A new view of insanity : in which is set forth the present mismanagement of public and private madhouses, all the late and existing defects of New Bethlem : with some suggestions towards a new remedy for that almost-universal disorder of the human race / by Richard Carlile.

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NEW VIEW

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BY BICHARD CARLILE.

London :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY RICHARD CARLILE, No. 62, FLEET STREET.

1831.

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DEDICATION

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INSANE MAN.

If I knew a sane man living, I would certainly dedicate to him this Treatise on Insanity; but I do not know such a man; therefore, I dedicate it to the insane, with a hope, that as man is only perfectible, and never to be perfect, he may the sooner discover his imperfections, and proceed in perfectibility. It is by looking in the mirror that we see our own faces; so also is a moral mirror necessary to be constantly held up before us, that we may see and know our own defects and vices. For this purpose, this pamphlet is written; and it is the Author's wish that it may be found instructive to all and offensive to none; but in this he rather wishes than hopes,-for too well he knows that man, as he now is, had rather have his defects and vices flattered and concealed, than stripped naked and exposed. He contents himself with his own good purpose, and leaves the rest to God and man.

DEDICATION.

Though the Author does not know a sane man, he is sure that he knows some of the best that God has yet made. He means no disparagement of his acquaintances by declaring them not sane. They are among the most sane of mankind.

In its best attainable state, the human mind will still be student, scholastic, and in pursuit of knowledge. Perfection is a hyperbolical word, which, when reduced to a reality and its truth, means nothing more than superiority.

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INTRODUCTION.

IF mankind were treated, as other animals treat themselves, according to their nature, I am of opinion that there would be no insanity among them, other than such as may arise from accidental violence to the brain and body generally. This treatise is written upon that principle; and to write a treatise of the kind without fearlessly investigating and stating the causes of social insanity, would have been one of its principles. Ill-managed physical love is, according to my perception and judgment, the first principle of social insanity: religion is the second. These are the two great leading principles of insanity, springing from an immoral education. Such an education, engendering other bad habits, such as bad modes of exercise, labour, diet, dress, and dwelling, becomes or begets all the other causes of constitutional insanity.

On the authority of Dr. Spurzheim's extraction, since writing the first paragraph, I perceive that Dr. Rush, of the United States of North America, has observed: "After much inquiry, I have not been able to find a single instance of fatuity among the Indians, and but few instances of melancholy and madness." Baron Humboldt is stated to have said, that he did not hear of a single instance of madness among the uncivilized Indians of South America. John Stewart and other authorities state, that in the despotic countries of the east, where tyranny allows no range to the human mind, insanity is scarcely known. I do not remember that the Bible has any allusion to insanity. Among the Indians, as well as among the human slaves of the eastern nations, the principle of physical love is not placed under restraint, and religion among them is merely ceremonial.

Though civilization, beyond that of the Indians and eastern slaves, is socially to be desired, yet there is no reason why it should be carried on in opposition to the dictates of nature and moral truth. Indeed, the word *civilization* is abused when it is so applied; the proper term is insanity; and hence the insanity of that which is called the civilized world. I am for civilization and all possible social enjoyments, in accordance with the dictates of nature and moral truth.

Dr. Spurzheim has feared to speak out clearly, fairly, and fearlessly on the subject. On the subject of religion he is evidently hypocritical; on the subject of love he is not clear: but enough may be gleaned from the following extract, to perceive what is meant to be confusedly or covertly insinuated.

"Moreover, it is also certain, that single persons are more disposed to madness than married people. But luxury and expensive fashions require in England a large fortune to enable a man to marry; hence, only rich females have a claim to marriages; the others mourn in silence, and look for other sorts of satisfaction. Sometimes they have recourse to means which weaken the body, and contribute to derange the mind. Now, there is no doubt, that, in all countries, even where love is less restrained by fashion and law, the greatest number of insane females are the victims of amativeness (of physical love)."

Love and religion, as these principles are now attended to in this island, are the two great sources of hypocrisy, deceit, mental lying, and social misery, as well as of insanity. Priescraft has turned virtue into vice; because to dishonesty vice is most profitable. To love other than by the sanction of the priest, and to have no religion, or any religion but theirs, is to commit a sin—to be wicked according to their laws, and to be denounced with their maledictions and threats of burning in eternal fire. I, in turn, and more in truth, denounce them as impostors, as sinful and wicked men, dispute their authority, condemn their judgment, defy their power and their wrath, will love as nature dictates, have no religion, and will not be insane.

REASONS FOR THE UNDERTAKING.

I undertake the writing of this pamphlet, as a part of that systematic warfare which I carry on against tyranny, oppression, and corruption of every kind. While studying the phenomena of mind, the subject of insanity has often engaged my consideration; and while hearing and reading of cases of treatment, under alleged or real insanity, it has occurred to me, that much error and wickedness have been mixed up with those cases. The legislature, from time to time, has made efforts to remedy the horrors of both public and private madhouses; and, before the present century commenced, such houses were so many hells upon earth, for the torment of those who were damned with deviations from the ordinary course of human action, even if that ordinary course were insanity itself. I have been called upon, as a fit and proper person, to put the finishing stroke to the legislative efforts that have been made, or rather, to bring the legislature to that finishing stroke; to call public attention to the abuses that remain; to break up the remaining secrecies, mysteries, and orgies of those places; and, in throwing them open to public investigation, to obtain for their unhappy inmates the best chance of restoration to health, to liberty, and to society.

To do this, I shall have to make exposures of continued malpractices, up to this time; I shall have to arraign, before the bar of the public, living characters and persons now in office; I shall have to assail the whole system of management; I shall have to show in this case, that which will be found in every other case of human action,—that where there is much secrecy, there is not much honesty, and that right and honesty can only be permanently ensured, in any public or private institution, by publicity. All nature is an aggregate of prey; and oppression will

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befal on one side, and abuse and excess arise on the other, where tyranny can be with impunity practised by power or with secrecy.

My information, at present, is not very extensive, as to particular cases, beyond what have been already made public; but I know that the nature and good effect of this exposure of what I do know will be, to bring me all the cases that remain to be made public: I at least know that which should be no longer concealed.

DEFINITION OF INSANITY, MADNESS, AND IDIOTCY.

Insanity is one of those words which will not admit of so clear a definition as shall satisfy all persons; and the only rational definition of it that can be given, - the having ideas not properly related to things, - is such a definition as may be distinguished under the heads of physical and moral insanity, and includes, in its educational operation, almost all mankind. It embraces all fiction, all lying, and even all religion. Lying may be distinguished as a wilful or voluntary insanity, an offensive fiction, instituted to deceive; and is to be classed separately from the inoffensive fiction that is instituted to amuse or instruct: both are distinct from physical insanity. Knowledge, with the disposition to propagate it freely and truly, becomes the best test of sanity of mind. Physical may be distinguished from moral insanity, as ignorance may be distinguished from schooled knowledge, and may be easily cured, if there be a rational faculty to cultivate; if not, it is in both cases incurable.

No strict test of sanity can be set up; the antithesis, or insanity, admits of no decision: they are relative properties. We judge of them always in relation to ourselves, while we may not be competent judges. A man may be very wise on many subjects, and exceedingly ingenious on many, yet he may have foibles indicative of insanity; and this is so in nine cases out of ten; the defect complained of being nothing more than a disordered action of the brain on one particular subject, produced by over-action or an excess of excitement on that subject. I will, therefore, make a division of the subject into *insanity*, *madness*, and *idiotcy*, and endeavour to show, that such a disordered state of brain as is confined to one error, so as it be not personally injurious, should not be subject to restraint, may be properly termed insanity, and be charitably treated in common with the general errors of the human mind.

Madness may express that excessive disorder of the brain and body under which the patient is disposed to injure or destroy person or property; and thus all warfare becomes madness, in its aggressive character.

Passion and drunkenness may become insanity or madness, according to the temperament of the individual.

The lower grades of *sentimental* religion come within the test of insanity, whilst highly-wrought religious zeal approaches to the character of madness. The first are educational or moral; the second is physical. Indeed, we may set down madness as entirely a physical disorder, whatever might have produced it.

Idiotcy is another feature of this disorder, and is anomalous; for while it has not a particle of sanity, it may be termed an absence of insanity or madness. It is a perpetual infancy of the brain.

Idiots, again, may be divided into two classes, as *idiots from birth* and *idiots from accident*, or the extreme disorder of incurable madness.

Idiots from birth are the lowest or most degraded state of animal existence. We see nothing of the kind beyond the human animal. The existence of one such a being should be answer sufficient to all that is said about *human soul* in the religious world. The varied state of mind, the liabilities to insanity or madness, are so many irresistible arguments against the doctrines of religion.*

IMPORTANT QUESTION.

If a strict definition of insanity would include the whole human race,—if man be the only irrational animal, in what does the test of animal sanity lie?

ANSWER, WITH REFLECTIONS.

A strict definition of insanity would include the whole human race; for, however humiliating may be the statement, it is not less true, that, instead of being the only rational animal, as some falsely and arrogantly assume, man is the only irrational animal, and what is again singularly anomalous, in which the practice or principle is at variance with the theory, he owes his irrationality to his past sociality or erroneous efforts at civilization. Which way intellect may march, in future, it is difficult to say; but it has been marching in the wrong road hitherto, and has not approached the goal of human happiness. So far, the aggregate intellect of the world has been rather insane than sane.

In any other animal than man, we cannot perceive an idea, but it has a close relation to the thing considered. If we except the pugnacious character, we see not an irrational act in other animals; but every act accords with the nature and wants of the

* In this, as in all my other writings and publications, I aim at the increase of the amount of human sanity, the decrease of the amount of human misery. The subject of religion is inseparably allied to insanity, and is not offensively intruded; nor is this pamphlet written for the purpose of attacking it, as is my common practice in other publications: yet how ridiculous is the idea of a chaplain to a lunatic asylum! Again, chaplains to regiments of soldiers, and to men-of-war, to pray and fight! Dr. Spurzheim scouts the idea of preaching sermons to insane persons, who are religiously exciteable. animal, whilst moderation in food and other necessaries is, with them, a general rule. This is animal sanity. The principle of prey is natural to all carnivorous animals. Man shares it with others. He is also as pugnacious as any other animal.

If we consider what man would be in a natural state, we shall find him then rational, like other animals, seeking only to supply his wants in moderation. Though I find insanity springing up in that which is the social, and is called the civilized state, I am not, with Rousseau, about to recommend a return to the natural state; but I aspire at a state in which civilization shall be associated with the natural state and wants of man, when in being considered as an animal and treated as an animal, his intellect shall not be employed to the insane purpose of superseding his animal nature. In aiming to be a god, or any thing more than an animal, man has sunk below all that is animal in the creation. The word god has been the very root of his insanity, as the first idea that had no relation to a thing.

I propose to deprive man of his religion, by reason and proper education; to moderate his wants; to render those which are naturally indispensable more facile in the attainment; and, by leaving him the fewest possible obstacles to his happiness, to prepare the way for him to the greatest possible amount of mental sanity.

GENERAL PURPOSE.

Having clearly defined that which comes under the head of *insanity*, *madness*, and *idiotcy*, I have now to consider what is the proper treatment of that state of mind which society distinguishes as insanity. I am writing a book which is intended rather to comfort than to wound the socially insane man,—to give him hope of recovery to mental health, rather than to impart to him the least affront or despair. My first

principle is, that the insane man should be treated as a patient, in a well-conducted hospital, and not as a criminal in a gaol; and that, as far as the principle of self-preservation, and the preservation of property will allow, he shall not be placed under any restraint. I shall have to complain and to show that, hitherto, such patients have been treated in the most horrid sense of criminality or criminal desert, and that the evil has been aggravated by such treatment. I shall have to show, that dreadful abuses have been practised by keepers and others upon the imbecile creatures, of both sexes, who have been afflicted with this disorder. Females have been violated in a shocking manner, and males subjected to all sorts of indecencies. O, Christianity ! what will be thy real history!

QUALIFICATION FOR THE UNDERTAKING.

I have thought deeply on the subject. I have read the Minutes of Evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1815. I have read the Minutes of Evidence given before a Committee of the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlem, in September and October last, to support an accusation against Edward Wright, the apothecary of Bethlem, for misconduct in that hospital. I have read "A Description of the Crimes and Horrors in the Interior of Warburton's Private Madhouse, at Hoxton, commonly called Whitmore House." I have been in communication with some of the keepers and other servants of Bethlem hospital, and with several persons who have been confined in different establishments. I am about to set forth all the remaining abuses with which I have become acquainted, and

> "---- Nothing extenuate, Nor set down aught in malice."

The very worst state of insanity or madness is that to which any one of us is liable to be reduced

by an accident, through any day of our lives. It is, therefore, to be treated with kindness, with pity, with compassion, and with all tender regard, as we would wish to be treated, as we would treat a friend under a fever, a broken limb, or a painful surgical operation. On some persons it comes naturally, or as the regular working of a constitution: and with those we should deal as with persons subject to any other disorder; if curable, seek that cure; if incurable, seek to assuage pain. Kindness should be the unvarying principle, not severity. Many think that severity will accomplish its purposes. It may break the spirit, or further break the broken spirit; but it will never mend that which is already broken or disordered. Keepers have been known to anticipate the moon's age, and, without waiting for any display of increased turbulence on the part of the patients, have bound, chained, flogged, and deprived them of food. Kindness is the healing and subduing principle. I hate hell, and those who preach it. 1 hate torture of any kind, and more particularly that of the lash. I hate tyranny and cruelty; and, with my latest breath, will I make war upon what remains. I hate all those who practise torture, tyranny, or cruelty of any kind. In me they shall find an uncompromising enemy.

The more general head on which I purpose to enlarge, which will bring down the history of madhouses to the present time, and enable me to contrast that which has been and is wrong, with that which should be and is right, will be that of

IMPROPER TREATMENT OF INSANITY, WITH REFLECTIONS.

Under this head, I shall set forth that which I know to be the improper treatment of lunatics, &c.; and, in contrast, that which I think to be proper.

The legislature produced a new era in the management of madhouses in 1815, just at the time that the patients were removed from Old Bethlem, in Moorfields, to New Bethlem, in St. George's Fields. Before that time, madhouses were worse than doghouses, as bad or worse than pigsties; and, the creatures confined in them, the victims of an unparalleled brutality. At the Old Bethlem, in Moorfields, they were exhibited, like other wild beasts; and this up to so late a period as the year 1814. The keepers were constantly drunk with the proceeds of the charity box, which was a mode of paying for admission, and very brutal towards the patients. In that dire abode, a man of the name of Norris was chained, neck and heels, to one spot for nine years, with twenty-eight pounds weight of iron, in a condition not to be able to sit upright on his bed-side; and yet this man was quite rational as a politician, read newspapers and other publications with avidity, and commented on their contents with reason! The surgeon of that establishment, of the name of Crowther (a name famed in City jobbing), was allowed, by other authorities of the establishment, to have the surgical care of the patients during ten years, whilst he himself was almost perpetually drunk or mad, and often required the strait-waistcoat to keep him from violence! In the apothecary's department, both in Old and New Bethlem, the most gross abuses have been practised : such as physicking the patients for punishment, and physicking them by wards, in the same way, bleeding, vomiting, purging, and blistering them periodically, and at seasons, allowing the keepers to administer powders indiscriminately, instead of attending to the individual case of each person: and in allowing the porters of the establishment to go into the apothecary's shop to mix medicines for the patients. In the Old Bethlem, while a Mr. Haslam was apothecary, one patient died from an actual bursting of the bowels by constipation. In the New Bethlem, and lately, a man has been so neglected, that his feet became frost-bitten, and were lost,-a circumstance which the apothecary, Wright, treated with indifference. The entire nakedness of men and women has been a very common practice. In private madhouses, they have been so mixed together. The filth, in which they have been allowed to live, exceeds all description, and was an instant vomit to a stranger. When I consider what is boasted about Christianity, and read of the merciless murders, the violation of helpless women, and the atrocious crimes practised in madhouses, the many confinements without other cause than that of property, claims on government, family jarrings about religion, love, &c., or purposes of adultery in both sexes, and perceive that such institutions have their chapels and chaplains, what can I but think of the social defects of religion?

I see, in all our prisons and public establishments. great regularity in the appointment and salary of a priest, as a chaplain; but I have never seen nor heard of any thing in the shape of real instruction, strict cleanliness, amendment of character, or generally useful employment of time, which a little honesty and good sense may very easily arrange, accomplish, and manage. Even in this Compter of London, though there is no offensive physical discipline, there is no moral discipline,-nothing by which the prisoner is to be improved, or to be made a better character during his confinement. With the chaplain's salary, I would provide a sufficiency of moral discipline, and leave the prisoners no idle or misspent time. It would be a really useful punishment to compel strict cleanliness of person, and twelve hours a day, of close application, to reading, writing, and arithmetic. It would work well on some insane patients. But nothing of this

kind will be attended to so long as chaplains are assigned to gaols and lunatic asylums. The church is brought into danger, as men are brought out of it and made reasonable. And when religion ceases to exist, the cases of insanity will be much less numerous, confined almost to love and accident, and treated so as to moderate, and not as now, to inflame, the excitement.

There are two classes of human beings : they who think and invent, and they who only imitate. The first are the intellectual, -the last only the sagacious. They are but few who think and invent; and unhappily, under the present social restraints, they are most subject to insanity; the majority, by a hundred to one, are of the imitative class. The first are the only rational beings, who can be said to have souls distinguished from other animals; the last are only taught to imitate in common with other animals. This consideration should teach us, that there is no just responsibility for opinions delivered or held; and that the most violent clashing of opinions, however extreme, must conduce to human good and happiness. We do not see many splendid men rise up in a century of years. When they appear, they are accounted mad by the unthinking and partially interested multitude; and the value of their discoveries, doctrines, and examples becomes posthumous. I see this with man in society; and, with very good reason, do I call for the most free and most public discussion on the part of all dissenting opinions. I call for it as the best means to abate insanity, and the train of disorders and evils that attend it. I call for it as the best means to increase the number of thinkers, and to create souls. I call for it, not only with the best of motives, but with the best of reasons and convictions: I have found that I have improved myself by preparing for it. It would abolish all that sort of preaching which drives men mad. There is a young

woman in New Bethlem, from Cornwall, to be confined for life, though now perfectly sane, because she was once driven mad by the preaching of the Methodists; and, thinking it desirable to get to heaven as quickly as possible, she hanged a little brother until he was dead ! A man has been tried at the late Taunton Assizes* for cutting the throat of his child, precisely on the same ground and pretence, and from the same cause. This was the spirit which induced Jonathan Martin to fire the York Minster, and Sisk to attempt the assassination of the Duke of Wellington. Sisk is impatient of restraint, and has made an effort to escape, by digging through his cell, but came across a beam of wood, and found it impracticable. Religion has produced in him a ruffianly insanity.

About nine-tenths of the cases of insanity are connected with religion, or have a contingent root in that wrong direction of the human being; and this evil spreads with the fervour of fanaticism found more particularly among those who call themselves Evangelists, Methodists, or experimental religionists. Incapable of ratiocination, weak minds are recipients of denunciations, and with them the threat of future damnation is too speedily realised here in all its imaginary horrors. It is the comparative merit of the churches of Rome and England that they do not engender so much mental disease as the dissenters. *Ceremonial* religion, if not very expensive, is pretty play for children of the larger growth; but sentimental religion brings with it tremendous evils, and maddens its victims with all the horrors of refined cruelty. A man that has in him the madness of experimental religion is not to be reasoned with ; no dates, no facts, no realities, will stagger his faith; he appeals to himself as a living miracle, and mistakes his disorder for his argument.

* Spring Assizes, 1831.

I perceive that I trespass on ground, which will give offence to many, who might be otherwise disposed to work with me, in removing the existing evils in the management of lunatic asylums and insane persons. I do not possess that sort of prudence, which will suppress facts, because the mention of them is either unfashionable or disagreeable to some persons. I know no better test of friendship than the disposition to find and state a fault where a fault really is to be found; and, I perceive, that the best mode of public teaching is fearlessly to lay bare all social faults, to remove existing evils, that good may be strengthened, and not to suppose the necessity of superseding system by system, in which there may be an equal amount of errors. It is thus that I assail religion, without proposing to set up any thing new as religion. I find it to be insanity; and I should think it as reasonable to be called upon to substitute one kind of insanity before another is removed, as to propose to substitute one kind of religion for another. As I endeavour to strike at the very root of mental disorder, I am necessitated to pursue it wherever it is to be found ; and, it would be unworthy of me to flinch from noticing it wherever it may be found, because some persons may be offended. Without exception, I mark religion to be moral or educational insanity; and it is thus that I find it necessary to make such frequent mention of it in this tract. If I could do justice to my subject, without a notice of religion, I would certainly do so; for I am quite alive to the re-imputation of monomania on myself, relating to the question of religion.

NEW BETHLEM, ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS.

This establishment is, in funds and management, connected with Bridewell, in Bridge Street; and

though royal, metropolitan, and chief of its kind, it is chiefly under the controul of the corporation of the city of London. Its average number of patients is about two hundred, rather more than less. It was completed at a moment when there was a great public excitement in the country about the ill-treatment of lunatics, through complaints that had been made; but more especially by a committee of the House of Commons having been appointed to investigate the matter; and having been first occupied under this moral surveillance, it was for a long time the best public establishment of the kind; and the errors that have been associated, have arisen from defective knowledge and defective superintendence. The apothecary, steward, and matron, who should be active servants of the establishment, have been allowed to assume the air of governorship, and have grown, in idea of self-importance, above their employment. First, I will treat of the office of

APOTHECARY.

This office has been for many years, from 1819 to 1830, filled by a gentleman of the name of Edward Wright, who, from the want of sufficient authority over him, fell into many abuses, until at length complaints were so numerously and loudly made, that a committee of governors assembled to examine witnesses and to investigate the charges, which were, —official neglect of the patients, drunkenness, lewdness toward servants, general carelessness, and bad example.

Of the drunkenness and lewdness, it will not become me to speak, as it will not be necessary to the purpose of my pamphlet. They are two charges which do not admit of invention; for where the contrary character is found, calumny dare not venture on accusation. But of the official neglect of patients, I find the following evidence :—

William Brown, examined by the Committee.

Have you been in the habit of mixing up medicines for the patients? and if so, state how often and for how long a period.—I can say for these seven years.

Have you, when Dr. Wright has not been present with you, been accustomed to fill the patients' physic bottles from the prescriptions written thereon ?— Yes.

What may have been your practice in this respect? —I never had any practice before I came here.

What has been the mode of your doing it; under whose directions?—I have done it by direction of Dr. Wright, and sometimes by my own act.

Have you done it in the absence of Dr. Wright without his knowledge?—Yes; and sometimes by his knowledge.

In what form were the prescriptions written?— I have a piece of one here (producing it).

By having this piece of paper, had you mixed up these pills?—Yes.

Was that by direction of Dr. Wright, or not?-That was by direction of Dr. Wright, by his orders.

In his presence, or his absence ?- In his absence.

Do you understand the character in which it is written ?-Yes, I do.

The paper was delivered in, and read as follows :---

" Calom. gr. xxiv. Ext. Hyos. gr. 96. 24 Pills. Sarah Pasloe. Blister."

Had you at any time authority from Dr. Wright to mix up, from any paper which might be delivered in that way, and addressed to you ?--Yes.

Was it a general, or a particular order ?—It was an order Dr. Wright gave me. There were a great many other papers that I have destroyed. You did not file these prescriptions ?- No, I did not.

Did you ever mix up any without any of these written orders ?—Yes, powders in general.

Under what authority have you done that ?---Of Dr. Wright.

As a general medicine, or to be administered to a particular patient?—As a general medicine to go right through the house.

To physic a whole ward?—Yes; that was, rhubarb powders for all the patients.

From your constant attendance in the doctor's shop, can you state whether the medicines prescribed by Dr. Monro were always made up for the patients without delay ?—No; it has very often been the case, that they have been three or four days without being put up.

You state, that there have been three or four days before the medicines ordered by Dr. Monro have been made up?—Yes.

What are you ?—I am porter.

Cross-examined by Dr. Wright.

Did you mix up medicines, when you first came here, in the same way that you do now ?—No, I did not; there was a person of the name of Frost here to do it.

How long were you here before you were in the habit of doing that much?—I suppose I might be here a year and a half, or it might not be so long; I cannot state that exactly.

Have you ever taken the physicians' books, and made up prescriptions from them ?—No.

Are you thoroughly acquainted with the manner of doing such things as I called upon you occasionally to do?—Yes, I am.

Is the paper you produced similar to those prescriptions written in the books of the physicians, or a plain and easy direction for you to make pills by? -It is what you generally write for me to make pills by, or make up powders.

Philip Eustace, examined by the Committee.

Have the goodness to state what occurred in the case of Margaret Nicholson ?—I was obliged to sew up the body after the operation on the body; Dr. Wright was then present; the skull had been taken away; Dr. Wright says to me, "Eustace, can you keep a secret?" I said, "I shall certainly; I shall keep a secret far more so than some of the servants of the establishment." The skull then being taken away, I never took no more notice. I was obliged to fill the remaining part of the scalp with sawdust, and tie a large piece of string round the top part of the flesh to keep it in the form of a head, and then I screwed the coffin down.

The skull was taken away ?-Yes.

Who took the skull away?—That I cannot speak to; it is impossible for me to say that; but the expression of keeping a secret was sufficient to induce me to suppose it was Dr. Wright.

Who performed the operation on Margaret Nicholson ?-I cannot recollect who it was.

Cross-examined by Dr. Wright.

What were you discharged for ?—In fact, it was an accident that happened in my gallery while I was appointed to do my duty. In coming down for the provisions for the patients, an unfortunate fellow put his head on the fire-guard. I came to Dr. Wright's house, pulled the bell, and stated to the servant girl that fact, for her to tell Dr. Wright, that my patient was seriously burnt; he sent down a message by the servant, to apply cold water to the man's head. I went quickly back; I had left the patient in charge of Hooper; it gave me such a shock; I had to drag him off the fire-place; I went back and begged Dr. Wright to come down, that the man was in a dangerous state. In about fourteen minutes Dr. Wright came down, and instead of treating me like a gentleman, he began to abuse me in a most shameful manner. "I shall," he says, "have you discharged; I have been waiting for this circumstance."

Did this man cut his throat while under your care, previous to this burning?—While under my care he did cut his throat; but I wrested the razor from his hand myself, and I immediately made it known to Dr. Wright.

By the Committee.

You gave notice to Dr. Wright, and he did not attend for three hours afterwards?—No; not till I went to him again, at the pond-house.* He said he had quite forgotten the circumstance.

How was Dr. Wright occupied at the pondhouse?—He had his pipe; he came to the door smoking.

That was three hours after you first made the application ?—Yes; and under these circumstances I strapped the wound myself, and when Dr. Wright came down, he had the strap taken off. He said, "It is a very bad accident; a little more, and it would have been the ruin of the man."

George Bryon, examined by the Committee.

Do you know any circumstance relating to insobriety in Dr. Wright? Have you seen him in a state of intoxication?—I have often seen him in that state that I thought him unfit to perform his duty. What I mean by that state is, in a state of stupor;

^{*} House for the reception of dead bodies. It was the Doctor's drinking and smoking shop.

in fact, he never did perform his duty, as I conceive.

Stupor from liquor, do you mean ?—I do not know from what cause, whether from excessive smoking or from liquor; something of that kind, I imagine.

You say you never did know Dr. Wright perform his duty, as you conceive; what do you mean by that ?- I mean to say, that as long as I was in the hospital, I never knew him to perform the duty which he ought to have done. I say that in his presence. One instance I will state. A patient of Dr. Monro's, whom I had in my gallery, of the name of Stephen Gibbs, who, I believe, came from Feversham, in Kent, was in a very bad state; he had been so previous to coming to me. I was for two years in the basement, and I believe had the worst situation of almost any man in the house. Stephen Gibbs was in the third gallery, and was sent into my gallery, being very bad; he was certainly very bad; he was inclined to be corpulent, and, I think, was at that time paralysed; he was a patient of Dr. Monro's. Dr. Monro had ordered this man to be cupped; at least, I learnt that from Dr. Wright. After Dr. Monro had been down the hospital, it was customary to ring the bell, for the persons belonging to the galleries to be informed. Dr. Wright ordered me to get, on the following day, the cupping instruments, and necessary glasses, and so on, to perform the operation of cupping. I did so; he saying, at the same time, "I shall be there by-and-bye." I got the things ready that day; they remained in the keeper's room that day; they remained there all the day; but no Dr. Wright came to cup the patient that day. The following day, I reminded Dr. Wright that this patient was to be cupped. "Oh, dear me, yes; take the things down, I shall be there directly." I prepared the things; no Dr. Wright came that day to cup this man, Stephen Gibbs. On the third day the same occurrence took place.

Do you mean the same; reminding him ?—I still kept the instruments, the scarificator, and the cups, in my room.

Did you remind him again that day ?—Yes, I did; he did not come on that day, neither on the following day; the man went out of the world without being cupped.

That was the fourth day ?-Yes, the man died in my gallery.

Do you know of any other act?—I know of several instances; I know of numberless instances of my taking up the medicine bottles, for the medicine, of course, when they were emptied to be refilled, and I have known them to be there, on numberless occasions, three, four, or five, successive days, and never filled at all. I have applied to Brown for them.

Was it necessary for you to have had those bottles returned to you full on that day ?—Most assuredly, I should have considered so; I performed my duty in taking the empty bottles up, but Dr. Wright did not perform his.

Did you consider that these bottles were to be filled, or that the patients were to be supplied with medicines, without the order of the physicians?— The order of the physicians had not been countermanded, as regarded the patients taking those medicines.

Are there any other instances you can mention?— I have known several instances of patients who have been without food for two or three days together, in consequence of their being so, that they would not take their food; I have reported it to Dr. Wright, and in some instances, it has not been taken notice of.

Can you name any patient ?—I cannot call to mind the name of the patient; in other instances where a patient has been ordered to have broth administered to him by an instrument, I have been ordered to get broth, and milk, and eggs, to be administered through an instrument; I have got it ready for the purpose of Dr. Wright coming to feed the patient, and I have known instances, for three days together, of Dr. Wright not coming to administer the food that was ordered by Dr. Wright, to be got ready for him to administer.

Have you known a patient to be two or three days without the attendance of Dr. Wright to administer it?—Most assuredly I have.

Joseph Greathead, examined by the Committee.

During the time you were in the situation of a servant here, do you know any thing of Dr. Wright being in a state of insobriety, or any other misconduct in him?—Misconduct in neglect of duty I know. In the first place, he was let know of James Wicken's feet being bad, and the reply was, that it was of no consequence, the man was going to be discharged on the following Thursday.

Richard Stratford, examined by the Committee.

Will you have the goodness to state, whether you gave information to Dr. Wright respecting a man having bad feet?—At the time the man had the bad feet, I was under keeper of the basement.

When was that?—It was about last Christmas. I think it was James Wicken. My fellow servant's name was Thomas Gough; I believe he spoke to Dr. Wright about it twice. Dr. Wright said, it was of very little consequence, he was about to be discharged.

What was the matter with his feet ?-It was occasioned by cold; they were frost-bitten.*

Was the man three or four days before he had attendance from Dr. Wright?—I believe it was a week.

Has Dr. Wright visited your gallery, and the patients under your charge, daily ?-No.

How long a period has elapsed between his visits? —Sometimes two, sometimes three days, sometimes longer; a week I have known him not visit.

The gallery under your charge, you have known a week without being visited by Dr. Wright ?—The basement story Dr. Wright was more frequently in the habit of passing through.

Do you mean to say, that in the gallery you had the care of, Dr. Wright has not visited for a week together.—Yes.

Is your remembrance so distinct that you are able to say, of your own knowledge, that a week has elapsed without Dr. Wright being there ?—Yes.

Have there been patients at that time requiring a more particular attendance?—There was the man that burnt his head; he was under the care of Surgeon Lawrence.

There was a man under a state of disease ?-Yes.

David Kidd, examined by the Committee.

What are you?—I am keeper in the criminal wing. How much time has Dr. Wright been in the habit of passing in the dead-house, in the course of the day?—Sometimes, mostly all day.

Do you know what his occupation has been there?

^{*} Those feet were frost-bitten from neglect,—the patient being chained where he could not cover himself and be warm. There is a standing order on the book of rules, that such persons should be attended to, and have their feet rubbed and covered with flannels every evening, which was never done.

-Smoking, and opening, and taking off the heads of the dead patients occasionally.

Do you mean cutting off the heads, or the scalp? —Sometimes the head altogether.

Do you know whether Dr. Wright has been in the habit of drinking there?—I have seen him empty his spirit bottle there, three parts of a pint.

State to the gentlemen what you mean by taking off heads; for what purpose—for examination, or for taking away, or what?—They were frequently put into pans, what we used to call pickling pans, and allowed to be there till the skin or flesh got off; and, I suppose, they were taken away after that.

You have missed them out of the dead-house, after that?—Oh, yes; they were taken away after that.

Cross-examined by Dr. Wright.

Explain to the gentlemen what you mean by cutting off the heads of dead patients: Do you mean, that they were cut off and taken away, the face and all together?—Yes, I have seen the whole taken away: you left the skin, and it was stuffed up with materials.

Were the features left?—There were no features in the skull; that was taken out: it went to the grave merely as a lump.

You mean to say, it was totally and altogether disfigured ?—I can speak to one, and Hooper was present when it was shown to me by Stone; and I was asked, "Do you know whose head that is ?" And I said, "Yes, that is Jones's head, who died in the wing." The skull and all the brains were gone.

The features were altogether distorted ?-Yes; I saw him when he was buried.

So that it was indecent and improper ?—Yes, it was altogether indecent and improper.

Do you mean the skull, or the whole head ?- The head.

Do you mean to say that the skull was taken away from the face, or the head taken off?— The skin was left.

By Dr. Wright.

Was the lower jaw taken away ?-Sometimes you did not take the jaw, sometimes you did.

Thomas Stone, examined by the Committee.

You have something to do with what is called the dead-house, have you not?—Yes.

In what state is that dead-house as to cleanliness? Have you or not had occasion to state the beastly state that it is in ?—Yes, it is in a very beastly state, or has been.

From what cause?—Dr. Wright would not have it wetted; he ordered me not to wash it, when I have been there; he said, he did not like to have it wetted, on account of catching cold.

Have you seen Dr. Wright make use of the deadhouse, when bodies were not there, for any purpose? —Yes, continually smoking.

Is Dr. Wright in the habit of drinking there when he smokes ?—I have not seen any drink.

Did you ever state that Dr. Wright had been in the habit of drinking spirits there, for you had seen empty bottles there?—Yes.

Then you have seen empty bottles that have contained brandy?—Yes.

Have you shown those empty bottles to your fellow servants ?-Yes, I have.

You state that you ascertained that they had con-
tained brandy. How did you ascertain that they contained brandy ?— By the smell of them.

Thomas Hooper and John Griffiths are examined by the Committee, and prove the neglect of preparing the medicines ordered by the physicians for the patients.

Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Coles)—Dr.Wright, will you produce the apothecary's book, ordered by the standing rules to kept by you?

Dr. Wright—There have been none of late years. Chairman—I wish to know whether the cases of the patients have been regularly entered?

Dr. Wright-They have not.

Chairman—Have the medicines, ordered by Dr. Monro and Sir George Tuthill, been duly entered? I wish to be informed as to those ordered by Sir George Tuthill, in particular.

Dr. Wright—That has not been done.

Chairman-How long has that been discontinued?

Dr. Wright—Since the time that Mr. Frost was here, the books being very much in arrear at the time I came to the hospital. This has been the subject of inquiry before.

Chairman—The committee wish to see the sick diet-book ?

Dr. Wright—That shall be produced.

[Dr. Wright produced the case-book, and stated that it ceased about the year 1820.]

Chairman—Whose book is that?

Dr. Wright—It is the hospital book, required by regulation.

Chairman-By whom was that kept?

Dr. Wright-That is written by Mr. Frost.

Chairman-How long have you been here?

Dr. Wright—I came here in March, 1819; Mr. Frost was here nearly two years after I came here, as well as with my predecessor.

Chairman—You have kept no such book? Dr. Wright—I have at times, but very irregularly.

Dr. Wright brought forward many respectable persons, who professionally spake well of his professional abilities, and others who spake well of his general moral character. But the evidence taken against him, of which I have extracted the pith, as far as neglect of patients is in question, can never be controverted, and he was very properly dismissed. It is very clear that he had so long been the tyrant of the establishment, as to have lost all moral controul over himself; and, like Crowther of the Old Bethlem, had become as much patient as doctoras mad as the maddest of them. We may see, by the evidence, that he went on without system or idea of responsibility; that he made no register of his medical cases; that he had lost all moral feeling for the patients; and, as the evidence at large shows. he had become very insolent to the servants; and also, as by the evidence of what passed on the night of the 25th of August last, that New Bethlem was the Seraglio, of which he was the Sultan.

In the year 1824, two of the keepers of the criminal wing, of the names of William Webster and John Howard, were honest enough to bring charges against the three superior officers, and were discharged for their pains. Their charge against Dr. Wright was— "suffering one William Brown, the porter, belonging to the said hospital, and one Arthur Thorogood, a patient in the said hospital, to make up the medicines, instead of making them up himself, whereby not only the visiting physicians were deceived as to his conduct, but the lives of two hundred, and upwards, of his Majesty's subjects, inmates of the said hospital, were thereby daily placed in danger."

I have the information of one of the late keepers, that he has known Dr. Wright to send bottles of simple water to the patients as medicine; and that, under the same prescription, the medicines have been altogether different. Enough has been said of Dr. Wright. No reader will require an inference to be drawn for him from this statement. We see that he was upheld six years after the two honest keepers were discharged for complaining of his conduct.

Margaret Nicholson, whose dissection after death is mentioned in the evidence, had been confined forty years, without a symptom of insanity. The charge against her was, that she had attempted to stab the King, in the Court-yard of St. James's Palace. The only knife found upon her was, one very ill-adapted for the purpose of stabbing and assassination; being blunt at the point, and so slight as to bend in the blade. Her account of herself was, that she had no idea of injuring the King; that having a petition which she wished to present to him, she waited an opportunity of meeting him in the Palace Court; and, on getting the opportunity, in her haste to draw the petition from her pocket, she drew out a knife with it that was also in her pocket, and it fell to the ground. Upon this trivial affair an outcry was raised, that an insane woman had attempted to take the life of the King-the parliament and all the country was agitated, as if a Napoleon Buonaparte had invaded the island-and poor Margaret Nicholson was confined for the remainder of her life, where the King had more properly been. She was a Yorkshire woman, with its broadest accent; and it has been whispered, that her claim upon the King was on account of favours formerly bestowed. It was altogether a mysterious affair.

Hatfield, who was charged with an attempt to shoot the same King (George the Third), in one of the theatres, is still very improperly confined, without a symptom of insanity having been discovered about him more than is common to the whole human race. Dr. Wright once made a mistake in conversation with Hatfield. While the latter was lamenting his fate, the Doctor observed, in a way that was meant to be witty, "Ah! Hatfield, your fate is like mine—to be here for life." The Doctor is, and ought not to be, out; Hatfield is, and ought not to be, in.

With respect to the neglect of Dr. Wright to keep a case-book, there was as much, or more, fault in the committee of governors, than in the Doctor. It was a duty incumbent on them, to have called for such a book every week; and if that had been done, a moral check on wrong doing would have been kept up; Dr. Wright would have been kept within bounds, and have been prevented from falling into the lamentable errors and detestable character into which, through the negligence of the governors, he fell. Human nature has no general voluntary virtue; nor do I think that it is to be so educated. The voluntary virtue that we see in human society, is the exception to the general rule of prey and viciousness. The necessities of life superinduce the character; and, unless man is taught in his youth, unless the example can be presented to him, that his advantages will be greater in mutual and general support, than in mutual and general distrust and selfishness, we shall not see much change in his character. Education may do something; but I cannot think, with Robert Owen, that it will do enough, until I see that the offspring of a corrected organization shall receive the improvement made on the parents. Check, check, check! check on tyranny; check on corruption; more equality of social condition; still leaving voluntary virtue, industry, and ingenuity, room and means to rise above that to which it is of superior worth; mutual check; equal and mutual reward for well-doing; equal and mutual punishment for wrong doing; these are the encouragements and protections which the welfare of human society requires, and these in practice make up the great principle of social liberty. Give us this liberty, and a good



education, and we shall hear very little of cases of insanity. We shall no longer hear of such cases of horror and outrage, as are to this day practised in our public institutions, and more particularly in lunatic asylums, where chastity is sold to pecuniary influence, or laid prostrate by power; where, under the pretence of proper classification, in prisons and lunatic asylums, by the separation of males and females, the latter are but the more conveniently subjected to the abuse of the keepers; and the former, overpowered by natural passion, are driven to vicious habits by a total separation from the objects of their affection. Oh! if the tale could be told of what really passes in prisons and in lunatic asylums—if a faithful picture could be given of the scenes and feelings which are there exhibited and felt—the nature of outraged humanity would swell with indignation, and gather such a storm as should level all your hypocritical pretences to christian and religious order, show your entire ignorance of human nature, and that, in your keepings and managements, you have outraged every principle of sound humanity and morality.

STEWARD.

The present steward is named Nicholl. How he was introduced to the office, is not rightly understood; for there was nothing in the Mr. Nicholl that first came to Bethlem—the almost shoeless and shirtless Mr. Nicholl—that appeared likely to make the Mr. Nicholl of the present day, the gentleman with his gig and livery servant. Not a word would I breathe against Mr. Nicholl, on account of his past disadvantages or present advantages in life, if I could hear that he was humane in his share of the treatment of the afflicted patients. But what I do hear of him is, that he is an Egyptian, a hard task master, to those who are in bondage under him; and that he is a shrewd, cunning man,—knowing well how to worm himself into the confidence of the old gentlemen who assist, nominally, in the government of that establishment, and how, like a good alchymist, to extract gold from their ignorance, indolence, and other disqualifications for office.

The charge of Webster and Howard against Mr. Nicholl, in 1824, was, "having taken money from the butchers who supplied the said hospital with meat."

I have not heard any corroboration of this charge; but I believe it, because I think the men who made it, could have had no other motive than honesty, and because it corresponds with general official corruptions in other institutions. Stewards and tradesmen do naturally coalesce to make a profit of their employers; therefore, Mr. Nicholl will only feel this complaint in its general, and not in its individual character. His power has been gradually growing in Bethlem, until he has become its lord and master. He studiously undermines the standing of his equals-oppresses those who are under himand rules his superiors by delusion, by putting on a profound dissimulation in an appearance of rigid economy, of cleverness, and of affected submission. Thus he manages, without responsibility, and profits, without creating suspicion. He is one of those men who would call it economy to take away the comforts and necessaries of life from others, if it but tended to the increase of his own income. I am told he is not a Scotchman; but he has certainly the worst part of the character of the Scotch emigrantslavish to superiors, dangerous to compeers, tyrannical to inferiors, and greedy of gain. In London, I have known some thoroughly-generous, public-spirited, and disinterested Scotchmen; and I know many in Scotland: but still there is the national character mentioned, and mankind has everywhere suffered from it,

-England in particular. I would, if I could, repeal that Union, as well as the other with Ireland. I am thus bold in assailing Mr. Nicholl, because I have learned enough to know that, if he does not find a check from some quarter, he will introduce great abuses into that establishment. Like Wright, he aims at irresponsible office and sinecure appointment. Again, I must be so just as to say, that this is not the individual character of Nicholl and Wright alone, but the common character of man. My aim is, to raise up competent checks on tyranny and corruption. Mr. Nicholl would suit well the Justices of Dorsetshire for a gaoler, when Andrews dies or gets superannuated; for, like the latter, he is wonderfully economical in clipping allowances, suppressing amusements, enforcing servitude by tyranny, and order by terror, pocketing the perquisites which he can scrape from others, and heedless, more than heedless,—careful to deprive them of their comforts, with a hope of adding to his own. He will allow necessary duties to go unperformed, through the paucity of assistance, and starve an establishment, to draw the exclamation, from blind credulity and incapacity, of "Oh, what a nice careful man is Mr. Nicholl." Mr. Nicholl likes a warm jacket, a warm dinner, a warm bed, and a warm apartment. Let him not attempt to deprive others of the same comforts, where the income is abundant to furnish them; and, if not so furnished, will be otherwise wasted or stolen. He is master of the stores at the hospital; and makes every person there feel his supposed economy. He has the organs of constructiveness and ideality, is of the class of projectors, and is fond of alterations,-often leading the establishment to great and unnecessary expenses. He thought it well to get the iron cooking utensils changed for copper; though copper should never be used in a public establishment where there is the least probability of

even a day's neglect of cleanliness. Every person about the hospital, beside Mr. Nicholl, had rather see the iron than the copper cooking utensils.

As one of his many fanciful projects, Mr. Nicholl bethought himself of what an excellent state of things it would be to have a capstan, and its machinery, to throw up water for the common use of the building, by the every day labour, every day, Sunday not excepted, of the afflicted patients; so he obtained the consent of the governors, as they are in burlesque called, to expend near two thousand pounds in this machine, the annual cost in repair of which will be equal to the original cost of water to the building, with the additional cost of a life of perpetual torture to twentyfive or more patients. Twenty-five able men are required to work this capstan when it is attached to the machinery; and visitors have been deluded with the supposition, by both Doctor and Steward. that it may be whisked round by a single hand,because it is so shown when unattached to the machinery.

If I understand anything of the character of insanity, it is such a disorder as that an employment like this capstan, being like a horse in a mill, or a man in the pillory, constantly moving round, is likely to injure the most healthy brain, and must be most pernicious to those whose chief disorder is the weakened state of the brain. The patients are forced to this degrading, mischievous, unmanly employment, and are not even sheltered from the sun pouring down its hottest rays upon them in the summer months. This capstan may be considered the treadmill of Bethlem, and it is much more pernicious to the health of insane patients than the treadmill; for, without resting on the pun, the treadmill is admirably adapted to strengthen the understanding, - while the capstan is a species of

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galley-slavery, and is peculiarly calculated to injure, by further bewildering, unsound and bewildered brains.

The patients are removed from the rain, which would not injure them, as do the rays of the sun, and possibly might do them good, to work under shelter, at still worse employment. The same machinery which is worked by the capstan may be worked also by a handle and crank attached to a cylinder, like the turning of a grindstone. This again is very injurious, and very dangerous work for a weak brain; for great exertion is required, a constant pitching of the head and body is necessary, and there is great danger of the patients losing their hold, and being thrown down by the swing of the handle. The capstan requires nothing but the push; there is no swing nor immediate danger with it.

In all cases of relation to the comforts of the patients, they are debarred from every thing amusing or gratifying, as pastime or comfort, under the pretence that it will produce improper excitement among them; and until of late, since the forthcoming of this pamphlet has been known, no sort of amusement has been allowed. The capstan has been the only pastime for the male patients. This labour is not to be justified under the pretence that there are criminal patients confined. Though there is a wing called the criminal wing, our laws do not recognise criminality in connection with insanity; and insane persons are no more sent to the hospital by the Judges, or rather by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for punishment, than persons who are sent there without having done anything in violation of the law. Safe custody, until health be restored, is the sentence of the law on insanity; confinement during his Majesty's pleasure; and his Majesty is, in etiquette, supposed incapable of doing wrong, of ordering punishment, or of conferring pain, on any one of his subjects. He is, in theory, a general protector.

On the ground of excitement, I know not what can be more calculated to produce it than to force unwilling men to such employment. It is often the case that mere idiots and helpless objects are dragged to it, and made to stand up when they can scarcely move. Nicholl, the steward, is not only very harsh in forcing the patients to the capstan or the crank, in opposition to the advice of Sir George Tuthill, the physician; but he will exercise his authority as keeper of the stores, to give tobacco, and other little things, to those who do work at it, and none to those who do not. His business should be confined to the care of the stores. It can never be proper that such a man should play the tyrant in the moral management of the patients; and because he has served a friend, or gratified a whim, and put the hospital to a great expense, that he should be allowed to persevere in great injury and cruelty to the patients. He governs the governors, prescribes to the physicians, is envious and jealous of the power of the matron, and would doubtless like her office for his wife; but she happens to be too well capped to be disarranged by his movements. He pinches the servants, and pinches the patients, and is liberal to no one but himself and his friends. small steam engine, set up in the kitchen, would do the work of this capstan and crank, without expence and without injury to any person.

Another great offence to the patients is, that this capstan is worked of a Sunday, and even while some of the patients in chapel are going through, *madly I suppose*, that which is called divine service. A very large proportion of the cases of insanity arise from religion, and they are naturally excited by whatever offends their religious notions. Jonathan Martin is quite shocked to think that the capstan should be

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worked of a Sunday. One religious patient, of the name of Taylor, thinks that all religious people ought to fast, and that he has sins to atone and to fast for, if he sees the capstan at work of a Sunday. He carries this notion so far and so resolutely, that he is often necessarily fed by force, to preserve him from starvation. While touching this point, I may as well observe, that religion is the very worst kind of excitement the inhabitants of such an asylum can My information goes to the extent, that the have. patients are made worse in chapel; that, with religious horrors about them, they start with fright at any denunciations upon sinners from the pulpit. am of opinion, too, that much of that which is called insanity, more particularly where it arises from religion, may be cured by infidelity; which is an instruction of the disordered mind how to rest on, and to think of nothing but realities, nothing but what is known, can be explained, and well accounted for. I feel a desire, and shall seek the opportunity of getting a case or two submitted to my care. know that organization and state of health have something to do in the disorder; but they may be amended, in some cases not desperate, even by reason. Kindness, instruction, and regard to health, must be the great remedies for insanity. Violence is but adding madness to madness, and increasing it on both sides.

With these considerations, I denounce the use of the capstan at Bethlem; and I denounce the authority given to, or taken by, the steward, Mr. Nicholl, and the principle that, because he has brought the machine into the hospital, the best must be made of it. The best that can be made of it will be, to turn out all that cannot be made available by steam, and no longer force weak and unhealthy men to do that which becomes an outrage in an hospital. Mr. Nicholl is advised and exhorted to confine himself

to the stores, not with a niggard hand, not to withhold comforts from either servants or patients, but to administer abundantly to their wants, as far as waste is not concerned. There should be no punishment in such an hospital. It should be made as much a paradise as possible, that patients may rather seek than shun it. Hitherto, madhouses have been like pesthouses -calculated to confer or increase, rather than to relieve the patient from fever. They have been like Dante's gate of hell, with the inscription of "He who enters here, leaves hope behind." The keepers of private madhouses have provoked madness, as a lawyer would provoke litigation, and as a doctor would defer a cure. The object has been gain, not cure. I will agree to take the care of a few religiously-insane patients, upon the principle of no cure, no pay; so as the pay be handsome when the cure is performed.

In treating of the stewardship of Bethlem, it will be but common justice to acknowledge that whatever is brought in there as food is good, and the quantities allowed are sufficient, at least, for the health of the patient. There is a paucity of servants. not being more than twenty, including the chaplain. apothecary, steward, and matron. The half of these only can be available as guardians of the patients. On a Friday, all the keepers, save one, are employed in carrying coals into the galleries, and are made to do the work of porters. They are also treated as sub-servants to the steward, matron, and doctor: and with regard to the matron, distinct statements are made, that she will not only make the female keepers and nurses servants to her servants, but send them into the City, or other parts of the town, on errands. This is very wrong.

There must be some states of madness where every patient requires a keeper. Some where a keeper may manage two, three, or six. Some slight cases of insanity where the eye of a single keeper may be sufficient over fifty or a hundred patients. But in all the asylums of which I have read or heard, that class of patients which requires the most care and attention has the least; for such patients are restrained by straps and chains, more or less (and less so in Bethlem than in some private houses), and treated like the most offensive of other animals, and even worse,-for it would be better to deprive them of life, by some gentle means, after a long and hopeless state of incurable madness, and after the intervention of a Coroner, Judge, and Jury. Such cases as those to which I allude, I may particularly specify, by a description of one given by Mr. Edward Wakefield, before the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1815 :--

"There are in this (Guy's) hospital two patients, and sometimes there may be more, who are perfectly naked upon straw. One of them, in my opinion, is not at all to be complained of; she is a poor withered old idiot, who lies in a torpid state, and could receive no comforts whatever. It can only be said that she is in existence; and from her not being aware of the necessities of nature, I hardly know that it can be said that she could be done better by than her being permitted to remain covered with clean straw, which I believe is changed daily. I think she is incapable of knowing what a comfort means."

I think that something better could be done for that "poor withered old idiot:" And who is he or she that does not exclaim, it would be better there should be no existence in that 'poor withered old idiot,' after science had exhausted its means for her recovery to the sensations of humanity, and after a jury had certified that fact?

I have not yet heard or read of more than two scientific establishments for the treatment of insane persons in this country, which are, that of Dr. Finch, at Laverstock, near Salisbury, and that of Dr. Fox, near Bristol. The Quaker's Retreat, at York, is celebrated for mild management; and the best effects have arisen from it. Before the year 1815, the whole system, with the above exceptions, was to extort money and sport from human wretched-The law was considered to have placed inness. sanity beyond its pale, and villains were ready to make their market of all the abuses that were thereby engendered. The christian world has never possessed the faculty of studying human happiness,while it was wholly christian, it made no progress in science; and it is only now that the art of criticism has been introduced, since that which is called the Reformation, that any real improvement, or even slow and gradual improvement, has been made in the condition of mankind. This improvement I mark to the account of the credit side of infidelity.

THE MATRON

Of New Bethlem is Mrs. Forbes, the widow of an officer. She has filled the office about sixteen years. In the minutes of evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1815, we are told that she introduced many improvements upon the former management by the matron. But now her situation is become quite a sinecure; and she may be styled Queen of Lunatics, Lady Abbess of Bethlem, and Prima Donna of St. George's Fields, a first-rate lady in dress, ornaments, and assumptions. I grant that it would be unmanly thus to assail a woman, if there were not a great prospective good to be gained by it. My first duty is to help those who cannot help themselvespersons confined under the pretence or reality of insanity; and not a word should drop from my pen against Mrs. Forbes, if I could hear that her official

duties were well performed. I would overlook all of which the censorious world makes scandal, if I saw but the atonement of humanity and kindness, and due providence toward those under her controul.

In the first place, I am informed that the laundry department of Bethlem is very much neglected, and that the fault is attributable to Mrs. Forbes. I am told that the linen and woollen garments for the patients are sent to them from the laundry quite wet and ill-washed; and when the inferior officers or officeresses make complaint, the answer is, that Mrs. Forbes has so much done in the laundry, and done in so very particular a way, that there is no time left to do anything else. Now, if Mrs. Forbes did her duty, she would see that every garment sent to the patients, the helpless patients, who cannot, many of them, get near a fire, was fit for immediate use. And if Mrs. Forbes could not obtain a sufficiency of assistance in the laundry, she ought to see the patients well attended to, and let her own servants, or some out-door washerwoman, do what she wants doing for herself.

Another complaint is, that there is a garden in the establishment, professedly intended to grow celery and other vegetables for the use of the patients; but Mrs. Forbes and the Steward step in, take the best of the celery, and other vegetables, for their tables, and send the mere refuse into the kitchen for the patients. This is royal and clerical, but it is not moral conduct. And what is worse is, that the matron and steward struggle for a mastery over the gardener, as to which shall get the first and best supply. They have salaries, and ought not to rob the patients.

The charge brought against Mrs. Forbes, by Webster and Howard, was—" having suffered bread, butter, cheese, meat, soap, candles, brushes, brooms, blankets, sheets, and other articles, belonging to the said hospital, to be taken to a cottage, rented by the said Elizabeth Forbes, situate in Pleasant Place, St. George's Fields, Lambeth, in the county of Surrey."

In a note to their printed statement and printed petition, presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Hume, in May, 1824, they say—" The only reason the charges against Mrs. Forbes were not substantiated on the 6th of May, 1824, was, the sub-committee, of which Richard Clark, Esq., was chairman, did not think proper to call forward Mary Baxter, who could have proved the facts; and has since sworn to the truth of them, before R. Waithman, Esq., then Lord Mayor. This practice was not carried on for a short time only, but for years."

There is a curious tale to be told about this cottage, in Prospect Place. Mrs. Forbes took the cottage for the purpose of having the care of an insane lady, and for other conveniences of dwelling, though she had very fine, even splendid, apartments inside the hospital. Now, it is said, that the insane lady was the daughter of Mr. Clark, the late City Chamberlain, and Treasurer of the hospital. Mr. Clark was a very religious man—and was a subscriber to my prosecution by the Vice Society—yet his conscience would allow him to suppress evidence, and to sit in judgment where his own family interest was concerned! Such is the moral insanity of hypocrisy.

As I have here done with such evidence as I have got from the late keepers, Webster and Howard, it may be well to mention, that they intended to publish all that they knew of the mismanagement of the establishment; but were entreated not to do so by Lord Robert Seymour, *lest they should ruin the reputation of the establishment*. Let its reputation be sustained by proper management, and not by suppressed evidence.

Had there not been great abuses practised in New Bethlem, it is not possible that almost every servant who has lived there should be full of loud complaints. The servants are not well used; they cannot get comfortable meals; and where that is the case, we may be sure that less attention is paid to the patients.

The matron has a salary of 120/. a year, the steward 180/. They have almost every thing done and provided for them, and their perquisites must be numerous. For this, I ask only that toward the patients they do their duty kindly.

PHYSICIANS.

I hear no other complaint of the physicians, Sir George Tuthill and Dr. Thomas Monro, than that they do not sufficiently exercise their authority, and lessen that of the steward, matron, and apothecary. There is a complaint against them that they left the patients too much to the care of Wright, the apothecary, who was not at all fit to be entrusted with them; and it is in evidence, that Wright made a distinction between the patients of Sir Geo. Tuthill and those of Dr. Monro, - considering the former more immediately his own. The physicians should enforce the proper classification, see that no two persons be improperly together, require a sufficiency of keepers, inspect the whole management of the patients, and possess all that controul which the medical and the moral art united might suggest. It would be well, also, if there were a wise and good man, distinct from the steward, who should attend to the business of mental soothing, and administer that comfort to a mind diseased which alone can relieve it from pain. This officer should be a substitute for the chaplain, should be a phrenologist, should be well skilled in the science of mind, and should be the constant companion of the patients. Such a man would be of more worth than a dozen ordinary keepers. He might regulate and superintend the amusements of the patients; and never appearing in the character of a tyrant or as a keeper, he should in reality be their moral friend. Such appears, by all the evidence I can get, the character of Dr. Finch, of Laverstock.

The physicians to a lunatic asylum should be something superior to ordinary physicians. They should be deeply skilful men. And I do not like the circumstance, that the office of physician to Bethlem has been hereditary in the family of the Monroes for several generations. Hereditary office must always be suspiciously filled; but it is fair to confess that I have heard no complaints against the present Dr. Monro.

The great fault of all the public and all the private institutions called madhouses, or receptacles of insane persons, has been the want of space, keepers, nurses, and classification. No two cases of mental disorder are alike: and the system upon which that disorder has been treated, has no analogy but in the circumstance of supposing a hundred persons, with different kinds and degrees of fever, put into one ward, and allowed to contaminate each other and the common atmosphere. The extent of this practice in some of the private madhouses has been truly horrible. I have heard one of the keepers, at Miles's House, at Hoxton, describe the locking up and opening of an apartment. I cannot dignify it with the title of stable; because that does not imply a close thicklyfilled apartment, but a place on the ground floor in the court yard, with four walls and a roof, into which were crammed as many patients almost as a slavedealer would cram slaves into the hold of a ship,not allowing many inches space between each body, or only just so many as keeping them all fastened down should prevent them from reaching each other, and without any ventilation. Horrible state of animal life! These patients were, and perhaps

are (for the time alluded to is some years since), put into this place at dusk, locked up, and there left until the morning, without any current of air, even through a chimney, which is absolutely necessary in every apartment, as a first principle in ventilation. The keeper describes the opening of this place as the most offensive in its effluvia that can be imagined. On opening the door, it was necessary to stand some minutes without attempting to enter, to let the offensive effluvia escape. It is impossible that any patients can be restored to health who are so confined; and such a confinement is enough to destroy what little health may remain; to produce a pale, emaciated, and miserable being. The locking up in Lunatic Asylums in the winter, as it was in Dorchester gaol, from four in the afternoon until eight in the morning, or for sixteen hours, is very unwholesome, and a species of slow murder; for whatever wantonly inflicts injury on the health, is a degree of foulness in murder. If it could be argued that such a state of things as that mentioned of Miles's house were necessary, humanity would demur and plead for the extinction of their lives. Yet much of this has existed in this country, in madhouses, in gaols, in prison-ships, in workhouses, in hospitals, and even in private dwellings. These are so many faults in the physicians, in all public establishments. I denounced Arden, the surgeon of Dorchester gaol, as a disgrace to his profession.

MR. CAPPER,

Clerk of the criminal business in the Home Department, is appointed inspector of the Criminal Wing of New Bethlem; but his inspection, though daily (Thursday excepted, being committee day), is confined to the matron, or Mrs. Forbes's apartments; and it is, or was, very rare that he saw a patient in the Criminal Wing. Scandal has much to say about Mr. Capper and Mrs. Forbes; but to that I would not make an allusion, did I not hear that they are both very negligent of their appointed duties, and very haughty toward those over whom they have power. Many persons who have been confined in the Criminal Wing, have made long and loud complaints of Capper's inattention and injustice. One of those persons is a Mr. Mackenrot, who is now a reporter to the daily press. I have seen some curious printed letters, by Mrs. Mackenrot, on this subject.

It has been a great fault in our public institutions, and is not yet extinct, that men in power will provide for their amours at the expence of the public, by placing the objects of existing or decayed affections in situations and salaries, and making sinecures of places which should, in fairness, be places of qualifications and business. No men have been more weak, more dishonourable, or more wicked in this way, than the English aristocracy. They have saddled their very mistresses and bastards on the public purse. The principle of boroughmongering has pervaded every department of the state. This evil may be placed to the account of the hypocrisy which is too much associated with the principle of love in this country; unnatural restraints, on the one side, engendering social defects on the other. It will be a work of time to make great changes on this ground; but honesty calls for great changes. The practice of the world condemns its own hypocrisy; but it is the nature of hypocrisy to condemn, and to practise that which it condemns. It is also worthy of a passing remark, that ill-managed affairs of love in this country, produce much mental disorder. Love and religion perverted, produce ninetenths of that which is called insanity. Drunkenness,

pride, oppression, and other excesses, make up the remainder.

INEFFICIENT INSPECTION AND DIREC-TION.

Inefficient men act as governors, by virtue of some other office, or by virtue of their purse and a subscription. These are the inspectors and directors. The greatest meddlers of this kind will be found the greatest dolts. Two brothers, of the name of Test, are, as governors, the most frequent inspectors of New Bethlem. It is a sort of hobby with them. They come almost every Thursday, limp round the building, are laughed at by the steward, doctor, and matron, and depart, without capacity to discern anything that is wrong, or to suggest anything as an improvement.

The only governors of New Bethlem who do their duty well, that I can hear of, are, Mr. Coles, a magistrate of Croydon, and Colonel Clitherow. The former gentleman is described as a very active and inquisitive officer, and as one who takes the proper steps to make himself well acquainted with all that passes in the management. To me it appears, from what I hear, that, without the inspection of the above-named gentleman, New Bethlem would soon become the scene of as great abuses as was Old Bethlem. Two sons of Sir Richard Carr Glynn are also well spoken of.

To know that this hospital is principally under the controul of the Corporation of the City of London, is to know that gross ignorance is the ruling star. Managed by such men as the late chamberlain, Richard Clark, what is it but imbecility managing insanity? This late treasurer of the hospital, it is said, had a daughter insane, and was himself a very short way from

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the legal definition of the disorder. He was piously insane. The church is, in reality, the parish lunatic asylum; and the dissenting chapels are only houses for higher stages of the disorder. Is he high, or is he low, is the way in which the daily health of an insane patient is inquired for in the hospitals; and so it may be with regard to the religious world. Does he go to church or to chapel? is a question indicative, in the answer, of that degree of the mental disorder.

The system of inspection is very deficient in Bethlem. The governors visit on set days. Appearances are prepared for that known visit, as I have seen to be the case in Dorchester gaol for that of the visiting magistrates, and as is the case in every public institution. Such inspectors are satisfied, if they are not called upon to witness any thing wrong. This is not a sufficient check on abuses. Inspections should be frequent, irregular, unappointed, and searching. I have heard of such a thing as clean linen put into beds for show at an inspection, and taken away again as soon as it was over; and this too in the Royal Hospital of New Bethlem!

ADMISSION OF GOVERNORS.

There is something like a charge in freemasonry on the admission of governors into this institution, which savours of secrecy, and indicates a disposition of abuse. It is said to have been written by Bishop Atterbury, is entitled, "The Charge to every Governor on his admission, to be given by the Chaplain, in the presence of the President or Treasurer, and other Governors, assembled in Court;" and is as follows:—

"Sir,—You have been elected, and are come to be admitted a governor of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem; a station of great honour and trust, which will afford you many opportunities of promoting the glory of God and the welfare of your fellow creatures : for in these hospitals a provision is made for employing and correcting idle, vagrant, and disorderly persons, and educating poor children in honest trades; and also for maintaining and curing needy and deplorable lunatics.

"The distribution of the revenues designed by royal bounty, and many charitable persons, for those truly noble and excellent purposes, is now about to be committed to your care: and you are hereby solemnly required, and earnestly requested, to discharge your duty in this behalf with such conscientious regard, that you may appear with joy at the judgment-seat of Christ; when a particular account will be taken of all the offices of charity in which we have abounded towards our poor brethren; and a peculiar reward conferred on those who have with fidelity and zeal performed them.

"In confidence that you will diligently attend this good work, you are now admitted a governor of the hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem."

This is very like the mock solemnity observed in a freemason's lodge. I am at a loss to conceive how the glory of God is promoted by anything connected with deplorable lunatics.

IMPROPER SECRECY.

I see one of the rules for the apothecary of New Bethlem is, "to examine all letters intended to be sent by the patients to their friends; and those thought necessary to be kept back, he is to lay before the subcommittee."

I enter my protest against the propriety of this rule, as one that can lead to nothing but mischief. It is an insult to affliction and injury. It is indicative of a disposition to mismanage, to prevent exposure, and has caused many abuses to be practised with impunity. Give the inmates of a prison or an

hospital of any kind, free communication with their friends on the outside, and there will be a check kept up on any disposition to abuse authority. There is great need of that free communication in New Bethlem, added to the total exclusion of the public, members of parliament excepted, with the consent of the governors. Why should such places be so secret? The apothecary or superintendent, the steward and the matron, are very jealous of each other's authority, and, in some measure, keep each other in check; but they have been all very suspicious of communications among the servants, or among the patients; and, as far as they can do so, reign by terror and forced silence. They are also exceedingly fearful of communications from within to without, and restrain them, as far as it is possible to do so, with their allowed powers. They have sought and practised an unlimited and irresponsible controul over the servants, contrary to the printed rules, by discharging them at a moment's notice, and without reference to higher authority. This is wrong, and likely to lead to abuses,-for, in such institutions, all persons employed should be morally independent of each other, and so become a mutual check upon wrong-doing. In the evidence taken against Dr. Wright, it is amusing to see how Nicholl, the steward, evaded direct charge, and threw the responsibility of accusation on the servants; though it is known that he secretly stimulated the servants to make the accusation, and laboured to collect evidence. The three superior officers of such an establishment will never be a trinity in unity, with distinct interests. They want a general as well as an individual check.

Insane persons in confinement have been treated as if they were outlawed or civilly dead. Men have been cruelly beaten, women have been violated, all have been robbed, and the secrecy allowed in those

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establishments has led to such deeds with impunity, until the managers and keepers of such places and persons have lost all sense of humanity. One cannot read the evidence taken against Wright, the late apothecary of Bethlem, without discovering that he gradually sunk from the well-behaved, well-informed, and skilful professional man, down to the sottish. apoplectic, cruel, careless, stupid, and profligate brute. Such is the natural tendency of irresponsible power. A little more publicity and proper superintendence would have prevented all this. The laws of the country have not yet properly watched over and protected those helpless and hapless beings, though some improvement was made in 1815-16. Wright became, in New Bethlem, what Crowther and Haslam had been in Old Bethlem; and unless some better superintendence be adopted, any other apothecary will fall into the same error.

INSULT OFFERED TO THE MOON.

It is worthy of a passing remark, that the word lunacy signifies a disorder occasioned by the moon; and the world is not yet rid of the idea that insanity is the mischief of the moon. The law of the country knows the disorder by no other name,—for commissions are issued from the Court of Chancery to inquire into cases of *lunacy*; and one part of the inquiry should be, to ascertain if the moon has done the mischief to the brain. The 15th clause of the act, 10 Geo. IV. cap. 18, attempts a definition of terms in the following words:—

"And for remedying all doubts as to the true meaning of the words 'insane persons,' be it enacted, That the words 'insane persons,' used in the said recited act, and in this act, shall be deemed and construed to extend to all persons whatsoever who are lunatic, idiot, or of unsound mind."—Very wise ! This definition includes every person in the island, —for soundness of mind has no standard, but each mind's imagination; and they who are confined in madhouses, or many of them, see the madness to be among those on the outside. A gentleman called me mad, yesterday, while I could see him to be mad, and could have logically demonstrated his madness. The most charitable and the most true view of the disorder is, to allow that all persons are, more or less, insane, and that restraint should begin only after injury is sustained or cannot be otherwise avoided.

But the moon! The moon has nothing more to do with madness than the sun, or any other star or planet. As well might hospitals to have cured the ills of witchcraft have been established, as hospitals for lunatics. A temple dedicated to the moon, for the solemnization of marriage, would be much more appropriate,-for lovers are more like lunatics. It is etymologically, and now scientifically, disgraceful, that we should have hospitals styled lunatic, unless they were of another kind, and complimentary as an inscription, rather than reproachful as a title, to the moon, either at its fulness, its crescent, or its death and resurrection. Silver-horned, circular or gibbous in its aspect, the moon is an innocent ball, and not guilty of any of the charges that are brought against it in man's mad imagination. He who thought it a green cheese was as wise as he who made it the goddess presiding over the human brain, as he who issues a commission of lunatico inquirendo, or as he who built the first hospital for lunatics. If a little more attention had been paid to the etymology of words, and their scientific relations, there would have been less of insanity. Instead of making words to suit existing things, mankind have been making words for things that exist in the imagination only. Instead of confining themselves to inventing a word for the thing, they have invented both words and

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things, and words for alleged things that have no existence beyond the insane brain.

SERVANTS.

The faults now alleged against the management of Bethlem, are the allegations of some of its past servants; but they are not likely to be the less true for that condition, — because, where mutual abuse of office exists, the authorities over the servants are not likely to impeach each other, and are only likely to be impeached by the servants. It is reported of Mr. Nicholl, that he had great dread of the investigation against Dr. Wright; and when asked by the commissioners, what he knew of the misconduct of the Doctor, he prevaricated, and said, he knew nothing but through the medium of the servants, and referred to them for testimony. Yet, as far as underhanded enmity could be carried, Mr. Nicholl had proceeded to arrange testimony against the Doctor; and had been minute for years in asking, hearing, and recording testimony against him. The case was, that when Dr. Wright was there, he played the master over the steward. By the removal of Dr. Wright, both steward and matron gained a lift in authority; and now, though they are at daggers drawn in personal feeling, they will not allow the present apothecary to be dubbed Doctor, by the servants. He is Mr. Thomas, the apothecary; and the style and title of *Doctor* is reserved exclusively for the physicians. Such is the struggle for power and mastery. It is an even bet which moves the other, as to the matron and steward.

Formerly the servants met to take their meals in a hall, and in a decent way, and saw their friends in this hall; but now they are treated as prisoners: their meals are handed to them as they are handed to one of the patients, and they can only see their friends through the intervention of an iron gate. They do not sit down to a comfortable meal. The keepers of such an asylum should appear respectable in the eyes of the patients; nothing should pass to make them appear degraded in the estimation of the authorities; they should, as to wages, manners, and mode of living, be comparatively gentlemen; they should have good wages, a public hall, and free communication with friends. No possible evil can arise from free communication and public inspection, in all the departments of such an asylum.

But in this, as in most public establishments, rules are drawn up which are not acted upon, and more particularly those which relate to the welfare of the persons confined. Rules are agreed to, and printed; but this is no sooner done than they become a deadletter, as to the management of an establishment; and anxiety is seen that neither servants, nor persons confined, shall know what the printed rules really are. This was the case in Dorchester gaol. It has been the case in Bethlem. It is a silly affair, that there should be any connection between Bethlem and Bridewell. They are as distinct as any two establishments can be, and the association must be an evil to both.

The following rule, as to Bethlem, is one that implies good intention; but it has been wholly neglected :—

"9th Rule.—The feet of every patient in chains or straw are to be carefully examined, well rubbed, and covered with flannel, every night, during the winter months, by their respective male and female keepers; and the surgeon is to be immediately informed, if there be any complaints which require his attendance."

This rule is not put into the hands of the servants. Nothing of the kind is done, as may be seen by the evidence taken in the case of Wickens.* There are not servants enough to attend to such necessary duties. There is no proper superintendence of the servants that are there. There is much more anxiety shown to keep the servants from communicating with each other, than there is to see that those servants perform their duties towards the patients.

The public, and the insane patients, are indebted to some of the servants of Bethlem for a check put upon its growing abuses. Several of them sacrificed their situations to their complaints, before the abuses became so outrageous, that the governors could no longer close their eyes and ears to them. Had Mr. Nicholl been a good man and a good public officer, he himself should have impeached Dr. Wright, at the first sign of inefficiency for the performance of so important an office as that of apothecary to such an establishment. There should have been neither collusion nor shrinking from such a duty. It is too much the case that valuable offices are treated as freeholds, and the proper sense of duty is lost. There is a notion of *vested right* current, which is neither moral in its principle nor politic in its example. But what else may we expect under the example of a government made up of abuses, and where public virtue is only found associated with poverty ?

Such is the harshness of treatment on the part of the steward and matron of Bethlem, that servants have been dismissed suddenly, at ten o'clock at night, without knowing where to seek shelter, without being accused before the committee of governors, as the rules direct. There is no appeal from the little authorities, which is not proper, where the

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^{*} It was an error in the note, at page 29, to say Wickens was chained. He was neglected, but not chained.

fault of separation may be in the authority that discharges.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF BETHLEM.

The funds of this hospital are ample, and more than are at present fairly used. There should be somewhere a large amount of property accumulated. I am of opinion that all hospitals should be under the management of responsible agents of the legislature or government, and not left to private management. The abuses in the management would be less, and more easily corrected when discovered. Of course, I mean a reformed legislature, and not such as has existed in this country. After all the exposures that have been made of the abuses of public and private madhouses; after parliamentary investigation and repeated attempts at legislation on the subject, nothing has been done, but to set up an expensive inspection. The law says, and even the bill which is now pending says no more, that there shall be inspection ; but it says not one word about direction, other than in the publicity of the names of persons confined. Nothing is provided for, as to the treatment of the patients; and though a power of suspending the license to keep such houses as are kept for insane patients is held, it is an invidious power, such as has been used and abused by magistrates with houses of entertainment, --- more conducive to bad than to good order. An act of parliament for the regulation of madhouses should enforce humanity, and reward skill, in the restorative art.

There is a payment made for the admission of curable patients, of four pounds, if brought by friends; of two pounds, if brought by the parish authorities; and nine shillings per week during their stay, for incurables. Why this is claimed, I cannot understand, where the funds of the hospital are so ample. That there is some general fault connected with the management of Bethlem, is evinced in the circumstance that it has never yet been filled with patients, —while most of the horrid private houses have been overflowing, and while St. Luke's has long been filled, and has always a long list of patients waiting their turn of admission.

On the authority of Mr. Calvert, the member for Southwark, it is stated, that there is a surplus of income, over expenditure, of nine thousand pounds a year; and yet the governors of the hospital endeavour to exempt it from the poor's rate. Where the income of a public establishment is certain, the greatest possible amount of good should be done with it. Let there be more keepers, more facile admission to patients, more amusements. Musical instruments of every description, not offensively noisy, may be allowed. Every sort of instructive and entertaining book, even to a novel, that is not romantic and vitiating, should be allowed. The best way to check the progress of insanity would be, to devise, from time to time, in the asylums, and to carry into practice, the best mode of human association. Mild mirth should pervade the societyuseful labour in moderation—the least possible restraint and annoyance-every imaginable amusement; such an asylum should be made the epitome of a paradise for the recovery of injured brains.

The income of Bethlem hospital, in 1822, was 12,261l. 18s. $10\frac{1}{2}d$., as landed and funded property, and exceeded the income of 1821 by 2,000l. The income of 1821, in the shape of benefactions and payments for patients, was 6,382l. 4s. 1d.; and supposing the same to have been received in 1822, we find a total of 18,624l. 2s. $11\frac{1}{2}d$. I find charged, as the total expence of Bethlem hospital, including salaries, repairs, maintenance of patients, and every

thing, to be 9,1231. 2s. 8d.; and taking the average number of patients at two hundred, to be about 451. per annum for each patient. The article provisions is charged 3,1021. 15s. 1d., or about 151. per The treasury paid 40l. a year head, per annum. for each patient in the criminal wing, and paid, in the year 1821, the sum of 2,6481. It also allows 601. a year for the keepers of the Criminal Wing, who are packed off with 451. from the authorities of the hospital. At least, such is the statement of one who professes to know. There is a difference between the totals, of 6,000l.; and though I find a charge of 5,3411. 1s. 7¹/₂d. in one year, connected with landed estates, amounting to one-half of the whole rental, I cannot but conclude that there are some very pretty pickings and jobbings connected with the management of this hospital, if there be not as great an accumulation of property every year as is shown from 1821 to 1822. 1 introduce these data, - because I would found the argument on them, that there should be no waste and no accumulation of property, until everything is done that can be done for the welfare of as many patients as the hospital will contain. We have seen that the superior officers seek to make a sinecure of their situations, and to accumulate whatever they can in the shape of perquisites,-making a paradise for themselves, at the expence or neglect of the poor I am not the niggard soul that would patients. withhold respectable wages from responsible people; but I loudly protest against that neglect of our public institutions, that want of inspection and proper controul, which engenders every sort of abuse, and defeats the very purposes, by destroying the first principles, of those institutions. Hitherto. this has been the character of the management of every public institution in this country,-for the very name of the government has been CORRUP-

TION, and should not have been called *constitution*. The example has been set in the highest places, and has been too powerful not to be imitated in the lowest. From the king to the steward of a madhouse, all, all has been corruption, jobbing, picking, stealing, and peculation.

GENERAL DEFECTS OF THE MANAGE-MENT OF BETHLEM.

The general defects of the management of this hospital, may be placed to the account of the corporated body which superintends it being wealthy, indolent, negligent, and inefficient, as to the necessary active duties. It is the principle of human nature to run office into sinecure, of which no country has shown more specimens than England; and the fault springs from hereditary power, or power associated with wealth, instead of having all duties performed by elected officers, where the electors shall have no other motive in the election than right and justice; and where they shall understand the duties of the office to which they elect.

The abuses of Old Bethlem had become a great public nuisance. They were exposed in 1815; and a new system was called for, and promised, as to New Bethlem. It began well, upon the principle that a new broom sweeps clean; but now, unless a check be put upon the again growing abuses of the hospital, it will soon become as bad as it was in Moorfields. I make no complaints of any comforts possessed by the officers of the establishment,—for the keepers, as far as I can see, have not enough are not made sufficiently respectable—are treated worse than servants in a rich man's family—and are not encouraged to do their duty with dignity and decorum. Courage, patience, and firmness, with some degree of intelligence, are essential qualities in keepers of insane persons; but the quality of benevolence, sympathy, and humanity, should never be absent; and these can only exist well and actively in the mind that is free from any consciousness of self-degradation. A man must feel that he is respected, to respect the feelings of others. The doctor, steward, and matron, have been in the habit of exercising much insolent hauteur over the keepers and nurses of Bethlem, even in the sight of the patients, and have assumed the amount of authority which the governors or inspectors should have assumed over the whole. The more equality there is among the servants, in such an establishment, with due inspection and direction from exterior controul, the better will the business be carried on.

The government of the country should have the management of all establishments for restraint and confinement, and they should be all managed under its responsibility. The very idea of private madhouses is horrible,—because we trust helpless persons for restraint to others, who are under no restraint nor responsibility. Murders and violation of women have been mere matters of course in some of the private houses; the keepers of which, of any time and standing, have made large fortunes. To the government of the country—to the legislature—I appeal, to take all those establishments under official care.

The keepers of private madhouses, who are generally doctors to their own establishments, have great interest in saying, persons under their care are not fit to be at large. They have an interest in injuring their healths, and fretting them into madness. This should not be; and any interest in the care of insane persons should be confined to fixed salaries, given to responsible officers, under the controul of the government. I think it would be well if the whole of the medical profession were brought under the same circumstances: there would be more health, and less physic taken.

In Bethlem, this may be said to be the case, as as far as salaries are concerned. I believe the apothecary has some profit on his drugs; and if so, he will be sure to drug the patients. He will not shrink from inflicting a little nausea, motion, and pain, if each instance will bring him a sixpence profit. Check! check! check! there will never be general voluntary virtue in human nature.

Our country is in a state of great disorder, and we want an honest legislature to purge it. I have no fear of improvement; but it will be too slow for my anxieties.

If I have failed in stating any defects in Bethlem, or if I have misstated any, the fault has not been mine. -for I have been careful to be correct. Since the last sheet went to press, I have discovered that Mr. Nicholl was a clerk in the Commissariat Department, during the war; and it is possible that my first information of his coming to Bethlem very poor, is This is persisted in, that he was an overrated. acquaintance of one Sparrow, the gardener, before he became steward, and partook of his hospitality; and that after he became steward, he did not rest, until he got Sparrow removed from the garden,because of his acquaintance with the former difficulties of Nicholl. Report says that the governors of the hospital have subscribed 2001. pounds to enable Dr. Wright to emigrate. There has been great fear that the Doctor would retaliate, and state some of the abuses which he knew of, in relation to other persons connected with the establishment. I annex to this paragraph a copy of a letter which I addressed to the secretary for Bethlem, and to which I have not received an answer :---

Compter, April 13, 1831.

Sir,—I am about to publish a pamphlet on the subject of insanity and the treatment of insane persons, in which the present management of Bethlem, with its remaining defects, will be freely noticed; and as I wish to be correct in all data and facts to be stated, I shall feel obliged to you, if you will furnish me with any printed documents relating to the last year's accounts, number of patients received—discharged, cured or not cured, that might have been prepared for the General Court of Governors for this month. I have the particulars for 1822; but I much desire those of the last year.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, yours,

RICHARD CARLILE.

John Poynder, Esq., Bridewell.

As far as the comforts of the patients are in question. Bethlem is the best establishment for insane persons in or near the metropolis. Being governed by men attached to the old worn-out state of things in this country, their prejudices and obstinacy will not admit of improvement, though it be necessary, in the mode of treating the patients. These are men who take every thing to be under God-a-mighty's direction, and that it is blasphemy and presumption to think of any change. This is a desperate and hopeless class of men, which is required, by the progressing welfare and improvement of mankind, to be set aside. Nothing but the dictates of parliament, or royal decree, can affect the feelings of such men. Lawrence, in writing a book, or lectures, in which he found he could treat of the physiology and natural history of man without introducing the church doctrine of the soul, was dismissed from his surgical cure of their insane inmates; and because he would not, or did not, for he afterwards did, connect the cure of souls with the surgical care of bodies, he was declared, by the Christian noodles who governed Bethlem, unfit for the office of surgeon; and was not redeclared fit, until he proclaimed the religion of the New Testament the best religion that had been revealed to mankind. Thus the phi-
losopher was made, by mere pecuniary interest, to kennel with the Christian, and to run the race of When Galileo discovered the religious insanity. motion of the earth, he laid the foundation for the overthrow of all the insanity of religion, which is religion itself in all its varieties. I have heard Mr. Lawrence say, that he views man as naturally superstitious-that is, naturally insane; that man will have religion ; and that the efforts of all such men as myself to free him from the disorder, will be vain. I do not yet despair. The contrary presumption has never been allowed a trial. Man is no fixed principle, beyond that of animal nature. He may be educated to a variety of character; and my hope is, that he may be educated free from the insanity of religion. I will struggle against Mr. Lawrence's assumption,-because I feel that I had rather be wrong, than on his side of right. I do not despair of shaking hands with him, before we are twenty years older, and of having his confession that his prospect was the more erroneous. The argument or assumption that assumes man to be naturally a religious or superstitious animal, should trace superstition among other animals, and connect it with the general animal nature. I connect it with the education, and not with the nature of the animal man. It is an apology for Mr. Lawrence that he had Galileo for a predecessor. But though Galileo knelt and recanted, and was imprisoned, and daily repeated the seven penitentiary psalms, he still felt that the earth moved, still said so; and the church has ever since been obliged to wink at the fact,because, though its faith, if strong enough, may remove mountains-though its Joshua arrested the motions of the sun and the moon-and its Jesus stilled the raging seas-it has not yet presumed to arrest the motions of the earth. Had man from the beginning known the motions of the earth, there

had never been any religion. It was his effort to account for unknown causes that led him into superstition; and as these hitherto unknown causes are developed and made known to him, he will be led out of his superstition. Religion is the first principle of insanity, or the principle that induces the major part of insanity. Love, or ignorance of his physical nature, still ignorance of unknown causes in himself, has led him into the second degree, or into the principle that generates the second degree of amount of insanity. Pride, still an ignorance of himself, fed by bad education, has produced the third degree of amount of insanity. Drunkenness, and other vices, which may be counted as crimes committed on self, crimes of the moral nature toward the physical nature of man, induce the third degree of the amount of insanity. Accidents, or a composition of imbecilities, make up the fourth and smallest degree of the amount of insanity. In this last may be included shocks, blows, insuperable difficulties, and imaginary evils.

Thus have I endeavoured to trace the principles of insanity, and to suggest, as far as suggestions can be made on such a subject, an improved mode of treatment. It is not the common medical or surgical aid that is required, so much as a medicine for the mind, a pathological knowledge of the varieties of the human body and its compositions. Language suited to the patient, and modes of diet, exercise. and dwelling, are the requisites for the proper treatment of insane patients. The abominable drugs of the apothecary should be excluded from the asylum for insane persons, as they should be altogether excluded from rational society, and will be excluded, when man gets his life, his health, his labour, and his property, under his own care and keeping,-with no king, no priest, no lord to tax him, to vex him, and to misdirect him through life.

OF NATIONS PRONE TO INSANITY.

The Welsh, I am informed, are more subject to insanity than any other particular nation. I cannot account for this in any other way than as to the Welsh people being very superstitious, and wanting more intermarriage with another kind of people. Man left to nature, and confined to a district, seems He propagates too fast for his welfare, to decay. and sinks, without the aid of art, in his breeding and education. The royal families of Europe have sunk into an insane, imbecile character. Neither the Guelph nor the Bourbon family has turned out a clever, benevolent, sound-minded man or woman, since they have been known to Europe. I am not aware that Wales has ever thrown up a brilliant man. The spirit-stirring revolutions, at the close of the last century, presented or prepared some good Irishmen; but Ireland has presented us with no great man of the present century. Superstition and confined marriages are the bane of Ireland. O'Connell is the best man in Ireland; but in England he is obscured with defects. I make great allowances for the oppressions of Ireland ; but these very oppressions ought to throw up a great man, if there were the seeds of one living there. O'Connell wears the chains of superstition: and who is the brave Irishman that shall break them? I know nothing of Irish insanity; but I calculate that it must be more associated with drunkenness, than with any other vice or defect. The superstition of Ireland is of the ceremonial kind,-not productive of insanity, as is sentimental religion. An Irishman, or Irishwoman, has no religion out of the sight of the cross and the reach of the priest. In private life, they are a lighthearted, hospitable, benevolent, happy people, where a small means is to be found. There is no gloom

that leads to melancholy-no preying thought that induces insanity. Let the chains of kingcraft and priestcraft be taken from Ireland, and her people will be the happy descendants of the paradisaical inhabitants of Atlantis. The three woes of man, which politically perpetuate insanity, are kingcraft, priestcraft, Man cannot thrive with either of and lordcraft. The three moral woes of man are his those crafts, religion, his drunkenness, and his proneness to submissive slavery, all destructive of mental energy and happiness. The three social woes are, marriage for life, paternity, and consequent sexual inequality, all tending to tyranny, to debasement, and to consequent insanity, in the destruction of natural love.

PRIVATE MADHOUSES.

The management of Bethlem has great faults; and is, to a certain extent, rather a speculative or moneymaking concern, than an endowed and charitable establishment. Incurable patients are made to pay a sum per week of 5s. to 10s., and a price is charged for their shoes, stockings, and other apparel, and such a price as leaves a profit to the establishment. Uncontrolled officery is sure to run every thing into perquisite. But there is in all things a comparative decency in Bethlem, when contrasted with St. Luke's, and with the houses of Miles, Warburton, and others. A man, who has been a keeper at Miles's House, at Hoxton, assures me that, the shirts of a dead patient being the perquisite of the keeper, he has seen them stripped off before the patient has been dead. The private management of insane patients affords such a scope for dishonesty, that this consideration alone would be a sufficient argument against such private management. They are generally managed either by doctors or their immediate relations; and if one of these doctors be called upon to send a keeper to a private house, he makes a charge of wages for that keeper very unlike what the keeper himself gets as wages. All the London physicians and keepers of Madhouses have made immense fortunes, wrung from the miseries of their patients. The names of Sutherland, Dunston, Warburton, and Miles, are horrible to insane ears.

Well-formed society requires in its executive, a department of health, in the management of which no possible interest should arise from the sickness or continued illness of any individual. The same principle applies to the question of insanity, which is a question of health. It is vain that we hear of honourable men, who will not take advantage of weakness. There is no such honour in human nature. Mildness, more or less, in its preying propensity, is all the honour of which it can boast. *Check* is the moral of society ; such a check as shall have a mutual independence and mutual consent in all the transactions of life.

The human mind cannot imagine anything in human action more atrocious than has been the common practices of the managers and keepers of private madhouses. Those in the neighbourhood of the metropolis have made great fortunes. We want, in this case, what it is next to impossible to get, an enlarged convalescent patient to do, and that is, to make a narrative or journal of treatment received in one of those houses. A surgeon, of the name of Rogers, published a well-written pamphlet on this subject in the year 1815; but Mr. Rogers evidently wrote and published under what tyranny would call a wholesome dread of the libel law. He has stated cases without names and places, and cases tantamount to murder. I have no fear of the libel law, and will publish any facts written or attested by the suffering parties.

The first thing done in the management of patients in the private madhouses, is to fill them with a dread and terror of the persons employed as keepers and keeperesses. They are, or have been, put through the discipline of the house on being introduced,—which is, to strap them down in an immoveable condition, and then leave them to struggle mentally to exhaustion. This begets a dread of the authorities; and this is threatened or practised as often as is deemed necessary, or at pleasure. They are beaten or strapped down for the most trivial circumstances. The worst management of any other animals will not afford a comparison with the management of insane patients in some of the private houses. The food has been of the most offensive kind, and often unhappy patients, who have just left a good family table, are subjected at once to the most nauseous diet. Improvements are progressing; but nothing can be rightly managed in such places. There is no sufficient responsibility—no sufficient motive to do right.

The very nature of the case, being that of imbecility subjected to grasping tyranny, is the sufficient reason why all such establishments should be public —why there should be no interest in the management, beyond salary dependant on good behaviour —and why they should not be left to individual speculation. The human mind cannot imagine greater atrocities than are on record, as having been practised toward insane patients. It is painful, beyond expression, to me, to repeat them. I therefore close this part of the subject, with my opinion that the nature of the case is such as will not leave room for general propriety of management in private establishments, though there may hereafter be, as there now are, some honourable exceptions.

OF THE VARIOUS KINDS OF INSANITY.

There is no limit to the variances in the language and actions of insane persons. Those who are insane through love, think and talk of nothing but love; and, as far as possible, with consent, should have the passion gratified. The most sincere passions and best hearts are those affected with insanity. I have in my mind's eye, a most beautiful creature, whom I have not seen, but of whom I have heard every particular. She was taken to St. Luke's Hospital about sixteen years ago, and, by one of her unhappy associates, was described more as an angel than as a human being. Her melancholy love-notes charmed every ear, and her sweet demeanor won every heart, save the hearts of the brutal keepers and keeperesses. They were insensibly insane; and she was brutally treated by the wretches who were there in office, in the use of the strait-waistcoat and of chains. She was kept so filthy as to be swarming with vermin, and has begged in vain for the means of cleanliness. She still lives in another establishment; but a pitiable being, condemned to perpetual confinement, and degraded to a degree too painful to be thought of. She fell in love. Christianity has more than sacrificed her; she still lives in a hell of tor-Pagan institutions would have saved her, ment. have made her a wife and a mother, and a virtuous member of society. This is but one of thousands of cases yearly arising in England, which, through bad education and the superstitious customs of society, fill our madhouses with patients, and our streets with prostitutes. Ah! why should Hymen be the tyrant of Love anywhere? Why in England, where even Hymen is metamorphosed into one of the infernal deities, and immortal; for that is immortal which equals mortality in extent?

They who are insane through religion, should have infidelity preached to them, if their minds admit of education; if not, the preaching of a benevolent God, and nothing but a benevolent God—a God of love, of mercy, of kindness, and of affection for mankind — and more particularly for those who are so afflicted, should be the observance. This state of mind must, for its health, be raised above the fear of God or devil. It should be occupied with any other recreation in preference to a thought about religion; but when the fit of insanity is strong, let the God discoursed of be endowed with no other attributes than those which are amiable, pleasing, and soothing. Such a discourse will be nearer the truth, than any other on the subject.

Another species of insanity consists of an idea of

flying. A peculiar construction of, or some disorder in the brain, gives the patient an idea of being able This sensation is often felt in dreams, by to fly. persons who have not the disorder awake. I know no other remedy for this, than to observe the patient's head, and his proneness of action, and to endeavour to set up a contrary or varied action. A change of diet, of locality, of air, of habits, of education, are the only immediate remedies. Insanity generally requires a union of the phrenological with the medical science. By the latter science, I do not mean the abominable use of drugs in vogue; but that which the ancients understood by Hygeianism-a species of moral physiology, that does not admit of being taught as a science; but which must arise from an observance of human nature-a self-taught art, that, like genius, belongs only to a few, and makes up all that is eminent among mankind. It is a question with me, if systematic education be of any aid to this acquirement; at least, I would say, that such an education is nothing without it; which is the only inference by which to account for so many dolts among the aristocracy and priesthood, who have had all the advantages of collegiate education.

Insanity is a sure test of the merits of the pretensions of that which is called the science of phrenology. In many cases there is an unhealthy action of a part of the brain only, while all the rest is in apparent health. Or an individual will be insane on some particular point, and correct in reasoning or observation on every other subject. This is evinced in the idea of being able to fly, in the matter of religion, and in many other flighty subjects. It is the ground on which to account for all the eccentricities of human action, and a ground which should induce us to be as charitable, as may be consistent with our welfare, toward that varied excess of action. Eccentricity may exist without any part of the brain being unhealthy, by the greater degree of physical power in some department of the brain. There are those who scout this proposition. It is not to be surgically

or anatomically demonstrated ; but it admits of physiological and physiognomical demonstration, and abides every test to which the living head can be submitted.

Insanity, then, that comes within this view, requires a moral rather than a medical treatment. It is upon this principle that raging madness is often more easily and more thoroughly cured than simple insanity. In the first case, the whole mass of the brain and body is affected, and medicine operates; in the second, the general body, and a part of the brain, may be healthy, and an unhealthy or excessive action be going on only in a part. Such an isolated action is only to be subdued by exciting and encouraging a counter action, in another department of the brain. A thorough libertine, whose means of gratification are equal to his desires, cannot be at the same time an original thinker and a philosopher; and the remedy for his vice is to seek the abatement of his libertinism by philosophical excitement. The occipital part of the head is the seat of love; and when excesses are indulged, it must be considered as a war with the region of the forehead or intellectual part. Both cannot be in a high state of action at the same time; and it may be worthy of being noted, that as a fine forehead is indicative alike of beauty and of philosophy, it is withered and withdrawn by occipital excesses. I could write a volume, and may some day do so, on this varied action and re-action of the brain on the departments of the skull, extending and contracting them as the brain is peculiarly excited.

The heads of our Royal Family are rare instances to prove the correctness of the proposition of the two last paragraphs. I have before me a token which has the bust of George the Third, struck in 1789, on the occasion of the abatement of his paroxysm of insanity. The reverse has the following inscription —" LOST TO BRITANNIA'S HOPE; BUT TO HER PRAYERS RESTORED." On this bust, which corresponds with all that were ever struck of that king, there is a total absence of intellectual or philosophical forehead. The facial line from the occiput to the tip of the nose, is such as is seen in most brute animals. There is sufficient elevation of an enormous occiput, to indicate violent animal passions, obstinacy, and religion, unshaded with reason. It was the total absence of intellectual faculty, and the great excess of animal power, making the conical or foolscap head, that led the old man into wicked wars and irremediable madness. As a youth, as a man, or in age, he was never two shades above an idiot; and if left to himself, would have been a grovelling farmer. The venereal passion of the whole family has been an insanity, prone even to incest. Nor has any one of the family ever had sufficient talent to manage well a chandler's shop; while fits of insanity, that have forced themselves on public notoriety, notwithstanding all the tact, the cunning, the secrecies, and mysteries of courts, have been very common. The British and Irish nations have been governed by raving insanity for a century past; while the aristocracy and the priesthood have taken advantage of the imbecility of the sovereign, and have managed the helm and the sails of the state vessel, so as to bring all its wealth into their ports. It is time that this insanity, and this consequent oligarchy, were removed from the command. The vessel cannot perish; but the hands that man her may be, and have been, starved, and ragged, and plagued.

There are some cases of insanity, in which the individual imitates some animal. A man, in Bethlem, has been constantly imitating the bellowing of a cow. Another imagines himself to be like Medusa, covered with snakes, and puts himself in the supposed action of throwing them off. Each of those men is rational on every other subject; and such a disorder is only partial insanity.

Dreams are real cases of insane action of the brain; and the insanity of a person who is not asleep is the same sort of action of the brain as a dream,—a disordered excitement, void of that necessary balance of thought and action which society requires for its order, which is requisite for the order of a family, and requisite also for the well-being of the individual.

The sort of pride that is defined by the word vanity, or self-esteem, is one of the causes of insanity, and a very extensive one. This may be kept off by a sound education, and so corrected, when it comes on. The aim of education should be, to expand the intellectual powers. With those are closely allied the moral powers; but a religious education will never do this-it only serves to throw up the cone, or foolscap skull. It is this expansion of the intellectual powers that corrects every thing wrong in the human head; it will abate all the excesses of the animal passions, correct the immoral ones, and work for human good. This knowledge should be known to all persons who have others under restraint - to parents, to friends, to gaolers, and to madhousekeepers. England's real reformation is at length at hand; and let us hope that it will reach the illmanaged and abused captive of every kind.

I conclude this task with a hope that I shall live to see a reformation in all the existing abuses of the human health in this island—that I shall see a better education introduced for the prevention of insanity -and a better mode of treatment, when it is otherwise inevitable. Take away pecuniary interest from human ills, and you take away the proneness to increase those ills. It may be easily done. Surgery excepted, there is more medical quackery in the world than ever there was before. I am for putting down kings and royal families, lords, priests, lawyers and medical doctors. Mankind will associate with all the more pleasures and advantages as they are free from these orders. Until this can be done, I commend the public health to public establishments, managed by salaries, under the responsibility of the executive government.

RICHARD CARLILE.







