

The moral treatment of the insane : a lecture / by W.A.F. Browne.

Contributors

Browne, W. A. F. 1806-1885.
Royal College of Surgeons of England

Publication/Creation

London : Printed by J.E. Adlard, 1864.

Persistent URL

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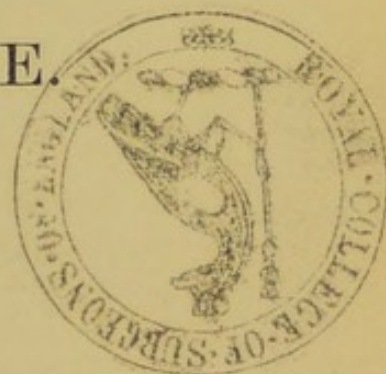


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3 With much respect
THE W. A. F. Browne

MORAL TREATMENT OF THE INSANE;

A LECTURE.



BY

W. A. F. BROWNE,

COMMISSIONER IN LUNACY FOR SCOTLAND.

(Read before Professor Laycock's Class of Medical Psychology, at their visit to the Crichton Institution, Dumfries, July 9, 1864, and published at their request.)

Reprinted from the 'JOURNAL OF MENTAL SCIENCE,' published by authority of the ASSOCIATION OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF ASYLUMS AND HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE, No. 51, October, 1864.]

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. E. ADLARD,

BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE.

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1864.

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YOUR teacher has asked me to address you. I have complied with this request, chiefly from my respect to him, partly in order to realise the sort of sensational antithesis of lecturing to one of the largest classes ever assembled, in the same room where the first complete course of lectures on Mental Disease was delivered in this country, now nearly twenty years ago, to perhaps the smallest class ever addressed.

I have selected the subject of Moral Treatment, first, because it will less than any other interrupt that continuity of instruction which is so important in a course like that of Dr. Laycock; and, secondly, because it is seemly and appropriate under the shelter of an institution where the means which shall engage our attention have been most carefully and successfully elaborated.

The first step in our progress is to recall what was the condition of the insane when Moral Treatment, as now interpreted, was not.

The asylum was gloomy, placed out of sight and mind; in some low, confined situation; without windows to the front, or with these, and every chink, barred and grated,—a perfect jail. As you entered the creak of bolts and the clank of chains were scarcely distinguishable amid the wild chorus of shrieks and sobs which issued from every apartment. The passages were narrow, dark, damp, exhaled an offensive smell, were never lighted after sunset, and were provided

with a door at every two or three yards. Your conductor was stern and surly; he carried—fit accompaniments—a whip and a bunch of keys. The first room you examined might measure 12 by 7, with a window, placed near the ceiling, which did not open, and without a fireplace, or means for artificial heating, and without furniture. Ten females, perhaps, with no other covering than a rag round the waist, were chained to the wall; loathsome and hideous, yet when addressed evidently retaining some of the intelligence and much of the feeling which in other days may have ennobled their nature. In shame or sorrow one of them might utter a cry. A blow, which brought the blood from the temple, the tear from the eye, and which often ended in death; or an additional chain, a gag, an indecent or contemptuous expression, produced silence. And if you asked where these creatures slept you were perhaps led to a kennel, eight feet square, with an unglazed airhole eight inches in diameter. Here five might be crowded or *piled* together,—the violent with the timid, the delicate with those of debased habits. Here they were strapped down to their beds, lashed, muffled, and forgotten from Saturday night till Monday morning. In such a situation my friend, Sir A. Halliday, saw a rat devouring the extremities of a maniac, lying naked upon some straw, in the agonies of death. The floor was covered, the walls bedaubed, with filth and excrement; no bedding but wet and decayed straw was allowed, and the lair of the wild beast is more homelike.—Each of the sombre colours of this picture is a fact, witnessed by myself or by those who have acted with me.

This brutality was the shadow of fear; but it sought its justification in a sort of barbarous moral treatment. Cruelty, and chainings, and drownings, and rigid confinement, were resorted to, not so much because the guardians were inhumane or unsympathising, but to quench the spirit, to frighten men into their senses, to subdue and train, to overcome and tame the passions. That such effects might follow need not be questioned. The manacled, half-starved, half-suffocated victim might rise from the ordeal a wiser, as well as a sadder man! But generally the spirit must have been broken, extinguished; the senses scattered and mystified by multiplied delusions, and, the iron entering into the soul, must have urged the passions to the wildest fury and ferocity; and subordination must have often merged into apathy or indifference, or the dull, drivelling tameness of dementia. We shall say little more of what is worthy of being called *Immoral Treatment*. There are now, fortunately, fewer such savage natures to overmaster. Whatever may be decided as to the change in the type of pneumonia and sthenic diseases generally, there cannot be a doubt that mania furibunda has almost disappeared within the last forty years; that the mania attended by violence is of much less frequent occurrence; and that all forms of insanity present a different and a milder type. This consideration must be taken into account in

estimating the *effects* of the new system, and the facilities for its employment. Such a change in the character of diseased mentalisation may partly be attributable to the amelioration in human manners, to our gradual withdrawal from the dominion of sordid, selfish, coarse, and violent tendencies; but why should it not be due to a modification in our original temperament, to the training of the nervous system by education; and why not to the more judicious management of the human mind under disease?

The liberation and emancipation of the lunatics in Bicêtre, some of whom had been chained in darkness for forty years, by Pinel, is one of the most harrowing and picturesque chapters in the history of art. This bloodless triumph of a savage and sanguinary period led, half a century afterwards, to convictions that mechanical restraint, of all kinds, was cruel, or pernicious, or unnecessary, or might be dispensed with. Practically, as a remedy or a protection, it was abolished and abandoned, and, except where required for surgical or similar purposes, is never resorted to. Its abuses were so frightful that its use may well be spared.

The total failure, moreover, of this heroic and sanguinary method entailed a reaction. General scepticism, or medical nullifidianism, established the do-nothing school. Benevolence and sympathy suggested and developed, and, in my opinion, unfortunately enhanced the employment of moral means, either to the exclusion or to the undue disparagement of physical means, of cure and alleviation. I confess to have aided at one time in this revolution; which cannot be regarded in any better light than as treason to the principles of our profession.

We know it as a physiological truth that we cannot reach the mind even when employing purely *psychical* means, when bringing mind to act upon mind, except through material organs. It may be that even moral means exercise *their* influence by stimulating or producing changes in organisation! It is *certain* that all we know of mental disease is as a symptom, an *expression*, of morbid changes in our bodies; and that the most palpable efficacy of our art is when, by mitigating or arresting these changes, as in fever, jaundice, amenorrhœa,—whatever may be their relation to healthy mentalization,—sanity and serenity follow.

Finally, if therapeutical agents are cast aside or degraded from their legitimate rank, it will become the duty of the physician to give place to the divine or moralist, whose chosen mission it is to minister to the mind diseased; and of the heads of an establishment like this to depute their authority to the well-educated man of the world, who could, I feel assured, conduct an asylum fiscally, and as an intellectual boarding-house, a great deal better than any of us.

What is to be understood and taught of Moral Treatment are *not* the comforts, and indulgences, and embellishments by which the

insane are now surrounded, but the reasons upon which these are provided, the objects in view ; and that they are not, necessarily, general arrangements for *all* cases, but *special* adaptations for particular conditions and stages, which the skilful superintendent grants, withholds, modifies, as he sees expedient. Museums, for instance, are collected and scientifically arranged. They are fitted for the educated, the curious, to supply materials for thought ; but it would be greater madness than what you profess to cure, to prescribe them for the maniac, the erotic, the general paralytic ! Botanic gardens have been formed and classified ; but no one would commit them to the care of the common gardener, or to the plough of the agriculturist. But the maniac may be exercised, and his energies toned down by cricket, or curling, or even in following a pack of hounds ; the erotic, as well as the refined and nature-loving, may find health and subsidence of morbid appetite in the fresh air, and among the flowers in special gardens ; of which, it is encouraging to notice, fifty have been recently allotted to the pauper lunatics in Colney Hatch. The general paralytic, again, may obtain the enjoyment which he cannot otherwise reach, and that euthanasia which it is almost humanity to cherish, in carriage drives, swinging, or even in sailing.

There is a fallacy even in conceiving that Moral Treatment consists in being kind and humane to the insane. It is this, and a great deal more than all this. To place a melancholic in an hospital, to watch and ward, to feed and physic him, and to see that he is gently and forbearingly used, and to do nothing more, is to neglect him, and miserably to mistake the mission which you have undertaken. You may pour in iron to supply rich and stimulating blood, phosphorus to repair the waste of nervous tissue, stimulants to call forth agreeable sensations, and cannabis indica to embody these sensations into happy and hilarious visions ; but unless you send through the eyes and ears multitudes of pleasing impressions,—unless you unceasingly dispel doubt and despair by words of wisdom and consolation,—unless you create a vicarious pain or a vicarious interest,—unless you make a sense of duty react upon selfish sorrow,—unless you call forth some dormant or neglected habit or taste, or initiate a pursuit or a study by imitation or compulsion,—you do much, but you do less than what you are competent to do, and than what is required.

The cumulative growth of that which we call a system of Moral Treatment has been slow and gradual. Every advance was timid and tentative. There are vestiges of the Conservative or iron age still around us, and are, perhaps, shackling our judgment and humanity. I cannot forget that so exclusive and mysterious were these abodes, that the first time I entered, or could enter, an asylum in this country, was to take possession as a superintendent ; that on

propounding, with fear and trembling, the simplest and most innocent innovations,—such as that the airing-yards should be planted with shrubs, that Divine service should be performed upon Sunday,—I saw expressive looks, and shrank from significant whispers, that the doctor was as wild and visionary as his charges; nor that, on the first lighting the Montrose Asylum with gas in 1836, a crowd assembled at the gate to witness and perhaps to enjoy the conflagration, which was expected inevitably to follow so daring and desperate an experiment!

But confidence grew with success; and when it was discovered that the insane were tractable, teachable, closely assimilated to the sane, where their surroundings were the *same*;—the decorations and ornamentation, which form so essential an element in moral treatment as applications of the influence of beauty in softening and refining coarse and harsh natures, but which should *not* be mistaken *for* moral treatment;—have been pushed to an extreme, even a preposterous extent; ornamentation may be said to have run mad. There was an asylum at Bruges which I used to designate the Picture Asylum; there is another, and for pauper lunatics, which might, with similar justice, be styled the Old Curiosity Shop. There are many errors here. The hospitals for the non-affluent classes, however spacious and comfortable, should *not* be palatial; they should resemble, at many points, the homes from which their inmates have been withdrawn, because they love and have been accustomed to the very homeliness of these dwellings. They should be beautified, but in a manner which the inmates can understand and appreciate; their refinements and elegances should not interfere with comfort, ease, or freedom, nor be calculated to create tastes and preferences which cannot be gratified elsewhere; they should teach and elevate, but their lessons should speak of early habits, former pursuits, natural proclivities, rather than of the glitter and gaudiness of tinsel luxury. The pets and sights and sounds of happier days, and birds and flowers, are more health-giving and hope-inspiring to the unsophisticated heart than gorgeous vestibules, black-oak furniture, or copies of Raphael's cartoons.

Moral treatment may be defined—every mode by which the mind is influenced through the mind itself; in contradistinction to medical treatment, in which the mind is acted upon remotely by material agents, and *through* the body. Such a definition is obviously confined to attempts where the agent as well as the effect is moral, and where the relation is established *through* the *senses*, as when David harped to Saul, as when the poet Lloyd was cured of melancholia by seeing a play. But for practical purposes it must include many processes where the cause is materialistic and only the effect moral. The pain produced by whipping in conventual asylums, which was intended to prevent the recurrence of certain offensive or extravagant

acts; the resuscitation of attention and activity by the shock of the shower-bath, or the withdrawal of concentrativeness from moral and imaginary suffering to and by the real irritation produced by a blister, are naturally arranged under this category. But a still wider generalisation must be adopted in order to comprehend all the complex appliances and efforts which may possess a double character, which clarify the imagination while they clear out the bowels, and which range from the rudiments of education to the highest forms of cultivation, and which demand the co-operation of all arts, sciences, trades, and domestic arrangements. It must be confessed that while there are grand principles upon which this accessory mode of cure is based, every trivial detail, every daily occurrence, every change of dress, diet, season, may be converted into a moral agent and a remedy. These great principles are briefly—

I. The recognition that the human mind must be acted upon, as well as the organs with which it is connected; that it possesses intellectual, emotive, and instinctive faculties; that these exist in different degrees of development, according to the configuration of the body and education; and that everything done *to*, and *for*, and *around* the insane must be in relation to these. Officers are still to be found in charge of the insane who have not so much as heard whether there be a human mind or no.

II. A philosophical analysis of the individual mind, of its history, condition, and capabilities, so that the physician may know, and be able to act upon and mould, the moral nature of each patient committed to his care. You have the high privilege of undergoing a preparation for carrying out such analysis under the instruction of one who combines the rare, almost the unique, qualifications of being a profound metaphysician and a practical physician.

III. The adaptation of all surrounding circumstances to the general laws by which mental health and serenity are preserved and promoted.

IV. The adaptation of certain circumstances to the special condition of each of those under treatment.

V. To employ the sane faculties in rousing, restoring, or regulating those which are hebeté, or diseased, or disordered.

VI. To employ sane or partially healthy minds in guiding, governing, invigorating, instructing such as are more grievously afflicted.

VII. To occupy, distract, amuse; or to preclude subjective contemplation, such as abstraction, remorse, reverie, by external impressions.

VIII. To extirpate pernicious and perilous habits of thought or actions by engrafting new and numerous predilections, by creating new pursuits, wants, hopes.

IX. To build up the unformed or ruined mind by training, education, discipline, religious and intellectual influences. In many

senses an asylum should be a grand moral school and reformatory, as well as an hospital. For although the blight of alienation falls upon the purest and highest spirit, the blight falls heaviest and most poisonously upon those of imperfect character, of ungoverned passions, and degraded propensities.

The application of these principles might be forcibly brought out by contrasts: where all was darkness, suspicion, vigilance, and locks and bars, there are doors with common handles, plate glass, a park without walls, and parole; where you saw fourteen octogenarians in a row, strapped hand and foot, in the American *chaise de force*, who could scarcely articulate their mumbled petition for snuff, there is now no restraint; where no book was allowed to enter, there is now a library of three or four thousand volumes. Or the same object might be accomplished by demonstrating the mixture of such considerations with every detail of management. Upon the last occasion that I listened to Professor Laycock; he described some of the mechanical means by which the dangers of suicidal or symptomatic abstinence are overcome. But even compulsory alimentation has its moral side. The impulse may be paramount to all external influences; and if the mind of the patient be open to reason, persuasion, religious warning, these should be employed; if the repugnance depend upon loss of appetite, previous habit, or even capricious preference, the kinds of food should be varied, be luxurious or piquant, or served up in some attractive form; the place in which it is taken may be changed; the servants who administer, the associates who participate, may be changed. If the recusant be a male, let the meal be offered by the matron; if a female, let the medical man be the servitor. Let the abstainer be present while another is fed. Should poison be suspected let the food be tasted, or conveyed in a form or shape which is insusceptible of vitiation. A patient subsisted for a time upon cocoa-nuts, another confined himself to eggs, a third took nothing except the milk which he saw drawn from the cow. There are still opportunities for applying ethics as well as æsthetics in the matter of night vases and ablution.

These propositions, which it will be readily understood are far from exhaustive, may be more happily and effectively discussed while adverting to a few of the more prominent means by which the resources of such an Institution as this are brought to bear upon the moral qualities of its inmates.

You might, at first, conceive that if mere salubrity and drainage were secured, the choice of the site of an asylum might be left to the architect. This is the error of a prehistoric age. I hold that the choice should be the business of the physician. I believe firmly, moreover, in what the pious poet said, "God made the country, man made the town;" and in this country it seems to have been his object to make the towns as ugly, as dirty, and as insalubrious as

possible. I hold in equal faith and reverence that there is a love for and a delight in the beauties of external nature implanted in every heart, so intense as occasionally to assume the aspect of nostalgia, and so undecaying that few minds are so blind or dead as to be unaffected by it. "And that is Gala water surely, Buckolm, Torwoodlie !" were almost the last words of that waning intelligence that once was Walter Scott—"How beautiful !" cried the maniac as the blue sky met his gaze on emerging from the oubliette of Bicêtre, where he had grovelled forty years.

But a commanding elevation, from which the captive may recognise the scenes associated with health and vigour, and retain a connection with the distant external world, is not enough ; and in addition to what is pleasing and cheerful, there must be a stipulation for what is irregular and varied in surface. Robert Hall attributed his second attack of derangement to the flat monotony around his residence in Cambridgeshire. Silvio Pellico derived relief from gazing at a fly or projection on the wall of his dungeon ; and the never-changing objects, the sharp regularity of outline, must assist the routine life in producing the insanity of convicts in penitentiaries. Nor must the structure and internal arrangements of the house be left in ignorant hands. It must not be a prison surrounded by airing yards, which have been well described as four walls with a strip of green at the bottom, and a strip of blue at the top. Among the moral objects to be secured are centralisation, classification, the avoidance of central courts, cross sights, &c., but, above all, that the arrangement should, as much as possible, resemble a private dwelling ; that special provisions, iron windows and fireguards, should be limited to departments where protective and restrictive measures are employed ; but that other portions should present a normal and home-like aspect, should show solicitude for the comfort and happiness of the occupants, and should contain objects associated with rational deportment and pursuits, and suggestive of agreeable and hopeful feelings. It is certain that in England, where greater space is allowed, there is less breakage of glass than in this country, where, however, we have the *perfidum ingenium Scotorum* to contend with, as well as contracted day accommodation, and, consequently, crowding. But, in both countries, the loss by destruction of furniture, &c., is altogether insignificant when compared with the benefits derived by the amiable and curable, which form a large portion of such communities, from the banishment of bolts and bars and other insignia of slavery and distrust. Conceive the augmented terrors of a timid and suspicious lunatic on being locked into a dark, solitary, furnitureless cell as the commencement of mental treatment. A temporary Quarantine may be improvised in every establishment, but in few is there sufficient accommodation to admit of the creation of a ward for reception, observation, and probation. If a being of tender

and sensitive disposition, or retaining the higher qualities of the character, or in the stage of incubation, be cast into the maelstrom of a refractory ward, or, indeed, into the society of those in a similar state, the effect must be disastrous. There are many who know that they are insane, but in virtue of an intense or a diseased cunning, are able to conceal, even under the cold scrutiny of the world, their infirmity: there is a larger number who are terror-stricken by the anticipation of impending mental ruin. Charles Lamb travelled with a strait-jacket in his portmanteau. Dr. Buckland, once at the head of a section of the scientific men in Britain, saw this frightful fate looming in the distance; made his will; appointing his medical men; attendants; place of seclusion or burial; and contemplated, like Charles V, in a moral sense, his own death and entombment. To immure a man in this condition, even among tranquil demented, would precipitate fury or despair. But every lunatic has a right to be examined, adjudicated, and his real qualities tested and ascertained, before he is assigned a status and rank in an hospital; and this can only be properly done apart from the crowd with which he is to be amalgamated, and under circumstances which may display the *best* as well as the *worst* features of his malady. There are such *Salles d'observation* in French asylums. So perfect is the reliance on the honour and trustworthiness of large masses of the insane, and so decidedly preferable is human supervision and vigilance to mechanical restraints and contrivances, that airing-yards, which were first laid down as flower-gardens, and then greatly diminished in number, have, in many instances, been discontinued, and even boundary walls and *ha-ha's* appear doomed to share the same fate. The magnificent District Asylum at Inverness has no wall nor fence around grounds 175 acres in extent. It has been contended, and with some truth, that a park wall or paling is not, in itself, a deformity, and that the abandonment of such an arrangement may condemn many of the insane to greater confinement and restraint than what is compensated for by the aspect of perfect freedom. But, supposing these venerable buttresses are allowed to stand, there are various provisions which enable the inmates to reach the outer world, and even to mingle with their fellow-men. When Sir W. Ellis conveyed a demented cripple, in a Bath chair, into the lanes around Hanwell, he was checkmated by the intimation that such a procedure shocked the delicate feelings of the pensive public. I once disturbed the devotion of a respectable congregation by sending a selected group to worship Him, whom I, in my simplicity, imagined was the God of the blind, the maimed, and the broken-hearted, &c., and not of a particular class. Moreover, parties of workers, whom I ventured to send out, were received as hordes of marauders, shades of moss-troopers, come to ravage the land. You live in more enlightened times. The emancipation of the lunatic has come as well as of the serf! Large parties of the insane daily take

exercise in the country around every asylum, find amusement in the concert rooms and theatres of crowded cities. I have detected them copying pictures in the Louvre. Groups occupy sea-side and summer lodgings, scattered through the country. Dr. Wing, of Northampton, transports twenty or thirty of his charges every season to Wales, and with benefit. Individuals have made tours to Ireland, the Lakes, the Exhibition, and daily from this spot four or five carriages and an omnibus afford drives ; and, twice a week during many months of the year, convey larger numbers of excursionists to greater distances. These may seem holiday recreations and suited for the drones of the hive. There is a graver and more important business going on in such communities. Before the value of occupation was recognised as a mode of expending surplus and, as it were, accumulated nervous force, of diverting the mind from itself towards muscular action and external objects, and of exercising certain powers and acquirements usefully and profitably, the miseries of seclusion and solitude must have been frightfully aggravated by involuntary idleness, by the prohibition of every object in which the mind could feel interest, except that self-torture which no means were taken to prohibit or prevent. The revulsion of opinion has been so great, that work, even physical toil, in the open air, is elevated by many into a panacea ; and it is amusing to notice the English commissioners suggesting another weekly half-holiday for the industrious of Colney Hatch. But Guislain was right ; there *are* many cases in which *rest* is a remedy, &c. ; in which muscular action or the volitions upon which muscular action depends, serve as a stimulus to the nervous system, aggravate excitement and disturb the whole economy.

It is said that to the cupidity of a Scotch farmer is due the discovery that mania may be calmed and cured by labour, and that the augmented energies of a paroxysm may be utilised in digging ditches, or ploughing the "stubborn glebe." You heard at last lecture of the young lady who, like the wife of Lord Derby's navvy, irrationally and vehemently pulled hair and then scrubbed herself into complacency and common sense. The farmer cultivated his farm and gathered his crops by the aid of these slaves or patients. While a preference is given to gardening and agriculture, all household services, all trades, handicrafts, are performed by patients, either as a means of restoration, or *amelioration* ; for it should be clearly understood that although the main object of all moral as well as of all medical treatment is to restore reason, the most frequent and, perhaps, considering the number of chronic cases, the most important object, is to repair, reconsolidate, and raise the *incurable* as high in the scale of intelligence as possible. Certain asylums have acquired a reputation for their weavers, ribbon, and lace makers ; others for intrepidity in entrusting madmen with shoemaker's bowie knives, with scythes, axes, and other lethal weapons ;

and it is interesting that, although murders have been committed in asylums by those so entrusted, the deed has never been accomplished by the dreaded instrument. The employment of males, however, in raising vegetables and grain, in excavations, constructing embankments, reclaiming land, constitute the most approved applications of this agent. In Hanwell, during 1856, of 507 men, 250 were employed; 114 in the open air, 52 in galleries, &c.; of 657 women, 388 were employed, 20 in the open air, 160 in galleries, 186 in needlework. In Colney Hatch, during the same year, of 546 men, 246 were employed, 69 in the open air, 80 in galleries; as upholsterers 3, as carpenters 11. Of 748 women, 503 were employed, in galleries 125, in laundry 72. In an establishment, Morningside, where occupation is *a* characteristic, upwards of £1000 profit resulted from the work of patients in one year; and in another, the county asylum of the North and East Riding of Yorkshire, in 1849, where occupation is *the* characteristic of the system of treatment pursued, where "every feasible endeavour consistent with the cure, bodily health, comfort and happiness of the patients were resorted to, more than 130 patients were employed, being six sevenths of the whole number of males." The pecuniary gain here is subsidiary, but it is important. The grand results are the vigorous, physical health, the sound sleep, the agreeable *sensations*, the mental quiet; and the *future* suggested; but unless the labourer can see that his industry is useful and productive, and, above all, unless he possess an interest in the products, his exertions are listless and indifferent, and unaccompanied by that earnestness and hope which are so conducive to sanity. It has, accordingly, been customary to grant rewards and privileges in the form of tobacco and better food to the workmen, &c.; but an infinitely better plan would be to pay wages, however small, which might accumulate and be available on discharge, or to the family of the patient. The necessity for such a provision is shown by the creation of the Adelaide Fund at Hanwell and the benevolent fund of Surrey Asylum.—Conceive an extensive farm with a vast grange, or mansion, in the centre. Conceive the premises cultivated in the most approved fashion, drained, drilled, divided, but not enclosed, studded with stables, barns, piggeries, dairies. Conceive that the barrack is inhabited by a large body of labourers, gardeners, cowkeepers, hedgers, reapers, &c., that these go out at certain appointed hours, under agricultural experts, who regulate and stimulate their exertions, keep them engaged, prevent their elopement, and see that they return regularly for meals, rest, &c. Conceive that the internal economy corresponds to that of a monastery or boarding-house, that there is greater solicitude for the health and comfort, and correct behaviour of the inmates, than exists under ordinary circumstances. Conceive that the industrious class are occupied for a shorter time and in less onerous tasks than free labourers, that the labour of three

is equal to that of one sane individual. Conceive that they possess a fractional interest in the fruits of their labour, which is awarded to them either in extra luxuries, in a dole to their distant families, or is accumulated and paid to them when they return home ; while the larger portion of the gains revert to the funds of the establishment, or to the pocket of the proprietor ; and you have obtained a glimpse of the fair side of the Asile Medico Agricole de Lyme, Lot ; of Clermont, and of the colonies which are now attached to many French asylums. In some parts of Britain similar experiments have been made. The York East Riding may be designated a *farm* asylum ; and Englishton, near Inverness—where many acres of muir have been reclaimed, where a group of houses and huts, situate on pleasant slopes and amid gardens, overlooking the Beaully Firth, accommodate some thirty or forty husbandmen, who with no other bonds, nor walls, nor restrictions than the will of the governor, have made a large corner of desert to blossom like the rose—has fairly won for itself the position of a *cottage* asylum.

It may have been economy which suggested the association of the insane in large numbers, and for various purposes ; but more valuable truths are worked out in doing so. All men of imperfect as well as of mature intelligence, when not under excitement, exercise greater self-control and self-denial, and deport themselves better in society than in solitude and privacy. They act in relation to one another. Multitude becomes a power and is respected. If the body of which they are members be actuated by a common purpose, be moved by recognised leaders, and regulated by certain ordinances, the probabilities that order, and tranquillity, and propriety will be preserved, are increased. The insane, accordingly, are brought together in worship although, as in primitive ages, the sexes are still separated ; in amusement, in exercise, in occupation, at meals, the only limit to the numbers assembled being the size of the apartment, or the object in view. In one asylum we find that 320 males and 410 females dine together. The military element has been added ; parties have been instructed in the goose step—may be encountered with bands at their head imitating “the measured tread of marching men ;” and my official dignity was somewhat put out lately by being asked to review a body of volunteers !

If an asylum be viewed in the light of a boarding-house for a particular class, the distribution of the patients must be regulated by the amount of board paid ; but if it be used as an hospital—and this may always be the case in asylums for paupers where no distinction of rank or wealth can act as a barrier to other principles of classification—the inmates naturally group themselves together into societies. The separation of the sexes is a preliminary step ; but this rule yields during meals, dances, excursions, and upon a variety of occasions, when the influence of sex may effect purposes where higher

influences fail. Male abstainers should never be compulsorily fed until a female has tried the efficacy of her powers of persuasion. Promiscuous dancing has repeatedly promoted psychical, as well as physiological changes, and general but wisely regulated intercourse tends to humanise and to mollify the asperities of both sexes. Dr. Hitch substituted female for male attendants, or in addition to them, in the wards for males, without danger or detriment. This plan has been adopted in Worcester Asylum, &c. The danger or the fear of nymphomania was at one time so great that all asylums were built so as to prevent men and women from seeing each other; a course calculated to create the evil which it was intended to correct. Now, under due discrimination, ladies and gentlemen may inhabit adjoining apartments, may meet, and even visit each other with the same unconcern and ordinary courtesy which obtain beyond the walls.

The insane are generally divided into the tranquil and industrious, or convalescent; the excitable, and refractory, and degraded. There are, of course, minor groups, such as the sick, the infirm, the epileptic, for which especial arrangements are made. Such distinctions are generally temporary as well as arbitrary. The quiet and docile may become violent and intractable, or the violent may become calm and rational. Peculiarities and obnoxious qualities may become developed, which overbalance the quietude of demeanour, and may necessitate degradation and extradition. Modern experience has demonstrated that great benefit accrues even to the excitable class by the abolition of the pandemonia called refractory wards, which were a mere concentration of all the elements of strife and disorder, and where one wild and foul passion fed and provoked another; and by drafting the inmates among the masses of comparatively rational patients, where the majesty of authority is acknowledged, and where the decencies and proprieties of life are maintained and supported by the patients *themselves*. Here they are absorbed and fused in the masses; their tendencies are tamed or moderated by the surrounding calm and order; they are influenced by example, they are won by affection or friendship, or mere forbearance. It is not so certain, however, that the presence of such excitable dispositions may not act injuriously, or annoyingly, upon the class with which they are amalgamated. Such advances should be made cautiously and tentatively; not as a *tour de force*; not as a demonstration how far a bold operator may go; but with consideration, as countenanced by a partially tried law of our nature. Any demonstration, however, against structural provision for such a class would be as rash as the foundation of asylums upon what were called non-restraint *principles*, where an hereditary bond was imposed upon superintendents, that restraints should never be resorted to in the house committed to their charge! There is, however, a modification of the extreme view, which has been success-

fully tested. The general refractory class is broken up into smaller sections, the foci of agitation or conspiracy are separated, and the fragments consorted in different rooms and galleries ; but apart from the general population. Such a recommendation can apply only to a large establishment. In the female department of an asylum of this class, where the experiment has been in operation for years, not only does comparative order prevail, but the destructive propensity is dormant in the midst of mirrors, prints, turtle-doves, &c.

Such accidents give, to a limited extent, a fluctuating character to the different sodalities in an asylum ; but from the large number of chronic cases which accumulate, there is a permanent and stationary basis or stock which is of great utility in manipulating the details of classification. It forms a sort of conservative body, whose tendency is, upon the whole, to support constituted authorities and regular government. Promotion to it is a coveted honour ; expulsion from it is a disgrace. It receives and drills recruits and convalescents. It is a depository of the customs and traditions of the place. It is the great resource and nursery for amusements, lectures, schools, monster meetings, pic-nics, matches at bowls, and cricket. In the original formation of such associations the amount of education and refinement should never be forgotten. The insane may lose reason and retain acquirements and accomplishments. They may be men of profound erudition and gross delusions. They may be highly polished, or utterly illiterate. Now it may occasionally be a stroke of moral art or skill to commit the ignorant to the learned as a pupil, or a block to hew out ; or to provide the occupation of teaching ; or to repress the arrogance of pedantry by the common sense or modesty of common place ; but, in general, it is prudent to bring together those who are nearly upon an equality as to knowledge, however varied the direction of their studies may have been. Such a common tie unites, it promotes intercourse and congeniality ; it may afford reciprocal assistance, and should differences of opinion and controversies or jealousies arise, the antagonism thus produced is not foreign to the normal and healthy condition of the parties. I have known the belief in hallucinations shaken by witnessing the palpable incongruity of such thoughts in another, and by the arguments and expositions of a man declaring himself to be the living God. I have listened to a lecture by a maniacal clergyman to his fellow-patients, who dwelt with unction and zeal upon Bacon's sources of error in reasoning. "A keen and unanswerable stroke of pleasantry," says Pinel, "seemed best adapted to correct the whim that he had been guillotined, but the executioner being allowed to replace his head, unfortunately put that of another victim in its place. Another convalescent, of a gay and facetious humour, instructed in the part he was to play in this comedy, adroitly turned the conversation to the subject of the miracle of St.

Denis. The mechanician strongly maintained the possibility of the fact, and sought to confirm it by an application of his own case. The other set up a loud laugh, and replied in a tone of the keenest ridicule, 'Madman as thou art, how could St. Denis kiss his own head? was it with his heels?' He retired chagrined, applied closely to his trade, and never after mentioned his borrowed head."

Every psychologist must have experienced the greater difficulty in dealing with and destroying the errors and extravagances of an educated than of a simple and uninstructed mind. With the former it is often a contest of wits, a subtle controversy, in which truth and reason may be discomfited; with the other, the physician is a superior being, from whom even doubtful propositions are received without hesitation. But, at the same time, the power of the cultivated mind and refined sentiment, even when partially chilled and deadened by disease, in assisting to carry out the moral economics of an asylum, has been found so great as to have suggested the association of sane minds with the insane for the purpose of affording suitable companionship, of leading back, but insensibly and without the pretence of treatment or guidance, towards reason and right feeling, and of carrying a healthy and earth-smelling atmosphere into the tainted and transcendental regions of a madhouse. A body of female volunteers was formed in connection with the York Retreat for this purpose. Attempts of the same kind were made at Montrose and elsewhere, but never upon a scale commensurate with the anticipated benefit.

Besides these efforts to act upon large numbers possessing some quality, or it may be some defect in common, the great labour and cunning of classification remains behind. You are called upon to separate certain incompatible natures, to eliminate the obnoxious, to seclude the marpeace. Isolation has been dispensed with altogether in Lincoln, Stafford, &c.; it should be rarely resorted to, only on the failure of other modes of establishing harmony, and chiefly to calm, protect, or otherwise benefit the individual; in fact, should be a prescription, not a matter of police; but it may become incumbent in order to remove obstacles to more extensive classification. It is sound policy to entrust the weak to the strong; the violent or malicious may be safely confided to the acquisitive, or vain, or religious monomaniac. The affectionate and happy may be associated with the desponding and despairing, and the helpless idiot may become the adopted child of some mother whose only delusion is mourning over the fate of infants that she never bore.

It might appear a natural rule to assemble together individuals presenting the same forms of disease—maniacs with maniacs, melancholics with melancholics. Such a plan would afford facilities for the scientific observation and medical treatment of disease, but experience has proved that such a course concentrates and intensifies

morbid feeling ; that the suicidal tendency, for example, suggests and multiplies itself ; and that a sounder and safer ground of assortment is similarity of taste, occupation, and disposition. Such minute considerations do not in general, unfortunately, determine the arrangements. They are counteracted by the nature of the building, the capability of the attendants, and the impossibility of individualising treatment. But even architectural arrangements have latterly tended towards the separation of insane populations into smaller and more manageable societies. The erection of asylums in distinct blocks will necessitate this measure, whether intended to facilitate it or not, and may prove a most effective instrument in the hands of a superintendent in improving the condition of his patients. The cottage system, or where a number of small houses are clustered round a central asylum, as at Essex, is still more favorable to subdivision and to grouping, in accordance with known dispositions and habits ; and were the utopia of a village colony realised, an opportunity might be afforded for a more rational classification than what is pursued in the great prototype, Gheel, where the docile, tranquil, and industrious reside in the town, the more excited in suburban villages, and the agitated and turbulent are placed in the most remote hamlets. The necessity for treating patients in groups is an evil springing from the diversity of work, rather than the overwork of the physician. He is busied in needle-and-pin economy, in pie-crust philosophy, and cannot grasp the moral bearings of his duties. Not a century ago all the patients in St. Luke's were bled on certain days, and all were purged upon certain other days. In the vast asylums now extant—Colney Hatch now contains 1889 patients—all transactions, moral as well as economic, must be done wholesale. All practical men concur in the opinion that asylums containing more than 300 inmates become mere lock-up houses. The physician, is a mere custodier, fails to embrace the nature and history of the malady, and the character and peculiarities of the patients ; depends for information upon others ; and is content with such general measures and prescriptions as appear to realise the sophism of the greatest amount of good to the greatest number. But even where houses are constructed for this malleable and workable number, there may be evil in congregating large groups in the process of classification. I have heard a boast that one attendant managed fifty charges. The probabilities are they managed him, or that they had capacity to manage themselves, or were not managed at all. No family, however judiciously selected, should exceed fifteen in number. They can all know each other ; they may be thoroughly known by the guardian ; and if they occupy the same dormitory, and he sleep beside them as he should do, moral treatment, discipline, suasion, and friendly offices, may be carried into the night. Night-watching is another phasis of this never-ceasing vigilance and ministration. It is not merely that the condi-

tion is ascertained, that the restless, and unhappy, and superstitious are soothed, that comfort, and cleanliness, and even crotchets are cared for, but training of various kinds is prosecuted. Authority silences the noctiloquent, supervision frustrates the suicidal, and constant attention corrects the habits of the dirty and degraded. A bitter controversy recently raged in England as to whether there was gain or loss in awakening and raising the latter class, in order to prevent the evacuations being passed in bed. In my estimation the most interesting point involved was, whether it was possible by reiterated teaching to recall the dement, and dormant, and perverse to habits of decency and propriety, or to impart new, perhaps automatic habits. I have known the proportion of dirty patients stand as high as 40 per cent. This included different subgenera: those who delighted in debasement, those whose lethargy, or comatose sleep, suspended the will to attend to the calls of nature, those who never felt these calls, and those who had lost control over the sphincters. Perhaps the proportion ranges between 5 and 10 per cent. But even in large asylums it is found that there are sometimes what may be called literally a clean bill of health; and in visiting one the other day, I found that among 250 sleepers there had been only four wet beds, seven of each sex having been raised by the nightwatch. Such an achievement is not merely a transplantation of nursery tactics, it is a moral triumph founded upon the influence of a repetition of muscular acts in creating a mental habit.

But the supervision and companionship of which we have spoken are carried out by subordinates. Attendants are the main instruments by which this grand and delicate machinery is moved. Upon their qualities, in great measure, depends the success of the most subtle expedients and the simplest provisions of the scheme. As in all men, their predominating character is, so far, determined by the manner in which they are treated and trusted. Esquirol's experience was summed up, in the commencement of a clinical lecture—"First cure your attendant, and when you have succeeded, you may proceed to treat your patients."

A great improvement has taken place in the status and ability of this class of officers within the past forty years. The difficulty, however, in procuring suitable candidates is still enormous; and until it be overcome by offering higher wages, retiring allowances, &c., moral treatment must, in many of its bearings, be a mockery and a snare. It is absurd to offer the consolations of religion, to recommend calmness and self-command, to an unfortunate *recusant* whose ribs and sternum have been crushed and broken through loss of temper or the mistaken design to master unruliness; it is useless to surround a patient with objects of *vertu*, to soothe by music, to engage in languages, a sensitive man whose servant and master—for such is the anomalous position of an attendant—treats him with insult and

contempt, abridges his indulgences, and makes him feel that misfortune has positively reduced him to an inferior caste. Dr. Fox's plan was to catch the most simple, unsophisticated bumpkin, grown on the wilds of Dartmoor, and lick him into shape, and the shape that he wanted. His experience was that the raw material of well-disposed country lads was readily moulded into a dutiful, respectful, and kind guardian, who could learn ultimately to act as a companion and as a servant, as a master and a nurse. The English Commissioners have instituted a register which records the services and qualifications of persons entitled to employment. Rewards and prizes for length of servitude and other merits have been instituted. They have been promoted to higher situations and greater responsibility. A psychologist of good standing at one time limited his selection to self-educated men, members of Mechanics' Institutes, and of logical cast of thought. But in this experiment his subordinates turned out students and philosophers, in place of sensible servants; they devoted themselves to treatises on the human mind; they speculated on the nature of the cases, and argued as to the course pursued; while the rules were neglected, the rooms unswept, the patients riotous and degraded. He subsequently essayed temperance, then communion with the Church, and ultimately service in the army, as guarantees for a certain amount of self-control and regularity of conduct, with varying success. At present most physicians disregard more recondite qualifications, and are content with good temper, presence of mind, and sobriety, which are invaluable, but do not stand the evil effects, the tear and wear, of constant contact with the insane.

Esquirol appointed cured patients as nurses. He believed that they would be trained, and softened, and elevated by suffering. But even where restoration is complete, there often remain a callousness and indifference, or a sense of wrong, which frustrated the scheme. They were not sure of their position; they dreaded the contempt of those whom they formerly resembled; their original disposition, out of which their insanity may have sprung, came into operation; they were hard, harsh, exacting, petty tyrants, and suspicious. The same observation has been repeatedly made since.

It is surely not Utopian to expect that, ere long, a training and clinical school may be formed for this class of superintendents, and already has an example been given by the delivery of a series of lectures for their especial behoof and instruction.

Formerly all lunatics were confided to monastic institutions, but were there mingled with "fools, imbeciles, libertines, drunkards, extravagant," somewhat after the manner of the House of Refuge in Edinburgh. So recently as 1845, large asylums in France were exclusively under the care of nuns, and in Belgium the practice now prevails. Out of this has originated the employment of religious

as trained assistants, under the direction of the physician or governor—a practice which Guislain characterised as “a beautiful aspect of Catholicism.” The corps of nurses in certain of the London hospitals, and above all the Anglican sisterhoods, are approximations to this arrangement; and, to whatever extent modified by the spirit of our institutions, it is most desirable that a staff somewhat resembling the Sisters of Charity, drawn from the educated classes, actuated by a religious motive, if not by a vow or by some pure and lofty object, could be enlisted in a cause where the highest attributes of the Christian character, the best sympathies of our nature, would find exercise and reward.

It is somewhat interesting that,—at the very time when the necessities of vast armies in the Crimea unequivocally developed as principles what had long lurked in the human heart as hopes and aspirations, that a higher motive than gain is required to secure suitable nurses for the sick and the wounded, and that the educated and even the refined mind is a more useful instrument amid dangers and disease and difficulty than ignorant obedience,—there was made in a remote province the first attempt to educate the attendants upon the insane, to expose and explain the nature of their duties, and to raise them at once to a due appreciation of their responsibility, and to a capacity to discharge the duties imposed. A course of lectures was delivered in which mental disease was viewed in various aspects, in which the relations of the insane to the community, to their friends, and to their custodiers, were traced; in which treatment, so far as it depends upon external impressions, the influence of sound minds, of love, and fear, and imitation, was discussed; and in which it was attempted to impart attraction by illustration and narrative, and to convey instruction by examples drawn from actual cases. The grand objects were first to impress the understanding and to rouse the affections by the demonstration that mental aberration was a malady, a misfortune, a misery, which was to be relieved; which it was so far within the power of every kind word and consoling look to mitigate; and that it was not a brutal passion that was to be opposed, a perversity that was to be resisted or resented, or a strife that was to be prosecuted until victory was obtained. I have seen a nun at Nantes rush between two infuriated male lunatics, apparently in a death struggle. They flew asunder before that venerated functionary, the one sulkily, the other fell on his knees!

Secondly, to distinguish the various forms under which alienation might be presented; what was to be apprehended or hoped in each; what was to be guarded against, and what might be accomplished by a judicious selection and adaptation of the means of alleviation. To illustrate the tact acquired by thorough knowledge of character, and the adroit use made of even mental defects by attendants in averting evil Pinel may be quoted—

“Three maniacs, who all believed themselves to be sovereigns, and each of whom assumed the title of Louis XVI, were one day disputing their respective rights to the regal office and its prerogatives, with more warmth than appeared consistent with their mutual safety. Apprehensive of consequences, the governor went up to one of them, and took him a little aside: ‘How happens it,’ said he, addressing him with gravity, ‘that you should think of disputing with such fellows as those, who are evidently out of their minds? we all know, well enough, that your Majesty alone is Louis XVI.’ Flattered by this attention and homage, this gentleman withdrew, looking at his rival disputants, as he retired, with ineffable disdain. The same artifice succeeded with a second, who left the other in undisputed possession of his honours. In a few minutes no vestiges of the quarrel remained.”

And, thirdly, to show that every individual with whom the insane come into contact might and must be instrumental in increasing or diminishing happiness, in building up or in destroying the fabric of mind, and in guiding those to or from light and knowledge who may literally be said to have eyes and see not, ears and hear not; and that this influence is proportioned to the intelligence and humanity of the agent, to his sense of the high and holy mission entrusted to him. Such was the estimate of a late matron in the Asylum of Frankfort-on-the-Main of the sacredness of her trust and of its absorbing nature, that she literally never deserted her duties, nor left the house, during forty years. It is quite possible that much was said in this attempt which met no response nor assent; which was unsuited to the previous training of the auditors; but it is certain that interest of some kind was awakened and sustained. The class consisted of the officers, the attendants, some of the patients who belonged to the medical profession, and, occasionally, a visitor. The attendance, although perfectly voluntary, was numerous, attentive, and grateful, and it is believed that although these inquiries and suggestions may have fallen infinitely short of the objects contemplated, they elevated the tone of those engaged, formed a pleasing communion between the different members of the staff, and have left many recollections of intellectual enjoyment.

It was proposed to extend to patients the advantages supposed to have been derived from lectures to officers. On previous occasions the object of such efforts was not so much to *pluck* from the mind its rooted sorrow, as to *lead* it *from* the contemplation of that sorrow; to introduce new, and pleasing, and tranquillising matters for contemplation; to substitute external observation for self analysis, and to bring discussions on art, or science, or literature, within the compass of amusement. That such attempts were and will continue to be instrumental in conveying happiness and healing to the wounded mind, under the guise of instruction, and of temporarily

engaging the attention where they neither instruct nor elevate, cannot be doubted. They constitute great discoveries in moral medicine, but the course now under consideration had a higher range and more systematic object. The endeavour was to combine information and amusement with the exposition of delusion and hallucination. It thus happened that, in listening to an explanation of the physiology of the external senses, the causes of fallacy to which they were exposed from the derangement of the organs, or from external circumstances; and of the various intentional deceptions, illusions, and impostures which are recorded, and are matter for everyday observation,—individuals might hear a refutation of their own erroneous convictions, a lucid dissipation of their fears, an exorcism of their familiar spirits; and that an explanation of the real nature of the mirage, or of the giant of the Brocken, and of the whisper of the Memnon, or of the gallery of St. Paul's, might lessen the power of the visions and voices which assail the audience. This plan consisted in one of the medical officers answering popularly the question *How do we see?* demonstrating the organs of the sense, the laws by which images reach the retina, impressions reach the mind; in another, devoting his attention to the things we see, their forms, hues, and most striking qualities, the modes in which their minute structure may be seen, and the instruments by which vision is aided; and that a third directed attention to the atmosphere, through which and by which these colours and forms reach the eye, embracing various atmospherical and astronomical phenomena. Such an undertaking must fail in accomplishing all that is desirable, for it is certain that hallucinations depend upon physical causes which no demonstration can remove; but it may have succeeded in raising the general tone, and enlarging the scope of reflection, and placed the mind in a better condition to bear, if it could not cast out, its errors.

The similarity between the education of the young and undeveloped mind, and the restoration or reconstruction of the infirm and diseased mind, and the tendency which intellectual training has to impart strength, and order, and precision to the faculties, has led to the introduction of education as an element of moral treatment. The substitution of some safe and useful occupation, which might at once amuse and instruct, for the frivolous games, or the idle, and it may be incoherent conversation in which vacant hours are spent, was an additional inducement to make such an attempt; for, while the inexpediency of long sustained attention in any, but especially in the enfeebled mind, is obvious, as being, in truth, an effort to interrupt concentration by concentration, and while amusements of all kinds are, in suitable circumstances, recommended, the same, or probably more favorable results will accrue from any engagement, provided the mind enter upon it willingly, be diverted from sorrowful or painful impressions during its continuance, and experience

satisfaction from the trains of thought suggested. All these objects are as easily accomplished in overcoming the difficulties of the multiplication table, or in reading the history of the giraffe, as in the fluctuating fortunes of catch honours. A school for lunatics is a striking and instructive scene. But if considered as a part of moral discipline, as a mean by which the diseased intellect is weaned from its errors, by which delusions are to be displaced by real, practical, and useful knowledge—useful when the pupil re-enters upon the active duties of life ; and if the quiet, busied, and cheerful demeanour of these groups during instruction be contrasted with the monotony, and misery, and violence which formerly characterised, and is still by many enlightened persons supposed to characterise the insane, the triumph of humanity will appear complete, and the hopes of the philosophical enthusiast actually realised.

Massieu, an imbecile, deaf-mute, a wild man of the woods, was roused to intelligence by scholastic training, became enlightened, an utterer of moral aphorisms current in every European language, but of which the origin and author are alike forgotten. To the question, “What is time ?” his answer,—“A line that has two ends, a path which begins with the cradle and ends with the tomb ;” and to that of “What is eternity ?” “A day without yesterday, or to-morrow ; a line that has no end,” are well known. When asked, “What is God ?” he replied—“The necessary Being ; the Sun of eternity, the Mechanist of Nature, the Eye of justice, the Watchmaker of the universe, the Soul of the universe.” And when Sir James Mackintosh followed these by the inquiry, “Does God reason ?” the lucid reply is said to have been at once elicited—“Man reasons because he deliberates, he decides : God is omniscient, He knows all things ; He never doubts, therefore He never reasons.” But his saying that “gratitude is the memory of the heart,” is better known than these epitomes of human wisdom.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are now regularly taught to large numbers in the majority of asylums. In schools for those of weak mind, tuition occupies perhaps an undue place in the course pursued. But the higher branches of education and the shortcomings of the educated classes are not overlooked.

The educational list of one asylum (C. I., 1858) contains the following particulars :

Music, instrumental	8 pupils
„ vocal	6 „
„ tonic sol-fa class	25 „
German	6 „
Latin	2 „
French	4 „
Drawing	8 „
Dancing	30 „

But supplementary to this there is going on, in every community, where moral treatment is carried out, a process of re-education and self-culture, a reconstruction of the mind upon a narrower and less secure basis, an adaptation of acquired and morbid tastes, habits, and opinions to new and painful circumstances, and to the development of those faculties which have survived the general wreck of mind. I have known at one time a gentleman prescribed study as a remedy, who acquired, with but little assistance, a tolerable knowledge of the French language; a man deeply skilled in eastern tongues, but deplorably ignorant of his own, study grammar and familiarise himself with composition; a third, in gratification at once of generous feelings and former tastes, teach another inmate German; the editor of a newspaper busily engaged in manufacturing paragraphs; a veteran soldier divide his time between music and mathematics, and prefer to dwell on a sonata to showing how fields were won; a philologist would be found engaged in a critical analysis of a sentence in Sallust or Tacitus; an engineer busied in plans and projects prospective of a new railway millennium. Controversies upon Schiller were waged in one room, while the tales of Souvestre are translated in another; a theologian varied his studies of the French divines by reading the works of Bacon in folio. A physician was busied in Dutch, that he might exchange thoughts with Van der Kolk.

The advantages attached to such impressions do not exclude those influences which raise man above present evil and place him in relation with the Source of all Good. Worship is regularly, in many places, daily performed according to the Established Church or the church of the majority. Members of other communions are permitted to visit their own places of worship accompanied by officers. There are in certain institutions provision for securing the services of chaplains of all prevailing sects; in fact, the timidity which formerly excluded the insane from such ordinances has passed away, the error that they were incapable of comprehending or joining in worship has been demonstrated; and in these assemblies children and maniacs are seen to bend the spirit and the knee side by side. In them it is impossible to distinguish the sane from the insane, the guardian from his charge, and all ideas are banished from the mind of a spectator, except those of universal brotherhood and of that peace which passeth all understanding. It may be that there is a sense of supplication where there is no power of precise and articulate prayer; and it may be that, independently of and even in opposition to external manifestations, there is an "inner life hidden with God:" but it is certain that reverence and attention prevail, that the tranquillity is greater than under other circumstances, and that the acknowledged effects are contentment and calm.

The employment of music in improving or ameliorating the lot

of the insane has been occasionally alluded to in history, in the Egyptian myth and in the chanted exorcisms and the canticles of the mediæval church. But, almost legitimately, or appropriately, it was the good fortune of an Italian to remind men of modern and colder type of the connection. Philip V of Spain was plunged in melancholia and apathy, and was, as may without lèse-majesté be inferred, a "dirty dement." Farinelli, 160 years ago, a master of song, had scarcely given forth a few of his marvellous notes in his presence, when he raised his head, exhibited exquisite pleasure, and recovered his reason. On demanding what recompense would satisfy his saviour, Farinelli said, as a physician has often to say, "Shave, and wash, and dress yourself."

The physician, or system, with one remedy, whether it be digitalis, the Turkish bath, or opium, is as much open to suspicion as the man of one idea. Aversa had the unfortunate, but unmerited reputation of curing madness of all sorts by music alone. And there was the pleasing picture presented of the insane swinging in hammocks, gazing on cloudless skies, inhaling the fragrance of orange flowers, to the sound of the lute, sackbut, dulcimer, &c. An observer visited this temple of the muses in 1829, with the suspicion that the concerts were cooked, and that the whole arrangement was a sham which would collapse on close examination. He was undeceived, partly by encountering similar adjuvants in the Senavra of Milan, and, long subsequently, upon a more extensive scale, and with a more perfect organisation, at Quatre Mars under Dumesnil. Here the actual performers, drawn from the workmen class, amounted to thirty, although 150 had been subjected to a certain degree of instruction. All had been taught to *read* music; and the orchestra, after a grand march, performed boleros, waltzes, polkas, &c., in a masterly and marvellous manner. We are familiar with all this; classes, concerts, bands, &c., form one of the embellishments of every asylum, and with effects which can be best appreciated by those who are themselves sensible of the powers of music to soothe, enliven, rouse, or melt. The worst dement should never be despaired of while music is untried. There is or may be a hidden life within him which may be reached by harmony. He may be recalled from the profound abyss of mental darkness to glimmerings of life, if not to full sunshine. Watch an assemblage of lunatics while national or cheerful airs are played; and it becomes palpable that though dead to all else, they are alive to sweet and familiar sounds. A lady after hearing Scotch music retired to bed degraded, mute, fatuous; she arose next morning and remained permanently of right and rational mind, quietly remarking to the physician, that "The banks and braes o' bonny Doon had awakened her." This must not be received either as a miracle, or without doubt as a sequence: it is given simply as an illustration.

An attempt was made about the beginning of this century by Esquirol to introduce theatrical amusements at Charenton as a means of enjoyment, if not of cure, in the treatment of the insane. The French have a passion for the drama, and a vast number of the educated classes have been amateur performers; and the experiment was confidently expected to succeed. The name of the piece has not come down to us; but among other things it represented the deposition of a king by his subjects. It failed from a somewhat singular circumstance; for although performed almost within the shadow of the first French revolution, the audience, composed chiefly of patients, regarded the rebellious act as real and unjustifiable; rushed upon the stage with tumultuous indignation, vindicated legitimacy, and restored the ill-treated monarch. The experiment was repeated in 1842 in Salpêtrière, with better success, when Molière's *Tartuffe* was represented before a large audience. Plays have, it is understood, been acted in the asylum at Copenhagen, but with what results is not known. It is believed, however, that the first bold step of this kind was made in this room in 1842. Convalescents and monomaniacs had repeatedly attended public theatres; but that hundreds of patients, of all classes, should, with perfect propriety of deportment, and with keen appreciation of the merits and mirth of the performance, witness the representation of farces, vaudevilles, comedies, by members of their own community, by those participating in their own infirmities, is assuredly a noble conquest over the sorrows and intractableness of disease—a miracle if we reflect upon the past, an augury of success if we look to the future. Yet the achievement should be regarded less as a boast or proof of what may be accomplished with the most stubborn and rebellious materials: of how far the insane mind may be carried towards health, how closely it may be made to imitate the manifestations of the sound and strong,—than as a means of calling forth neglected energies, of diffusing bustle, and expectation, and enjoyment where all is generally dead and dull and dark; of creating sources of happiness on the very limits, but not beyond the pale of surveillance, apart and distinct from the position of those concerned, and in themselves so fraught with ideas and feelings incompatible with melancholy or moroseness, and so suggestive of pleasing recollections and associations. The benefits are not, however, confined to the exhibition, nor especially to the actors, whose previous training, exercise of memory, self-possession during impersonation and success, must prove curative; but includes the healthy tone which pervades the establishment during the whole of the theatrical season. The collection and preparation of a wardrobe, the erection and decoration of a stage, the speculations as to the effect, the rehearsals, the composition of prologues and addresses, the green-room supper, the *début* and retirement of companions, all contribute to

unite the different inmates in a common purpose, and to furnish matter for thought and conversation very widely removed from that which generally obtains among them. The attempt is no longer an experiment. An ordeal of twenty years in the great institutions of Morningside, Derby, Montrose, &c., entitle it to be regarded as a discovery in moral science, which must be accepted and acted upon. Under the head of Amusements, although having a higher aim, fall to be enumerated—Dances; Fancy Balls; Pic Nics; Scientific Excursions; Boating; Curling; Games; Gymnastics; &c.

As another mode of employing dormant or valueless energies, of contributing to the amusement of the rest of the population, and of demonstrating how closely the insane mind may, in its operations, approach the standard of health, as well as how widely it may depart from it, periodicals are produced in asylums, which are edited, composed, corrected, printed, exclusively by inmates. I read regularly 'York Stars,' 'Utica Opals,' 'Morningside Mirrors,' 'Perth Excelsiors,' and 'New Moons.' They serve as vehicles for the free and undisguised feelings of the writers, whether erroneous or not; they are compounds of the grotesque and the beautiful; they are collections of the impressions of healthy and the new creations of disordered imaginations, of mental portraits, and of all that relate to the present condition and prospects of its contributors, and of the class to which they belong. It is matter for regret that these "curiosities of literature" so rarely afford glimpses into the secret chaos, and incongruities, and rebellious thoughts of the bosom of the writers, or of the ruins of those impaired minds which live upon former acquisitions, which reproduce conclusions, facts, or feelings peculiar to their original character and nature, and present the striking and almost inexplicable spectacle of two currents of reasoning flowing in the same channel, utterly irreconcilable and immiscible,—the one perhaps marked by profound acumen or exquisite beauty, the other by grotesque extravagance and egregious absurdity; but that they have in some way realised the purpose of their projectors is to be inferred from the duration of the series. The 'New Moon' was commenced in 1844. More pretentious works, chiefly poetic, have been published at Hanwell, here, and at Morningside. In the latter asylum there is flourishing a Literary Society, where essays are read, debates and conversations encouraged, under the presidency and guidance of one of the medical officers, with very happy effect.

The power or government by which such communities are ruled should be monarchical. The details, as well as the principles, should emanate from one central will; while much must be left to the spontaneous good sense and good feeling of subordinates; these subordinates should be chosen, their views and acts should be influenced, their whole bearing determined, by the supreme official. What may be described as constitutional checks to the exercise of

this power are to be found in the code of laws prescribed by the governors, by inspectors appointed by the country, by public and professional opinion, and above all by the condition, tastes, and character of those committed to his charge. There is, however, still a difference of opinion as to whether this rule should be confided to the hands of a medical man or not. In Ireland laymen were recently employed. It is argued medicine is of little use, or, if of use, is not used. When you find, from the registers of ten asylums containing about 2000 inmates, that not more than 300 of these are under medical treatment for mental disease; and that in one asylum containing 1900 inmates only 200 are under medical treatment and extra diet,—that is, the Beefsteak and Porter system,—several suppositions present themselves. Either we have to do with an intractable malady, or that these institutions are especially burdened or crowded with chronic cases, or that the medical officers place little reliance upon therapeutical means. I am, however, disposed to adopt a more favorable and encouraging construction, and to regard the field for the operation of moral treatment as wide, the means ample, and the opinions of the medical officers as attaching great importance to mental therapeutics. It must at once be admitted that he who, entrusted with the responsibility described, conceives that the duties of a physician end with the routine visit, with pulse exploration and pill prescribing, even with the supervision of a wise and suitable course of medication, is in distressing ignorance of what is required and exacted in such a position. His call is to a mission, not to a practice. He must live *with* and *for* the insane; he must enter into their pursuits, pleasures, even their thoughts; he must cherish a direct relation and intercommunion with the minds of those who, according to their natures, love him, fear him, depend upon him; he must compensate for the poverty and inertness of his remedies, by the liberality of his sympathy, love, and self-sacrifice.

But to whom, rather than the well-educated physician, is such a sacred and momentous trust to be consigned? Coleridge has said, with great acumen, that “in the treatment of nervous disease he is the best physician who is the most ingenious inspirer of hope.” There must exist a benevolence, a kindness, which shall be so deep and expansive as to feel sympathy for the lunatic, not merely because he *is* an alien to his kind, because he is visited with the heaviest and hardest affliction which humanity can bear and live; but will feel interest in those *unreal*, and artificial, and self-created miseries with which the spirit is oppressed, and which will be as solicitous to alleviate suffering where it is absurd, and where it is the result of perversity of temper, as where it flows from misfortune. There must be that benevolence which will, at an immeasurable distance, imitate the mercy of Him who, in curing the broken

and bewildered spirit of Demonomania, "took him by the hand and lifted him up." But this gentleness must be controlled, graduated. It may sink into a barren sympathy, or, more fatally for the welfare of the patient, it may be active in soothing momentary pangs at the sacrifice of permanent peace; it may indulge vicious propensities; it may give way to unreasonable demands; it may, rather than inflict uneasiness, foster those very delusions and irritability which are at the root of the disease. The purely benevolent physician can never be a good practitioner. There must be mingled with such a sentiment that highly refined sense of justice which guides even kindness in its ministrations, and which holds the balance as scrupulously in deciding on the moral rights and interests, as on the civil rights of our fellow-citizens. While the "*subjugative stare*" of Dr. Willis is no longer available, there must be that moral and physical courage which confer, in the trying situations in which the curator of the insane is occasionally placed, calmness, and decision, and promptness in the midst of danger, and in dealing with the most furious and unlistening madness; which imbue the whole character with that controlling influence which governs the turbulent while it appears to guide, and commands the most ferocious and wild by the sternness, and at the same time by the serenity of its orders, by the absence alike of timidity and anger. Dr. Fox, a bold man, though a timid innovator, stood on the roof of his house at Brislington with a maniac, "What," with a glare and suitable action, "should prevent me from casting you down?" said the patient. "Quite easy to do it," was the calm reply. "But I bet a guinea I'll throw you up here from the gravel." "Done," was the eager reply, and they both (from very different motives) rushed down stairs.—The intellectual qualifications for such a trust are high and varied. They must comprehend a familiarity with a true and practical philosophy of the human mind, in order that its diseases may be understood and uprooted; as general an acquaintance as is practicable with the usages and workings of society, with the habits, the pursuits, and the opinions and prejudices of different classes, with literature and science, so far as they may contribute to the instruction, happiness, or amusement of these classes; with everything, in short, which is or can be rendered influential in what may be called *adult education*, in the management or modification of character, in order that as great a number of moral means of cure, of restraining, persuading, engaging, teaching the weakened and disordered mind, may be created as possible; and, finally, as liberal a professional education as long preliminary study and equally long practical observation can accomplish, in order that the causes of alienation, the physiological condition by which its duration and intensity may be increased or diminished, and the operation of medicines and external agents in removing or

modifying either the one or the other may be thoroughly mastered.

A man so prepared uses the instruments which we have enumerated, and many others, as he does the articles in the pharmacopœia. He does not merely provide a well-ventilated and elegantly furnished dwelling, amusement, employment, but he will daily apply them or withdraw them as need arises. Lists are made out of those who are to join in lectures or excursions, of those who are debarred enjoyments : particular books, studies, trains of thought, are prescribed : a reproof is delivered to one, a commendation to another patient ; and the prescription book should contain moral precepts and penalties almost in equal proportion to pills and potions.

No observation made on the present occasion should countenance the suspicion that I doubt or undervalue the efficacy of drugs and physical remedies, in relieving or removing mental disease, or rather in bringing about that condition which is incompatible with disease. I certainly do not believe that with the black bile you can purge the moral pain called melancholia, by means of hellebore ; or that a sleeping draught positively brings back reason ; and I have arrived at an age when the weapons used by medical men are much less numerous than the diseases which they have to combat. But my conviction is that there is no class of diseases more amenable to medicine, under certain circumstances, than that under consideration. I do not advance one remedy as specific ; but I have seen marvellous effects from cod-liver oil in general paralysis, dementia, idiocy, and other forms of derangement occurring in the strumous diathesis ; from iron and the metals in anæmic melancholia ; from bromide of potass in erotic mania and melancholia ; from iodide of potass in epileptic, and above all, in traumatic epileptic mania ; from opium in mania ; and from bimeconate of morphia in melancholia, depending upon alteration of nervous tissue, and accompanied with neuralgia ; and so on. But again, any physician trusting to these agents alone will signally fail ; and from the same cause any physician disregarding these agents, and trusting exclusively to humane ministrations, amusements, and occupations, must likewise fail, and deserves to fail.

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