The York Lunatic Asylum was founded by general Subscription in the year 1777, for the reception of individuals labouring under all the varieties of mental disorder, from every quarter of the British dominions.

The objects it has in view are, To secure to the patients admitted, the moral and medical treatment, best suited to their several cases.—To afford them the accommodations, the comforts, and the humane attentions, which so materially assist in effecting the restoration of reason.—To prevent them from committing

any acts of violence either on themselves or on others.—To seclude them from public observation and the intrusion of idle curiosity.—To maintain them in a manner suitable to their respective stations in life, without impairing their circumstances;—and, lastly, By relieving private families from the heavy burthen of supporting a lunatic in his own house, to lessen, in a material degree, the expense and distress attendant on insanity.

These objects, it is evident, are of no small importance to the community, either taken collectively, or individually considered; and the flourishing condition of the Institution, and the estimation in which it has long been held by the public, are the best proofs that the proposed ends have been attained.

Being an Establishment without an adequate Fund, or an annual Subscription for the maintenance of its inmates, *the friends of the Patients pay a weekly sum proportioned to their ability; and by this arrangement the utility of the Institution is extended to the various classes of society, and at the same time the expenses of the indigent are reduced by the payments of the more affluent Patients.*

Parish and other Paupers are maintained at the expense of nine shillings a week. The weekly payment of persons in low circumstances, but not absolutely in the condition of Paupers, is from ten to fifteen shillings. Patients in better circumstances, and in the higher stations of life, are charged with moderation, according to their respective means. *A certain number of Patients, in very distressed circumstances,* who pay for their own board, and have no assistance from their Parishes, receive the benefit of £35 per annum, (being the interest of the "Reduction Fund," especially established for the relief of the most necessitous objects, at the discretion of the Governors,) *along with the* OVERFLOWINGS *of the payments of the more affluent Patients.* The above payments discharge lodging, board, coal and candle, tea, washing, and medicines; but those Patients whose expenses exceed nine shillings a week, are separately charged for their washing.

The Physician is required to attend, without remuneration, on the Paupers, and on those who are maintained at reduced pay-

ments; but is authorized to receive from the friends of the more affluent Patients, the reasonable emoluments of his profession.

The present property of the Asylum consists of the sum of £7700 capital Stock, in the 3 per cent consolidated Bank Annuities; and also of the principal sum of £183 6s. 8d. due on certain Turnpike Securities, together with the buildings, furniture, and premises.

The total number of Patients admitted since the first establishment of the Asylum in 1777, to the first of July, 1812, was 2445; of whom there have been reported cured 1112,—relieved 616,—incurable and removed by desire of their friends, 312,—*dead 210,—remaining in the House, 116 men and 79 women.

Mr. Higgins's Statement, in the Case of William Vicars.

A few days previous to the 17th of April, 1813, complaint was made to me by an old woman, that William Vicars, of Fishlake, had assaulted her, &c. in consequence of which I granted a warrant to apprehend him, and upon his being brought up, I found he was insane. He being a Pauper, I ordered the Overseer of the Poor, Thomas Leach, to take proper measures for conveying him to the Asylum at York, to which place he was taken on the 17th of last April; and from which he was brought away on the 13th of last October. When I saw Vicars before he went, he appeared in good bodily health, no ways weak or emaciated.

About a fortnight ago, application was made to me, by Sarah, the wife of William Vicars, for an order for more relief from the Overseer of the Poor. I summoned him to the Town's Hall, in Doncaster, and upon inquiring into Vicars's situation, the following documents marked A B C D E, were sworn to be true by Sarah Vicars, and the Overseer, Thomas Leach, in the presence of W. Wrightson, Esq. and myself:—

A. Inventory of what clothes Wm. Vicars took into the Asylum, and also of what he brought back with him.

* N. B. The real number of deaths was 341.

He took with him a good and nearly new blue coat, a new scarlet silk shag waistcoat, a pair of good velveteen breeches, a new down hat, cost 15s. two pair of blue stockings, never been mended, a pair of new shoes, two new blue and white striped shirts, a short velveteen jacket, another scarlet waistcoat, spotted with black, another pair of velveteen breeches, two neckerchiefs, one of silk, and one of cotton, two pocket-handkerchiefs, and two night-caps.

He brought back with him, one short jacket and one waistcoat, two white shirts, two pairs of stockings, an old hat, not the hat he took, and a pair of bad shoes: he has not brought back one article he took with him. *He has brought back the Itch with him.*

SARAH
Her ⋈ Mark.
VICKERS.

Bill paid by the OVERSEER.

York, July 5th, 1813.

B. W. VICARS,

Bought of JOHN HODGSON,

	£.	s.	d.
4½ yrds Dark Cloth, 3s. 9d.	0	16	11
2½ yrds Stout Cord, 3s. 9d.	0	9	5
4½ yrds ditto Cotton, 1s. 2d.	0	5	3
Pocketing for 3 Coats	0	1	10
3½ Dozen Buttons, 8d.	0	2	4
	1	15	9

Bill paid by the OVERSEER.

C. Mr. VICARS.

Shirts mended	0	1	6
7½ yrds Cloth	0	13	9
2 Shirts made	0	2	9
2 pair Stockings	0	6	0
	1	4	0

Bill paid by the OVERSEER.

D. The Overseers of Fishlake, Dr.

To the Governors of the York Lunatic Asylum,

OCTOBER 13th, 1813.

	£.	s.	d.
Board, &c. of Wm. Vickers, 4 weeks 3 days, 9s.	1	19	9
Letter 1s. 9d. Shaving 5d. Stamp 2d.	0	2	4
Paid short	0	0	6
Received, George Surr,	2	2	7
Allowing deposit	1	1	0
	1	1	7

E. This is to certify that I was sent for, by Mr. Hopwood, of Thorning Hirst, on Thursday the 14th instant, to examine the state in which William Vicars, of Stainforth, was dismissed from the York Asylum. He had the itch very bad, was also extremely filthy, for I saw his wife not only comb several lice from his head, but take them from the folds of his shirt neck; his health was so much impaired, that he was not able to stand by himself; his legs were very much swelled, and one of them in a state of mortification. He is now much recovered, both in mind and health, by bark and a generous nourishing diet. Witness my hand this 29th day of October, 1813.

CHARLES MAPLES, Surgeon.

Evidence, in the Case of Martha Kidd.

JOSEPH KIDD, of the City of York, cork-cutter, saith, that his wife, Martha Kidd, is about 49 or 50 years of age, and that she was sent to the York Lunatic Asylum in September, 1806, in consequence of his application, that he saw her several times while she was there, that she had been afflicted with the rheumatism, and was an ailing woman for 14 years; that he found her clothes while she remained in the Asylum, and the latter part of the time he found washing. The reason of his taking the washing was that the clothes were not always clean, and sometimes were torn, when she was washed for in the Asylum. That

the first time he got them to wash, his daughter said she was almost sick from the nasty smell of them. That sometimes he was applied to by the servants for clothes, when he could not afford to furnish them, particularly latterly. That sometimes stockings and other linen, which were not his wife's, and not so good, were brought back by his daughters from the Asylum instead of her own linen. Saith, that sometimes his wife appeared clean, and sometimes dirty. He once took her to be washed. He saw her at the Asylum about two months before she came away, and she was lame and meanly clad, and her flesh did not seem as if it had been cleaned. That he usually visited her about four times a year, and that she was brought to a room. Saith, that about three weeks after she was removed, he saw her at Pontefract, and his daughter Martha Kidd was with her, and she had then the daughter's clothes on. That he did not know of his wife's removal from the Asylum until Thursday se'nnight after she had been removed by the parish officers to Pontefract, when his daughter went with clothes to the Asylum. Saith, that he was never denied seeing his wife at the Asylum. He has frequently seen black marks upon her thighs and legs, and has sometimes seen bits of flannel and old cloaths on her legs instead of stockings. That once when he visited her, her head was tied up, and there was a scab on it for several months, but the last time he saw her the wound was healed. Saith, that he supplied her while she was in the Asylum with three new bed gowns, about twenty shifts, about half of them new, and that she had with her when she went, three gowns, besides the one she wore, and he bought her more than two or three petticoats. That when her linen came to be washed it was very dirty, but not lousy. That about a year before she left the Asylum he inquired respecting his wife's lameness, and complained that he thought her hip was out of joint; and Mr. Atkinson informed him that it was not so, and that he had had his brother to it. That he was applied to by the servants at the Asylum for clothes, different times, about three months before she went out, but could not then supply any. That he did not mention to any one at the Asylum

that she was ill used, for fear that she might be worse treated; because he was afraid of the savage nature of the keepers. That he was once leading her through the passage, and one of the keepers found fault with him in a very surly manner, and asked the deponent "what he was doing," and said, "she knew the way as well as him," and at that time as he came from the door *he heard her scream out.* That no objection was made at the Asylum to his being left alone with his wife when he visited her. That he made complaint of his wife's ill usage to his shop-mates, his master, and Mr. Chapman, during her being in the Asylum. That his wife had a ring on when she went to the Asylum, and observing her without it, he inquired for it of Sarah Cuthbert, a female keeper, who told him his wife had not a ring, but if she had, it was brass or copper, and that she (Cuthbert) would see for it. That the next time he came to the Asylum he inquired for the ring, and Cuthbert gave it to him. That his wife's cloaths being torn, appeared from the effects of violence, and not from being worn out. That he never asked any one at the Asylum how she got bruises. That she wore black worsted stockings, but they were scarcely ever washed. That he got several pairs of new shoes for her while she was in the Asylum, at Emmerson's shop in Low-Ousegate.

MARTHA KIDD, of the City of York, straw bonnet maker, (daughter of Martha Kidd the pauper,) saith that she was in the habit of visiting her mother at the York Lunatic Asylum, that she was generally in a ragged state, not particularly dirty. That the deponent had not seen her mother for about two months before she went away; that sometimes her mother has been without a cap, and hardly with any clothes but what were very ragged; that her father bought her mother as many things as he could afford, and when he could not provide her cloathes, this deponent furnished her with part of this deponent's own clothes; that when this deponent inquired at the Asylum for her mother's things to wash, they were often changed; that this deponent usually applied for them once a week or once a fortnight, and Sarah Cuthbert, one of the keepers, sometimes said that they

were torn in pieces, and sometimes said they had been washed. That this deponent saw her mother the day when she came to Pontefract, soon after her arrival; she had then hardly any thing on, and was very dirty; the next day she had been cleaned, and looked very different; saith that her mother wore black stockings when she was in the Asylum, and this deponent washed them whenever they could be got. When her mother came to Pontefract she smelt offensively, and frequently did so when this deponent visited her in the Asylum. That her mother's face and hands were once washed by this deponent at the Asylum, when she was very dirty; that this deponent has observed bruises upon her mother when she was in the Asylum; that this deponent generally visited her mother about once a fortnight, and generally had to wait a long time at the Asylum before the deponent could see her; that her linen, when washed, was often offensive, but not lousy; that this deponent cannot say how often her mother's black stockings were washed; saith, that she has seen her mother at the Asylum in shoes without stockings, and with rags round her legs; that this deponent inquired of Mr. Atkinson respecting her mother's lameness, and he said that he had spoken to Dr. Best, and got Mr James Atkinson to examine her; that this deponent has called two or three times at the Asylum, and could not see her mother, the keepers saying that she was too bad to be seen; that this deponent has bought her mother new shoes, but cannot say when she had the last pair; that when she came to Pontefract, she had a bonnet not her own; that this deponent was once leading her mother, when lame, along the passage at the Asylum, and one of the keepers pulled her mother away by the arm, and said, that she knew the way as well as this deponent did; that she never saw any lice upon her mother while she was in the Asylum; that Mrs. Beckwith shewed the deponent her mother's black stockings, at Pontefract, full of lice, and the deponent saw Mrs. Beckwith burn them; saith, that this deponent went to Pontefract in August, 1812.

That before her mother went to the Asylum she used to destroy her clothes and bedding; that the morning after her

mother arrived at Pontefract, she smelt different from what she did the night before, but smelt faint and dirty, and it was not the smell of fish; that this deponent frequently changed her mother's stockings in the Asylum, and never saw any vermin in them, or upon her person; saith, that she thinks her mother had been neglected after this deponent left York. That after her mother became ill, and before she was removed to the Asylum, she did not foul her linen, but was remarkably clean; that she never heard the servants at the Asylum complain that her mother's clean clothes were not brought; that the deponent made two shifts for her mother, and Mrs. Thackray made others for her, which came new to the Asylum; that some shifts, caps, and other things of her mother's were missing at the Asylum, and never recovered. Admits that she (the deponent) has been in a company of Thespians.

ELIZABETH KIDD, of the City of York, spinster, deposeth and saith, that she is the second daughter of Joseph and Martha Kidd, and lives with her father, that she was sometimes employed in carrying clothes for her mother, to and from the Asylum; that the last time she saw her mother there, was about a month before her mother left the Asylum, when this deponent carried her a shift, a cap, and a handkerchief; this deponent saith, that she sometimes visited her mother, in company with this deponent's sister, who left York at the August races, 1812, and went to Pontefract; that this deponent used to go to the Asylum about once in a week or a fortnight, after her sister was gone, and that she brought her mother clothes which were marked; the clothes she took to wash were oftener other persons' clothes than her mother's. That on going to the Asylum, this deponent sometimes saw her mother directly, and sometimes waited a good bit. The keepers sometimes said her mother had her things off, it was a woman who told her so. Her mother's hands and face were sometimes very dirty, but not always; this deponent cannot say she saw the other parts of her person; this deponent saith she does not recollect taking awa any stockings to wash after her sister went; that sometimes when this deponent and her sister

went, their mother had pieces of flannel wrapped about her legs, and no stockings; does not recollect that the black stockings were ever taken away to wash. This deponent used to dress and undress her mother, but after her sister went, never took her stockings off: That when this deponent and her sister asked for their mother's clothes the keepers sometimes said she had torn them to pieces, sometimes that they were too dirty to be sent; that this deponent once shifted her mother's clothes after her sister went, she was not very dirty nor very clean; that sometimes one shift and sometimes two were left for her mother; that she made two shifts for her mother during the three years she was in the Asylum, but does not know how many her sister made; that a woman of the name of Thackray, in Walmgate, made some. Her mother had about twenty-four or twenty-five shifts, whilst in the Asylum, four or five of which were worn by her sister before they were taken to her mother; that when her mother was in the Asylum she generally had no clothes but what she had on, but she had more than one cap; that this deponent called at the Asylum, about a fortnight before her mother was removed, the people said her mother was so bad she could not see her, and that they would wash her clothes themselves; that she called again with a shift and other clothes for her mother, and found she had been removed to Pontefract. This was on the Wednesday after her mother went; that this deponent never saw any lice on her mother's person, or on the clothes she washed for her; that she has seen marks of bruises on her mother, and sometimes black marks on her arms, and once a bruise upon her head; that this deponent's sister generally changed her mother's clothes; that the reason given by the keepers for sometimes giving this deponent other clothes besides her mother's, to wash, was that they were clothes she had had on; that her mother was brought to her in a room; that she never saw any cruelty practised in the Asylum. Says she never was questioned, before the present time, by any person, how her mother was treated in the Asylum.

* MARGARET, the wife of Benjamin Beckwith, of Pontefract, in the County of York, governess of the poor-house, at Pontefract, maketh oath and saith, that she knows Martha Kidd, and that she was brought on the 4th of October, 1812, by the Pontefract fish cart, to the poor-house, at Pontefract; that this deponent assisted in bringing her from the cart into the house; that the said Martha Kidd was then in a very dirty state; that her clothes were very ragged, and very mean, and she had lice in her hair and on her carcase, and her legs appeared as if they had not been washed for years; that she had part of a shift on, which was dirty, and did not appear to have been washed of three or four weeks; that when her stockings were taken off, the skin of her legs appeared scaly from dirt, and her toe nails hung one over another; that she was in as sore a state as could be; that her shoes were very bad, and only just covered her toes. That this deponent put the said Martha Kidd to bed, and the smell from her was so offensive as to leave a disagreeable sensation in this deponent's stomach for several days, and about ten days after she was taken violently ill; that this deponent on the day after the said Martha Kidd's arrival put her a clean shift on, and washed her; that this deponent then turned down the said Martha Kidd's stockings, and the lice were rank within side her stockings; and this deponent burnt her stockings; that she had no petticoat in front, and no stays; that under her breast, and all over her, she was so dirty, it appeared as if she had not been washed for years, and she could not have been so dirty if she had laid in a fish cart three weeks; that she was speckled with dirt all over; that she takes no exercise, and does not wear her clothes fast, and does not tear her clothes; that she is willing to be washed, and this deponent has no trouble with her, except to serve and clean her; this deponent saith, that there are now in the work-

* The manner in which this witness gave her evidence, was such, that Dr. Best and his friends acknowledged their conviction of the veracity of the statement;—a more complete picture of a human being, lost in filth and wretchedness, could scarcely be delineated.

house, at Pontefract, twenty-three persons; that her husband is the master of it, and they have two servants to assist them, and an apothecary, who has a salary, attends the work-house; that she has no acquaintance with any body belonging to the Asylum; that this deponent never observed any bruises or marks on Martha Kidd's head, or any other part of her body; that if her hair was not constantly combed, and her skin regularly washed, she would be very dirty; that she never soiled her bed clothes, or the clothes on her body, till within the last fortnight, when she has had fits; that when this deponent cleaned the said Martha Kidd, on her first coming from the Asylum, she scraped the dirt off her stomach with her nail; that the said Martha Kidd could not have been washed under her clothes for years; that there was dirt about *******. That this deponent showed the stockings to the said Martha Kidd's daughter, and burnt them in her presence; that the said Martha Kidd dislikes to be cleaned or washed by any person, except this deponent. That during the time the said Martha Kidd has been in the work-house, she has had two new shifts, two old gowns, two pair of stockings, one new the other old, two new handkerchiefs, two new caps, two new petticoats, and one pair of new shoes.

THOMAS BARKER, of Pontefract, in the County of York, maltster, one of the guardians of the poor-house, at Pontefract, maketh oath and saith, that he never saw Martha Kidd in the York Lunatic Asylum, nor heard of any complaints made respecting her treatment while she was there; that she was removed from the Asylum to the poor house, at Pontefract, on the fourth of October, 1812, because the directors of the poor-house thought that she would be kept cheaper there than in the Asylum; that he saw her about an hour after she arrived; that she looked comfortable of herself, but her clothes were in a mean, ragged and bad state; that her daughter came in and flew into her mother's arms; that the daughter made no complaint; that Martha Kidd's clothing and her skin were dirty, and it was not dirt from travelling in a fish cart. *She was an object; he never saw a worse object in the street or in any other place.* That no

complaint was made respecting the matter by the guardians of the poor-house, to the governors of the Asylum; that the impression made upon him at the time, was such that he would not afterwards have sent any paupers to the Asylum; that he saw her two or three days after her removal, and that she had then got fresh clothes, and had been cleaned, and looked better of herself. That Mrs. Beckwith was recommended with a good character to the situation of governess of the work-house, and has conducted herself to the satisfaction of the guardians. She has the chief management of the house.

DAVID RIDEAL, of Pontefract, in the County of York, woollen draper, one of the guardians of the poor-house, at Pontefract, maketh oath and saith, that he attended at the York Lunatic Asylum in the month of September, 1812, to ascertain if Martha Kidd and George Arundel, then patients in the said Asylum, were in a state to be removed into the new built poor-house, at Pontefract; that he saw the said Martha Kidd, at the Asylum, for about two minutes before he returned, and she appeared in good bodily health, and made no complaints, but seemed from her manner to be in an insane state; that her clothes were not amiss, and she appeared then very decent, and that he shook hands with her, and she began of singing; that he came to the Asylum unexpectedly, and she was in a light room when he saw her; that she was removed to Pontefract poor-house, on the fourth of October, 1812, by the Pontefract fish machine, but that no person attended from Pontefract to see her removed. The machine brought fish that day; that he saw her at the poor-house on the evening of her removal, she was then dirty and forlorn, and her clothes were in a bad state; that her clothes seemed to be the same which she had on when he saw her at the Asylum; that she was lame at the time he saw her at the Asylum, and she still continues so, and is obliged, generally, to be carried. That he does not know that any complaint was made, during the time she remained in the Asylum, respecting any improper treatment of her, and that her husband never complained of her being ill treated; that this deponent never knew

or saw her until he attended in September, 1812, at the Asylum; says, that she was two or three years in the Asylum; that it was candle-light when he saw her at Pontefract, on the day she was removed: her face, hands, and neck were dirty, and appeared to want washing, but he did not minutely examine her person; that he made no application to the governors of the Asylum respecting her treatment, but Mr. Higgins wrote to him about three weeks ago, to make inquiries respecting it; that the overseers would not have thought of making any complaint, had they not been applied to; that Martha Kidd is not able now to give any account of her treatment, nor was so when she was removed from the Asylum; that neither Martha Kidd nor her friends applied for her to be removed from the Asylum, but she was removed to save expense to the parish.

ANN BATTY, the wife of Benjamin Batty, of the City of York, innkeeper, saith as follows: that this deponent and her husband were keepers of the York Lunatic Asylum, and left it about seven months ago; that this deponent saw Martha Kidd the day she left the house, and saw Sarah Cuthbert wash her and clean her that morning, and *this deponent went into the room to see how clean and neat she was*; that Sarah Cuthbert *washed Martha Kidd's face, hands, and neck, that morning*, and that the night before being Saturday night, she had seen the said Sarah Cuthbert take a pail, and a towel, and soap, to wash the patients in the room with Martha Kidd; that this deponent does not know how many patients there were; that the patients' feet are washed on a Saturday night, if they stand in need of it. That on the Sunday morning before Martha Kidd left the Asylum, Sarah Cuthbert said to deponent "*don't you think I've made her neat and clean?*" and this deponent replied *she had*; that Martha Kidd's clothes, for what they were, were as clean and neat as they could be made; that she looked a *decent clean old woman* for the clothes she had on; that she had no offensive smell; that she had no bonnet, but Sarah Cuthbert fetched her an old bonnet of her own; that this deponent did not see her shift, petticoat, or shoes; that she had a neck-handkerchief on; but this depo-

nent did not observe whether it was clean or not; that her daughter came on the Saturday following, to bring her a clean shift, not knowing she was gone; that the said Martha Kidd walked with a limp; that during the whole time Martha Kidd was in the Asylum, she had only a couple of new shifts; and that the rest that were brought, were old ones; that Martha Kidd altered the make of her clothes, by picking and unpicking, but this deponent does not know that she tore them by violence; that Martha Kidd was very quarrelsome with the other patients.

SARAH CUTHBERT, a female keeper at the York Lunatic Asylum deposeth and saith as follows: that she has been employed as a keeper in the Asylum for twelve years; that she recollects a patient called Martha Kidd, who was one of the patients in the gallery, under the care of this deponent; that the said Martha Kidd was very violent and mischievous when she first came, and very dirty; that this deponent took as much pains as she could in washing, cleaning, and combing her; that the said Martha Kidd was always washed and combed every Saturday; and oftener, when she required it; that her legs and feet were washed every Saturday; *that her hands, face, and neck were washed on the morning of the day on which she was taken away from the Asylum, and her hands, face, neck, and feet had been washed the night before.* That this deponent does not recollect any thing particular in her feet, or any dirt on her legs; that the said Martha Kidd was very poorly dressed when she left the Asylum, but this deponent made her as decent as she could be made in the clothes that she had; that she had an old black gown, and part of a petticoat on; that she had not a clean shift on, her daughter came with clean clothes the Tuesday following; that this deponent does not know when the said Martha Kidd had had clean stockings; she wore black stockings, which do not show dirt; that this deponent does not recollect to have seen her have a ring, nor that her husband asked this deponent for one; this deponent recollects no conversation with Martha Kidd's husband, or any other person, about a ring of Martha Kidd's; that it is

the custom of the house to take away rings from those who are not capable of taking care of them; the rings are kept by the housekeeper, Mrs. Atkinson, and are ticketed; says, the patients are always made clean before they leave the Asylum; that Mrs. Batty saw Martha Kidd on the Sunday morning; that there was then no bad smell about Martha Kidd, or her clothes; that she was not so dirty in her person the latter part of her stay in the Asylum; that she had been very dirty in the day rooms, and was in the habit of taking off her clothes and rubbing them on the ground; that she used to dabble and wash them, she dabbled and made dirty deed with her cap and clothes, and seldom had a decent cap on; that she used to tear her clothes, but not so much latterly; that she had not so good a supply of clothes as other patients usually had, but was very much neglected at times. That for twelve months her clothes were washed in the Asylum, during which time she had a couple of new shifts, two caps, two checked aprons, one gown, one top petticoat, and two pairs of stockings, and no other clothes; that the last year of her stay, her daughters washed for her, but were very irregular in bringing and fetching her clothes; they were sometimes a week or a fortnight, and longer, before they brought them back; that they never brought any clothes for her but those she put on. This deponent has told them they neglected their mother. That Martha Kidd was at first in the habit of fouling her linen and bed clothes, but latterly, for some months, had kept her bed very clean, and had not fouled her linen; that she is sure Martha Kidd never had more than two new shifts during her being in the Asylum; that this deponent used to comb her with a small-tooth comb, and has sometimes found some few lice, one or two on her head, but none on her person. That each of the female keepers has a distinct set of patients under her care, and there are about nineteen or twenty under the care of this deponent. It takes nearly two hours to wash them all on a Saturday night. That all the patients who are not capable of washing themselves, are washed on the Saturday night: *their hands, face, and feet, are always washed*; that flannel and soap are used in washing; that

it is usual, occasionally, to inspect their persons under their clothes; that this has always been the case, and no difference has been made lately; that this deponent never recollects Martha Kidd having a blow on her head; that she was in the habit of teazing and fighting the other patients, but this deponent never saw any patient strike her so as to injure her, or make any mark; that this deponent saw her immediately after the accident to her hip,—she was able to walk up to her own room: It happened in summer, about five in the evening; that when this deponent saw her, she was on the grass-plat, in the women's court with other patients; that there was a goat with them; does not recollect that the goat had ever done any injury before. In consequence of the accident, the goat was sent away by Dr. Best's orders; that Martha Kidd has been separated from the other patients for quarrelling with them, but to the best of this deponent's belief was never put in a dark cell. Does not recollect that her daughters were ever refused seeing her,—they always saw her immediately. She was in the habit of dining at table with the other patients; says, that the last time Martha's younger daughter came to change her linen, she took away her flannel petticoat, and did not leave one instead of it, and that she only brought back the flannel petticoat on the Tuesday after her mother was gone *.

☞ Martha Kidd, the lunatic, informed her husband, that the bruises on her person were from being *brayed* by the keepers; and that the wound on her head was from a blow with a key:—this was rejected as inadmissible evidence.

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* After the witnesses from Pontefract had confirmed their depositions on oath, and at the moment when the oath was about to be proposed to Ann Batty and Sarah Cuthbert, the Archbishop of York observed, that if it was intended to administer an oath to them, he must leave the room; as he was convinced both from the manner of these witnesses, and the improbability of their statement, that they were asserting what was untrue. It was then proposed and agreed that the administration of an oath should in future be wholly discontinued.

Opinion of the Committee, on Martha Kidd's Case.

" A gross neglect of cleanliness and of attention to the person is in full proof."

Evidence in the Case of George Arundell. *

MARGARET BECKWITH, of Pontefract, in the County of York, wife of Benjamin Beckwith, maketh oath, and saith, that when *George Arundell* arrived at Pontefract, on the fourth of October, 1812, on his removal from the York Lunatic Asylum, he was a deal better and a deal cleaner than Martha Kidd; that he smelled a fainty smell; that this deponent did not examine his person. He did not smell bad the next morning; that he had a clean shirt on, and she saw no vermin upon him. That she never heard the said George Arundell make any complaint of ill usage in the Asylum; that this deponent does not believe he had any filth on him, and saith, that she saw no bruises on his person.

DAVID RIDEAL, of Pontefract, in the County of York, woollen-draper, maketh oath and saith, that George Arundell, a lunatic pauper, was sent from Pontefract to the Asylum at York, about three years ago. That he was removed from the Asylum to the work-house, at Pontefract, on the fourth of October, 1812; and that this deponent saw him upon his arrival; that he seemed strong in bodily health, and did not appear in a ragged state, but his hands and face appeared dirty; that this deponent

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* Mr. Higgins states that he never meant to attach blame to the case of George Arundell. This man, however, having been mentioned in Mr. Higgins's statement as removed along with Martha Kidd, the committee thought it right to inquire into the case. The fact turned out to be that Arundell, who was a strong, active man, was not dependent on the keepers, but regularly washed and cleaned *himself*.

saw him at York, at the Asylum, about a fortnight before his removal, and he appeared, at that time, not to be in a neglected state, or to be in such a situation as to attract this deponent's observation; but he was not then with the said George Arundell above two or three minutes; and that this deponent has seen the said George Arundell frequently, and never heard him complain of his treatment in the Asylum. That Mrs. Beckwith is a humane and managing woman; that she was well recommended, and that she conducted herself well and had given satisfaction.

THOMAS BARKER, of Pontefract, in the County of York, maltster, maketh oath, and saith, that he saw George Arundell when he was removed to Pontefract poor-house, in October, 1812, from the York Lunatic Asylum; that his hands, face, and clothes, appeared dirty, but he had a clean shirt on; that this deponent has not heard the said George Arundell complain of any ill treatment in the Asylum.

Opinion of the Committee on George Arundell's Case.

"No sufficient ground of censure has been established."

Evidence in the Case of the Rev. J. B. Schorey.

MARY SCHOREY, widow of the late Reverend John Butterfield Schorey, clerk, deceased, saith, that her late husband was formerly of Queen's College, Oxford; that he never had any preferment in the church; that he was curate to Dr Zouch, at Scrayingham; that they had no family, except one child, which died in infancy; that her husband was three several times a patient in the York Lunatic Asylum, and that he died there on the tenth of December, 1812, aged forty-one. That he was first placed in the Asylum between four and five years ago, when James Backhouse and Benjamin Batty, who were then keepers in the

Asylum, fetched him from the sea side, at the desire of this deponent. He remained in the Asylum about six months. During this period the deponent did not live in York, but came once or twice to visit her husband; on one of these occasions he had sprained his ancle; and this deponent, in consequence of the accident, attended him three days in his bed room; that she observed his bed and all about it was dirty, and there were a great many fleas in it. That her husband was taken home for about three months, in consequence of his mental health being better, after which it again became necessary to place him in the Asylum, and Mr. Backhouse fetched him from the neighbourhood of Yarm; he remained in the Asylum, the second time, for about seven or eight months; during a part of which time she took a house in Gilly-gate, York, in order to be near her husband, and visited him regularly every fortnight; on these occasions she observed him to be ill treated by the keepers, particularly Benjamin Batty, under whose care he was.

When she went to see her husband, she was shown into the keeper's lodge, and her husband was brought to her there; they used to push him and kick him into the room to her; once on Benjamin Batty's pushing him into the room, with his foot, this deponent said "you should recollect my husband is a clergyman,"—Batty replied "*he's no more now than a dog.*"

This deponent paid fifteen shillings a week, for her husband, besides paying for his washing, shaving, and ale; his clothes were washed in the Asylum, but he used to be very dirty; and this deponent finding him so, used always to bring him clean clothes, when she went to the Asylum, and always brought two towels, one wet and the other dry, in order to wash him; she always found him dirty; she washed him, and cut his nails. She never during this period, observed any lice on his person, or his clothes, but his linen had the marks of dirty beds and fleas; there was no other ill treatment observed by this deponent, during this period of her husband's confinement, except abusive language, which her husband was capable of feeling, and it seemed to give him great pain.

That her husband having again improved in mental health, this deponent, on the recommendation of Dr. Best, took him home to her lodgings, in York, for five weeks; that Dr. Best said, he would come to see him at her house, but he never did, though this deponent wrote two letters to Dr. Best, by the post, requesting him; that her husband grew so bad, she could not do with him at home, and she in consequence called on Dr. Best, and it was arranged for her husband to return again to the Asylum, where he remained till his death.

That during the former part of the third period of his confinement, * this deponent continued to visit him regularly as before; he was pushed or kicked into the room to her almost every time; there was no necessity for using force with her husband, he was desirous of coming. Benjamin Batty used to take him by the shoulders, and kick him into the room with his foot. On one occasion she happened to go into the passage to meet her husband, and Benjamin Batty *kicked him down stairs*; † Benjamin was at the top of the stairs, she heard a kick, and her husband came tumbling down stairs. She occasionally observed marks of bruises on her husband's person, but does not know that there was any want of food.

During the third period of her husband's confinement, she applied to Dr. Best to lower the terms, and also requested Mr. James Richardson to apply to him, and the terms were accord-

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* N. B. Surprise has been expressed that Mrs. Schorey should place her husband again in the Asylum; but her circumstances should be considered.—Educated as a gentlewoman, she was obliged to seek her own subsistence, by manual labour, in order to afford ten shillings a week for her husband, and there was no other institution to receive him on these terms.

† Here Dr. Best, (who, it must be observed, acted as the advocate for the servants, conceiving the whole to be a conspiracy against himself and the institution,) remarked it was impossible Mr. Schorey could be kicked down stairs, as he was always on the ground-floor; and he called Batty to contradict Mrs. Schorey's statement. It is very remarkable, however, that Henry Dawson confirms Mrs. Schorey, and contradicts Batty.

ingly lowered from fifteen shillings a week to twelve shillings, and afterwards from twelve shillings to ten shillings.

She continued to see her husband for several months, she always found him dirty, and his clothes had a strange smell. She never saw any vermin upon him in the Asylum; she carried him fresh linen every fortnight, and let them have as many clean clothes for her husband as they wished, and she took away the dirty clothes to wash. Her husband, by agreement, was to be always washed for in the Asylum.

Says, that about six months before her husband's death he became so ill, that it was not thought proper for her to see him any more; the last time of her seeing him, he did not know her; that she continued to call at the Asylum, with clothes, as before. After she had ceased to see her husband, the clothes which she took to wash began to have lice; that she has seen his stockings, waistcoat, and shirts, all over lice. Ann Bridgewater, a washerwoman, was employed by this deponent to wash the linen, three or four times; the first linen she washed was clear of lice, but afterwards on Bridgewater's complaining to this deponent of having found lice on a flannel jacket of Mr. Schorey's, this deponent took the washerwoman with her, and they went to the Asylum to complain.

They first called on Mr. Surr, at the gate, he told this deponent she was a liar, and shut the door in her face; they then went to the Asylum, and Mr. Surr followed them; the men keepers denied there was any such thing; Benjamin Batty, Henry Dawson, and Charles Holgate were present. Henry Dawson used indecent, brutish language, which this deponent cannot repeat. Mr. Surr desired Mr. Schorey to be brought down to the room. He had on a cloth stock, which he had a fancy to; the washerwoman took it off and found lice upon it; it was very lousy indeed. Though the keepers saw the lice, they said we were liars, and that there were no lice whilst they were looking at them; they said the washerwoman had brought the lice with her. The keepers then left this deponent and Ann Bridgewater in the room with Mr. Schorey: he was very lousy. Dr. Best

afterwards sent for this deponent, and said he would see her husband was cleaned; this deponent told Dr. Best of the abusive language of the keepers; he said, he did not wish the keepers to behave so. This deponent is positive those were Dr. Best's words; that was all the redress this deponent could get; this deponent durst not complain of the ill treatment of her husband, and never acquainted Dr. Best of her husband's being kicked down stairs, she was afraid she should be ill used and not see her husband again; she knew whoever she complained to, it would be all in vain. She admits it might have been better if she had acquainted Dr. Best. She often called upon him, and was treated with civility and attention, and he never refused to acquaint her with the state of her husband's mind; she had called upon him so frequently to enquire about her husband, that latterly he seemed to think her troublesome.

This deponent says, that her reason for sending her husband again to the Asylum, after having seen him ill used there, was that she could not manage him at home; she was a stranger in this country, and did not know where else to send him, or that he would be better used elsewhere.

Says that on some of the last times of visiting her husband, she observed bruises on his back and all over him. Her husband never had his hands or person confined when she saw him; she always saw him very soon after she came to the Asylum, and had not to wait.

Says, that she never was in his bed room, except during his first confinement, on occasion of his ancle being sprained; at all other times he was brought down to her. Says, that when he was pushed and kicked into the room, there were no strangers present, but the women of the house might sometimes see. This deponent says, that for the last six months of her husband's life she never saw him; that about four months before his death she went to Stamford, to visit a relation, and was absent from York, until her husband's death.

This deponent saith, she had a gold watch, which was a present from her brother as a keepsake. During her husband's last

confinement in the Asylum, he requested her to allow him to keep her watch, as a pledge that he should see her again; Batty was present when the conversation took place between her and her husband; and it was understood that Batty should let her husband wear the watch when he was well enough, and should take care of it when he was not. Her husband then took it and used to wear it in his fob. For about six or seven months she saw him have it occasionally, but cannot be certain for how long a time; he sometimes had it, and sometimes not.

When this deponent went to the Asylum, with the washer-woman, to inquire about the vermin on the clothes, she asked Batty for the watch—Batty replied "he had it, and should take care of it."

After her husband's death, this deponent asked Batty for the watch, he said he knew nothing of it; she said it was very strange; he repeated he knew nothing of it. This deponent afterwards met him on Bootham-flags, and asked him again, and he said he would inquire about it. This deponent never mentioned the watch to Dr. Best, or Mr. Surr, but Mr. James Richardson undertook to make inquiry respecting it.

ANN BRIDGEWATER, the wife of Christopher Bridgewater, of the City of York, deposeth and saith, as follows: that she is a washerwoman, and has washed for Mr. Schorey, but not lately; that she washed for Mrs. Schorey occasionally, from Christmas till Midsummer, the Summer before Mr. Schorey died; that Mrs. Schorey once brought her some linen to wash, which was both nitty and lousy; this was in summer; the clothes were not dirtier than usual; there were nits on a shirt, but she did not examine it till it had been washed; she ironed the shirt to kill the nits. She had washed it about a month before; there were no lice on it before, but this time she found a number of lice on it; there were some scores. It seemed to have been worn next the skin; there were only nits on the shirt; she shewed the things to her husband; she found no lice on the stockings.

This deponent told Mrs. Schorey of the lice; the next morning she went with Mrs Schorey to the Asylum by her desire.

They called on Mr. Surr, at the gate. Mrs. Schorey said "this is the person who picked the lice off Mr. Schorey's waistcoat." Mr. Surr said, "she was a liar," and clashed the door in her face. This deponent and Mrs. Schorey then went on to the Asylum, and Mr. Surr followed them; when he got there, he said it would have been better if Mrs. Schorey had acquainted them at the Asylum about the lice, than to go to that fine fellow Mr. Richardson. Mr. Surr asked Mrs. Schorey if she knew who she was talking to; she said it was proper it should be inquired into.

This deponent saith, there was a blue woollen stock on the chimney piece, which the keepers said belonged to Mr. Schorey; they said if he had lice, there would have been some on the stock. This deponent then took the stock and picked two lice off it, she laid them on the table, shewed them, and then put them in the fire. Mr. Surr said, they were no lice; if there were any, she had brought them there herself. He said she (this deponent) deserved to have * * * * * * * * bunched, for bringing such a report on the Asylum. Says, that Mr. Schorey was then sent for down, and this deponent and Mrs. Schorey took him into a room to examine him; one of the keepers told them to * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *, he was not man enough for them both; they then set up a laugh —Mrs. Schorey cried.

This deponent, along with Mrs. Schorey, examined Mr. Schorey, but saw no lice on his person, he had spots all over his body, but she saw no bruises; he appeared to have been greased all over; he was very dirty and greasy. As Mrs. Schorey left the Asylum she told the keepers she hoped they would not use her husband ill; they said, if they did, she might thank herself for it.

This deponent never washed any other waistcoat of Mr. Schorey's, except that already mentioned. This deponent heard Mrs. Schorey inquire about a gold watch, where it was, and if it was safe. Benjamin Batty said, he had it in his possession, and would take care of it; this was not at the time the stock was produced, it might be a month before.

This deponent never had any conversation with Batty about the watch; has never received any money from Mrs. Schorey, except pay for work, nor received any present from her. A gentleman* called about three weeks ago, to ask her what she knew about this affair; he gave her children two shillings.

This deponent, Ann Bridgewater, on her deposition being read to her says, that she was at the Asylum about a month before the time when she went about the filth; that she went with a note from Mrs. Schorey, and some tobacco for Mr. Schorey. This deponent now says, that the conversation about the watch was on the same day as they went about the filth, but that it was not at the same time when the words took place.

BENJAMIN BATTY, of the City of York, innkeeper, deposeth and saith as follows: that he was eight years a keeper in the Asylum, and quitted that situation a few months ago. He had at first twelve guineas a year, and afterwards sixteen guineas and eighteen guineas, and at last twenty pounds. He found his own clothes. Says that Mr. Schorey was in the gallery under this deponent's inspection.

After Mrs. Schorey came to live in York, she came constantly to see her husband; oftener than once a week. She did not always see him, because it troubled him, and made him uneasy, and fret, when she was gone. This deponent does not think she was ever refused seeing him, except on account of his fretting; it was left to her own option whether to see him or not. She continued to visit and see him as long as she stopped in York; he does not recollect she was ever informed he was in such a state that it was no longer proper for her to see him. This deponent says, when she came to see her husband, he was brought to the room where patients see their friends. When this deponent was in the way, he always brought him. During his second confinement he was always ready to go when this deponent told him his wife was come to see him; he was glad to see her,—there

* Mr. Higgins.

was no occasion to use force; he knew the room and sometimes went without this deponent. He was particularly clean in his person during the first and second times of his confinement. He used to go and wash himself, and was as clean a patient as ever was in the house.

This deponent sees the patients undressed every night. Mr. Schorey's feet were as clean as need be; he was in a state of great cleanliness during the whole of his second confinement.—This deponent used to change Mr Schorey's linen every Sunday morning.—Says the patients' feet are washed once in a week, or a fortnight, as they may require it. Mrs. Schorey was very particular about his personal cleanliness.

The latter part of his second confinement, she brought him a change of clothes once or twice; his linen was then washed in the Asylum. To the best of this deponent's knowledge, she never took away dirty clothes during the second confinement; this deponent says, the reason of Mr. Schorey's going home after the second confinement was, that he was peaceable and quiet, and anxious to go.

During the latter part of the third confinement, Mr. Schorey was sometimes in such a state as to refuse his victuals. This deponent has known force necessary to bring him down stairs; has known him cling to the stairs; has known force necessary to bring him to see his wife during this period; has known him so bad, that he would not speak to her. During the latter part of this period he was not cleanly in his person. His wife brought clothes for him oftener than before; she never, to this deponent's knowledge, at any time brought towels or soap, and washed him. She complained, at this period, of his person and clothes being dirty; this deponent's answer was, Mr. Schorey was very dirty of himself, and could not be kept clean. Mrs. Schorey could not have got water to wash her husband without some of the servants knowing it. This deponent does not know he ever stopped in the room when she visited her husband; she might sometimes stop half an hour or longer.

When Mr. Schorey first came, he had plenty of clothes, and it

was a long time before he got them worn out. When Mr. Schorey became dirty in his person, this deponent washed and cleaned him every morning, regularly; chiefly his hands and face, and every part of his body that required it; sometimes it was obliged to be done by force, and this deponent had help; sometimes he dirtied his breeches, and was obliged to be cleaned twice a day; in other respects there was nothing uncleanly about him. No other part of his body was dirty or offensive; this deponent always dressed and undressed him, and took his clothes out of the room every night, and if there had been any thing dirty or offensive, he should have observed. When any thing happened, he was cleaned immediately. This deponent never saw his appearance, as to cleanliness, improved after his wife had been with him.

This deponent says, that he never, to his knowledge, treated Mr. Schorey with any insult, or pushed, or kicked him—is positive he never did; never insulted him; never used violence; never kicked him into the room, and Mrs. Schorey never made a complaint on the subject. She never said to him "her husband was a clergyman;—she was surprized he should use him so;" never in his life, to this deponent's knowledge This deponent never, at any period of Mr. Schorey's confinement, said that he thought no more of him than of a dog, or any thing to that effect.

Says that he never recollects Mr. Schorey falling, or being pushed down stairs. HE NEVER HAD TO COME DOWN STAIRS TO SEE MRS. SCHOREY.*

In the day time, he was removed between seven and eight in the morning to the day room, which is on the same floor as the room in which Mrs. Schorey used to see him, and Mrs. Schorey never came to see him before that hour. HE NEVER WAS BROUGHT DOWN FROM HIS BED ROOM TO SEE HER, AND THEREFORE SHE COULD NOT SEE HIM FALL, OR BE KICKED DOWN

* See Henry Dawson's evidence.

STAIRS *. When Mr. Schorey was ill, and confined to his bed, Mrs. Schorey has been up-stairs to see him in bed. This deponent can positively say she has seen him in his bed room during the third period of his confinement.

This deponent says, he never observed any bruises on Mr. Schorey's person; that Mr. Schorey never was guilty of fighting with other patients; he has seen him wrestle with patients, but not so as to injure his person.

Says, Mrs. Schorey came down one Tuesday with a flannel jacket, and said there was filth and lice upon it. It was unwashed; there was a woman with her, but he does not know whether Ann Bridgewater, who was here yesterday, was the person. This deponent thinks Mrs. Schorey said, her husband had not had the waistcoat changed for some time; this deponent replied, it was not his fault, he had none to change it with, and it was not his business to provide clothes. This deponent had not before told her Mr. Schorey had no change; Mrs. Schorey informed him she had changed her husband's dress, and taken this waistcoat away, when she brought her husband another on the Saturday preceding, when this deponent was not within. This deponent thinks Mr. Schorey had worn the dirty one about three or four weeks; this deponent had sometimes changed the linen nearest Mr. Schorey's body, but that time Mrs. Schorey changed it herself. Mrs. Schorey shewed the dirty waistcoat; deponent saw four or five lice on it, and admitted to her that they were lice Mr. Surr came in, whilst she was complaining about the lice—Does not recollect that any other person was present; there was a stock in the room, which he thinks Mrs. Schorey brought with her;—it was such as Mr. Schorey wore; these stocks were got because he attempted to strangle himself in his neck-handkerchief. When this deponent went into the room, Mrs. Schorey shewed both the stock and waistcoat. He does not know whether she brought the stock with her, or found it

* See Henry Dawson's evidence.

there; cannot exactly recollect whether Mr. Schorey had it on or not, from Saturday till the Tuesday, when she called. This deponent was only a few minutes with them: As Mrs. Schorey had asked to speak to Mr. Surr, he left the room. They began to talk on a subject in which this deponent had no concern. Says, there were some small filth on the stock, which Mrs. Schorey called nits, but to the best of deponent's recollection, she shewed him no lice on the stock. This deponent used no improper language, but said it was her neglect in not bringing a change of linen. This deponent did not hear any scolding between Mr. Surr and Mrs. Schorey before he left the room. Mr. Surr afterwards called for deponent to come back: when he returned into the room, this deponent thinks Mrs. Atkinson and two or three servants were present. Mr. Surr asked deponent if he had seen the filth, he replied, yes. No foul language was used in the room, to the best of this deponent's recollection. This deponent thinks Mr. Schorey was brought down; he was then not in good bodily health; thinks he had had a fit a little before, and was partly paralytic on one side, but was getting better. He had been rubbed with something on his knee and arm, and perhaps his thigh, in consequence of being paralytic, but this was sometime before, he thinks more than three or four weeks. The rest of his body had not been rubbed with any thing at the time when he was brought down. It was not this deponent who fetched Mr. Schorey. Till that day, this deponent never knew he had had any lice. As Mrs Schorey went away, she and Mr. Surr had some words at the door; Mr. Surr said to her, "I'm as good as you any day;" Mrs Schorey was in a passion, but he heard her use no violent language;—there were some sharp words on both sides.—Does not recollect the words. This deponent recollects Mrs. Schorey and the washerwoman having Mr. Schorey in the room. Recollects hearing no indecent language, whatever, used by any person; no such language was used *to Mrs. Schorey* in this deponent's hearing;—*Is possitive there was no such language*

used either to Mrs. Schorey or the washerwoman, or any other person in this deponent's hearing *.

Mr. Schorey was a very stout man when he first came to the Asylum; latterly he was in a stupid way, but not mischievous; he would sometimes pull off his coat and waistcoat and leave them, and walk without them, has known him throw his hat and shoes out of the window. *Mr. Schorey never had a watch* *: this deponent never saw him have one all the time he was here, and never heard him mention a watch; if he had kept a watch we (the servants) must have seen it.

This deponent never had any conversation with Mrs. Schorey about a watch, while her husband was alive. He never saw the washerwoman there, except the day the lousy waistcoat was produced. He never saw any person come with Mrs. Schorey except a gentleman or two, at the assizes.

After her husband's death, Mrs. Schorey came to York. He was directed by Mr Surr to wait upon her at the Tavern. About a week after Mr. Schorey's death, this deponent met her at the Tavern, when she gave this deponent something for the servants; she said she had taken away such part of her husband's clothes from the Asylum as she thought proper, and he might keep the remainder. She said, she wished to see where Mr. Schorey was buried, and to have a copy of the register. This deponent went to Mr. Sutton for the register She never mentioned the watch at the tavern. Thinks it was the following week that he met her on a Sunday morning, as he was coming from the Minster; she said "have you my husband's gold watch?" he said "no." She said her husband had a watch, and wished this deponent would make inquiry at the Asylum;—he said he would make strict inquiry—this was all that passed. She did not remind him of any conversation respecting it; she did not appear angry. In consequence of this, deponent asked every servant in the house, and

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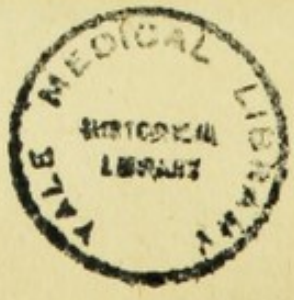
* See Henry Dawson's evidence.



also the men patients, if they had ever seen it, and he asked Mr. Surr. This deponent informed Mr. James Richardson about a fortnight afterwards, when he met him, that he had made a search, and particular and strict inquiry in vain. He was inquired of about the watch, by the governors at the following quarterly court. This deponent never saw Mrs. Schorey again, till yesterday. Recollects Mr. Schorey breaking his spectacles, and cutting his arms with the glass.

Says, that soon after Mr. Schorey's confinement, and when Mrs. Schorey was not in the habit of coming often to the Asylum, this deponent had a conversation with her on the Asylum walk. She had some writings in a basket, and requested this deponent to take care of them. He declined it, and said he was not a proper person He told her she was such an odd woman he would have nothing to do with her, or her writings. She also told him what property she had, and who had the management of it. She spoke of her husband and his preaching, and said, that a couple whom he had married, before he was insane, were parted, because he was confined in the Asylum. She said she might dissolve her marriage with Mr. Schorey, and could be parted from him. That he was not a man. This deponent replied " he thought it was very queer to make use of such an expression to him," being a young man (the deponent was then unmarried.) He returned immediately to the Asylum, because he did not choose to hold conversation with her. She was at that time much a stranger to him, he had not often seen her. He never heard her use any language approaching to indecency, except that time. She was a woman who talked freely about her affairs, and what fortune she had.

Says that Mr. Thompson, an attorney of Halifax, was once down with her at the Asylum. She called witness into the room, and wished him to be present, but he refused.

Says he has visited Mrs. Schorey at her house in Gillygate. He may have been ten times there. She sent for him to know how her husband was, and the state of his linen, when she was indisposed. Mr. Surr has sent deponent twice, or oftener, to

Mrs. Schorey, with the quarterly account. He has sometimes called on her for linen, and sometimes as a friendly call without any business. Has sat an hour and a half with her, and drank a glass or two of grog with her. She did not drink any herself. They conversed on different subjects; he never had any quarrel with her. Has been at her house both the second and third times of Mr. Schorey's confinement, and was there within two months of her leaving York.

Says that Mr. Surr wrote to Stamford, to acquaint Mrs. Schorey of her husband's death. He received an answer from a Mr. Scott, and sent the letter, by this deponent, to Mr. James Richardson, who read it in witness's presence.

The letter said Mrs. Schorey was at Brompton, near Northallerton; that Mr. Scott had received a letter from her, saying, she called on Mr. Schorey in her way through York to Brompton, and found he was much the same as she left him.

Mr. Richardson said that he thought her a very strange woman; that she was almost as bad as Mr. Schorey; that she was coming to his house in a day or two, and he would show her the letter. He then asked this deponent if Mrs. Schorey had called at the Asylum. This deponent said she had never called since she left York.

HENRY DAWSON, one of the keepers in the York Asylum, deposeth and saith as follows: that he has been a keeper in the Asylum between five and six years; that about a year and a half or two years ago, Mrs. Schorey stopped him one morning in Gillygate, near her own door, and asked him into the house, saying she wished to speak to him; this deponent said he was in a hurry, and wished to be excused. That she pressed him and he followed her in; that she asked how her husband was, and this deponent informed her; she then said that an old man in that street, whose name she did not know, had been giving him an excellent character, and that he was a nice young man. This deponent says he knew an old man in that street who died lately; he got acquainted with him from seeing him making hay, and knew very little more of him.

Mrs. Schorey then added, she had had a dream about him, this deponent, could he guess what it was? he replied "he could not," she said she had been dreaming he was her husband. This deponent does not recollect that he made her any reply; the door was open, and a woman came in, and this deponent went about his business. The conversation was not more than five or seven minutes. Nothing light or familiar had passed between him and her before she told him the dream, nor any previous conversation. She smiled when she told him.

Says he had been at her house once before, to fetch Mr. Schorey to the Asylum. He does not recollect any conversation between him and her before or since that above related, except inquiries about her husband.

That he never mentioned this conversation to any person till two or three months afterwards, when he mentioned it to Charles Holgate, another keeper. Thinks he mentioned it to him in Mr. Schorey's lifetime. Thinks he also mentioned it to Mr. Backhouse.

Says that in one of Mr. Schorey's illnesses, and he thinks about a month or six weeks before his death, he conducted Mrs. Schorey upstairs to her husband's lodging room.

When Mrs. Schorey came to see her husband he was sometimes in the day room, on the same floor as the keeper's lodge, and SOMETIMES IN THE DAY ROOM UPSTAIRS. When he was quiet, he was upstairs, when not so, he was down stairs. THIS DEPONENT HAS ASSISTED OTHER PERSONS IN BRINGING MR. SCHOREY DOWN STAIRS BOTH FROM THE BED ROOM AND UPPER DAY ROOM, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS DISINCLINATION TO COME. HAS KNOWN IT SO WHEN MR. SCHOREY KNEW HE WAS COMING TO SEE HIS WIFE.

This deponent recollects Mrs. Schorey, and the washerwoman, coming about the dirty clothes. The washerwoman and Mrs. Schorey were left in the room with Mr. Schorey; this deponent said "take care Mr. Schorey, for I think two women will be too much (or too many) for you." This deponent had fetched Mr. Schorey down from the day room upstairs, and he thinks he and Charles Holgate took him upstairs again.

To the best of this deponent's recollection, he said nothing more than he has now stated. He cannot recollect that any of the other keepers were present, or could hear. A good many words passed between Mr. Surr and Mrs. Schorey, and the washerwoman, relative to the dirt on Mr. Schorey's clothes. Mrs. Schorey asked Mr. Surr "who was he?" he said "he was as good as her any day of the week." This deponent does not recollect when the stock was produced; he thinks one or two lice were found on it. This deponent did not hear Mrs. Schorey say on the day of the examination of the filth, that she hoped they would not use her husband ill.

This deponent did not hear any conversation that morning about a gold watch of Mrs. Schorey's. *He thinks he once saw Mr. Schorey have a* WATCH, *during the last time of his being in the Asylum, but he cannot be certain. Mr. Schorey* HAD IT OUT AND IN HIS HAND, *to the best of this deponent's recollection**.—*This deponent thought it was pinchbeck.* This deponent thinks it might be five or six weeks after Mr. Schorey's death, when Benjamin Batty made inquiry about the watch.

The Reverend JAMES RICHARDSON, of the City of York, clerk, deposeth and saith as follows: That he applied to Batty, after Mrs. Schorey's death, about Mrs. Schorey's watch, who said he knew nothing about it. He also mentioned the lousy case to Mr. Surr, who was civil, and this deponent thinks he said it should be inquired into.

This deponent does not think Mrs. Schorey insane, but will not say he has not said she was crazy. This deponent was shown a letter from a gentleman at Stamford, saying she was gone from thence; that he might, on that occasion, say, he thought she was as bad as her husband.

This deponent says, that he first became acquainted with Mrs. Schorey, in consequence of her coming to him in pecuniary distress, and asking to have employment, in consequence of which

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* See Batty's testimony.

he procured her shirts to make; since that time he has found her conduct respectable, and he has had her to visit him. Her distress was at different times so excessive, on account of her husband's unfortunate situation, and her own embarrassed circumstances, that he was led to apprehend it might drive her to insanity. By her desire he applied to Dr. Best, about lowering the terms for her husband. Dr. Best behaved like a gentleman, and lowered the terms soon after, in a very handsome manner, from fifteen shillings to twelve shillings.

Mrs. Schorey told him, in her husband's lifetime, that he had her gold watch; her account to day agrees with what she has told him at different times. This deponent may have expressed doubts, in conversation, as to her sanity, and may have said he thought her crazed; but he never seriously thought her insane; and is convinced that her agitation and distress of mind was not insanity. She never acted like an insane person, during six months that she has been in his house; she has always been perfectly uniform in her statements on all subjects, and he never found her tell him a lie; he has no doubt complete credit is due to every thing she says.

Mrs. Schorey complained to this deponent of the ill treatment of her husband in the Asylum, but he never mentioned it, and did not know where redress was to be obtained.

On her second examination, the said MARY SCHOREY further deposed, that she never was, by any accident, in her husband's lodging room, except during his first confinement, when she was with him three days.

That when she left York, to go to Stamford, she left her direction with Mr. Surr; that a short time after her husband's death, she removed from Stamford to Brompton, near Northallerton, and that she travelled in a coach which passes through York in the night. She was in York about an hour, but made no inquiry about her husband; that she had then heard of him lately, when his bill was sent to Stamford; that he was said to be much as usual.

The day when she complained about the lousy waistcoat, she was three times at the Asylum. She first went alone to com-

plain; the second time she took the washerwoman, to prove that there were lice; the third time the washerwoman went with her again to carry clothes, but they were not permitted to see Mr. Schorey, and they left the clothes with Henry Dawson. The washerwoman went with her twice, and it was when they went to complain about the filth, that the conversation took place about the watch.

Says, that the lousy flannel waistcoat was not brought to the Asylum. As soon as it came back from the washerwoman's, this deponent burnt it.

Says, Benjamin Batty has called three times at her house in Gillygate; once when Mr. Schorey had cut his arm, and twice for bills—He made no stay. Says she never talked to him about her business or affairs; she was above speaking of any thing of the kind, to a servant in the house.

Says, that when Benjamin Batty and Henry Dawson came to fetch her husband from the house in Gillygate, to the Asylum, she gave them a glass of gin and water.

Says, that once as she was leaving the Asylum, Batty joined her at the first gate, and they walked together up the Asylum walk; they talked about her husband's health, and she asked Batty what he thought of him; he said he knew as well as Dr. Best, or any other person; that she never conversed with him about a couple her husband had married, and knows nothing of any particular circumstance of the kind.

Says, that she once took some writings, in a small basket, to show to her husband for his satisfaction, but does not recollect the time. Mr Thompson, of Halifax, an attorney, once called on her husband, to see if he was competent to sign a lease.

Says, she once met Henry Dawson, in Gillygate, it was after her husband had cut his arm, and was not long before she ceased to visit her husband; she asked Henry into the house, to inquire about her husband's health; he stayed not more than three minutes; no woman came in while he was there. This deponent said nothing to him about an old man having recommended him. This deponent knew nothing of him. She never told him

she had had a dream; she never dreamt of him.—Is very much surprized to be asked such questions. She did not think there was any harm in calling him in, to ask how her husband was.

Says, that shortly after this, she was visiting her husband, and was standing with him at the window, in the keeper's lodge, talking. There was an old female patient sitting by the fire, whom she had sometimes before seen in that room, she was about sixty, and not capable of knowing any thing. Henry Dawson came into the room to mend the fire; this deponent and her husband had their backs to the fire, this deponent happened to look round, and saw Henry Dawson taking a very indecent liberty with the old woman.

Mrs Schorey, on having her deposition read over to her, and on being asked if she had any thing to add, deposed, that she never received any of Mr. Schorey's clothes, or any thing belonging to him, after his decease, from the Asylum. That she inquired of Mr. Surr for Mr. Schorey's clothes, who said that he believed there were none; that so long as she paid fifteen shillings per week for him, an additional charge of one guinea per quarter was made for servants attending, and that she now has the bills and receipts upon stamp.

Opinion of the Committee, on the Case of the Rev. Mr. Schorey.

"That in the case of the Rev. Mr. Schorey, there has been considerable personal neglect; and that both towards himself and Mrs. Schorey, some of the keepers have conducted themselves in a very reprehensible manner."

Mr. James Wilson's Case.

ALICE WILSON, wife of James Wilson, St. Saviourgate, deposeth and saith, that her husband was confined in the Asylum,

and was previously ill at home nineteen weeks, where she hired a keeper for him. When at home he was very violent, and grew worse; and for the sake of a change, she was advised to send him to the Asylum, where he remained fifteen months. She visited him as often as health would permit, sometimes twice a day.

When she could not visit him, she got Mr. Allen to do so. Dr. Best said she might come to see him whenever she pleased, and behaved to her like a gentleman. She was never refused seeing him, but always went up stairs to her husband's day room. A keeper used to follow her, and open the gallery gate; she was for a time satisfied with Mr. W.'s treatment—the first time she saw any thing to displease her, was about nine months after he first came. He had then received a violent blow over his lip, and it was disfigured, burst and swelled. Before that, when this deponent had his linen home to wash, she had two shirts returned almost torn to pieces: she thought he had been too much left to himself, and complained to Dr Best. This was soon after he first came to the Asylum. She complained of the dirtiness of his linen, and was told that he was the dirtiest patient in the house. This uncleanliness continued till he returned home, since which time his linen has had no such appearance. Before he came to the Asylum, his linen was occasionally dirtied, in a similar manner, but never since; the care and attention of the keeper, at home, has been sufficient to prevent it. He is now in good bodily health; he was stout, strong, and corpulent, when he was first sent to the Asylum, but when he came out, he was very much reduced. A few weeks before he came home, she found him with a black eye, all around the eye was black and bruised, and his shirt sleeve being bloody, excited her suspicion of his being bruised; she mentioned this wound to Dr. Best, who said the same might have happened at home. He was to have had a day room to himself, but she has seen other patients in Mr. Wilson's day room with him. He was allowed at proper times to walk in the gardens, and in the court-yard, as were other patients. He continued violent for some time after he

came to the Asylum, but that violence had subsided before he was taken out; when he became less violent his bodily state was reduced very much, he continued to be reduced more and more, though in a calm state. The day she first saw him after he had a black eye, she came to the Asylum, and on enquiring for her husband, Mr. Atkinson told her he was so high she had better not see him: she persisted, however, and found him in his day room, very calm, and a patient, who occasionally assisted, was bathing his eye. In three weeks after, he came home. Mr. Wilson is now very much improved in his bodily health, his mental powers remaining the same, he has never been emaciated since he came home, and has been as quiet as a child. During the time he was in the Asylum, she paid *two guineas a week**, *which included every thing, except a compliment of a guinea a quarter to Thomas Blackerley, who attended Mr Wilson.* She fancied the alteration in his bodily health may have arisen from the constant attention which has been paid to him in the night time. She was only once in his lodging room in the Asylum.

His bed was comfortable, and there was a smaller bed in which she understood a man slept; she has seen Mr. Wilson at dinner in his own day room, but did not see any one assisting him. One Sunday this deponent called, and there was no keeper in the gallery, but a patient was looking after the other patients.—Blackerley said the black eye was given to Mr. Wilson by a patient, who she believes was a quarrelsome man; she remembers his linen coming home, that had been flea-bitten; she therefore conjectured that he had not continued in the same bed, and she was told so by a patient. His body was clean; he had no bruises. Mr. Wilson always appeared clean. This deponent never went into any of the low rooms, but always went immediately to her husband up stairs, and never was impeded but in the case of Mr. Atkinson, when he had got the black eye.

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* It subsequently was discovered, that out of this two guineas, only fourteen shillings were received by the Steward, for Mr. Wilson's board, lodging, and medicines,—the rest was retained by the Physician.]

When he came from the Asylum he had a bruise on his toe, which might be recently done, as the skin stuck to the stocking. There was a scab on his leg also. His leg was never shown to Mr. Allen. When Mr. Wilson was in the Asylum, he had a habit of kicking with his feet, and since he came home he occasionally does so; she has seen him spit at people when in the Asylum, and since he came home he will do so; since he came home he has shown no disposition to violence.

Mr. OSWALD ALLEN, apothecary, deposeth and saith, he frequently visited Mr. Wilson, during his being in the Asylum, and always found him clean and neatly dressed, and very comfortable, never saw any bruises on him: he has seen him put his feet on people's toes, and spit at them; once saw Mr. Wilson hold up his hand against him. When Mr Wilson returned from the Asylum, his body was reduced, his health seemed impaired.—After he got home he improved very much. There never was any opposition made to his seeing Mr. Wilson, nor had he the least fault to find with Mr. Wilson's treatment in the Asylum.

Opinion of the Committee, on Mr. Wilson's Case.

"No sufficient ground of censure has been established."

Richard Thirkell's Case.

MR. HIGGINS'S STATEMENT.

JOHN THIRKELL, of Sherburn, says, that his son was sent to the Asylum on Tuesday in the August Race week, 1810. On the Saturday in the week before Candlemas he was informed, by a letter, that his son had absconded the preceding day. On his coming over a short time afterwards, he was told at the Asylum, that when his son ran away, he was nearly well, and

would have been very soon discharged; he has never since been heard of. J. Thirkill says, his son was of a good disposition, and attached to his family.

Evidence in the Case of Richard Thirkell.

GEORGE SURR, of the City of York, Steward of the York Lunatic Asylum, saith, that Richard Thirkell, a patient, who escaped from the Asylum on or about the 7th day of February, 1812, was quite recovered. That this deponent issued hand-bills, and offered a reward, describing his person, and also wrote to inform his friends.

GEO. SURR.

This Patient was entered, by Mr. SURR, in the Books,
" REMOVED."

Opinion of the Committee.

" No sufficient ground of censure."

John Thirkell's Case.

Mr. Higgins's Statement at the foot of Richard Thirkell's case.

N. B. About ten years ago, there was a patient of the same name, and from the same place, who was said to be murdered by a fellow-patient.

G. H.

Entry in the Order Book of a " SPECIAL REPORT" *of the Coroner's Jury.*

" To prevent any injurious and false reports, such as are often circulated on occasions similar to the present, the Jury appointed to investigate the circumstances of JOHN THIRKELL's death, which took place at the Asylum on the 19th of the present month, think it an act of justice due to the various persons concerned in

the superintendence and management of that Institution, to declare that they consider the death of the above-mentioned person as an unavoidable accident, for which no blame whatever can be imputed, either to the servants or superintendents of the Asylum.

By Order of the Jury,
DEAN WOLSTENHOLME*,
Foreman."

MAY 21st, 1808.

This Patient was entered, by Mr. SURR, in the Books,
" DIED."

Opinion of the Committee, on the Case of John Thirkell.

" No sufficient ground of censure has been established."

Copy of a Petition to the House of Lords.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled,—The humble Petition of the undersigned Persons, being Governors of the YORK LUNATIC ASYLUM, *within the Suburbs of the City of York:*

SHEWETH,

THAT a Bill is now depending in your Honourable House, to repeal an Act made in the 14th year of the reign of his present Majesty, for regulating Madhouses, and for making other Provisions and Regulations in lieu thereof.

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* This is a most extraordinary extra-judicial proceeding. It bears internal evidence of being the production not of *Dean* Wolstenholme, but of *Doctor* Best. But it was kind in *Dean* to put his name to it, for the reason given in the paper itself—" to PREVENT REPORTS, *such as are often circulated on occasions similar to the present.*"

THAT the York Lunatic Asylum, like the Hospitals of Bethlem and St. Luke, (both of which are expressly exempted from all the provisions of the said Bill, except as to the visitation thereof) is a Charitable Institution, designed for the relief of Lunatic Parish Paupers, and other Lunatics, in indigent and distressed circumstances, and admitting only a limited number of Patients, in easy circumstances with a view to assist, in the maintenance of the poorest classes; and that it is under the government of your Petitioners, and others who have voluntarily contributed to its support, and is also under the inspection of Visitors appointed by the said Contributors from amongst their own body.

THAT the effect of the intended Bill will be, to take the Government and Direction of this Institution out of the hands of the Contributors to its support, who are naturally the Persons most anxious for its welfare and success.

THAT though the said Asylum is an Institution principally for the County of York, and has been erected and maintained chiefly by means of Contributions from Persons resident in various Parts of that County; yet that by the intended Bill, the Licensing and Government of this Institution will be vested in the Justices of the Peace for the City of York, which is a County of itself, and is a District of small extent, within which the said Asylum is situate, and over which the Justices of the Peace for the Three Ridings of the County of York have no controul.

THAT the Managers of this Charitable Institution will, by the provisions of the said Bill, be compellable to take out an Annual Licence, which will incur an expense of one Hundred Guineas, or upwards,—which sum must be wholly drawn from Funds of a purely charitable nature, whilst the plan of visiting contained in the said Bill might be effected for a sum, not greater than Six or Eight Guineas; and yet it is on account of the expenses of visiting solely, that there is a charge on the Licence to be obtained.

THAT although the said Bill appears to intend a Provision for relieving not only Parish Paupers, but other indigent distressed

Lunatics, from the burden of the higher rate of Charges for Licence, yet no Provision appears to your Petitioners to be made for the mode of licensing an Institution, where a part of the Patients are not Paupers; and that this Lunatic Asylum, which contains various Patients in different Classes, will be liable for all the Paupers and other distressed and indigent Patients to the highest rate of Charges.

THAT in case the visiting Justices or Physician should be disposed to perform their Office gratuitously, the Bill contains no Clause for remitting or abating the charge for Licences.

THAT the placing of Pumps, at all Hours accessible to the Patients, as required by the said Bill, may lead to mischief amongst the Patients.

THAT as Patients are brought to this Asylum from all Parts of the extensive County of York, as well as from other Parts of the Kingdom, a Restriction of the Power to grant Certificates for Admission to the Medical Practitioners of the City of York, (which would be the effect of the said Bill,) will produce much Inconvenience to Persons desirous of placing their Friends in this Asylum, since they must incur the Expense of a Journey to York, under an uncertainty as to obtaining Certificates of Admission, instead of applying to Practitioners in their respective Neighbourhoods.

YOUR Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Lordships, to adopt such Alterations and Amendments in the said Bill, for avoiding the Expense, and remedying the other Hardships and Inconveniences, apprehended by your Petitioners, as to your Lordships shall seem meet.

And your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

(Signed by the ARCHBISHOP of YORK, and by 19 other Governors of the York Lunatic Asylum.)

Prayer of Mr. Higgins's Counter-Petition, to the House of Lords.

For those reasons, your Petitioner humbly prays, that your Lordships will not listen to any prayer of the said Governors, to exempt their House from the operation of the proposed law; but rather that, if any alteration be thought necessary, your Lordships would make the law more strict, with respect to the said Lunatic Asylum. And that your Lordships would be pleased to enact, that the visiting Magistrates should, in part, always be taken from the three Ridings of the County of York, as well as from the County of the City of York. That your Petitioner is ready to verify the above, and many other facts, at the Bar of your Lordships' House; or in any other way that to your Lordships may seem meet and proper,

And your Petitioner

shall ever pray,

G. HIGGINS.

A List of the present Governors of the York Lunatic Asylum, (JAN. 1, 1815.)

Date of Donation.	
1772, to 1777.	The Lord Mayor of York.
	The Mayor of Doncaster.
	The Governor of the York Merchants' Company.
	Earl of Carlisle.
	Lord Dundas.
	Joshua Field, Esq.
	Earl Fitzwilliam.
	Rev. W. Whytehead.
1778, to 1784.	Sir Henry Etherington, Bart.
	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Leonard Thompson, Esq.
	Wm Walker, Esq.
1785, to 1791.	Richard Langley, Esq.
	Gregory Elsley, Esq.
	F. Foljambe, Esq.
	Richard Key, Esq
	The Duke of Leeds
	T. Lumley, Esq
	Rev. T. Preston
	Richard Thompson, Esq
	J. H. Wharton, Esq.
	Thomas Wilson, Esq.
1792, to 1800.	Mr. Gervas Elam.
	Rev. J. Eyre.
	Richard Hobson, Esq.
	John Lawson, M. D.
	Earl Spencer.
	Rev. Robert Croft
	St. Andrew Warde, Esq.
1801, to 1804.	Hon. Lawrence Dundas
	Dr. Markham, Dean of York.
	Charles Best, M. D.
	Sir Charles Anderson, Bart.
	Simon Horner, Esq.
1805.	Rev C. Constable.
	Rev. F. Best.
	T. Goulton, Esq.
	John Hotham, Esq.
	T. Norcliffe, Esq.
	Mr. John Roper.
	James Salmond, Esq.
	Rev. Richard Sykes.
	Mr. J. B. Wilson.
	R. F. Wilson, Esq.
1806.	F. Constable, Esq.
	P. Saltmarshe, Esq.
	James Walker, Esq.
1807.	G. W. Wentworth, Esq.
	Mr. E. Wallis.
	Mr. John Brook.
	Rev. J. Preston.
	W. Gossip, Esq.
	John Sykes, Esq.
	Richard Sykes, jun Esq.
1808.	Wm. Beckwith, Esq.
	John Dalton, Esq.
	W. J. Denison, Esq.
	Wm. Danby, Esq.
	J. Fox, Esq.
	Mr. James Fryer.
	Mr. John Hodgson.
	James Croft, Esq.
1809.	Wm. Beckwith, M. D.
	Thomas Swann, Esq.
	Rev. W. Bulmer.
	Henry Bland, Esq.
	Mr. Robert Cattle.
	Mr John Elston.
	W. C. Fenton, Esq.
	M. C. Maxwell, Esq.

Date of Donation.	
	George Palmes, Esq.
	G. Osbaldeston, Esq.
	Edward, Lord Archbishop of York.
1810.	W. Belcombe, M. D.
	Thomas Lloyd, Esq.
	Lord Milton.
	Mr. John Prince.
	Robert Swann, Esq.
	Thomas Thompson, Esq
	W. Whytehead, Esq.
1811.	Rev. R. H. Whytehead.
	Mr. Thomas Bell.
1812.	Bryan Cooke, Esq.
1813.	Rev. W. Dealtry.
	Henry Legard, Esq.
Dec. 10.	S. W. Nicoll, Esq.
	D. Russell, Esq.
	Rev. C. Wellbeloved.
	John Dyson, Esq.
	Mr. D. Tuke.
	Mr. J. Crosby.
	Mr. J. Gray.
	Rev. J. Graham.
	W. Gimber, Esq.
	J. Rawdon, Esq.
	Rev. J. Richardson.
	Mr. S. Richardson.
	A. Thorpe, Esq.
1814.	Mr. D. Priestman.
Jan. 7.	J. Tweedy, Esq.
	G. L. Thompson, Esq.
	Mr. W. Hornby.
	Mr. W. Tuke.
	Matthew Wilson, Esq.
	R. T. North, Esq.
	Thomas Smith, Esq.
	William Gray, Esq.

Date of Donation.	
	Rev. W. Smith.
	William Carr, Esq.
	C. Duncombe, Esq.
	B. Brooksbank, Esq.
	Mr. J. Mason.
	Mr. S. Tuke.
	Mr. T. Proctor.
	Godfrey Higgins, Esq.
	Wm. Marshall, Esq.
	John Cooke, Esq. (of Camps Mount.)
	Mr. J. Marshall.
	Mr. J. Catton.
	Mr. J. Wormald.
	Rev. R. S. Thompson.
	Richard John Thompson, Esq.
	Barnard Clarkson, Esq.
	Mr. B. Clarkson, jun.
	Mr. Michael Clarkson.
Apr. 14.	Mr. Thos Marshall.
	Henry Willoughby, Esq
	J. L. Raper, Esq.
	Rev. E. H. Brooksbank.
	Sir W. Ingilby, Bart.
	Sir George Cayley, Bart
	John Swann, Esq.
	Rev. T. C. R. Read.
Aug. 26.	Mr. W. Stead, jun.
	Rev. J. Dallin.
	D. Gaskell, Esq.
	B. Gaskell, Esq.
	M. Stapylton, Esq.
	John Hustler, Esq.
	Wm. Aldem, Esq.
	Mr. John Mason, jun.
Sept. 14.	Mr. C. Peacock.
Oct. 7.	Mr. Thos. Wilson, jun.

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Contributions of 20 l. and upwards.

DONATIONS.	£.	s.	d.
Late R. Dudley Rockett (as Executor of Mr. Lupton)	570	3	0
Late Rev. Wm. Mason,	100	0	0
* Christopher Morritt, Esq.	20	0	0
* Mr. John Lund	20	0	0
Late Mrs. Orfeur	100	0	0
Late Mr. John Simpson	20	0	0
Wm. Wilberforce, Esq.	100	0	0
Henry Thornton, Esq.	50	0	0
Mr. Thos. Jennings	20	0	0
Late Lady Anderson	20	9	1
Wm. Burgh, Esq.	20	0	0
Henry Grimston Esq.	20	0	0
Late Rev. Arthur Robinson	50	0	0
Late Mr. C. Benson, jur.	20	0	0
Mrs. Lofthouse	20	0	0
Mr. Gray	20	0	0
Anonymous by Mr. Mason	20	0	0
——— by Messrs. Gray and Thorpe	50	0	0
——— by Mr. Gray	25	0	0
——— by Messrs. Gray and Thorpe	30	0	0
Late Frances Reed	30	0	0
Late Charles S. Duncombe, Esq.	200	0	0
Late S. R. Ward, Esq.	21	0	0
Charles Duncombe, Esq.	30	0	0
Mr Wilberforce's Election Committee.	70	0	0
BEQUESTS.			
Mrs. Jane Stansfield	52	10	0
Mrs. Dorothy Bowes	30	0	0
Mr. Wm. Wright	20	0	0
Mrs. Eliz. Simpson	20	0	0
Rev. Mr Whittall	30	0	0
Mr. Kay, of Acomb	100	0	0
Mr. Abercrombie	50	0	0
Mr. Thomas Lund	50	0	0
Mr. John Raines	200	0	0
Peter Neville, Esq.	50	0	0
Henry Raper, Esq.	25	0	0
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* C. Morritt, Esq. and Mr. Lund, who subscribed previous to the rule which excluded the subscribers to this fund from being Governors, are existing Governors of the Asylum.

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