Wandsworth asylum: a letter to the committee of visitors of the Surrey Lunatic Asylum / by Charles Snape, Medical Superintendent, (Male Department), in reference to the case of Daniel Dolley.

#### **Contributors**

Snape, Charles. Royal College of Physicians of London

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# A LETTER,

ETC.

## WANDSWORTH ASYLUM.

### A LETTER

TO THE

## COMMITTEE OF VISITORS

OF

The Surrey Lunatic Asylum.

By CHARLES SNAPE,
Medical Superintendent, (Male Department),

IN REFERENCE TO

THE CASE OF DANIEL DOLLEY,

(DECEASED)

JOHN CHURCHILL, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.

MDCCCLVI.

"In some Asylums the whole system of management appears to have been constituted less with regard to the cure of insanity, and to the restoration of lunatics to health and society, than to their seclusion and safe custody. Occasional doses of medicine are administered when incidental deviations from bodily health, or any contingency, calls for their use; but the application of medicine and other restorative means on any determined plan, with a view to promote recovery, and to restore the mental faculties to a sound state, appears, in some Asylums, never to have been contemplated"—(Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord-Chancellor. 1844. p. 114.)

SURREY COUNTY LUNATIC ASYLUM,

WANDSWORTH.

October 31, 1856.

### MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with your desire, I now beg to lay before you a statement of the circumstances connected with the death of Daniel Dolley, in your Asylum, on the 9th of April last, and a particular of the treatment which he received by my direction.

To justify that treatment, as being wise and judicious, I have felt it necessary to trouble you with a history of my general mode of treating the patients, with the view to a cure of their disease, and which, after an experience of five years, without one single instance of evil result, will, I trust, be considered as thoroughly justifying my directions of the 9th of April.

Whilst laying before you the case of Dolley, I have deemed it incumbent on me to notice certain allegations in Dr. Diamond's evidence, taken in my absence before the Commissioners of Lunacy, which question the judiciousness of my mode of

treatment, as well as tend to show a difference of practice in the two departments, much to my prejudice.

I am compelled, therefore, to refer in my statement to the practice pursued by Dr. Diamond in the establishment; and though, from a fear of the appearance of acrimony on my part towards a fellow-officer, I have refrained from commenting upon some of the observations and statements in his evidence, yet I trust it will be kindly understood that I am quite prepared to meet every point affecting me contained in that gentleman's evidence.

If I had been either present or represented at the inquiry of the 17th of April, I might, by crossexamination or explanation, have satisfied the Commissioners that no blame was attributable to me; but they conducted that inquiry in their own way, and to the evidence there taken I had no opportunity to present the slightest protest, suggestion, or reply.

The proceedings instituted against me for manslaughter by the Commissioners exposed me to a mass of charges and abuse, almost as overwhelming as they were untrue, for a period of six months; yet, on the other hand, the anticipation of a public trial precluded me from offering either reply or explanation, and my legal advisers peremptorily insisted upon my observing the most unvarying silence. The fact that the Bill was ignored by the Grand Jury doubtless was testimony in my favour of the most unequivocal nature, as they declared my innocence even upon the case of the Prosecution alone; yet, on the other hand, the non-publication of the case of the Defence has left me under all the imputations and charges previously heaped upon me, and as yet those charges remain unanswered and uncontradicted.

Under these circumstances I rejoice at being enabled to lay before you the real facts relative to Dolley's treatment and death, being confident that you will enter upon the investigation fully prepared to do no less justice to myself and family, than to those unfortunate beings whose interests are entrusted to your care.

The statement I submit to you, while it wholly denies, and as far as is possible disproves, the charge of vindictive motive, and desire to punish Dolley, corrects various mis-statements as to the treatment administered, explains and justifies by long-

past very successful practice the treatment actually given, and shows what was the real cause of the death, at the same time incidentally laying before you circumstances in connexion with the origin and progress of the Prosecution itself, which will, I feel assured, secure to me your sympathy and best consideration; while I further venture to trust, after perusing and considering my statement, you will not hesitate to rescind your resolution of the 10th May last, suspending me "from the performance of the duties of my office in the Asylum, until the result of the criminal charge against me had been ascertained."

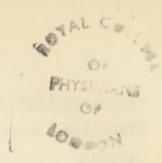
It only remains that I should express the deep regret I feel at the delay which has occurred in the preparation of this communication, but involving as it does in its consequences the welfare of a wife and family of eight children, I could not trust to my own unaided judgment, or venture to lay it before you until it had been sanctioned and settled by my solicitor, who, unfortunately, was at the onset absent from London.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES SNAPE.



### STATEMENT.

I appears desirable to preface the statement I am called upon to lay before you with a particular of the points I am required to establish in rebuttal of the charges which have been made against me, directly or indirectly, in reference to the death of Daniel Dolley, in the Wandsworth Lunatic Asylum, on the 9th of April last, after being under treatment, by my directions, as Medical Superintendent of the Male Department, in which he was placed.

The following propositions, will, I believe, meet all the Points to be charges thus made against me:—

- I. That the treatment administered, by my direction was justifiable in itself.
- II. That the treatment was admir istered, not as a punishment, but solely as a remedial agent.
- III. That in ordering such, treatment I was not influenced by vindictive protives against the deceased.

Added to which, I am further prepared to show-

IV. That the treatment administered was certainly not the primary, and probably not even the secondary, cause of death.

As my statement is of a twofold character,—viz., explanation and justification of my principles of treatment on the one hand, and an explanation of the real facts preceding the decease of Daniel Dolley on the other,—it will save time if I first explain what have been my principles of treatment of mania since my appointment to your Insti-

tution in 1848, and afterwards state the real events of the 9th April, concluding with a sketch of the subsequent events.

As Medical Officer in your Asylum, I have, from my first non-re-appointment, invariably practised the "non-restraint sysnever departed tem" in the largest sense of that phrase, and which system existed only to a modified extent when I was first elected; but though adopting this principle, I do so in subordination to, and as an essential part of my higher duty as Medical Superintendent, the "restoration to reason of the patients entrusted to my care." Merely to establish a comfortable home for these afflicted beings, and to create an asylum where they may remain at rest and peace, and 's protected, not only from others, but also from a liability and ossibility of injury to others, is far short of the main these asylums. The patients are sent to an Asylum to re cured if possible; that is the main purpose of these institutions, and that the first duty of your Superintendents; but no treatment will be remedial unless accompanied by the greatest forbearance, gentleness, and recollection that all act patient himself, and the constant The cure of the with the ordinary conductor of a sane person in the social

disease even a higher duty.

position of the patient, are almost wholly to be traced to and accounted for by disease of the brain. Thus, the only sound principle of treatment of lunatics is to regard every fresh act of violence, not as a cime, but as evidence of the disease itself being unusually reme, but as evidence of the moment more than usual influer mpant, and having at the ce over the patient, and, consequently, requiring a course over the patient, and, to the excitement to be over treatment proportionate gerous patients. Such has been me, especially in danment of the patients in your A my principle of treatservedly assent to modern vie ylum; and while I unrerestraint system, and have ever e in favour of the nonndeavoured to carry forward

that system, yet have I at the same time attempted progress in the treatment of the disease itself, which still baffles the ablest practitioners in this country.

It is now eight years since I had the honour of being My first elected Medical Superintendent of the Female Department of your Asylum. On that occasion, Dr. Diamond was an unsuccessful competitor with me. Upon the retirement of Mr. Holland, I was at my own request transferred to the Male Department, and thereupon (January, 1850) Dr. Diamond was elected as my successor on the Female side.

From the date of my first election, never, until Improvements now, has there been the slightest charge against me of introduced by introducing any species of restraint, or of inattention, harshness, or unkindness to a single patient; though none but those who have passed years in such asylums know the watchfulness, tact, and forbearance which must be unweariedly exercised by those placed over the patients, to protect themselves against such charges, and not even to give apparent ground for them. On the contrary, I have carried onward the principles of the non-restraint system. The dress, so much in use for dirty and destructive patients, which was a constant source of annoyance, has been exchanged by me for a quilted, and much more secure, but equally strong, character of dress; and padlocks to the dresses have been got rid of, and a different but equally effective fastening, consisting of a screw button, introduced in their stead,-feeling, as I did, that even the sight of the padlocks was objectionable, and that they should, if possible, be removed. During my residence, how greatly have the amusements of the patients been considered and promoted! and how largely, at my instance, have the garden and farming operations been extended, and other attempts made by me for their greater comfort! amongst which may be specially named, the formation of a band of music from the attendants which has largely

contributed to the happiness of all the patients in the Institution. These and other like instances of changes for the comfort and welfare of the patients, though trifling in themselves, show that the one governing object I have studiously kept in view has been the advance of the non-restraint system, and the happiness of the inmates.

Questions to attendants.

If you will interrogate any of the attendants, they will, I have no doubt, speak in the strongest manner of my stringent requirements, that they report to me the slightest scratch or contusion they discover, and any complaint which may be made by the patients; and the following extract from a letter to my Solicitors from Edward Rouse, who had been an attendant in the Asylum upwards of nine years, will speak for itself, and with the greater force when I add, that when first asked to give evidence on my behalf, he refused to do so, from a feeling which he openly avowed, that I did not sufficiently shield him in May, 1855, when he was dismissed from your Asylum for alleged neglect of a patient:—

"Mr. Snape is undoubtedly sincere, very humane, and well-disposed towards the patients. His minute inquiries into their health, their habits, and their past history,—his apparent determination to become acquainted with everything that related to them, whether as to their different habits for self-improvement or recreation—although very irksome to the attendants in increasing their duties, yet nevertheless convinced me that he had the welfare of the patients at heart."

Annual Reports. In addressing you, it is of course needless to quote from your own Annual Reports, bearing favourable testimony to the conduct of your Medical Officers, beyond referring you especially to that for 1853, page 11; for 1854, page 10; for 1855, page 13; and for the present year, page 8: though I cannot refrain from referring you to the entry in the Visitors' Book by Mr. Powell of the Mauritius,—who was in the year 1854 specially appointed by the

Governor of the Mauritius to visit the different lunatic asylums of England and France, for the purpose of observing Visitors' all improvements in the treatment of the insane, -wherein Book. he states-

"That in no asylum that he had visited had he found the results of judicious and effective management more forcibly exemplified than in this Asylum; that he had been through the wards both during the day and night with the Medical Officers, and had in no other asylum seen patients so tranquil."

But to stop short here, to content myself with gentleness, Remedial kindness, and a continued endeavour to promote only the measures required. occupation and amusements of the patients, though it might contribute greatly to my personal ease, would be to betray the first interests of the Asylum. For if the medical treatment of the disease itself is not your first object, why require such high medical testimonials from candidates for the appointment of Medical Superintendent? If, on the Medical men contrary, it is expedient, as doubtless it is, to obtain for Superintenthe office of Medical Superintendent men competent to dents. restore, and, as it were, to recreate, God's highest gift to man, why visit with the utmost denunciation of the law, and subject to the obloquy and ruinous consequences of a public prosecution as a felon, a medical man elected on account of his past experience and medical attainments to such a post, because he has the courage to carry onward remedial measures which for a period of four or five years he has been gradually applying, and with unvarying success; although to other institutions even the treatment so long practised by him may be unknown, and, therefore, may be too hastily and most erroneously regarded, speaking from THEORY only, as dangerous and bad?

The science of medicine in all its branches will ever be Medicine a a science of unusual difficulty and doubt, from the necessity surmise. of treatment being based upon "surmise;" and, after all, he is the ablest practitioner who guesses most correctly, and

assumes most justly, the real seat and nature of the disease to be grappled with. But it is still "surmise;" and if in the treatment of bodily ailments there be so much doubt, how much greater is the doubt in reference to mental disease!

Dr. Conolly's remark on the ignorance of remedial treatment. "The obscurity of pathology of mental disorders" is specially adverted to in Dr. Conolly's recent work, and he expressly ascribes "our limited knowledge of remedial means applicable to mental disorders to the extreme obscurity in which the origin of cerebral disturbance is involved, and to the narrowness of our knowledge of the mental functions of the brain." "But," he observes, "there is still no reason to abandon the hope that fresh resources will some day be possessed by the practitioner, and that the real nature of the changes taking place in the brain may be better understood, and greater success attend medical treatment."

When, then, it is admitted by the most noted practitioner in insanity of the present day that so little is known, and so much yet remains to be discovered and even hoped fr, why am I to be denounced as a barbarous practitioner for advocating a treatment which I have practically proved to be so good and valuable in itself, (I am at present speaking of twenty minutes' continuous shower-baths,) because others who have not tried this treatment consider it dangerous and unsafe? Thus to condemn me, would be to make theory preferable to practice, and would sweep away the result of my last four or five years' most valuable experience, during which time I have been in the frequent habit of administering continuous cold shower-baths to insane patients for periods of fifteen and twenty minutes, with and without intermissions of a few seconds, with the greatest success. I never knew the slightest ill result, and instances can be given of entire restoration to reason by one single fifteen or twenty minutes' continuous bath: added

The objection to continuous baths. Theory against practice.

No ill result for five years. to which, there are cases, which I should have proved Lunatics had my case gone to trial, in which discharged patients recovery to have imputed their restoration solely to these long the baths. baths.

When the late Mr. George Stephenson was asked by a Commons railway committee, in the year 1836, whether a railway train could travel at the rate of a mile a minute without danger, his sagacious reply was, "Yes, but the public mind is not yet prepared to receive that truth as a fact." Such is precisely the present state of the "shower-bath" question. These continuous shower-baths, if the weight Continuous and fall of water be of moderate height, are not distressing; baths less distressing whereas intermittent baths, which are not nearly so bene-than intermittent ficial, are distressing; for while the continuous bath after the baths. first burst and shock is only an equable flow of water over the body, the intermittent bath, being a series of fresh and separated falls of cold water on the body when it is wet from the previous shocks, and the patient is shivering, produces a much more chilling and disagreeable sensation, than a continuous and unbroken stream. In fact, intermission or non-intermission of the stream, rather than the length of duration of the bath, is the principal point of difference between myself and others. What is the pur-Purpose of pose for which shower-baths are recommended? "The shower-baths as modes of prostration of the system "-"the overpowering of the treatment. patient." Thus, Dr. Conolly, in his last work, recommends Dr. Conolly. the use of intermittent shower-baths at short intervals, "until decided prostration ensues;" adding that, "employed in the ordinary manner, its effects are rather exciting than depressing" (page 67); and Dr. Elliotson, who tried the Dr. Elliotson. bath in question and was retained to give evidence against me, in his work on "The Principles and Practice of Medicine," says, when adverting to the treatment of mania (page 365),

"Warm and cold baths are found very useful, but it is in

melancholia that warm baths answer best. The cold bath, in most cases of insanity where patients glow after it, is an exceedingly useful measure; and in violent paroxysms, a cold shower-bath, continued till the patient is nearly overpowered, has often beneficial influence. As a means of remedy in chronic cases, also, the shower-bath is one of the best things that can be employed."

Dr. Davey.

Another practitioner of high note, Dr. Davey—described by Dr. Conolly (page 298), "as having been one of the medical officers at Hanwell during Dr. Conolly's residence, and as having subsequently practised the non-restraint system with signal success among the insane at Ceylon, even in the miserable places allotted to them by the local government in that colony in 1844, and afterwards introduced the same system in the Female side of the Asylum at Colney Hatch "—thus speaks of the shower-bath:—

"The shower-bath is among the most valuable of remedial means in mania. I have employed it extensively, and with the most satisfactory results, since 1840 (i. e., when at Hanwell), and in many hundreds of cases. My patients have often asked to have a shower-bath, because of their own knowledge of its efficacy. I have a lady at this moment under treatment for mania; she asks now and then to be permitted to take a showerbath. This relieves her more than anything else, but only when the remedy produces faintness and sickness; and of this fact she is perfectly conscious. I have always been in the habit of ordering the shower-bath in mania, not for any given time, but to be continued until the patient feels its full effect, and manifests some faintness and sickness. A very bad case of mania in a young woman at Colney Hatch was relieved almost directly by a single shower-bath, but it was given efficiently. The symptoms were so urgent, and the relief so great and permanent, that the facts of the case were impressed on my mind. So efficacious are shower-baths when given discriminately, that patients have more than once said to me on recovery, 'I could not have thought so simple a proceeding could ever have relieved my sufferings as the shower-bath did.' The same is within the experience of most medical men experienced in insanity.

"The primary effect of a shower-bath is to excite rather than depress a patient; and thus an ordinary shower-bath is prescribed as a stimulant, to act as an excitement on the brain, in cases of dementia-i.e., cerebral inaction: it acts as a sedative only when continuous."

Thus, these three writers seek to attain an uniformity of Depression of result from the shower-bath—"a sufficient depression of the system the the system "-and the question of time or duration of the regardless of duration of bath is wholly subordinate to the end to be attained; but bath. the exact time when that end has been attained, can only be discovered by observing and watching the patient. If for that end there must be a suspension of the bath, then I admit the intermission to be not only good, but necessary; but if such suspension be not necessary, either because the patient continues singing and uproarious, as is sometimes the case, and thus shows that the required depression has not ensued, or if he can be seen and his state. ascertained without suspending the bath, then I am most distinctly of opinion that to suspend or intermit the bath is not only unnecessary, but unadvisable, and considerably less beneficial than an unbroken and continuous bath.

I will now proceed to explain what my practice has been Baths-how as to continuous shower-baths.

administered by me.

On most occasions I have superintended their administration, and determined their duration by personal observation; and I was always present when a patient took a shower-bath for the first time, that I might the better watch and ascertain its effects, looking at him from time to time, precisely as I directed the attendant Barnett to do with Dolley, unless the patient continued noisy and riotous, when it was, of course, not only unnecessary to see whether he was overpowered by the water, but undesirable to suspend its allaying effect by opening the door. Sometimes the bath was stopped when I looked in, and sometimes not. On many occasions I released the patient The extension of the baths gradual.

Effect of continuous baths.

Mania requires peculiar medical treatment.

The showerbath administered to sane persons for half an hour.

at his request, before the time of its originally intended duration; and though I have now for nearly five years adopted, as a not unfrequent duration, baths of fifteen or twenty minutes, yet I began with baths of five minutes, until, by gradual extensions and repeated experiments, I ascertained that fifteen or twenty minutes might generally be given to excited patients with entire impunity, and almost always with marked success. expressions of the attendants as to the effect of these bath are, "I could often trace a decided turn in the cases from one long bath;" " The patients were different men from the moment they took such a bath." Two cases I should have given in evidence, in which the patients said, "But for that bath, I should have been there now." Can it, then, be wonderful that I should have placed, and should continue to place, such great confidence in these long baths? Moreover, it must be remembered that doses and treatment which would be adopted in treating a sane patient, would be idle and utterly unproductive of the slightest good results in cases of mania. In some instances doses of opium and other opiates are constantly prescribed, and with great benefit, for lunatics, which would be at once fatal to the sane patient. The fact is, that there is a principle of resistance in the physical and nervous condition of the lunatic which would often require three times the counter-application requisite for the same patient if sane; but, though I cannot withhold these remarks, as necessary to complete this part of my statement, yet the public will hear with surprise, not only that the showerbath in question has been administered continuously for half an hour to three sane persons (who, in fact, wished to have had it continued for an hour), and without the slightest subsequent inconvenience to them, but I myself have made two experiments with the bath, in one of which I was in it for three-quarters of an hour, and in the other

of which I was in it for a whole hour;—in both instances with a continuous stream of water, and in the later instance in the same manner as it was administered to Dolley, with the exception only, that there was less opening of the door when the bath was taken by me than when it was administered to him. Your attendants also mention several instances in which Dr. Diamond has ordered baths in the Male Department of fifteen or twenty minutes' duration, and in the Female Department (where the bath is much stronger than on the Male side), for twice ten minutes, and also for twenty minutes, notwithstanding his evidence before the Commissioners on the 17th April.\*

Here it may not be inopportune to explain precisely The bath, what is the nature, and what the capability of the bath in the Male Department, and the cistern whence it is supplied. In the inquiry before the Commissioners, it is described by Dr. Diamond thus:—

<sup>\*</sup> The following is an extract from Dr. Diamond's evidence in reference to the length of shower-baths allowed by him:—

Q. What is the duration of time you generally allow for a shower-bath? What is the longest time?

A. About three minutes is a long time. The other day, one of my nurses came to me, and I told her to imagine a patient was in the showerbath, and to give an extra good one; and I watched with my watch in my hand, and found it was ninety seconds.

Q. When you order a shower-bath, do you direct the time for which it is to be imposed?

A. No. I never conclude they will give more than a moderate shower-bath, and I have never had a complaint.

Q. Is it a matter of experience with you that baths of more than a quarter of an hour are ordinarily given?

A. Since this occurrence I have heard so, but my opinion is that the baths ought to be locked up.

Q. Did you ever order a shower-bath in the Male Ward when that department has been under your care?

A. Yes. I have once, and that has been in Mr. Snape's absence. One of his patients knocked out a tooth of one of my patients, and was guilty of violence.

Q. Did you direct how long that person was to be kept in the bath?

A. I did not.

evidence.

- Dr. Diamond's "I have seen the man upon the subject of the Bath, and I find it will take 400 gallons of water, and that it is supplied by a two-and-a-half inch pipe, so that the shock would be tremendous.
  - Q. "What would be the effect of it?
  - A. "There would be a great rush to begin with; and as soon as that was over, it would be kept up by the feed of a two-and-ahalf inch pipe, that comes upon a sort of a perforated plate-a plate with holes in it about as large as my pencil-case.
  - Q. "Would not that come down with a rush upon the head of a person?
  - A. "Yes, it is wonderful what it would be; it is only wonderful how the man could stand under it, and the keepers swore he stood upright—so (describing it)."

Mr. Shields' evidence.

At the examination at Bow-street, Mr. Shields, the engineer, after describing the character of the bath, said, "the depth of the water in the cistern, when full, is eleven inches and a half; and, from a calculation he had made, 618 gallons would fall through the perforated plate at the top in twenty-eight minutes,-that when the door is closed, there is no aperture except by the way the water comes in; and that there is no other opening of any kind except the perforated plate and the perforations in the floor; -that, judging from the outside, the supply-pipe was one inch and a quarter in diameter; and that, after the bath had been in action one minute and three-quarters, its contents diminished from eleven and a half inches depth to four inches depth, at which it remained; and that, in ascertaining the gross amount of water that would fall in the bath during the twenty-eight minutes, the witness did not let it run for that whole time; but, having allowed it to run for seven or eight minutes, he calculated the total quantity that would pass through in the twentyeight minutes."

Measurement of the bath.

In anticipation of the trial I had the bath examined by two very competent civil engineers; and, that there might be no mistake or objection as to the time of its examination, it was examined on the same day of the week-Wednesday-and as nearly as possible at the same hour of the day-half-past ten to eleven-as the day and hour when the bath was administered to Dolley on the 9th April The result of such examination proved the extreme inaccuracy of Dr. Diamond's account, and also important, but I am satisfied unintentional inaccuracies, in Mr. Shields' evidence, as the following results show.

The total contents of the cistern when full are not 400 Inaccuracies gallons, as stated by Dr. Diamond, but 91 gallons; and the ments. total quantity discharged during twenty-eight minutes, by actual test for that period, and not by estimate-was not 618 gallons, as stated by Mr. Shields, but 477 gallons; of which not more than 119 gallons could have passed over the body of Dolley during the twenty-eight minutes, the remainder not touching him; while even of the 119 gallons, it is evident that the larger portion must have been wholly turned off from his body by his two hands, which he placed over his head.

Again, the depth of the water above the valve through which it escapes, and which is two inches above the level of the bottom of the cistern, is at the highest eleven and a half inches, and only one inch and three-quarters in depth after the first two minutes. Further, measuring the fall of water by weight, the total pressure upon Dolley would, after the first two minutes, be less than eleven ounces per second, which, as the weight was not cumulative, properly represents the pressure which he was called upon to resist during the last twenty-six minutes. What is there so wonderful in his being able to bear this?

The gauge of the supply-pipe is not two inches and a half, as statedby Dr. Diamond, but one inch and a quarter only; while, owing to the nearness of the ball-cock to the top of the water, the supply-pipe cannot be opened even

to the full width of one inch. The error as to the minimum depth of the water on the part of Mr. Shields arises, doubtless, from his taking his measurement not from the level of the opening of the valve into the bath, which is the only test, but from the bottom of the bath, which is quite two inches below that opening; and, in the next place, the experiments on behalf of the prosecution were made at a time when, there being little or no demand for water for washing and culinary purposes, there was the greatest supply of water; whereas at the hour when Dolley took the bath there was the lowest average amount of water in the cisterns, all the culinary and cleansing operations being at that hour in the morning going on in the Asylum to the greatest extent; so much so, that on some occasions the cisterns are so low and so nearly emptied in the morning, that the engineer is obliged to pump into them from the well.

Not a heavy bath on male side.

I am, however, quite aware that it has been said—" Say what you like, the bath is a heavy bath; no one can stand by and hear it without knowing that to be a fact." To this I must very respectfully and unhesitatingly say-" No; it is not a heavy bath in the true sense of that expression. I grant that the noise of the falling water, when the string is first pulled, is very great; so is the noise of the ordinary shower-bath; but that noise is no criterion; for it is the sound of the water falling a height of eight feet two inches upon the perforated floor in the empty bath, and during the first minute and three-quarters there is a larger and much heavier fall of water than afterwards, whereas the fall upon the patient is not eight feet two inches, but only two feet six, or thereabouts, and less if a tall man; and the body of water falling after the first two minutes is less than one-fifth of the quantity which is heard rushing down at the first pull of the string.

The correctness of this is best proved by the remark

made by Dr. Bence Jones, on his trying it on behalf of the prosecution, and who, on coming out of it on its first trial, said - "I don't understand that bath; I have a much more powerful one," or words to that effect, evidently meaning that he thought it a very ordinary, and by no means a heavy, one.

"But," says Mr. Shields, "when the door was shut Opening for there were no means for the entry of any air."

Whether or not such means exist depends not upon a passing look at the bath, but actual and close inspection; and my witnesses would have proved distinctly that there are apertures at the bottom, side, and top of the door, equal altogether to seventeen and a half square inches, which would be more than sufficient to let in all required air; and those who consider the question scientifically, well know that not only does a considerable amount of air enter with the falling water, but the falling water actually purifies, and therefore lightens and invigorates, the atmosphere in the closet, by carrying away with it the air and vapour emitted by the patient, either in breathing or from his body.

It has been represented, or rather insinuated, with Temperature an announcement that proof would be afterwards given, of bath, that the 9th of April was a frosty morning, thereby meaning to infer, if anything, that the water on that day was inclemently cold; and I am justified in this conclusion, because I am told that Dr. Bence Jones, in his experiments to establish this point, actually had ice put into the cistern to reduce the temperature of the water.

In reply, I may observe, that the engineers referred to by me would have given satisfactory evidence that the temperature of the water in the supply-pipe and cistern on the 9th April last could not have been less than 55 degs., or "temperate," and probably higher.

But, whether this bath be or be not of an objectionable construction, it has existed during the whole of my residence

as your officer, and, if objectionable, why did not the Commissioners require its alteration? I did suggest to Dr. Diamond the propriety of inserting in the door a square of thick glass, with a view of admitting light; but he told me that he agreed with Dr. Conolly, with whom he had had a conversation on the very same subject a short time previously, in considering that such a change would lessen its value as a remedial agent.\*

Appended to this statement will be found a Selection from Table of Cases. Cases, in which continuous shower-baths, with and without the tartar emetic, have been given, and the results, with extracts from the Case Books, in which the cases themselves recording this treatment are entered, showing that I have again and again openly recorded my opinion as to the value of these conjoint applications. The following are instances:-

Extracts fro Case Book.

"No. 16. Shower-bath twice a day, and tartar emetic mixture 2 oz. (2 grs. ant.) occasionally. Has become quiet and tranquil. The shower-bath with the tartar emetic are remedies which appear most efficacious in subduing cerebral excitement.

* The following is a comparative	statement of the	relative admeas	ure-
ment of the two baths in the Male and Female Departments:			
	Male ward.	Female wa	rd.
Maximum depth of water to top of			
valve	$11\frac{1}{2}$ in	21 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in.	
Minimum ditto	2 in	11¼ in.	
Maximum contents	91 gals	14 <b>9</b> gal	s.
Minimum contents	16 gals	79 gal	S.
Fall of water to footboard	9 ft. 4¼ in	9 ft. 7	in.
he total quantity of water discharged.			
10	Male side.	Female si	de.
Total in Tominutes 477.	gals	620 gal	s.
Amount discharged till the flow be-			
came uniform—namely, 2 minutes			
in male bath, 2½ minutes in female	manufacture and year		
bath	91 gals	, 126 gal	s.
Relative subsequent flow per mi-			
nute	146 gals	19½ gr	ds.

"No. 13. He has had two or three paroxysms of maniacal excitement since last report, for which shower-baths and a draught containing two grains of tartar emetic have been administered with most beneficial effect."

And in reference to the very case of Daniel Dolley, the following entry will be found in the Case Book, under date June, 1853:—

"Has been labouring under maniacal excitement for several weeks past, and is occasionally disposed to be very violent and abusive.—Shower-baths and aperients, with an occasional dose of tartrate of antimony, have been employed with apparent good effect."

See also Nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, 12, 17, 18, and 28, in which special allusion is made to these remedies of a bath and tartar emetic.

The tartar emetic dose consists of from one to two grains Tartar emetic. of tartarized antimony in water—one tablespoonful of water to half a grain. The administration of such doses is repeatedly recorded in the Case Books, as also shown by the annexed tabular statement. It is in frequent use in most other asylums; is recommended in almost every medical work treating upon insanity; and Dr. Conolly, after deprecating bleeding and purgatives, and remarking that there are many recent cases in which sedatives pushed to any extent are generally useless, adds, "a combination of antimony with a sedative is sometimes more efficacious."

The tartarized antimony is administered to act internally in combination with the external and sedative application of the shower-bath, so as to overpower effectually the unnatural and unhealthy excitement of the moment, and is in perfect accordance in its aim with the principle of practice adopted by Dr. Davey, who requires the presence of nausea to perfect the desired remedial result of the shower-bath.

Dr. Diamond, it is true, deprecates the practice of

entrusting to the attendants the tartar emetic for administration, and stated to the Commissioners, that when he went to the Asylum "he stopped that practice."\* I do not for one moment seek to urge the continuance of the practice; but, in self-defence, I must be permitted to state, not only do the attendants in the male department state that Dr. Diamond in my absence replenished their bottles from time to time as a matter of course, with a mixture considerably stronger than my own, but witnesses would also have been produced at my trial, who state distinctly that Dr. Diamond entrusted the attendants of the No. 1 Ward of the female department with bottles of "white-coloured mixture" for occasional use.

Having thus explained the general principles of treatment which I have been acting upon in your Asylum, and the authorities for my so doing, with the result of *eight* years' experience as your officer, I will proceed to the case of Dolley, and the events of the 9th April.

<sup>\* (</sup>Extract from Dr. Diamond's evidence before the Commissioners.)

Q. Do you keep in the wards, in the custody of the attendants, the medicine and the tartar emetic?

A. No; it was a plan which, when I went to the Asylum, I would not adopt, because I thought abuse might arise from it, and I stopped it entirely.

Q. Then now they cannot give any emetic without your knowledge?

A. No; they cannot get at a single draught without coming to me.

Q. Then, on the female side, there are no bottles of medicine left in the charge of the attendants?

A. No.

Q. How much tartar emetic do you think a spoonful of the mixture would contain?

A. Mr. Snape told me he had given a grain and a half, and in his then state two grains. Barnett's words were, he gave him a good emetic.

Q. Do you know the strength of the mixture that is kept in the male wards?

A. No; Mr. Snape told me he had given a grain and a half.

Q. Do you consider two grains to be a strong dose?

A. I do; but I think they would bear two grains.

Daniel Dolley was a mole-catcher, a native of Ash, in Case of Dolley. the county of Surrey. Before his insanity, he was a remarkably hale man, and in the frequent habit of walking fifty miles a day. Insanity, which was in Dolley's family, first exhibited itself in him about twenty years ago: he was kept at home a few years by his friends, and then placed in a lunatic asylum at Hoxton, whence, in 1850, he was brought to Wandsworth, having, according to the entry His first in the Case Book, been then a lunatic about ten years, and admission. being described as "of very good bodily health," "imbecile," but "dangerous to others." Shower-baths were used as part of his treatment, and are mentioned in the Case Book to have been given, in conjunction with tartrate of antimony, "with apparent good effect," in June, 1853, as already alluded to. In August, 1855, he was discharged Discharged cured.

On quitting the Asylum he soon relapsed, and was again admitted on the 13th of the following month, September, Second 1855, and a special communication made—" That he had admission. Special note. seriously threatened several persons in the parish of Ash, and had forcibly entered some houses, to the great alarm of the people in the neighbourhood." This entry is also in strict accordance with his conduct when previously in the Asylum, when, on two occasions, he had wounded the attendants,-viz., the attendant Davies, whom he stabbed Attacks the behind the ear with a nail, and the attendant Stocks, whose arm he attempted to tear up with a piece of glass or iron.

From the entries in the Case Book respecting Dolley since his second admission,—the whole of which I do not set out, as they are accessible to you, -it appears that, being Shower-bath noisy, excited, and very annoying in his conduct to the and emetic other patients, he had a shower-bath and an emetic on the administered, oct. 1855. 6th October last (1855). That bath was of fifteen minutes duration. Again, in March (four weeks before his death), The like, March 1856.

Shower-bath, 2nd April, 1856.

he had a shower bath, which was of fifteen minutes' duration, accompanied by a dose of the emetic; and on the 2nd April (one week before his death) he had another shower-bath, which was of twenty minutes' duration, but unaccompanied by a dose. Dolley had, in fact, frequent baths, though not always recorded, the administration of a bath being of ordinary occurrence when any excessive cerebral excitement existed. From the time of giving the bath of the 13th March to the day of his death Dolley had been in a continuous state of maniacal excitement, and the bath of the 2nd April only partially relieved him, for the excitement again came on, and on the morning of the 9th had considerably increased, accompanied by acts of violence. On entering the wards at ten o'clock that morning to go my rounds, the attendant Barnett reported to me, that Dolley had been very excited since he got up; that he had kicked one patient named Copeland, had been abusive to others, and was very noisy. Thereupon I called Dolley to me, when he became very abusive and threatening; I then said to him, "Come this way, Dolley," and proceeded to unlock a door leading into the ward adjoining the showerbath room, for the purpose of administering to him a bath. While I was in the act of opening the door, and after I had used the expression, "Come this way, Dolley," he hit me a very violent blow on the back of my head and ran away; the attendant Barnett ran after him, and Dolley turned round and kicked him in a dangerous part. Thus, on that morning, he had committed three assaults, and had been threatening and abusive to every one, - after having been for a period of four weeks in a state of unusual excitement. Davis, another attendant, then came in and closed in upon him, and Barnett having blown his whistle, the attendant Ibberson came up, and Dolley was brought after me into the bath-room.

9th April.

Originally, it was asserted that I ordered a shower bath The bath because I had been struck. Nothing can be clearer, how-the blow. ever, than that the blow was given AFTER I had shown by my expression, "Come this way, Dolley," coupled with the action of proceeding to unlock the door leading towards the bath-room, that I was about to administer a treatment which he had frequently, and only a week before, received. Why did I proceed to open that door, and tell Dolley to come after me, if it were not that I was going with him to the bath? and why did I wish him to accompany me thither if I did not purpose administering it to him? The counsel for the prosecution at the inquiry at Bow-street, at once abandoned the notion that the intention to give the bath was posterior to the blow, and accounted for the blow by Dolley's dislike of the bath, and his knowledge that I was about to put him into one.

The attendants having assisted Dolley to undress, he said, "D- you, let me go to the farm to work." I replied, "Go into the bath quietly;" he then walked into the bath, whereupon the bar was put down, and the door thereby fastened. The other attendants quitted the room, leaving Barnett alone with me. I then said, "Pull the string," meaning the pulley which let down the water. The string having been pulled, and the bath commenced, I made the remark, "I never was struck by a patient before since I have been in the Institution;" and then, after a pause of about a minute, I said, "Keep him in half-anhour;" to which Barnett replied, "I have not my watch in my pocket-if you will tell Davies when the time expires I will thank you." I then said to Barnett, " Look in upon him several times." I remained in the bath-room very nearly five minutes, which would be some time after the cistern was emptied to its lowest contents, of one inch and three-quarters in depth, and then left, having directed Barnett to give Dolley "a good dose of the lightcoloured mixture," by which expression he would know I meant four table-spoonsfull (or two grains of the tartar-emetic.)

I believe the foregoing to be substantially an accurate description of all that passed between Barnett and myself in directing the treatment to be administered, except only that I am not certain whether the observation as to the blow was made before or after I had ordered the half-hour; certainly, I was most astounded to find how unjustifiably and cruelly my language had been misused against me—at whose suggestion I know not—on the inquiry by the Commissioners of Lunacy.

That treatment not vindictive.

Of course I can give no demonstrative and conclusive proof on the subject; but I pledge my word as a Christian and a gentleman, that the remark, "that I never was struck by a patient before," (but which, it turns out, was not an actual fact, though I at the time thought so) was uttered only as an exclamation, implying that the patient must have been most unusually excited to act so insubordinately, inasmuch as the patients, being all paupers, are usually most respectful; and I therefore, after deliberating, considered it necessary to meet such unusual excitement, in a man whom I knew to be dangerous when excited, by stronger treatment than I had previously applied. It is a most unfounded insinuation, and most untrue statement, to say that I in the slightest degree prescribed the treatment ordered even as a punishment, still less that I was influenced by a spirit of retaliation or revenge in so prescribing.

Nor as a punishment.

Solely remedial.

As a remedial treatment—and a remedial treatment alone—I ordered the extension of the bath (which he had had on previous occasions for twenty minutes) to thirty minutes, accompanying this direction with a special injunction to Barnett "to look at him several times," of course to watch the effect of the bath, and to guard against any ill results.

For what other motive could I have had for giving the injunction thus to look at him?

Every attendant present at any portion of the scene of Evidence as to the 9th of April, who was interrogated on the subject, as from anger. well as the attendant Davies, who has not been examined in public, bears the strongest expressible testimony that I showed no anger and betrayed no ill feeling against Dolley on account of the blow.

Barnett's language on this point at Bow-street was as follows:—

"I was asked by the Commissioners, 'Now, don't you believe that this bath was administered as a punishment, and not for the purpose of allaying excitement?' To which I replied, 'I do not believe it was administered as a punishment.'

"When Mr. Snape said he had not been struck by a patient before, it was said in a very mild tone, and not with any appearance of anger.

"There was no appearance in Mr. Snape to show that he was in any way acting towards Dolley revengefully."

The attendant, Ibberson, when interrogated by the Commissioners, says, "he thinks the long baths were not administered as punishments;" and, in reply to questions, says, that "I was not excited in my manner,"—"that I did not appear angry."

The other attendant, Davies, would speak to the like effect.

Is it, therefore, matter of surprise that the Grand Jury ignored the bill, and wholly acquitted me of the slightest vindictive motive, without which there was no pretence for the prosecution?

To continue the narrative.

Pending the administering of the bath, Barnett opened the door five times to look at Dolley, and each time opened it at least eighteen inches wide, being otherwise unable to look round it at the patient, without loosening the string, and thus stopping the bath, on each occasion. Dolley might,

had he chosen, have easily walked out of the bath; but he NEVER tried or asked to come out, but stood upright with his face towards the side of the bath, so as to receive the smallest amount of water, and with his two hands over his head, so as to turn off the greater portion of the stream which even fell upon him. Barnett says distinctly, that " if he had appeared distressed he should have let him out of the bath before the thirty minutes had expired;" and that he understood my directions to him, "to look at him several times," were for that very purpose. At the end of twenty-eight minutes Davies came in, and the door being then open, Dolley was told to come out, which he did unassisted; the attendants then gave him a towel, and after he had partially dried himself, they further wiped and rubbed him, and helped him to dress himself. Barnett, in reply to the Commissioners' inquiry, "Was it your opinion that the duration of the bath was too long?" said,-

Dolley's acts after the bath.

> "He did not show any symptoms of distress. I had given him a bath on that day week, and he walked out *just the same* on this occasion as he did on that. I did not see any difference when he walked out and I rubbed him dry."

### And, at Bow-street, the same witness says,-

"I did not observe anything unusual in Dolley when he came out of the bath; he did not shiver more than is usually the case."

Dolley then walked into the adjoining room, to complete his dressing, and warm himself by the fire. He seated himself in a chair near the fire; and the attendant Barnett, when asked whether he shivered very much, replied, "Yes, they all appear to shiver, if it is only for five minutes; he only appeared as they all usually do." Barnett then proceeded to pour out the dose, four table-spoonfuls, in a small tin vessel used for that purpose, and presented it to Dolley to drink. Dolley took it without

any hesitation, and, immediately after emptying the tin, spat out the contents of his mouth into the fireplace. Barnett says, he spat out a considerable portion of the whole -probably the whole, for he squirted out the whole contents of his mouth into the fire. Up to this time Dolley presented the usual appearance, and had spoken both to the attendant Pinneger, and also to a patient who offered him a piece of bread to eat, thanking him, but declining it.

He then got up close to the fire, but the attendant removed him further back, and helped him to put his socks on.

On the attendant Pinneger re-entering the room, which His death. he had left for a minute or so, Barnett having gone to fetch a pair of shoes for Dolley, he saw Dolley drawn up, sitting in the chair, with his head right back, his mouth and eyes open, and his cheeks tight; he was not at all convulsed in his limbs. He and the attendant Ibberson say, it seemed more like a fit than anything else. He was then taken to a bed, and there died before I could arrive.

I mentioned what had occurred to Dr. Diamond shortly after the death, when he replied, "Depend upon it, he died of a diseased heart." The next day, Thursday, the 10th, Dr. Diamond and his son, with myself, had a post-mortem examination of the body, the report upon Post-mortem which is in the Case Book. Upon examining the heart, it examination. appeared to me a flabby heart, the general accompaniment of fatty degeneration; and there was a thickening of the valves of the aorta, and of the mitral valve. Being satisfied myself that the heart was diseased, further examination seemed to me needless; and no inspection of the abdomen and lower parts of the body was made by Dr. Diamond or his son. After quitting the dead-house Dr. Diamond said to me, in reply to my inquiry as to the cause of death, "I should say to the Coroner there was a large flabby heart, exhibiting strong evidence of a languid

circulation; that the valves were diseased, and that, in fact, the man had just such a heart where you would expect sudden death to arise;" adding, that his opinion was that such death was accelerated by the bath. In reply, I admitted that it might be so, or it might have been produced by the previous long and extreme cerebral excitement. I then returned the key of the dead-house to Sandey, who prepared the body for interment, by putting it into a shroud; and on Tuesday, the 15th, it was taken away and buried.

His actions during and after the bath inconsistent with its

Had the trial proceeded, I was prepared with medical evidence to show that all these acts of Dolley, during and subsequently to the bath, -his original upright position in causing death the bath with both arms up, and his hands upon his head, a remarkably trying position—his quitting the bath without assistance—his using the towel in the first instance alone his helping to dress himself-his walking into the adjoining room-his speaking to the attendant and to the patient -and his getting up to go closer to the fire, -were conclusive evidences against the notion that the bath produced suffocation or prostration and syncope. Had such been the operation of the bath, decided symptoms would have exhibited themselves in the bath itself, and he could not possibly have performed those acts of vitality and energy which he thus did unaided and unassisted.

The tartar emetic not the

High medical evidence also would have been given that cause of death. the dose of tartar-emetic, even had it been all swallowed, assuming it to be two grains of tartar-emetic, was not sufficient to explain his death; whereas it is perfectly clear that he certainly did not take all the dose, and that very probably he swallowed none, or, at the most, only a very small portion.

> The question which presents itself therefore is, What was the cause of his death, if the acts of Dolley after the bath are inconsistent with the assertion that that fatally over

powered him, and if the dose of tartar-emetic taken was insufficient to cause his death? The answer is, fatty dege- Fatty degeneneration of the heart. Such, at least, was the deliberate heart the cause opinion of De Dabing n, Dr. Quain, and Dr. Ormerod, of death. three of the first physicians of the day, and all of who were prepared to express that opinion at the trial.

On Friday, the 11th, the anonymous letter which, as Proceedings you are aware, led to the subsequent proceedings by Commissioners. against me, was written to the Commissioners; on Saturday, the 12th, the Inquest was held; and on Monday, the 14th, Mr. Forster, the Secretary of the Commissioners, wrote to me for particulars of Dolley's case. Such letter was received by me on the 15th, when I immediately sent a copy of the case as entered in the Case Book.

On Thursday, the 17th, Dr. Diamond had his interview 17th April with Mr. Paget and Mr. Hancock, and afterwards the Commissioners held their inquiry upon the case; and on Saturday, the 19th, Mr. Forster forwarded to you minutes of the evidence taken on such inquiry, with the letter of that day's date, to which I need not advert.

The result of the whole was, that criminal proceedings Prosecution were instituted against me. I was (I admit, necessarily and instituted. properly, under such a state of circumstances) suspended from my office, and thus put upon my defence to meet a prosecution for manslaughter, with my own most slender purse, against the Commissioners of Lunacy and the exhaustless purse of the public.

Early in the proceedings consequent upon the decision Dr. Diamond of the Commissioners, my Solicitors, Messrs. Few and Co., heart without applied to their Solicitor, Mr. Law, to consent to an appli- my knowledge. cation to the Secretary of State for an authority to exhume the body; in reply to which, Mr. Law forwarded Messrs. Few a copy of a letter the Commissioners had received from Dr. Diamond, which was as follows:-

"Surrey County Lunatic Asylum, NEAR WANDSWORTH, May 17th, 1856.

"Gentlemen,—In compliance with Mr. Law's wish, I beg to inform you that the circumstances connected with the removal of Dolley's heart are as follows:—

"On Monday morning, the 14th of April, my son, by my direction, brought me the heart, which I was anxious, for my own satisfaction, and with a view to form a correct judgment, to examine with more minuteness than I had previously had an opportunity of doing. I did examine it on that day, and kept it until the Thursday, on which day I met the Reverend J. B. Reade, Vicar of Stone, near Aylesbury, and Chaplain to the Bucks Asylum, in company with Mr. Waterhouse, one of the Visiting Justices of the York Asylum, to whom I communicated what I had done. Mr. Reade advised me to show it to Mr. Paget, which I did: I also showed it to Mr. Hancock.

"In consequence of a suggestion of Mr. Paget, I on the following day submitted portions of it to the microscope, which portions I have retained. The heart itself having become very offensive, I on Saturday evening, the 19th instant, covered it with ashes and burnt it in my surgery fire.

"It did not at the time occur to me that I was violating any rule, and I regret extremely if I have done so.

"I am, &c., (Signed) "Hugh W. Diamond."

Comment upon such a proceeding by a member of my own profession, and my fellow-officer in your Asylum, is superfluous. Why did not Dr. Diamond mention to me at the time his desire to further examine the heart? Why did he never mention to me or to the Commissioners, on the 17th of April, what he had done, and whom he had consulted—particularly when they asked him, "Have you anything more that you wish to communicate?" His answer to which was, "No, I am not aware that I have."

Dolley's heart, its condition. Mr. Paget and Mr. Hancock both gave evidence at Bowstreet; but on examining the evidence, it will be found, as must of necessity have been the case, that those gentlemen merely expressed an opinion upon the condition of the valves of the heart and the tendinous chords. Indeed, Mr. Paget's suggestion that the residue of the heart should be subjected to examination by the microscope—the only practical mode of determining whether or not fatty degeneration existed—proves that he assumed such might have existed, and that without such an examination it was impossible to pronounce whether or not the heart was fatally diseased.

Dr. Diamond says he examined it with a microscope on the following day (the 18th April); and it is admitted Too decomby that gentleman, in his evidence at Bow-street, that posed to be examined on on the next evening (Saturday, the 19th) the heart was the 18th April. in such a putrid state as to be detected by its stench on entering his surgery, and he accordingly then burnt it. Thus, the examination of the heart could only have taken place thirty-six hours before it was perfectly putrid; and both Dr. Ormerod and Dr. Quain were prepared to state distinctly that an examination of the heart a week after death is "utterly valueless;" and instances would have been adduced by those gentlemen establishing the fact that the lapse of sixty hours, and even thirty-six hours after death, has been found too much to determine the state of the heart, as its texture is peculiarly open to change by decomposition. Moreover, it requires a "well-practised" eye to detect the existence of fatty degeneration.

Yet, on the other hand, both those last-named physicians state equally distinctly and positively, proving their assertions by cases in the books, that fatty degeneration often Fatty degen exists without betraying the slightest detectable external ration not discoverable symptoms during life, and without in the least diminishing during life. the full powers of action and energy of the patient until the very moment of death.

From the principles laid down in Mr. Paget's well-known treatise on Nutrition, Hypertrophy, and Atrophy, I am

perfectly satisfied that he would upon examination have entirely concurred with Dr. Quain and Dr. Ormerod; and probably these three names are the names most intimately associated with the disease of "fatty degeneration of the heart" in modern times.

state of excitement.

It will be remembered that Dolley had been in an Dolley's long increasing state of maniacal excitement for a month previously to the 9th, and that on that morning he had from first getting up at six o'clock till half-past ten been in a very and unusually excited state, extending to three distinct acts of violence. Death by "prostration," as it is called, after fits of excitement, is the frequent end of mania. In one of the best modern asylums,-Dr. Sudden deaths Bucknill's, of Exminster,—these sudden deaths have been from fatty de- investigated, and I should have proved by Dr. Quain, who inspected and reported upon them, that in every such case subjected to his investigation fatty degeneration of the heart decidedly existed, and was the primary cause of death, though the moving and secondary cause was most probably, in the generality of the cases, CEREBRAL EXCITEMENT.

of lunatics generation of the heart.

> "Death by prostration" I regard as a most inaccurate and unscientific phrase, and I doubt not that, on further investigation, death from "fatty degeneration of the heart" will be found and accepted as the only explanation of sudden death of lunatics so frequently occurring in asylums after violent fits of excitement; and Mr. Paget expressly remarks in his Lectures, that "mania" is primarily and powerfully conducive in bringing on and maturing this disease.

Reference to Dr. Todd and Mr. C. Hawkins by the Commissioners.

After the discovery of this dealing with the heart, or shortly before, the Commissioners referred the whole subject to Dr. Todd and Mr. Cæsar Hawkins to advise them on the case, and on the course they should pursue; whereupon, both those gentlemen, after considering the materials placed before them by the Commissioners, made a Report

entirely adverse to all proceedings against me, and expressed an unhesitating opinion that there was no ground for the in my favour. threatened prosecution. Such, I am assured, was the tenor of the reference and its result; but the actual Report I have never seen.

Yet, strange as it may appear, the Commissioners of Its repudiation Lunacy wholly ignored this Report of their own selected by Commisreferees, instead of doing, as I submit they ought to have sioners. done-viz., transmit it to you, leaving it to you to carry on, as Visitors, an investigation into the general question of continuous shower-baths, and retire from further adverse proceedings against me, completely acquitted, as they would have been, from all personal responsibility to the public by the joint opinion of such men as Dr. Todd and Mr. C. Hawkins.

How can such a proceeding be in accordance with a sense Not justifiable. of justice, and what chance could so humble an individual as myself have against such prosecutors - armed, too, with the public purse? Why did they ask the advice of these two highly-gifted gentlemen, if they did not mean to follow it? and how can they justify its disregard and the further proceedings against me?

The sequel is known to all. As there were only seven days between my committal at Bow-street and the July Sessions, it was evidently impossible that either party could prepare for trial in so short a time. It was, therefore, mutually agreed that the trial should be postponed to the August Sessions; but when August arrived, because their leading Counsel was absent-not from the absence of an delays. important witness—the Commissioners refused to proceed until his return, and thus subjected me to another month's suspense. When September arrived, the Grand Jury concluded the legal proceedings by ignoring the Bill-an act Bill thrown of simple justice to myself. Yet, though thus acquitted out. from even a primá facie case, I am left to defray expenses

almost ruinous in amount, but which were unavoidably incurred to prove my innocence, and to defend myself against an attack which, from the beginning to the end, has been originated and conducted, so far as the acts of the prosecutors themselves are concerned, with a spirit and in a manner which it is most difficult to reconcile with a mere dry performance of a public but painful act of duty.

Results of foregoing. I trust it will be acknowledged that, by the foregoing statement, I have established the following positions:—

> That the evidence adduced justifies as perfectly safe practice continuous shower-baths of fifteen or twenty minutes to lunatic patients, if otherwise of sound health.

> That the extension of the duration of the bath—from twenty to thirty minutes—was, under the state of the patient, justified by my previous practice, taking into consideration the facts, that the patient was a dangerous patient, and that the attendant was specially instructed to look in upon him several times during the bath; and, therefore, that the treatment of Dolley in this respect was justifiable in itself.

That it is clear that the order for the bath was given before I received the blow, and that there is no evidence whatever to infer that the duration of the bath was extended as a punishment, or from vindictive motives.

That, on the contrary, all the evidence presented acquits me of any such unworthy and improper motives, and that my previous career in your Asylum is wholly inconsistent with harshness or irritability.

That the acts of the deceased during and subsequent to the bath negative the belief that the bath was the primary cause of his death.

That, so far as the evidence goes, the great probability is that Dolley swallowed only a very small portion, if any, of the dose of tartar emetic administered.

That there is no evidence, or even reason, to believe that such dose was the cause of his death.

That there is every reason to believe that his death arose from fatty degeneration of the heart as the primary cause, of the existence of which I could have had no necessary or even attainable knowledge previously to his decease, and from his previous extreme cerebral excitement as the secondary cause.

To conclude. If I have not wearied you by the various Reliance on details and remarks I have been compelled to crowd into the Visitors for protection. so short a compass,—though, I fear, in itself too long,—I trust I may be permitted to call for that protection from you as Visitors of the Asylum, on which alone I must now rest. Though your great duty is to protect the inmates of your Asylum from all injury, positive or negative, on the part of the Officers of the Institution, yet, on the other hand, those Officers look to you for protection if they are unfairly and oppressively assailed.

In this latter category surely I now stand.

Acting upon a successful practice of several years, I proceeded, in a case of extreme excitement, to extend the principle of a practice, the soundness of which principle had been proved by unexceptional success, but at the same time gave special precautions to guard against any evil consequences to arise from such extension. My directions were obeyed; and both to the eye of the experienced attendant, and, in the opinion of medical men of high standing no evil result betrayed itself, or exhibited any symptoms of existence from such extension of an established practice.

Reasons for so doing.

Yet, because death ensues in a case subjected to treatment (which has never failed before) with only a slight increase, I am summoned to defend myself upon the accusation of an anonymous writer, and, instead of the investigation taking place at once-instead of my having an opportunity of saying one word in self-defence or explanation—an order is issued by the Commissioners of Lunacy to prosecute me for manslaughter; and I am obliged either to forego all defence to the charge, and be thus ruined, as a medical man, or to defend myself against the charge with the like certain result that the expenses to be incurred must be to me equally ruinous. Six weary months are dragged on in bringing matters to a conclusion: in the midst I am encouraged by the information that the two Referees named by the Commissioners to investigate the transaction have, even upon the case submitted by the Commissioners, exonerated me from the charge brought against me-but my hope that at last I shall receive justice is dissipated by the announcement that the prosecution is, nevertheless, to go forward-and when prepared, to bring before the public evidence upon oath in rebuttal of the charges made, in every particular, the Grand Jury, like the Commissioners' Referees, again pronounce my acquittal and throw out the Bill.

Thus I come before you—twice acquitted, yet required to prove again—but without the means of enforcing the attendance of witnesses, and of examining them upon oath—that I was wholly free from the serious charges made or implied against me; while the long delay of six months, which has taken place since the inquiry of the Commissioners, and during which I have been forbidden to offer the slightest denial to, or explanation of, the charges made, but compelled by the expectation of a public trial to be tongue-tied, has given an opportunity to the fabrication and reiteration throughout the journals of the day—and

through society at large—of the gravest perversion of the facts and unmeasured condemnation of the alleged ill-treatment on my part, coupled with the assumption that I was unable to meet the charges, and thus had had through the act of the Grand Jury an unexpected and most unmerited escape.

If on the 8th April I had announced to the public my practice of the previous five years, I should have probably received from my colleagues-not condemnation, but high approval; and "continuous baths" would then have been recognised as one of the "fresh resources" so desired to be possessed by the practitioner for the cure of disease of the brain; in the same manner as Dr. Elliotson has, during the late summer, advocated doses of antimony for the cure of croup, which previously would have been treated as monstrous and absurd. But because a patient recorded in your books as a "dangerous patient," dies on the 9th of April from fatty degeneration of the heart, brought to a fatal crisis by a month's unusual cerebral excitement, and because I, induced by this extraordinary excitement, had increased his ordinary bath by ten minutes, it is insisted by an anonymous accuser that the treatment alone, and not the previous state of the heart, killed the patient; and the Commissioners accordingly adopt that view, notwithstanding the fact that, upon the post-mortem examination, no direct cause of death could be detected, unless I am right in asserting that the heart was diseased.

With you the verdict rests—and I venture to submit to you that in such an investigation, throwing aside the popular outcry which the one-sided version has not unnaturally raised, if it be only fairly probable that Dolley did die from fatty degeneration of the heart, and the long previous state of cerebral excitement, I am fully entitled to receive at your hands that protection and that acquittal which I ask. But if, on the other hand, the opinions of

such men as Dr. Babington, Dr. Quain, and Dr. Ormerod, are to be disregarded, and the death of Dolley is to be, per force, attributed to the treatment administered, what Medical Superintendent possessed of ordinary caution will hereafter attempt to promote the knowledge of remedial treatment of mania, or venture to depart from the beaten track of past experience, knowing that, at all events, such a system has been proved to be safe, though it may not cure?

CHARLES SNAPE.

## POSTSCRIPT.

Since the preparation of the foregoing, my attention has been directed to circumstances which have occurred in the Asylum during the residence of Dr. French, who has acted as Superintendent of the Male Department since my suspension in May last, and which corroborate in a remarkable degree the soundness of the principle of treatment I have so long acted upon, and which I have in the foregoing statement attempted to justify and maintain. It appears that Dr. French, when first appointed, alarmed very naturally by my then position before the public, wholly refrained from using the shower-bath from the date of his appointment to the 14th of August last, a period of three months, but used the plunge-bath in its stead. Subsequently to that time he has reverted to the use of continuous shower-baths, for periods ranging from ten to twenty-one minutes, in cases of violent excitement; which have been followed by the most marked beneficial results. In proof whereof, it can be shown that while in the three months prior to the 14th August, when the shower-bath was not in use, there were five deaths from cerebral excitement, there has not, during the subsequent three months, in which the shower-bath has been in use, been one death from that cause - a result which Dr. French wholly attributes to the soothing effects of continuous showerbaths.

The following extract from the Case Book, of the treatment of a patient, by Dr. French, further supports the correctness of the opinions entertained, not by myself only, but by Dr. Conolly and Dr. Davey, that the shower-bath when administered in cases of extreme excitement for

ordinary or short periods positively *increases* the excitement, while the longer bath is *most* beneficial, it having been in that case found that the bath of *eight* minutes greatly increased the excitement, though a subsequent bath of twenty-one minutes entirely calmed the patient, and was followed by five hours' refreshing sleep, since which he has been perfectly tranquil up to this date.

## "J. R.-No. 456 in Case Book.

"Aug. 15, 1856.—Profuse state of excitement; ordered a shower-bath of fourteen minutes, well dried, and put to bed; he seemed to bear it very well; pulse 75.

"Oct. 27.—Has again become very violent. Having seen the effects of the former bath, gave him another one for twenty minutes, which did not appear to distress him. Aperient mixture.

"Oct. 29.—Still continues much excited and violent; a showerbath for eight minutes.

"Nov. 1.—Still continues fearfully excited and violent; gave him a shower-bath for twenty-one minutes, which did not distress him in the slightest, but produced a most refreshing sleep for the space of five hours. I took a particular interest in this case, and he was constantly visited.

"Nov. 5.—The most beneficial effects have resulted from the last bath up to the present period."

C. S.

Nov. 11, 1856.

SELECTION FROM CASES

In which Shower Baths and Tartrate of Antimony have been administered to Patients under Mr. Snape's care, and Extracts from Medical Case Books in support of the Treatment and its Effects.

1			
Result to Patient, 1856.	In Asylum.	In Asylum.	
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	29th Sept., 1841. Admitted. 22nd Dec., 1854. Remains unchanged; suffers occasionally from attacks of maniacal excitement, during which he is disposed to be mischievous and violent to others. Shower-bath and	lst March, 1856. Admitted.  14th June, 1854. He is subject to occasional attacks of maniacal excitement, with a disposition to be violent to others. Shower-baths and	tartar emetic mixture have been found beneficial. 1848. Re-admitted.
Extracts	29th Sep 22nd Dec	1st Marc 14th Jun	16th Dec., 1848.
When followed by Tartrate of Antimony, the Quantity.	1½ and 2 grains	1½ and 2 grains	
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	15 or 20	15 or 20	20
Age of Patient on Entry.	About 60	22	51
No.	н	61	60

Result to Patient, 1856.			Cured.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.		with advantage.  He continues to have periodical attacks of excitement, during which he is disposed to be violent in his conduct. Shower-baths, with the mix. ant. tart., are sometimes found beneficial.	Mix. tar. ant. 3 tablespoonfuls every 3 hours. Broke windows; excited; shower-bath; continue ant. potass. tart. Admitted.
Extracts from Cas	6th June, 1853. 17th March, 1849. 9th Jan., 1854.	20th Dec., 1855.	7th " " 2nd Feb., 1852.
When followed by Tartrate of Antimony, the Quantity.	1½ and 2 grains	11 ortony 3 houns	2 grains
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	15 or 20	15 on 90	20
Age of Patient on Entry.	61	40	26
No.	4 10	10	9

Result to Patient, 1856.			Cured.	
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	Conducted himself in a violent and noisy manner; shower-bath and a large dose of tart, emetic; promised betterbehaviour for the future.  Made attacks upon those around him with a knife.  A shower-bath and a grain and half of tart, emetic every six hours; gruel diet; to be kept under strict surveillance.	in No. 3 Day-room.  Is perfectly rational in his conductand conversation, and, at his urgent request, the medicine and shower-bath have been	ordered to be discontinued.  Broke windows. Admitted. Ant. tart.	Shower-bath.  To have shower-bath every morning.
Extracts from Careferen	4th Feb., 1852.	23rd Feb., 1855.	28th Oct., 1853. 3rd April, 1852. 7th ,, ,,	9th " "
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.			2 grains	
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.		5	15 or 20	Appendix.
Age of Patient on Entry.		=	22	100
No.		•	-	

Result to Patient, 1856.	Same	Cured.	In Asylum.		Cured.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	Re-admitted. Abusive and destructive of his clothing, when an occasional shower-bath is	given. Admitted. Shower-bath and tart.	Shower-bath. [N.B. This patient imputed his recovery to the shower-bath.] Admitted. He continues to labour	or it. dait.	Admitted. Tart. Anty.
Extracts from Case reference	9th Jan., 1854. 20th Feb., ",	3rd May, 1852. 5th May, ",	7th ", ", 20th July, 1852. 15th June, 1853.	1041 T. T. 10EE	30th July, 1852. 31st " "
When followed by Tartrate of Antimony, the Quantity.		2 grains	$1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 grains		1 grain
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	13 4 3	20	15		20
Age of Patient on Entry.	\$1 F	40	58		28
No.	-3	∞	6		10

Result to Patient, 1856.	T	Cured.	In the Asylum.		Beerly Career
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.		27th Nov., 1852. Admitted.  5th April, 1853. A shower-bath has been given on two or three occasions with apparent benefit.	29th Nov., 1852. Admitted. 29th March, 1854. Has been labouring under maniacal excitement, with a disposition to be violent to others, for several weeks past. The shower-bath, with an occasional dose of mix	tart. ant., together with purgatives, have been employed with the greatest advantage.  Excitement; the same remedies have been employed with marked	Dec., 1855. He continues to have
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.		Nil 2	2 grains 2	- 67	Michael Control of the
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.		Not known	20		The Party of the P
Age of Patient on Entry.		58	41		
No.	4	11	12		

Result to Patient, 1856.	In the Asylum.	Cured.	Transition of the second	Cured.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	occasional attacks of periodical excitement, which have been treated as heretofore.  Admitted. Bath and emetic. He has had two or three paroxysms of maniacal excitement since last report (22nd Dec.), for which shower-baths and a draught containing two	grains of tartar emetic have been administered with most beneficial effect. Admitted. Shower-bath every morn-	rted. r-bath en occ	Admitted. Shower-bath and emetic. Slightly excited and violent. Shower-bath twice a day, with emetic.
Extracts from Cas	16th July, 1853. 29th Nov., ", 10th June, 1854.	6th Aug., 1853. 23rd " "	7th Feb., 1854. 14th March, ",	23rd March, 1854. 25th May, ", 29th June, ",
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.	2 grains		Not stated	4 grains
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	50		20	20
Age of Patient on Entry.	21	. 64	56	37
No.	13	14	15	16

Result to Patient, 1856.	Still in Asylum.	Anter to Conta
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	Repeat bath and mixture. Excitement. Shower- bath twice a day, and tartar emetic mixture, 2oz. (2 grains anty.) occa- sionally.  Has become quiet and tranquil. The shower- bath, with the tartar emetic, are remedies which appear most effi- cacious in subduing cere- bral excitement. He is now employed in his trade. Relapse. Shower-bath morning; warm bath night. Tartar emetic mixture (2 grains to a dose) occasionally. Shower-bath, warm-bath continued, with morphia. Remedies repeated. Admitted. Shower-bath every morn- ing; warm bath every	Shower-bath and warm
Extracts from Case reference	10th Aug., 1854. 14th June, "," 20th June, 1854. 29th ", ", 12th Dec., ", 19th April, 1854. 2nd Oct., ",	5th Dec., "
When followed by Tartrate of Antimony, the Quantity.	1½ and 2 grains	
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	50	
Age of Patient on Entry.	34	
No.	17	

Result to Patient, 1856.		In the Asylum.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	bath, with tartar emetic, are prescribed with advantage.  Occasionally labours under great maniacal excitement. Shower-bath; occasionally blistering liquid to the back of neck. Highly excited. Tartar emetic 2 oz. occasionally, and shower-bath.  He continues to labour under a good deal of erebral excitement, which appears to be much subduedby a good strong shower-bath and warm bath, and morphia at bedtime. Castor-oil occasionally.  Much more tranquil and composed.  Excited and violent; shower-bath & tart. ant.	Remedies continued. Admitted.
Extracts from Cas	25th Jan., 1855. 5th Jan., ", 10th July, ", 1st Aug., ", 25th Sept., ",	10th Oct., ", 16th Jan., ",
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.		2 grains
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.		2
Age of Patient on Entry.		41
No.		18

ant,			/	ij		
Result to Patient, 1856.			Cured.	In the Asylum.	Cured.	
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	29th March, 1855. Shower-bath and tart. ant. occasionally. Shower-bath every morning, and tart. ant. mix. 2 oz. (2 grs. a dose) occasionally; warm bath at night.	Repeat. Repeat shower-bath and tart. emetic.	Continue. Admitted. Shower-bath occasionally. Warm bath every night	in addition.  Admitted.  Excited; shower-bath and tart. emetic (2 grs.).		
Extracts from Cas	29th March, 1857 29th May, ",	21st June, ", 16th ", "	25th ", ", 23rd Jan., 1854. 24th ", ", 26th ", ",		2nd Feb., 1856. 31st July, 1852. 31st """ 2nd Aug., "	5th Oct., "27th Jan., 1849. 15th Sept., 1850.
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.			Nil	2 grains	1½ grains	2 grains
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.			15	20	20	20
Age of Patient on Entry.		1	19	45	46	About 28
No.			19	20	21	22

Result to Patient, 1856.			Cured.	Dead.	Cured.	
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	attendant this afternoon. Shower-bath every morning. Mix. ant. 2 oz. (2 gr. dose). Occasionally violent.—Sometimes has a shower-	Occasionally excited and violent. Shower-baths, with the tartar emetic mixture, are the reme-	dnes employed. Admitted. Shower-bath every morn-	Admitted. Excited, and violent to others; shower-bath and	morphia. Repeat bath; emetic occasionally. Admitted. Tart. ant. Shower-bath every morn-	ing, and morphia every night.
Extracts from Cas	June, 1851.	14th June, 1855.	7th July, " 31st ", "	30th ", " 1st Aug., "	8th " " 24th Aug. " 8th Sept., " 22nd " "	
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.		Minus C		Not stated.	Ditto	
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	9		15 or 20	15 or 20	20	
Age of Patient on Entry.	= 1	2	19	37	33	
No.	N. F	3	23	24	25.	

Result to Patient, 1856.	In house.	Cured.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.		and ant. tart.
Extracts from Cas	8th Oct., 1855. 29th Aug., 1855. 12th Sept., " 20th ""  3rd Nov., 1855. 27th Oct., 1855. 4th Nov., " 15th "" 15th "" 29th "" 29th "" 29th ""	30th Nov., 1855. Admitted.
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.	2 grains	2 grains, and a 2nd Dose.
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.	20	111
Age of Patient on Entry.	39	44
No.	26	28

Result to Patient, 1856.		Cured.	Cured.	In Asylum.
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	30th Dec., 1855. Made savage attacks upon his attendants. A shower - bath and a draught containing 2 grains of tartar emetic usere ordered, when he became perfectly calm	t,	Shower-bath occasionally.  Admitted Very excited. Showerbath and acetate of morphia. Improved from this day; was discharged	cured on 1st March, 1856. [N.B. This patient imputed his recovery to the shower-bath.] Admitted. Struck the medical officer a few weeks ago for keeping him in confinement; he is sometimes abusive
Extracts from Carreferen	30th Dec., 1855.	5th Dec., 1855. 12th ,, ,,	22nd " " 21st Jan., 1856. 22nd " "	16th April, 1852. 6th Oct., ",
When followed by Tar- trate of Antimony, the Quantity.		Nil	2 grains	Niil
Length of Bath administered, in Minutes.		20	50	15 or 20
Age of Patient on Entry.		25	39	28
No.		29	30	31

Result to Patient, 1856.	
Extracts from Case Book of Special Notes in reference to Treatment.	and excited, thereby causing a great deal of discomfort in the place. Shower-bath.  2nd Oct., ". Shower-bath.  10th March, 1853. Is in a state of lively mania, being much excited, with a disposition to mischief and violence. Shower-bath.  19th ". ". Continues much excited; shower-bath. Mix. ant. 2 oz. (2 gr. dose).
Extracts from refe	3rd Sept., 1852. 2nd Oct., ", 10th March, 1853.
When followed by Tartrate of Antimony, the Quantity.	2 grains
Age of Patient administered, in on Entry.	20
Age of Patient on Entry.	about 40
No.	32

N.B.—The ages given, it will be observed, were those upon the Patients entering the Asylum. In many instances, therefore, an addition of several years must be made in order to show the age at date of treatment.

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