

Recollections of forty years : being an account at first hand of some famous criminal lunacy cases, English and American; together with facsimile letters, notes, and other data concerning them / with 19 illustrations, by L. Forbes Winslow.

Contributors

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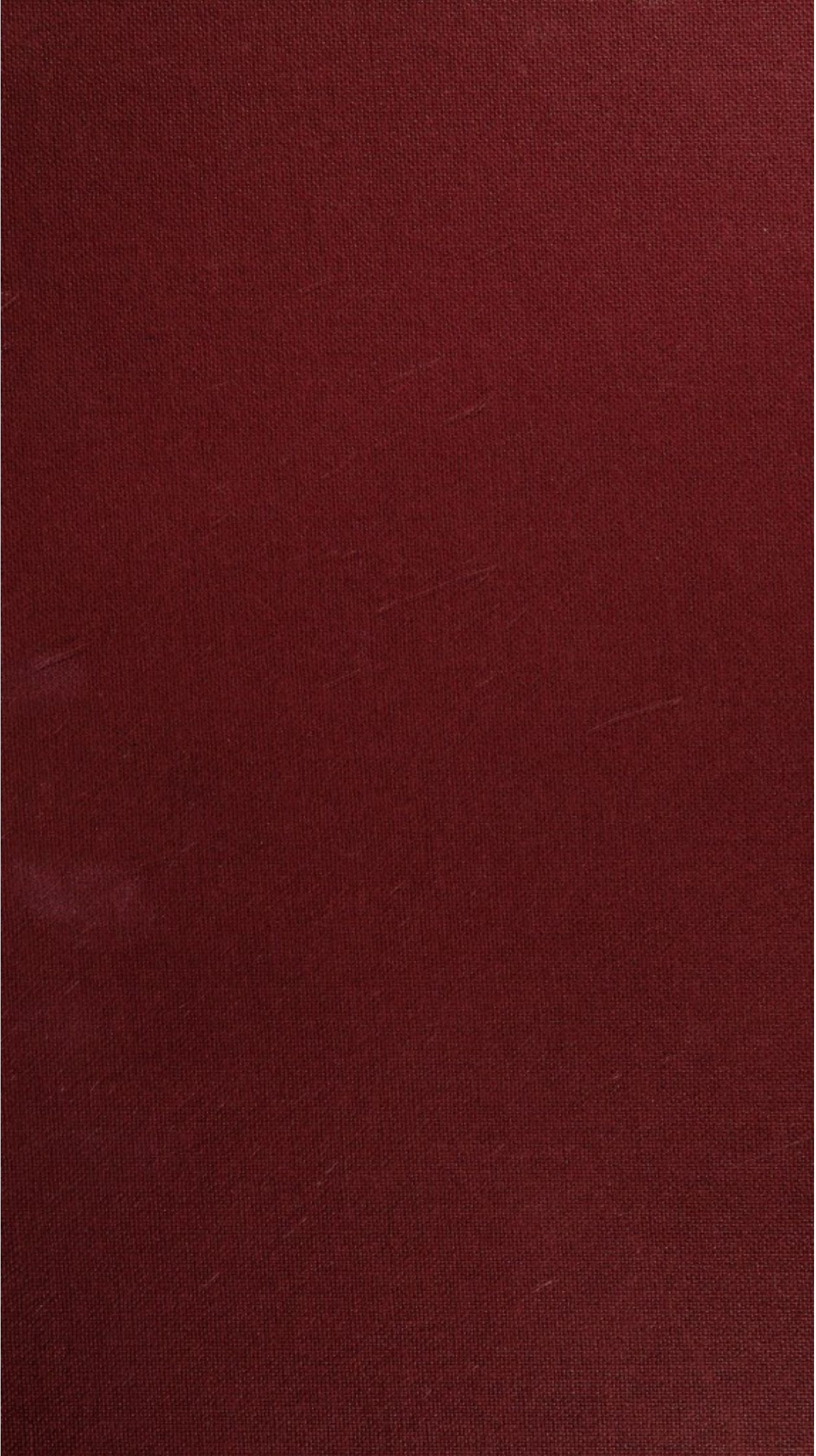
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RECOLLECTIONS OF FORTY
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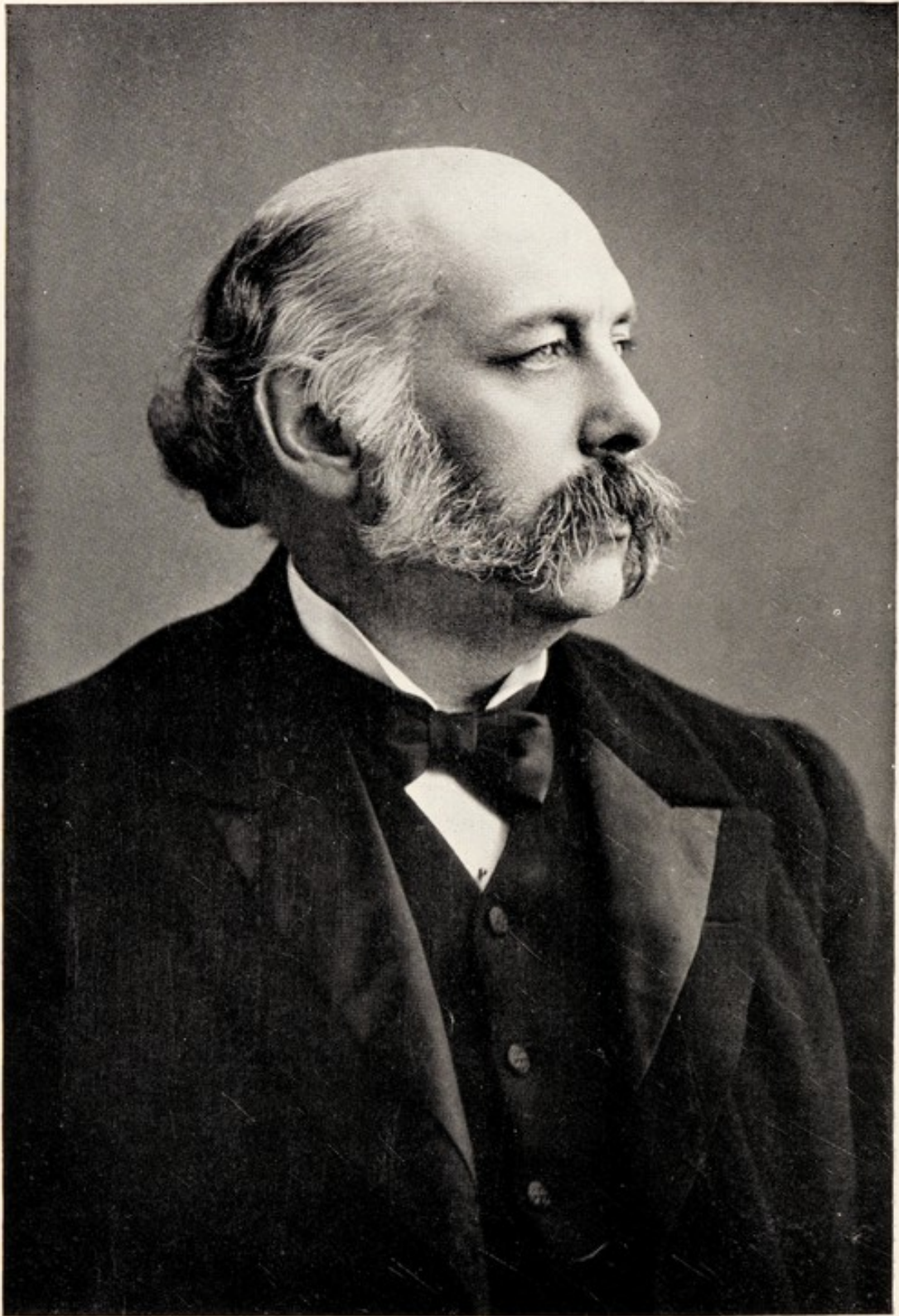


Photo. Bassano, Old Bond Street, London, W.

L. FORBES WINSLOW,
M.P., LL.D. CANTAB., D.C.L. OXON.

RECOLLECTIONS OF FORTY YEARS

BEING AN ACCOUNT AT FIRST HAND
OF SOME FAMOUS CRIMINAL LUNACY
CASES, ENGLISH AND AMERICAN ; TO-
GETHER WITH FACSIMILE LETTERS,
NOTES, AND OTHER DATA
CONCERNING THEM

WITH 19 ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

L. FORBES WINSLOW

M.B., D.C.L., LL.D.



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[1910]

B2P (Winstow)



This Book is dedicated to every true Englishman who, having the courage of his opinions and convictions, is not ashamed to express the same, and who in every way acts up to what he thinks right, with a view of benefiting humanity and doing good in the world by preventing harm, heedless of public opinion and the consequences of jealousy, and who hits "straight out from the shoulder," as every true-born Englishman should do without fear of consequences.

L. FORBES WINSLOW.

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH I have breathed the atmosphere of lunacy for a period extending over sixty years, and can therefore chronicle events dating from that period, the real tragedy of my life,—if I may use this expression,—commenced from the year of my qualification in 1869; thus am I able to give a forty years' record of practical knowledge of lunacy. Every legal case mentioned by me became public property at the time of the trial. Certain facts, however, I have given in connection with these which have never previously seen the light of day. I have been careful to avoid all mention of treatment, the book being entirely one of a social nature and not a professional record. I have endeavoured to express my views fairly but unflinchingly on public matters, and only to condemn where I think such condemnation was well deserved. The book is written for the world at large; but at the same time I have no doubt in my own mind that many of my own profession will benefit by the perusal of its pages, as there are certain lessons to be learnt therein.

L. FORBES WINSLOW.

57 DEVONSHIRE STREET,
Sept. 9, 1910.

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EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

RECOLLECTIONS which are implanted in the mind can never be eradicated. As one grows older, so also do the events which are chronicled in one's early life become more vividly impressed upon one's mind. Anything worth recalling we remember, whilst anything we desire to forget and wipe from the tablets of our memory becomes still more in evidence. In recalling recollections extending over forty years we have the inevitable to cope with. Our memory becomes once more vividly active, and it has become "wax to receive and marble to retain."

"Oh, that wretched memory of mine!" is often exclaimed by many of those whose brains are beginning to show signs of collapse.

It is a fact that at one time in every one's life the memory often begins to slacken, but on the eve of dissolution, or as old age is approaching, our memory returns with all its wonted vigour. The past stands out before us in all its hideous nakedness. The memory of the child is more acute than that of the adult; in middle age it is often treacherous; in old age, except for the memory of names, it again becomes acute, especially for events long past and gone, but imperfect

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for recent events. This is one of the chief indications of loss of memory. In answer to a question comes the response, "My memory is splendid. I can tell you what I did years ago." "Very well," says the physician, "can you tell me what you did yesterday?" The reply is a negative. This is the true test of memory.

I graduated as licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, thus enabling me to register as a qualified medical practitioner, in 1869, previous to my medical graduation at Cambridge.

Though my experience in detail as a mental expert will presumably date from 1869, the year in which I became qualified in medicine, nevertheless, from the fact that from a year old I have lived among the insane, I feel therefore that, previous to the time I received my first medical diploma, I had earned sufficient experience even at that early age to entitle me to the title of a mental expert.

It is a generally admitted fact that as a rule no one learns anything of his profession, be it legal, medical, clerical, or any other, until the useless subjects included in the schedule of his examinations are wiped out of the memory, and room is made for more useful and practical subjects bearing directly upon his own profession.

A few reminiscences of my early life, therefore, may not be inadmissible here.

I was born in Guildford Street, London, on 31st January 1844, and an impression made on my youth-

ful mind of the Foundling Hospital at that time has always existed.

My father was a physician, struggling to establish the recognition of the plea of insanity in criminal cases in England, and he lived to see the accomplishment of his desire.

My mother was a Miss Susan Holt ; my grandmother a well-known mover in the religious world in New York, Mrs Mary Winslow, whose life, written by her son, the Rev. Octavius Winslow, entitled *Life in Jesus*, is a well-known and well-read book both in England and America as a text-book of all that is righteous and good. Edward Winslow, one of the Pilgrim Fathers who left England in the *Mayflower* in 1620, and who was the first Governor of Massachusetts, was a direct ancestor of mine. A large book, entitled the *Winslow Memorial*, published in New York, traces my lineal descent from him.

Within a few months of my birth I was taken to Sussex and Brandenburgh House Asylum at Hammer-smith, founded by my father, and I continued to live there, with certain periodical intervals, while at school and college, until 1886, when I vacated the atmosphere of a lunatic asylum—a fact I was extremely delighted in doing.

In 1852, at the age of eight, I was taken by my father to see the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, and accompanied him to the Conservative Club in St James's Street, having passed the previous night at his consulting rooms in Albemarle Street.

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In those days clubs were not used on such occasions as a means of obtaining money to add to their coffers by making their members give a heavy donation in order to get a seat or allow a relative to have one. This is a great contrast from what takes place nowadays. No ten pounds was then inflicted upon a member who was desirous of taking his wife to view any royal procession. So far as my recollection goes, not only did my father take me with him, but also a patient, who was the terror of my early childhood, was included in the party.

My first appearance before any learned medical corporation was in 1853, when I was nine years old. My father, in the capacity as President of the Medical Society of London, was giving his oration, and for some reason or other, whether I evinced an eagerness at an early age to see what the proceedings of a Medical Society were, or whether he wished me to go of his own accord, I cannot recollect at this moment, but I accompanied him to this meeting. I remember the circumstances as though it had only taken place yesterday. I was dressed in a black velvet knickerbocker suit, and sat on a chair just in front of my father on the platform. It was not to be supposed that at such an early age I could really take very much interest in an oration, even though delivered by my own father. He was not, however, prepared for the catastrophe which happened, and one which I have often heard him narrate. In the midst of a most eloquent sentence, in which the attention of the

audience was deeply wrapped, the proceedings were interrupted by a sudden scream, and it was found that I had fallen from my high estate on to the platform, whilst my squallings induced him to descend from his presidential throne, and for the moment interrupt the sanctity of the proceedings. Beyond this I can say nothing as to what became of me ; whether I spent the rest of the evening in the cloak-room, or whether the fall had wakened me up sufficiently to cause me to seriously attend to the oration, I am not prepared to say.

I might say, whilst on this subject, that the last time my father came to London previous to his death in 1874 was to accompany me to the Medical Society of London to look at his own picture, which he had presented to the Society, and which had just come back from being renovated, and is hung in the same place now as it was then—in the entrance-hall of this Society.

My early school-days are not remarkable for anything in particular. The first school I went to was kept by a dame—the house is still in existence in the Hammersmith Road, between Nazareth House and St Paul's School ; from there I went to King Edward the Sixth's School at Berkhamstead, and then to a school kept by a Baron Andlau at Clapham Common, with a view to acquiring a knowledge of modern languages, especially German, which language all boys were supposed to speak during play hours, or pay a penny fine. From Clapham Common I went to

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Overslade, near Rugby, kept by the Rev. Mr Congreve, and from there to Rugby to the house of the Rev. C. A. Arnold.

The first experience of my journey to Rugby is amusing. I had gone to Euston Station with a new "topper," as was the wont of any new boy with a view of causing favourable first impressions. In the first tunnel we entered after leaving Euston, some boy knocked off my hat, the result being that I arrived at Rugby minus a hat. My elder brother, who had been at the school a year before me, had earned the nickname of "Bags," from the fact that on one occasion he arrived with rather a loud pair of inexpressibles. I was at once called "Young Bags" in distinction to "Old Bags," which was then given to my brother. This accompanied him to Oxford and me to Cambridge. Nicknames acquired at school often continue through life.

I left Rugby in 1861, the year the Prince Consort died, and I recollect whilst playing the Old Rugbeian football match at Rugby I heard of the decease. I made a number of valuable acquaintances at Rugby.

Arnold was very musical, and at stated periods those who were pupils of his, and who possessed any musical talents, took part in the Kinder Symphony. A fine violinist, Herr Deutschmann, led our orchestra. I played a most extraordinary instrument called the cuckoo, and two of the other boys—but now learned judges, whose names I dare not mention, as I do not want to be committed for contempt of court

—I think played the triangle and the whistle. The performance was in every way a success, and was repeated periodically.

After leaving Rugby School, though it was always my intention to follow my father's footsteps as a mental specialist, I had not quite decided what course of study I should pursue as the *modus operandi* to obtain a qualification. At first I went to read for the matriculation examination at the London University, and I commenced to do so with a Dr Gill, who at that time had a class for the matric. During the Easter vacation I went to Paris with my father and an old friend of his, Dr Waller Lewis, the head medical officer of the General Post Office, who, being himself a Cambridge man, persuaded me to abandon the London University for Cambridge, which I did forthwith.

I entered at Caius College, Cambridge, in the October term, 1862. My father, I recollect, took me up there, and left me in charge of the Rev. C. Clayton, the excellent, conscientious, and good tutor of that college at the time.

I was very desirous to begin my medical studies at once. Unfortunately, before I could register as a medical student at Cambridge, the "Little Go," or some recognised educational examination, had to be previously passed. The first examination for the "Little Go" took place the following March; but unless I was prepared to pass what is called the "Honours Little Go," which consists of extra mathe-

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mathematical subjects, and which is only intended for Honours men, a distinction I did not aspire to, I should have to wait until the following October, or exactly one year from entering. This I politely declined, and struck out a course which appealed to my notions. I wished to steal a march upon those students who had entered the same term as I had, and decided to let the Cambridge "Little Go" wait and to pass some other educational examination. I had been in communication with the Royal College of Physicians of London, who at that time held a similar examination, and entered my name for this, which was to be held in March, the same month as the "Honours Little Go" would have been held. I kept this entirely to myself.

At Cambridge it is necessary to "keep" so many days in each term, amounting to two-thirds of the actual number of days to constitute a term. My term only expired the very day of my examination in London. I had ordered a cab to fetch me from the college at 7.30 a.m. to take me to the station. None, however, arrived. I rushed from my rooms down King's Parade, and, fortunately finding an empty conveyance of some sort, galloped down to the railway station. The man presiding at the booking-office told me that I should not have time to catch the train, but, rushing over the line, I jumped in as it was actually moving out. I arrived in London, and, driving straight to the Royal College of Physicians, I went through the morning examination, and,

returning home, told my parents what I had been doing. I was called foolish, and encouraged by being told I should surely be "plucked," and "How could I have done such a stupid thing!"

Nothing daunted, I continued my examination the same afternoon and twice the following day. To my satisfaction and relief my name appeared in the list. I forthwith registered myself as a medical student, and thus gained nine months' start of those undergrads who had entered the same term as I had, and who were waiting until they had passed the "Little Go" in October before registering. The time I thus gained was invaluable to me, as I actually became qualified in London before I had taken my Cambridge medical degree, which is rather a unique experience, if not an isolated one. As a number of my medical friends were migrating from Caius to Downing College, I followed their example. We had more independence there; the college was nearer the Medical Schools. At that time it was a small college, but soon the numbers gradually began to increase. We put an eight on the river, and gained eight places in six nights, rowing to the top of our division.

I rowed number six; Lord Justice Collins, Professor Ray Lankester, and the Rev. Mr Macmichael, a subsequent "blue," had oars in the same boat.

In addition to a boat-club, the little medical colony who had migrated to Downing from Caius founded an athletic and a cricket club. I was appointed president of these.

My college days were of the usual humdrum description, though, like many others, I often look back to them with affectionate regret that they are gone for ever. Friends made there, never seen since ; but, though lost to sight, they still remain to memory dear.

March 1865 had arrived, and though I had been in residence for nearly three years, and was within three months of the completion of my residence at the university, I had not passed any of my examinations. The fact was, having passed the Royal College of Physicians entrance examination in 1863, by which I became a registered medical student, I was content to pursue my medical studies, ignoring for the time being the general examinations of the university. I was determined, however, to pass these within my three years, and made a supreme effort to accomplish this. Between March and June I had to pass three examinations—the previous examination, or “ Little Go ” ; the professorial examination in modern history ; and the Bachelor of Laws degree, or LL.B. I had decided to graduate both in law and medicine in preference to the ordinary B.A. degree—a fact I have never regretted.

Though this seemed a gigantic task, I accomplished it. The “ Little Go ” was passed in March. I had two weeks intervening between this examination and the next. The vacation had just commenced, and I came up to London and joined a class of Professor Stokes, of memory fame, as the professorial modern history examination was replete with dates and other

facts, which required a gigantic memory to acquire in two weeks. I also studied hard at the Reading-room of the British Museum. I returned to Cambridge in April, and was examined by the Professor of Modern History, who at that time was Professor Kingsley. I had the satisfaction of seeing my name in the *Times* as having passed first class. Then I commenced my legal studies, having six weeks before undertaking a complicated and difficult examination in law. I passed, and took my degree of LL.B. in June, thus passing the three examinations in six weeks, and winning a bet of twenty to one made with me by some titled, conceited undergraduate of the same college, who, having expressed his opinion against my achieving this, sneered, and offered to back his opinion. I was determined to do this, and I succeeded, much to the surprise of many.

There is one thing appertaining to my university days which appears worth chronicling, as bearing on my first professional experience of uncontrollable drunkenness. It was a very strange, at least a very unusual, event for any undergraduate to be able to narrate. The tutor of Downing was a man of mark at Cambridge. He was well known for his responsibility in ordering the dinners for which Downing was then celebrated; this specially applied to the catering for the High Table, at which Sunday dinners were a feature of the university, so far as the dons connected with the other colleges were concerned, and who used to assemble every Sunday to participate in them in

our Hall. As I was a fellow commoner, this advantage I also enjoyed. The association with fellows and dons of other colleges raised me rather beyond the pinnacle of the ordinary undergraduate. It had the advantage of putting me at ease with my superiors, followed by an impression of equality with those in authority. Our tutor was very hospitable, and he was never happy unless surrounded by a number of convivial spirits, quite as capable of doing justice to a good repast as he was himself. We had a French chef, also the nominee of the tutor, and I may say that the dinners at Downing in the year 1865 were as good as could be found in any restaurant in Paris.

Except on Sundays, our party at the High Table generally consisted of about six, of which the tutor was quite the ruling spirit. Downing College possessed a considerable amount of property in Croydon, Cambridgeshire, and its immediate vicinity. The tutor being also bursar, it was his duty to go out there to collect the rents. These visits often necessitated a dinner with the farmers. I remember one wintry night the tutor asked me if I would accompany him on one of these missions. I consented, and we drove over in a dogcart. On our way back the snow was thick on the ground, and as he succeeded in depositing the trap on a bank, and having my grave doubts as to the sobriety of the tutor, I offered to take the reins into my own hands. He consented with a hiccough. I shall never forget that journey. My suspicions proved correct, and it was with the greatest difficulty

that I was enabled to keep my tutor from falling out of the trap, besides nearly upsetting it. We arrived safely at the college, and I took him forthwith to his rooms, escorting him upstairs. On opening his door I saw to my surprise that the Downing Professor of Medicine was in a worse state, so far as sobriety was concerned, than the tutor himself. Having put the tutor safely to bed and tucked him up, I then woke up the professor, who was snoring loudly in an armchair, and escorted him safely across the quadrangle to his own house.

Poor old man! I can see him sitting there now! He used to give the lectures on *materia medica* for medical students. At the first lecture he was quite sober, and he impressed upon his class the great importance of the subject. The second lecture was about tasting his wines, also an important one in his own estimation, as his cellar contained many fine samples. I cannot at this lengthened period recollect in what part of *materia medica* wine-tasting is included. This lecture was much appreciated by the students, and those who had missed that lecture turned up in a large body at the next one, eager for the same to be repeated—only to find, much to their chagrin, that the professor was unwell and unable to lecture.

One or two more lectures of much the same description were given during the term, and the schedules for attendance at these lectures, as constituting a part of the medical student's curriculum, were duly signed by him and forwarded by the student

to the Regius Professor of Medicine. This same professor was one of the physicians to Addenbroke Hospital, and one of the university examiners for the degree in medicine.

I attended the *viva voce* examination out of curiosity. Whether the Downing Professor of Medicine had indulged in a quiet nap it was difficult to say, but he had always the knack of asking the same questions which one of his *confrères*, assisting at the examination, had just previously asked. Sir Richard Dalby, the distinguished aural surgeon, who was one of the candidates, and who had a keen eye for the ridiculous, and who knew the peculiarities of the professor, on several times being asked the same question, replied that he had just answered it. Things were very lax in those days, especially so far as related to the attendance at lectures.

After leaving Cambridge I went to St George's Hospital, where my medical education was continued, returning to Cambridge later on for two years' more residence in order to complete my medical terms there. The years, therefore, between 1868 and 1870, the year of my receiving the medical degree of the university, were spent backwards and forwards between Cambridge and St George's Hospital; though, as I have previously stated, I possessed the degree of licentiate of the Apothecaries' Society, giving me full rights to register as a full-blown medical practitioner, which I did.

I had an elder brother, the Rev. Forbes E. Winslow,

now vicar of St Paul's, St Leonard's-on-Sea, the " Old Bags " of Rugby fame. He was originally intended for the medical profession, and with this view he became a perpetual pupil at St Bartholomew's Hospital. On the completion of his first year of study he was bitten by a mad dog whilst playing in a cricket match, and being apprehensive of the result he suddenly threw up medicine and began to read for holy orders, thus leaving the field open to me so far as a successor in the same line of practice to my father was concerned. Had this not taken place, the writer of this book would doubtless have remained in obscurity.

Upon receiving my diploma from Cambridge, I at once became associated with my father, who had the enjoyment of the largest practice in lunacy in England ; and when I say that at the age of twenty-five I was frequently left in entire charge of his practice, and managed it exclusively for some years before he died in 1874, he being incapacitated from illness, I might say that I earned my spurs in this peculiar branch of medicine at a very early period of my existence.

In 1871 I became attached to the staff of the Sussex and Brandenburgh House Lunatic Asylums, situated at Hammersmith ; but having always regarded this as my home since I was a few months old, and having lived there, the experience was by no means a novel one to me. I felt, however, that I was in authority there, subservient to my father and the medical superintendent. The authority I assumed soon became

developed into one of absolute responsibility ; as my father's representative I soon blossomed out into a licensee. During the many years I was in residence there I was never more than a paid official.

After the death of my father in 1874, I continued to reside at the asylum, having my consulting rooms as before in Cavendish Square, my mother's home. Everything went on well ; I had her interests at heart ; we were a united, happy family. My mother was a wonderful woman—kind, and beloved by all. My eldest sister, who lived with her, married soon after my father's death ; her husband came and hung his hat up in my mother's house. Things soon changed. The freedom one had enjoyed soon disappeared. I felt like an intruder even in my late father's house. This was nauseating to my feelings. As month by month went by, this continued and increased. One day I went to my mother and told her it was my desire to sever my connection with the asylums at Hammersmith. Her reply was, "Stick to the ship. Your father has left the asylums to you in his will." I explained to her my position, the restraint that had come over me since another individual had been taken into the family. My mother then said, "In addition to your stipend you shall have one-sixth share in the profits of the asylums." As she seemed evidently upset at the mention of my dissociation with these asylums, which since my father's decease I had been the sole and only prop in supporting, I consented to remain. But matters

did not improve ; I felt as if there was a sort of cloud encircling the house. This feeling was also expressed by others who previous to the event I mentioned were frequent guests at our house. This evidently affected my mother's health, who seemed much worried and harassed, for which there was no excuse or justification. This gradually told upon her health, though I did my best to reassure her. Ultimately I seemed to hate the very house where previous to this I had spent such happy days. My mother died in 1883. Before the breath was out of her body, my brother-in-law came into my study with a paper already drawn up by him for me to sign which was to give him an equal share in the profits of the asylum. This I indignantly repudiated and declined to sign. He then replied, "I will make you, or throw the estate into Chancery." This was done, and I was appointed manager under the court. Interference, and no power to do what I liked, associated with the fact that nothing could be done without the sanction of the receiver, this—with the fact that I was called upon to pay the beneficiaries a certain sum per annum before drawing my own salary—made me desirous of putting a stop to this unsatisfactory business. I became an obstructionist. I felt that, as my father had "authorised" the trustees to dispose of the asylums to me, I was being shamefully treated. Quarrels took place, a family feud arose. I was then called upon in chambers to vouch all accounts kept by me since my mother's decease until

the hearing of this application in court. The amount was close upon eight thousand pounds. I took this into chambers myself, vouching every item and showing a balance on my side. There were about six solicitors attending these summonses, and the time it took to complete the matter was considerable. Ultimately the accounts were closed; and as I saw that every effort was being made to deprive me of my inheritance and rights, I put in a claim for my sixth share of the profits agreed to between my mother and myself, as previously mentioned. During her life it only existed on paper, and I never put the agreement into operation. My brother-in-law, again equal to the occasion, opposed this. He stated that, as he was living in my mother's house at the time, he well knew her intentions. I explained that it was only reasonable that, if I received a certain salary during my father's lifetime, as an inducement to remain on I had the additional offer after his decease. I was tired of the whole persecution, and as far as I can recollect never pressed the matter. Application was made by the beneficiaries to depose me—in other words, to remove one who had been the sole prop for so many years—because I would not do what I considered unjust. Opposition took place; a heavy Chancery suit then commenced. At the first hearing I was represented by counsel, but afterwards I took the legal matters into my own hands, appeared in person, and argued the case in court.

The reason I dwell at length upon this matter is

to remove a misconception which arose at the time as to why I retired from asylum practice. In two or three public cases I have been in, both in England and America, I have often been asked the question in a sneering way by the counsel ; but he has generally met his match in me by my reply. What I now say is in every way substantiated by Mr Justice Pearson, who tried the case.

On 22nd April 1885, in the Chancery Division of the Law Courts, the final hearing of the case came before Mr Justice Pearson, and learned and strong and heavily briefed counsel were arraigned on the other side. I had had sufficient of counsel so far as I was concerned, and, as I have said before, I appeared in person. I said as follows :—

“ My Lord,—In consequence of your lordship’s suggestion on Friday last, to the effect that those interested in the asylum should meet together and discuss the matter, I beg to inform your lordship that a meeting was held on Monday last, the 20th inst., at which meeting I resigned of my own free will the management, under the court, of the asylums at Hammersmith with which my father and myself have been connected for upwards of forty years. At the same time I refused any remuneration which was then offered me to act as consulting physician to these establishments. It has always been my earnest endeavour to carry on these asylums satisfactorily, and to protect the good-will for the benefit of the estate. In consequence, however, of the *furor* that has lately taken place in connection with lunacy matters, the value of private asylums is at a very low ebb at the present moment. For the

last eighteen months or two years these asylums have been financially managed by Mr Booker, the receiver appointed by this honourable court, he ordering all provisions, receiving and making all payments, whereas I have not been empowered to interfere in any way in this matter. How, therefore, could I have been held responsible for the financial condition of the asylums when I have had absolutely nothing to do with it? So far as the treatment of the patients and the medical management are concerned, they are exactly the same as they have been for years. I have it on record, and not long since, that a gentleman came to Hammersmith with a view to placing twenty Chancery patients there. Having inspected the establishment and grounds, he decided that the accommodation offered for the sums paid was inadequate. Again, on another occasion an inmate of Sussex House, paying twelve hundred per annum, was removed by the Commissioners in Lunacy in consequence of the place not being good enough for such a patient. This is no fault of mine, my lord; my hands have been crippled and tied for many years. I have done my utmost to find a suitable place for the transfer of the asylum, but I have been powerless to act in the matter, and now it appears that I am to be held responsible for the financial falling-off of the asylum.

“MR JUSTICE PEARSON.—I do not think, Dr Winslow, there is any occasion to go further into this matter, as I have previously expressed my opinion on your management and I have no reason to alter this opinion.

“DR FORBES WINSLOW.—There is one thing, my lord, on which I should like to make a few observations, especially as much stress has been laid during this summons on the matter. I allude to the receipt of a supposed salary of £1600 per annum. My lord,

the agreement was as follows :—I was to receive this sum, provided the profits of the asylum admitted of the sum being paid to me. But before I could draw any part of it, the beneficiaries were entitled to receive as a minimum charge, whatever the profits might be, £100 each per annum. I had to pay, in addition to this, £400 per annum to the medical staff, and was bound by the order of the court to keep up a suitable residence in town. Well, my lord, last year the profits, according to the account rendered me by the receiver, amounted to £1320, and out of this sum your lordship will see it was impossible for me to receive the £1600, as agreed between myself and the beneficiaries. Out of the £1320, therefore, according to the agreement, £300 was paid as first charge to the beneficiaries, rendering my salary £1000. In addition to this, £400 had to be subtracted for the salary of the medical officers, and I may put the expense of the house for consultations, that I was to keep up, at say, at the very lowest, £300 per annum. This reduces my salary, which may appear in the first instance a large one on paper, to a mere pittance of £300 per annum, out of which sum I have to pay for the expenditure of certain actions connected with the asylums. I have nothing further to add beyond hoping that, under the direction and management of Dr ——, things may go amicably with those now interested in the concern.

“ MR ROBERTSON.—On behalf of the infants I must press for a sale.

“ MR JUSTICE PEARSON.—Those interests are very remote, and I hope the day is far distant when this question will have to be considered.

“ DR FORBES WINSLOW.—There is one thing, my lord, I had forgotten to say : that I resigned my appointment of my own free will and without any restrictions being placed on my actions.

“ *Judgment.*—MR JUSTICE PEARSON.—In this case

I am glad to say that an arrangement has been come to between the parties, and one which, I think, reflects the highest credit on Dr Winslow, who throughout this matter has acted as a gentleman in his high position would have done. He has volunteered to retire, having refused any remuneration which was offered to him, also the appointment of consulting physician, from an asylum which he has managed so satisfactorily for so many years, and which, as I expressed myself on a former occasion, he has conducted well, and no reflection can in any way be cast on his management. I expressed this opinion at the former summons, and I hold this opinion still most strongly. Dr ——, who has been chosen as manager, will conduct the asylum in the interest of Dr Winslow as well as of the others equally interested with himself. Were I called upon to make a hostile order, I would have taken into consideration Dr Winslow's long connection and management of the asylums, and I should have ordered him to have received heavy compensation on his retirement therefor. Under the circumstances, however, I have only now to make an order, which has been supported by all parties interested, that the agreement as come to by the parties should be approved of by this honourable court."

Such was the ruling of Mr Justice Pearson. I have never availed myself of the ruling as to participating in the asylum spoils as yet. I am legally entitled to do this, however. My father left the asylum to me in his will. The estate was thrown into Chancery on the decease of my mother, as previously stated. Certain relatives by marriage tried to interfere with my management. I carried it on after my mother's death, thinking that the provisions of my father's will

would be complied with. I had, however, been deceived, and had wasted my energies and the best years of my life in building up an inheritance only to be confiscated by others, and not be enjoyed by me. It taught me a severe lesson. I was associated with these asylums for upwards of twenty years in my medical capacity, and I had gained considerable experience, but I was never more pleased with anything in my life than when I severed all connection with private lunatic asylums. The licence of the Hammersmith asylums was transferred to interested members of my family, and I have never been asked to enter the doors of that establishment since, and have never had any desire to do so.

My association with these asylums in my semi-official capacity led to various actions which I have no intention of entering into. I might as well state that I was in no way responsible for this, but was made a cat's-paw of the imperfection of the lunacy law.

All I was desirous of doing was to wipe my feet on the mats of the asylums and say good-bye to private lunatic asylums once and for all. At that time, in addition to this heavy Chancery suit, I had other litigation, but which was all directly in connection with the asylums. I had to bear the brunt of this without assistance and without any pity. I have lived through all my persecution. I might mention that, though I retired from the asylums—which are now carried on at Flower House, Catford, by the beneficiaries—by the will of my father and by the

ruling of Mr Justice Pearson I am as much entitled to any profits issuing as my relatives are.

I had always taken a great interest in all matters connected with lunacy, as may be inferred in my being brought up in its very atmosphere ; and I felt it rather a proud day in my life when I received the degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford for my thesis on " The History of Lunacy Legislation." It might not be out of place to mention here that the reason I felt proud and satisfied with my position was from the fact that I obtained this degree at the age of twenty-six, and I was the youngest recipient of that degree ever conferred by the University of Oxford. I subsequently, many years afterwards, obtained the degree of LL.D. from the University of Cambridge for my researches " On the Criminal Responsibility of the Insane."

It has always been a great satisfaction to me that I possessed these degrees. In my opinion they are of far more value to me than all the greatest medical distinctions that could have been offered to me. My father, who had the honorary D.C.L. of Oxford, entertained the same opinion so far as he was concerned.

I have always been of a very athletic turn of mind. I was a great believer in this. Though I never actually excelled to any great extent in anything of that nature, nevertheless in whatever form of sport I took part I was always well in the front rank. I won sports at Rugby, also at Cambridge. There is one thing that I am always proud of chronicling, and that is that on

21st July 1864 I was one of the M.C.C. team to play against South Wales, in which team W. G. Grace, the greatest cricketer who ever lived, played his first match at Lord's. It is also a sad fact to state that I am the only living member of that team. I have a copy of this match before me as I write. In the same year I represented the Next Eighteen as opposed to the First Twelve of the M.C.C. in the jubilee match of that year. This was the year that the late R. A. Fitzgerald, the Secretary of the M.C.C., asked me to captain the first English team that went to America and Canada. This I had to decline, as my studies prevented it. Leaving Cambridge, I was elected at a later period of my life president of the United Hospitals Cricket Club, of which W. G. Grace was our captain. In this I chose the cup, which is now annually contested for by our hospitals, and I was also president of the United Hospitals Athletic Club. I captained the M.C.C. in many matches, and twice again at my old school, Rugby, and in, I believe, the only match in which they played against the United Hospitals Cricket Club. This match I arranged myself. These are not prominent facts in my career so far as my lunacy experiences are concerned, but I am proud to chronicle them, and I think they are worthy of a space in my life.

When I had been well launched in my professional career I still kept up my regular exercise. I founded a lawn-tennis club, one of the first in England, called the West Middlesex Lawn-tennis Club. I also played

for Oxford against the All England Club at Wimbledon ; as I was a D.C.L. of Oxford, I had that privilege. An unfortunate injury to my knee, however, stopped my enthusiasm in the game. I played for the championship of England, and my final appearance was at Bath, where I played second for the championship of the West of England. This was rather more than a quarter of a century ago, and with this my athletic efforts came to a close. I felt that I had done my duty, and the pressure of work, associated with the old injury to my knee asserting itself periodically, prevented the indulgence further in violent exercise. I am still as keen as I ever was, and when I go up to Lord's it is with the greatest effort that I am able to desist putting my name down, as I used to do, to play in matches. But I find that discretion is the better part of valour, and a loose semi-lunar cartilage, which is liable to slip out when one least expects it, renders me in a position to play cricket mentally from the pavilion at Lord's.

I always endeavoured to get my patients to take an interest in sports of various descriptions. Cricket matches and lawn-tennis tournaments were organised by me. The West Middlesex L.T.C., which included amongst its members inmates of the asylums and officials connected with the place, held its own for many years, even daring to compete with the All England Tennis Club. Both Oxford and Cambridge succumbed to us. The monotony of asylum life is of such a nature that there is every danger of those

who constantly associate with the inmates themselves becoming mad, unless they take proper means to try and amuse themselves in a way which completely takes them out of their routine work and turns their thoughts into another channel. I should never recommend anyone to accept the post of medical officer to a lunatic asylum unless able to do as I now suggest. The constant association with the insane I have found terrible to contend with, and my capability to take part in sports of various descriptions has been my saving clause, I feel sure. I used to take a party of my patients out fishing. It was curious to see those who were very insane whilst in the asylum, anxious as to whether they had got a bite or not, and assume a rational state of mind in their anxiety to land the fish. Another annual trip was to the Derby. The patients went in my private carriages. This was always enjoyed by them. Many had their parole outside the grounds, and I never knew anyone who in any way broke this.

LUNACY OFFICIALS I HAVE MET

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MASTERS IN LUNACY

THE most important official appointments in lunacy are the Masters. These are two in number, and their duties are to hold commissions of lunacy on those persons of alleged unsound mind who possess property, and to appoint a committee of the person and estate in the interest of those found lunatic by the said inquisition. They are usually known by the term of "The Lord Chancellor's Arm-chair Appointments," and are generally held by his personal friends—perhaps those whom he wishes to do a good turn to late in life. The appointments carry with them a salary of £2000 per annum.

Speaking from memory, those Masters whom I have met are respectively : Master Edward Winslow, who received the appointment in consequence of his relationship with the late Lord Lyndhurst, who was a cousin of our family. He was Lord Chancellor, and my uncle was his secretary. The other Masters were : Barlow, Samuel Warren, Nicholson, Graham, Sir Alexander Miller, Maclean, Fischer, and Amphlett.

When at the age of fourteen, I was taken by my father to hear an important case of lunacy, in which he was the chief witness, whilst my uncle acted in the capacity of Master at the inquiry then being held.

Beyond giving evidence at various commissions, there is nothing which has impressed itself in any way upon my mind especially with reference to these Masters. The only one who distinguished himself in the world of letters was the ever-pompous Samuel Warren, the author of *Ten Thousand a Year* and *The Diary of a Late Physician*. He was a good Master, but ever conscious of the importance of his office and himself. He would not allow a liberty of any description to be taken. I recollect that an important inquiry was being held which would occupy the whole afternoon. The proprietor of the asylum where it was being held suggested that the Master should participate in lunch. It was brought in to him.

“Take it away at once!” exclaimed Warren; “remember this is a court of justice.” He was no doubt right as to the constitution of the court, but I question the correctness of his legal opinion so far as the lunch was concerned. For even in my experience I have been convinced that even judges must eat, and that even law cannot sufficiently satiate them. The alleged lunatic and witnesses enjoyed a good lunch on that day, and I am sorry that Samuel Warren continued his inquiry in the condition he did through his own pomposity. Master Francis Barlow

was associated with Warren and also with my uncle. There was considerable bad feeling existing between the two, but I have no intention of entering into this. I always found him an amiable old gentleman of the ordinary type of Master. Sir Alexander Miller I first met officially as Master during an inquiry held on the mental condition of an old lady at Canterbury. The inquiry had been going on for two days when I was summoned on the last day to testify.

Before I went into the witness-box the Master commenced the proceedings by remarking that up to the present he had not been convinced as to the insanity of the lady, but he would wait to hear what I had to say before giving any decision. The verdict was given on my testimony. The conclusion proved in every way correct. The old lady had been under the influence of a certain ex-police inspector, who, having been commissioned to watch her house at Clapham Common in consequence of the many robberies committed there, had obtained undue influence over her. The case was that of a Miss Skinner, and publicly recorded. She was called the "Clapham recluse," as she never left her home; it was a well-known fact that considerable property was concealed in the house. It became known as a good place for periodical robberies to be committed. Scotland Yard employed Inspector Badger to guard the house. He did this so effectually as to get Miss Skinner into his clutches, removing her to his house at Canterbury, which was a small public-house, and

then tried to get possession of her property, until some friends of Miss Skinner, living in Canterbury, seeing what was going on, intervened and petitioned the court for an inquiry—hence my appearance at Canterbury. The lady was found by the jury to be “a person of unsound mind and incapable of managing herself or her affairs,” and was forthwith removed from the influence of Badger, and placed under proper care and control, her property being protected by the Court of Chancery.

This was the only time I met Sir Alexander Miller. He soon after resigned his official position, being appointed as Counsel to the Viceroy in India, which was a much more remunerative appointment.

Master Francis William Maclean became his successor in 1891. I knew him well. We were students at Cambridge together. He was a moving spirit in the Amateur Dramatic Club of that university, which is known by the name of A.D.C. He chiefly, whilst there, posed for effect. He had a fine presence, and he was conscious of this. His impression of his own importance evidently did not leave him when he took up his appointment at the Royal Courts of Justice in the capacity of Master in Lunacy, and I feel sure that those permanent officials attached to the office were conscious of this. A general satisfaction was exhibited when he also vacated his office for that of Chief Justice of Bengal in 1896—a position I feel sure he was well suited for.

Masters Fischer and Amphlett were the next

masters appointed. With regard to the latter, he did his best, but was incapacitated by an inability to see properly; this naturally interfered with the performance of his duties. He was actually in this condition when he received the position. He was kind and considerate to all, and did his best. I always got on well with him.

The work devolving on a Master is generally performed by the clerks. This was especially so in the case of the late Master Amphlett, who was nearly blind at the time of his appointment. I was informed by one of the head clerks at the office that documents used to be taken to him to sign; he asked what he was to do, and he was told, "Sign."

I had the pleasure of presenting Master Fischer with a copy of my work, *Mad Humanity*, and also had the satisfaction of seeing the same book on his desk during an inquiry held some few years back at Teignmouth. In fact, he questioned me out of my own book, which I took as a high compliment. Master Fischer is eighty years old, and still continues to do his work effectually and well, as he always has done.

The conclusion I have arrived at—which I am aware is shared by all who have much to do with the Lunacy Office as presided over by the Masters in Lunacy—is that the delay is unnecessary and considerable; the work is really of a very light nature, and there is no justification for the inconvenience caused to solicitors or to the representative of the

lunatics found so by inquisition. Everyone at the office seems to be a Lord Chancellor in embryo—at least in his own imagination.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S VISITORS OF LUNATICS

I have met everyone holding this appointment since I commenced the study of lunacy, with the exception of Dr Nicholson. In my early days Dr Bucknill (as he then was), father to the present Mr Justice Bucknill and author of the well-known text-book on lunacy in conjunction with Dr Hack Tuke, was much in evidence, but I was too young at the time to be noticed by him. His *confrère* was Dr Lockhart Robertson. Unfortunately, many years ago some dispute arose between my father and himself with reference to the alteration of the title of the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, owned and edited by my father, and subsequently by me. Dr Lockhart Robertson was editor of the *Journal of Mental Science*, then issued for the first time, and was desirous of my father consenting to amalgamate his journal with that of the Society. He declined, and a feeling of ill-will sprang up, which, after Dr Lockhart Robertson had been appointed in an official capacity, had its disastrous effects.

The duties of the Lord Chancellor's Visitors are absolute; they can suggest the removal of any patient from an asylum and influence the Committee to remove them; and when it is said that the best-paying patients come under their jurisdiction, it can

be inferred as to what my mind is dwelling upon, without entering further into an explanation.

They are a distinct body from the Commissioners in Lunacy. The latter visit and inspect ordinary certified lunatics ; the former, only Chancery patients with property.

My father died some time before Lockhart Robertson, and subsequently I used to see a good deal of the latter at Brighton, and I was always personally on good terms with him. The quarrel was not mine, and I am the last to bear any enmity to anyone, as all my friends know.

Sir James Crichton-Browne, F.R.S., was appointed (1876) after Sir John Bucknill's decease. This gentleman is one of the most distinguished and courteous men of the day. He was well known to my father, who always entertained the greatest esteem, not only for himself, but for his father, Dr W. A. F. Browne, formerly one of the Commissioners in Lunacy for Scotland, and himself an eminent authority on mental disease.

I have the satisfaction of knowing that during the later years of his father's life, who was totally blind, I had the pleasure of receiving articles from his well-known pen for the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, of which I was then the proprietor and editor.

Sir James Crichton-Browne is one of the best informed men of the day, and one who deserves the greatest respect. He is the finest orator we have in the medical profession, and always commands a hearing. He can debate and discuss every possible

subject, be it a remedy to destroy rats or one to destroy degeneration. I have heard him debate on both in such an able manner that it might be suggested that either was his own speciality. He is popular and liked by everybody, and I have never heard anything but respect and esteem expressed by anyone when discussing Crichton-Browne.

Mr Ralph Palmer, the legal Lord Chancellor's Visitor, I have also frequently met. He does his duty also conscientiously, with every kind, good feeling.

Dr Nicholson, as I have previously stated, I have never come across in any way.

COMMISSIONERS IN LUNACY WHOM I HAVE MET

It is only reasonable to expect that during my twenty years' residence at an asylum in an official capacity, my experience of Lunacy Commissioners should be considerable. My memory goes back to the days of Mr Lutwidge, a kind old gentleman, who was unfortunately stabbed in 1874 during one of his official visits to a large asylum—I believe Fisherton House, Salisbury. A lunatic attacked him with a pointed nail and drove it through his skull. Then I recollect the severe and blunt John Forster, who wrote the Lives of Charles Dickens and Dean Swift. Forster was a well-respected Commissioner, notwithstanding his blunt manner. He was one of the old school. There was a real sympathetic feeling in his bluntness. In fact, to use a Rugby expression, he "had it down with you" at once. There were no

sneaking methods here used ; he came out in the open and gave you an opportunity of clearing yourself, should any reflection be cast upon you.

Then I well remember dear old Dr Nairne, who held on to the last. I recollect on one occasion going round the wards with him, and arriving at one of the ladies' sitting-rooms. He said in his usual cheery manner, nodding his head to one of the inmates of the room, " I am so glad to see you looking so much better." The answer came : " I am much obliged, but I am the matron's daughter." He had evidently mistaken her for someone else.

It is an extraordinary thing to me how these Commissioners can recollect certain cases, considering the number they see and interview during the year.

Then the massive form of Dr Cleaton comes visibly before me, associated with Mr Charles Palmer Phillips, who for so many years acted as Secretary to the Commission. Dr Rhys Williams and the Hon. Greville Howard did not have a lengthened stay. The former had previously been medical superintendent to Bethlehem Hospital for many years. He was a great friend of mine, was courteous and respectful to all ; he knew his work and did his duty, and had great experience behind him. He unfortunately yielded to a complaint which he had for many years tried his best to cure in others. The Hon. Greville Howard shared the same fate.

I then come to Mr William Frere, or " Fat Frere " as he was nicknamed at Harrow. He always had a

seat in my carriage at Lord's during the Eton and Harrow match. He was a connection of mine through a family marriage. He was the last person whom I thought would have been selected for such a responsible post. The Lord Chancellor, however, decided to appoint him one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in Lunacy. As soon as he received the appointment he wrote me a letter as follows :—

“DEAR WINSLOW,—I have just been appointed a Commissioner in Lunacy. I know nothing about the subject. Send me your book.”

I willingly and gladly complied, especially as my book was dedicated to the Commissioners in Lunacy. This book was called a *Manual of Lunacy*, written by me in 1874, the preface of which was by my father. It contained upwards of 400 pages. It was well received by the public and reviewed by the Press; and though some uncharitable and spiteful persons remarked at the time that such a stupendous work could not have been written by me at the age of thirty, which I then was, and that my father really was the author, I state emphatically that the only part written by him was the preface, and I had the greatest difficulty to get him to even write that. He was too unwell at the time to have done more. The first chapter I wrote whilst enjoying the luxury of a Turkish bath in Jermyn Street. It became the text-book for the time being; but inasmuch as an analysis of the then existing Lunacy Law of 1845 became useless on the passing of the 1890 Act, other more recent books

took its place. However, at the time of which I am writing, it was the acknowledged authority on all matters appertaining to lunacy, especially from a legal aspect.

Frere knew this, and desired a copy. He justified in every way his appointment, as he was very active in organising the erection of proper fire-escapes in the various asylums. This was insisted on as a result of a most terrible fire which had taken place in one of the large insane institutions, where the means of escape were so imperfect that many of the inmates were burnt to death.

Sir Clifford Allbutt, now Regius Professor of Medicine at Cambridge, then came on the scene. I never met him in that capacity, though I had done so previous to his appointment in a trial at Leeds, known as the Otley murder.

With regard to the present Board of Commissioners in Lunacy, beyond seeing Dr Needham on two occasions with reference to an important matter, and from whom I received the greatest courtesy, I have never had the pleasure of meeting any of the gentlemen.

On one occasion I had to call at their office, 66 Victoria Street, for information concerning a certain lunacy matter. I saw Mr Trevor, then Secretary, but now Commissioner; he also was anxious and willing to give me the necessary information, and said to me: "Dr Winslow, the great mistake persons make is that they act upon their own responsibility in certain matters without taking us into their confidence or asking our advice." I agree with what he had so

kindly said to me. It being known on that occasion that I was in the office, one of the other Commissioners, whom I had never before seen, came into the room, evidently with the desire of having a look at me. I felt that I must have been regarded as a *rara avis*.

With regard to the working of the Commissioners, I believe that they are eager and ready to do their duty ; but they are so confused by the obscurity of the Lunacy Act and its proper constructions, but eager to comply with it, that they have a difficult task to perform. They are also liable to be completely misled by the reports sent to them from various asylums, written by those in authority at the request of the person responsible for the incarceration and detention in an asylum of someone from interested motives. In other words, they often fail to see the motive behind such a report issued by the medical superintendent and prompted by the petitioner. I speak of what I know to be the case, and I have ample evidence and opportunity of proving my statement.

On the whole, my association with the Commissioners in Lunacy in my asylum days, when I used to meet them more frequently in their official capacity, was an agreeable one. They knew and recognised that I tried to do my duty ; there was no unjust prejudice in those days.

Of the present Board, beyond Dr Needham and Mr Trevor, I know nothing, and therefore I am unable to give my personal experiences of them in any way.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

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THE number of cases during the many years I resided among the insane were numerous and peculiar. Many hundreds came under my individual observation. I had a busy time. After my rounds were finished in the morning, I had to rush off to town to attend to my private patients there, returning later in the day to the asylum. For fifteen years I did this during my father's lifetime, and after his death on my own responsibility. From the date of my qualification I became his factotum and his representative in every matter.

Cases of every type and description came under my observation, from the comparatively sane individual suffering from slight mental depression, to the acutely maniacal raving lunatic. The light and shade—if I can use such an expression in dealing with this subject—were so variable that I never recollect seeing two cases precisely identical.

I had a number of most anxious patients under my care, both homicidal and suicidal, and I can say with no small degree of pride that during the whole time I was in management I never had a suicide or a homi-

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cide, which to a considerable extent reflects on the personal control and tact shown ; at least, I feel justified in recording this fact.

One of the worst cases I recollect was that of a member of Parliament, who, strange to relate, had consulted me about his own sister a few months previous to his breaking down himself. He was a most powerful man, and required the attention of two attendants with him night and day to prevent his committing violence. He had inherited a large property. He made a complete recovery, and I had an opportunity of seeing him as a friend after his liberation, and for many years after he still served his constituency faithfully and well.

I recollect one peculiar case placed there for some years, going away and then returning again. He was a careful peruser of the sporting intelligence. Every morning he would paste on the windows of his room the programme of the current day's racing. On his going out into the grounds he commenced shouting out the odds, placing a newspaper round about him to draw attention to himself. He did this nearly every day. Some of the patients used to come and speak to him ; his reply invariably was : " Go away, you fool ! don't come and interfere with a man when he is busy with his work. Besides, you are all lunatics and have got no money to bet with." He was very neat in his bookkeeping, and every night he told me what he had won or lost. I never, however, found out who were his *clientèle* ; but it amused him, and

that was sufficient. He appeared happy in his deluded state, and many years after, when he had been discharged, he was a frequent visitor at my town residence. His friends had lost all their money, and I used to keep my late patient in employment. He was a very clever draughtsman, and therefore I had no difficulty in turning his services to use. The poor fellow died of neglect, as his friends did not supply him with sufficient nourishment. Curiously, as soon as his relations got into a state of impecuniosity this patient had no return of his attacks, but seemed to grasp the situation. He was the most witty and clever case I can recollect. His repartee was extraordinary, and he was never at a loss for a reply. His last effort was to paint what he called "The Temples of Elora," an extraordinary production, which he exhibited at one of the suburban theatres.

Some years ago a gentleman was shown into my study, desiring to consult me upon a painful matter. It appears that he had received a telegram summoning him to town in consequence of the sudden illness of a young lady, who had run away, having made a secret marriage with a friend of his. This gentleman, who was apparently about fifty years of age, told me that he regarded this young man in the light of a son, and took a great interest in him. He had been travelling all night, and on his arriving at Brixton, where they were staying, he found the lady to all intents and purposes a raving lunatic.

A woman was in the room restraining her, assisted

by the husband, who had wired for him to come up. A medical man had been called in, who said that there could be no doubt as to her condition, and that there was nothing to be done but to send her straight off to Bethlehem Hospital. Before doing this, however, he wanted my opinion and advice. I agreed to meet the medical man in consultation at four o'clock.

Upon my arrival at the house, as is usual in such cases, it is the duty of the consultant to have a private interview with the medical attendant, which I did. He expressed the same opinion to me that he had done to his friend, after which I accompanied him into the room to examine the patient. The conversation was incoherent, the ravings were continuous, and the excitement was maniacal. I remained there for about half an hour in the room with the doctor. After we had gone downstairs I told him that in all my experience I had never seen a case like that before—the symptoms were not genuine, and the woman was feigning.

The medical man was evidently not of the same opinion as myself, and we agreed to meet the following day at the same hour.

On my second visit I again expressed myself of the same opinion as previously. I then suggested it would be advisable for me to send for a mental nurse to watch the case. When the latter arrived at the house she found the ravings still going on.

At night the patient was lying in the middle of the

bed. On the right-hand side was the nurse, outside the bed, and on the left-hand side sat the husband. The patient got exhausted, as feigners of insanity generally do at night, and dropped off to sleep. The husband went over to the nurse and began to talk to her.

The patient was awakened by the noise, and a sudden fit of jealousy at his behaviour with the nurse appeared to restore her to a complete condition of sanity. From that moment all the symptoms of insanity disappeared. The following day, on my visit, I was met by my patient with a smiling face. She had completely thrown off her "madness," and was again a rational being.

I said to the doctor, "What do you think of your maniac now?" He was astounded. The reason for this was apparent. The father of her intended husband had threatened to cut him off without a shilling if he married her. She thought, therefore, by feigning serious illness caused by this threat, that it might work upon his feelings and so induce him to change his mind when he had heard of what had happened. Little did she know what a narrow escape she had, through the ignorance of a general practitioner, of being incarcerated in a lunatic asylum.

It was during the hearing of the Tichborne case, whilst I was sitting quietly in my consulting room, attending to my father's practice, that a gentleman straight from the case was ushered into my presence. He had called to see my father.

The question at issue was, what effect upon a man's mind would a residence for many years in an uncivilised part of the world have occasioned? The lawyer who sent this emissary desired this fact cleared up in the Tichborne Claimant's case, which then was occupying the attention of the courts in London. My father was wanted to give evidence on this point. In his absence I was asked if I would testify. So far as I can recollect this was the first instance of my being asked to give evidence in a court of justice. I requested time for reflection, and, as there was no immediate hurry for a decision, I went on the quiet into court to see what ordeal I should have to undergo. This I thought too appalling for my youthful mind, and the "Would you be surprised to hear?" hurled at every witness by Sir John Coleridge decided me to politely decline. I have often, however, regretted this. Perhaps I should have experienced a new sensation. I have had many worse experiences since then.

One winter's morning, when my father was on the Continent, a lady called upon me with reference to her brother, who was described as "eccentric." He lived in a remote part of Scotland, and was under the control or influence of an upper housemaid. He was very wealthy, and was leading the life of a hermit, and there was great difficulty, from the way he was guarded by the servant, in obtaining access to him. His house was surrounded by a number of half-starved King Charles spaniels and ravens.

It having come to the knowledge of his sister that

he had executed a will leaving all the family property to this housemaid and a nephew, I was deputed by her to visit her brother in the wilds of Scotland. I agreed to do this, but anticipated a certain amount of opposition and difficulty in doing so.

The question was, how to interview him, and on what plea? A letter was obtained by his sister from an intimate friend of hers, asking him to show the bearer, myself, some courtesy, should I call. I took this letter with me, and, first having obtained a description of this unseen friend, I started. I had to stay at a small Scotch country village the first night, but I managed, by interrogating the various persons whom I saw, to obtain a complete history of the patient's condition. The next day I was ferried across the river, and here again pumped the boatman. He thought I was the intended heir, the nephew, and freely opened his mind to me as to the condition of his "uncle."

On arriving at the house, everything appeared perfectly quiet. I knocked at the door, and after waiting some time a small aperture in the door was opened, and a voice, which was that of the upper housemaid, of whom I had been warned, asked me who I was and what I wanted? I replied that I desired to see Major S——. The answer was that he never saw anyone. I persisted most perseveringly. I said I had a letter of introduction from a lady who was desirous of my seeing the Major. The servant hesitated, and, returning in a few minutes, said, "The

Major will see you." I had not waited very long when a thickly-built person opened the door, and I walked in. Two seats were then brought, and the Major and myself occupied these in the hall. I never got beyond this. He then asked to see the letter, which was shown him. He said he did not recollect the writer in any way. Nothing daunted, I began to describe the appearance of the lady (whom I had never seen) and her maiden name. Ultimately getting into his confidence, and throwing him completely off his guard, I managed to elicit what I had desired to find out.

The property he had left, as I understood, to this same upper housemaid, who had at first interviewed me, and to his nephew. He then got impatient, and was apparently anxious for me to take my departure. I replied that I was fatigued, having come a long way, and asked permission to prolong my visit a short time longer. I did not wait for his consent, but continued seated. I turned the subject to his half-starved King Charles spaniels and ravens. He gave me some extraordinary explanation of this. I was evidently getting into his confidence, as I at once sympathised with him in his reasons as to this and also as regards other matters. He then gave vent to his feelings by making the most extraordinary remarks. I encouraged him in these. I waited until I had completed my mission, which consisted in an exhaustive examination into his mental state. Having finished my task, I got up to say good-bye. As the presumed object of my

visit was to ask him to direct me to the points of interest in the neighbourhood, and as the way he pointed out was in the opposite direction to the ferry-boat, which was waiting below for me, I had to walk stealthily round the garden until I saw the door close, when I found my way unobserved.

I returned to Perth and wrote a long account of my visit, giving my professional opinion. On my return to town I saw the sister, who had originally instructed me. She was more than delighted with the way I had done my business, and my report, containing twelve sheets of foolscap, was handed to her legal advisers in Edinburgh. I was subsequently informed that, at the last moment, the sister withdrew from the case out of her affection for her brother ; and I also subsequently heard, on his decease, that the property went to the housemaid and to the nephew, and that his nearest of kin, who was his sister, was completely ignored by the testator. This could have been prevented had she followed my advice.

The estate was an immense one, and I am positive that, had the inquiry been held into the mental condition of the Major, only one conclusion could have been arrived at, viz., that he was a person of unsound mind, incapable of managing himself or his affairs.

This was the first important case I was engaged in, hence I give it in full, so far as I can after these many years recollect the facts.

With regard to the powerful influence of the mind in subduing mental excitement, I recollect a case to

which I was called—that of a youth, about nineteen, who had nearly killed his brother the same morning, having made a desperate attack upon him, and would have succeeded in so doing, had he not been overpowered by those in the house. The attack was a sudden one, and had come on apparently without any direct cause.

Upon entering the room I found the boy lying on a mattress on the floor, struggling violently, being held down by four men. Much to their surprise, I went up to the patient, and placed my hand on his head. He then turned round upon me suddenly with glaring eyes, and I instructed everyone to leave the room. They were loth, however, to obey my wish, and evidently felt uneasy as to what would be my probable fate. I repeated my request that they should leave the room, and they did so, still hesitatingly.

I then addressed the patient, whose paroxysms of violence immediately disappeared as soon as we were alone. I remained with him ten minutes, and during this time his condition became one of absolute tranquillity. I requested him to get up and dress, which he did. He then sat on a chair opposite me, and we began to discuss matters of interest, apparently regardless of what had just happened.

In the meantime those who had taken steps to restrain him were in a state of trepidation outside the room. I believe that their ears were glued to the key-hole. Not hearing any sounds, however, either of

groaning or shouting, they became still further apprehensive as to what had become of me, and, opening the door with bated breath, saw the late raving lunatic and myself indulging in a quiet conversation.

They were astonished, and could not comprehend the powerful influence of one mind over another. In fact, they were ignorant of the psychic nature of what had taken place.

There was no return of the seizure, and the boy made a rapid recovery.

In 1875 I was at Venice, and having been informed that a large asylum, containing six hundred inmates, had been opened at the beginning of 1873 on an island situated a short distance from Venice, called St Clemente, I determined to pay it a visit.

It had been erected at the cost of nearly three million francs, and I was desirous of inspecting it.

I went there in a gondola from Venice, and knocked at the door. I was looked upon with a certain amount of suspicion by the janitor who admitted me. I requested him to take my card to the director, which he did. Soon an old gentleman came down and escorted me round the institution. He could not speak English, and hardly any French, and I was unable to speak any Italian, therefore it was a sort of dumb-show entertainment.

The place was a magnificent establishment so far as the structure was concerned, the floors being composed of handsome tessellated marble.

I was sorry to see restraint used to such an extent

there, a large number of the inmates being in chains. Some of the wretched patients came to me with their manacles and chains on their wrists and legs. One poor lady, who was playing the piano with a considerable amount of difficulty, looked at me in an appealing way as I went up to the instrument, and showed me her poor wrists, on which was a considerable ecchymosis and swelling, which had been produced by these chains. Another one, who was allowed to play the harmonium, was similarly restrained.

On my return to Venice I wrote forthwith to the Italian Consul in London telling him what I had seen, and suggesting that there should be an alteration so far as the restraint used at the asylum was concerned. On my return to England I received a courteous reply from him, stating that the matter would be attended to.

In 1878, finding myself at Venice again with a congenial companion, I was desirous of once more visiting the establishment to see whether the alterations had been made with reference to the restraint used as suggested by me. I was conscious of the fact that no one in the asylum could speak a word of English, and therefore I took with me a printed and published account of my previous visit, which I thought would inspire the director and act as a sort of passport for my admission.

I felt that there might be, however, some difficulty in obtaining an interview, from the fact that I had been informed that my previous report had been sent

to the director ; and I discussed the situation with the proprietor of the hotel. He said, " I will make this all right for you. I will write a private letter," which he did.

Armed with this authority, we started off to the asylum. As I stated before, I was conscious of the fact that no English was understood ; however, I took my report with me. Arriving there, I handed the letter to the director, who opened it, and to my astonishment he welcomed my companion and myself as " editor of the *Times*" and " Queen Victoria's own physician." We felt, however, that we must act up to this part. I then showed him my printed report of the asylum, in which I condemned the restraint used. I only wished him to see the heading—this was " A visit to St Clemente,"—as I knew perfectly well he would not understand what I had said. To my horror and astonishment, he called to somebody on the first landing to come down. He did so, and translated verbatim into Italian what I had written in English ; and when he translated, " Never can I forget the dreadful aspect of some of the poor wretched lunatics bound like felons in some foul, pestilential dungeons !" I wished myself safe and sound at Venice again.

He explained to me, however, that since my previous visit things had been altered, and he thanked me for what I had written, and we parted good friends, on the assurance that, on my arrival in England, I would communicate with the Italian Consul as to the im-

provements that had taken place since my visit in 1875. This I did, and also published a second article describing the altered condition of affairs.

Those who are called upon to deal with the insane, or those alleged to be so, must not know the meaning of the word "fear." The fact is, that unless the lunatic knows that the doctor, or other individual who has to face him, is fearless he will get the better of the doctor. There is nothing like self-confidence and an air of fearlessness to quell a raving lunatic, and it often prevents a calamity from ensuing. I have always been imbued with these qualities; it has always been prominent in me as second nature, and has served me well during many cases of emergency and risk. I was summoned one afternoon to go at once to examine a patient who lived in a house in a lonely part of Clapham Common. From the description given to me I came to the conclusion that it was a very acute case, and one in which I might experience some trouble. I therefore instructed two attendants to go on in advance and wait outside the house pending my arrival. The man had been throwing a large amount of money about the common, and as a consequence he had drawn attention to himself. He was followed by the police, who, finding out particulars concerning him, forthwith communicated with his family, who subsequently instructed me in the case. I was just sitting down to dinner when I was summoned. I at once ordered my brougham, instructing the coachman to remain outside the gates

pending my return. On arriving at the house, and having alighted from the carriage, I looked round in vain for the two attendants. They were nowhere to be seen. I decided to try and force an entrance myself into the house. I opened the gate leading through the carriage drive to the house. Darkness reigned around ; everything seemed as still as death. I rang the bell. Suddenly a man appeared at the window asking the nature of my business. I replied that I desired an interview. He forthwith raised his arm and, presenting a revolver straight at me, fired. Fortunately, he missed me ; but, heedless of what might happen, I tried the door, which was locked, and, determined to take the house by storm, I forced the door, which opened in response to my efforts. I then rushed upstairs, and found myself face to face with my previous would-be assassin. He was a raving, dangerous lunatic, and I closed with him. Though lunatics are generally gifted with inhuman strength, he found his match with me. He was not the first case of a similar nature I had had to deal with. I so well knew my man ; there was a desperate struggle, during the progress of which he nearly got the better of me, as I was gradually getting exhausted with the inhuman violence of a madman. Much to my satisfaction and delight, the attendants rushed in. They had lost their way, but, seeing my coachman outside, had been told where I had gone. I left the men in charge and returned home, thankful to have escaped with my life. The following morning I saw the rela-

tions, described what I considered should be forthwith done, and before many hours had elapsed he was safe under lock and key in an institution suitable for such cases. My efforts were only just in time, as it was found that he had been robbed of a large sum of money, which, being in notes and gold, were not traceable. Besides, the additional fact was that, suffering from delusions of persecution and suspicion, he developed into a dangerous madman of the worst description.

One day I was asked if I would investigate a case of a spiritualistic fraud in the neighbourhood of Bloomsbury, where a man named Bastian was creating a certain amount of excitement in that neighbourhood by holding *séances*, in which he was alleged to materialise the spirits of departed relatives. This neighbourhood was, and is now, the favourite locality for spiritualists.

It was agreed that three other gentlemen should accompany us, and, being convinced as to the fraudulent nature of the transaction, it was thought advisable that we should be armed with squirts containing red cochineal.

We entered the room and paid our money. Proceedings commenced with a light *séance*, during which nothing very unusual occurred. After this the room was darkened. There were two rooms communicating with each other. Suddenly an apparition appeared through the door. One of our party pretended that he was much impressed and agitated,

and exclaimed, "Oh, I recognise my dear, darling child! Oh, come nearer, come nearer me!" The medium, evidently not at all suspicious, came a little nearer; but when it had got sufficiently close, so as to make sure of my aim, I squirted my cochineal straight at it. There was tremendous consternation, and the remaining lights were put out. I rushed into the adjoining room, the spirit having made a precipitous flight. This proved to be a solid spirit with a considerable amount of substance. A tussle took place between the spirit and myself, aided by others, evidently on the spirit's side; but it ended in my bringing it into the room, one of our party turning on the gas again. I had hit him on the forehead and on his dickey, which was made of paper; he had managed, however, to take this off, but at the same time he could not take off his forehead, on which the cochineal remained. I brought him into the room in full view of the audience and denounced him as a fraud. The majority of the audience demanded their money back. I went off at once and took a letter to one of the leading newspapers, which appeared the next morning. Evidently the spirits had not been accustomed to squirts of cochineal. The following week *Mr Punch* inserted the following couplet:

"Bravo, Dr Winslow, you our woes do heal,
Coch a spirit, coch-an-eel!"

Not very long ago I was consulted by an English lady of refinement, who had been in the habit of spending a considerable time on the Continent. She

had been subjected to a considerable amount of annoyance, which ladies travelling alone in Italy are liable to. In consequence of what had taken place, she decided to go from Sicily to Naples by steamer.

It was her intention to have stayed at the hotel at Naples to which she was accustomed to go, and where she knew those who were responsible for the management of the hotel. On her arrival at Naples she at once drove to the Grand Hotel, but found to her dismay that it was closed for a few weeks pending repairs.

All this occasioned a great deal of flurry and alarm in her, for knowing as well she did the terrible dangers to which unprotected ladies were liable at Naples, she hesitated for the moment what to do. She knew of no other hotel, as she had never stayed anywhere else except at the Grand. She carefully considered her position and the best course to pursue. She decided, inasmuch as there was a hospital in Naples called the Continental Hospital, which was supposed to receive into its wards persons of various nationalities, to go there and ask the medical superintendent in charge to allow her to remain in one of the rooms for the night, in order that she might decide upon a course to pursue. She explained to him that she was not really ill, but only a little agitated and flurried on realising her present position, and at the same time gave him her views of what had taken place at Sicily. The medical superintendent, Dr Scotti, apparently regarded her with a certain amount of

suspicion, and it is much to be regretted that he did not use ordinary discretion in the matter. He did not hesitate a moment but telephoned to the office of the bureau of the police at Naples, who at once sent an official down to the hospital. He had a conversation with the lady in question. Nothing was said during the interview which in any way led her to believe what a dreadful future was immediately in store for her. After this person had left, a telephone message was sent to a private asylum situated a few miles from Naples. She was asked, much to her astonishment and amazement, to follow two women, who went to the room where she was ; one of these she suspected to be a man in female clothes. She followed them into a carriage which was waiting at the door, and they drove off straight to this asylum. She was requested to alight, and, to her horror, found herself incarcerated in a public lunatic asylum. Whilst there she was subject to the greatest insults that could be possible to mention. Her trunks were ransacked and her jewellery taken out of them, never to be seen again.

The place was a filthy den. I have been there myself, and can well describe its condition. Many asylums in England are bad enough, but I leave it to the imagination to picture the condition of an Italian public asylum. She ultimately contrived to communicate with the British Consul, but he did not in any way inquire into her case. He sent his own doctor, who curiously enough was one I had known

in England some years before under different conditions. The lady, having remained a short time in the main building of the asylum, was transferred to a villa in the grounds, where she received, naturally, better treatment. This was done as they discovered that she was a lady of position and refinement. They had made sure on this point from the nature of her dresses which they had seen in her trunk, and from the amount of jewellery which they had carefully placed in their own pockets.

Her friends were ultimately communicated with. They came to Naples, but instead of removing her at once, as they ought to have done, they let her remain there a few days, much to her indignation. She ultimately returned with them by sea to England. In addition to the cruelty of the proceedings, and the indignity she suffered, and the robbery that had taken place, there was a serious wrong done to her, and an unjust stigma of lunacy cast upon her, which time could not eradicate, or anything ever recompense her for.

She was a lady beloved by all who knew her, charitable, good, generous, a staunch and true friend to all whom she respected.

I was requested to go to Naples to investigate this matter, and to find out who was the real mover in this sad affair. Fortunately there was a young Italian doctor at that moment staying in Naples, who was engaged in the steamship service between Naples and Alexandria. He had formerly stayed with me

in London, and had brought a letter of introduction from Lombroso. My investigation being of such a delicate nature, I was very fortunate in finding a faithful and true friend, whom I could trust, to assist me.

We commenced our investigations by first going to the Continental Hospital. Dr Scotti, although some years had elapsed, recollected the case well. After our interview with him, at which we did not obtain much information, we went to the asylum, and, making use of some excuse, we managed to throw them off their guard and obtained an inspection of all the documents relating to this lady's admission.

The medical director of the asylum evidently was under the impression that I had been employed by the British Government to investigate this matter, and I saw no reason why I should undeceive him. He evidently regarded me with a certain amount of awe and reverence ; little did he know that the object of my visit was to endeavour to prove that an injustice had been done to this lady by her detention by him in this establishment. I saw the order of the police, the certificates of the doctors, and the other documents. My Italian friend, the doctor, translated them to me in English. I did not want the asylum authorities to think that I was taking copies of them, so, as each one was translated to me, I made mental notes concerning it, and on my return to the hotel I was able to reproduce, nearly verbatim, each of the documents I had had translated to me. This was no

easy task, but, being blessed with a good memory, which I had been taught to use properly, I completed my task, not only to my satisfaction, but also to that of those whose interests I represented.

The conclusion I arrived at was that the responsible person, in the first instance, was the Consul, for not properly protecting the interests of a British subject, and for not having himself signed the order for her discharge, which it was his duty to have done. I also blamed the medical representative of the Consul for not having made proper and accurate investigations into all the circumstances connected with the case. I considered, however, that the one who was the most culpable was the chief commissioner of the police, as it was he who had really initiated the proceedings and put the wheel in motion, without having made sufficient inquiries. In other words, he had been too premature and too hasty in his communications, and I had no intention of leaving Naples until I had obtained a personal interview with him and had expressed my views on the case.

The next morning the Italian doctor and myself found ourselves at the police bureau. I gave a description in English of the object of my mission, this being translated into Italian. Each official blamed the other for what had happened—this is a practice common with foreigners; but I was determined not to leave the matter unsifted. I became most emphatic, and perhaps it was just as well for me that what I really said was not translated verbatim into Italian.

I listened to what the other side had to say, but I expressed my opinion without fear, and the result of my interview, as I was informed afterwards, nearly ended in my being dragged off to the cells for condemning, in a way they were apparently unprepared for, the proceedings which had taken place between themselves and my fellow-countrywoman. The chief of the police got very angry when he heard what I had to say, and ordered me to leave his legal presence. Possibly it may be inferred by my readers what the usual behaviour of an English police official, standing on his dignity, would be, when accused of any irregularity and illegality in his proceedings. He would have ordered the accuser to withdraw from his august presence. I suppose he would think that, just as "a king can do no wrong," so a police official could not do so either.

I have seen a great deal of excitement in the world, mental or otherwise, but I never, in the whole course of my career, remember to have seen or heard such fierce gestures and gesticulations as those that emanated from the chief of the police at Naples.

I remained calm, as I did not understand one single word he was saying at the time, though afterwards I was told what the significant meaning of his words were. The head official jumped up off his seat, shook his fist in my face, and gesticulated as only an Italian can do. I thought it best to keep calm and collected. I did not intend to say anything further, but to await the consequences and see what was going to happen.

I had expressed all I had to say through the interpretation of the Italian doctor, who had been only my spokesman, and therefore he was not held responsible for my offence. I was rather inclined to laugh at the Italian antics, but the wild and fierce aspect of my opponent decided me to keep a sober countenance. The conclusion that was passing through my mind was, that if the police official himself had been incarcerated in the asylum instead of the English lady, it would have been safer for his own country's sake, for the public at large, and for himself in particular. After he had exhausted all the epithets that he could think of, and every possible gesticulation, he summoned another official. This gentleman, being fresh to the work, virtually repeated all the previous statements, accompanied by similar movements ; but he was even more energetic than his predecessor, this being due no doubt to coming fresh on to the field of contest, whilst the other, having finished all he had to say, sank exhausted into his chair. I still held my ground, anxious as to the sequel. I left this gentleman dancing about the room, and, as he had evidently lost complete control over himself, I thought it best to leave the office till he had regained his wonted condition. Having been informed by the Italian doctor of the threats that had been held out against me, I made a precipitous flight to my hotel in a cab, and, having obtained my carpet-bag, I rushed off to the station. I found a train just starting, and at once

jumped in. This no doubt saved me from having to chronicle my adventures in a police cell at Naples. I succeeded in my mission, and on my arrival in England put myself into communication with the Home Office. I requested Lord Salisbury to take the case up and investigate the matter with reference to the neglect of the Consul. I obtained no satisfaction, however, out of this. Apparently they considered that I had no justification in daring to impute any wrong in connection with this gentleman. The question then arose, what remedy this lady had. After a considerable amount of trouble, I found that should an action have been brought against any of those who were responsible for her incarceration in the asylum and subsequent treatment, the case would be tried in Italy. This simply meant that, however strong the case might be laid before the judicial authorities, there would be no chance of obtaining a verdict, as it was not likely an Italian jury or an Italian judge would give a verdict against Italian officials.

I have entered into this case at length, from the fact that I hope it may be the means of protecting other English people who might be travelling on the Continent, and may show the dangers to which they are subjected when moving about unprotected in a foreign land.

Some time ago I had been attending a man who suffered from attacks of inability to restrain himself from indulging too freely in alcohol. I had advised his friends to place him under proper control. I told

them that unless some such steps were taken serious consequences must ensue. I did not suggest an asylum, but simply partial control, where a certain supervision would be exercised to prevent him indulging in his chronic alcoholism.

As is often the custom in such cases, the most difficult people to convince are the relations themselves. In this case, therefore, every possible excuse was made by them to postpone what I thought it my duty to tell them to do.

His employment was that of principal agent for some margarine merchants living in Rotterdam. He had for many years acted in that capacity, and it had come to their ears by some means or other that he had had a better offer made to him to represent another firm. His employers at Rotterdam wrote to him to ask him to come over to discuss the matter. His wife foolishly allowed him to do so notwithstanding my advice to the contrary.

On his arrival in Rotterdam he went to call direct on the firm, and was asked by them to sign a paper. He was apparently in a dazed condition, the result of indulgence on the boat, and he foolishly did this. This document proved to be an admission by him that he owed the firm a certain amount of money. This was not so in reality, as it was proved afterwards that the books had not been properly audited, and therefore there was not even a presumable case of his indebtedness to the firm.

By Dutch law it is enacted that if any English

subject owes a Dutch subject any money he can be forthwith imprisoned until that money is paid—that is to say, if he puts foot in Holland,—and is also liable to a term of seven years' imprisonment.

He dined with the firm that evening, and the next day he was asked to breakfast to discuss business matters, when he found to his amazement two policemen waiting there to arrest him.

He was at once conveyed to a prison in Rotterdam, but managed to communicate with his friends. His wife, accompanied by his solicitor, called at my house to instruct me to go over to Rotterdam and see what I could do about obtaining his freedom. His wife and myself left the same evening.

I found out who were the leading authorities in mental diseases in Rotterdam, and gave them the particulars of the case, should I require their help; I then called upon the officials, describing the nature of the patient's malady. I went to see the prisoner, but the unfortunate man did not appear in any way to recognise the gravity of the situation, and did not even remember signing the deed which was the cause of his arrest and imprisonment.

The Dutch authorities declined to deliver him up to my custody, notwithstanding that I pleaded very hard, not only on his own account but on behalf of his relations. I informed the authorities of what I had previously advised being done; the only response was, that before he could be transferred to the care of his friends, it would be necessary to hold a com-

mission of lunacy in England pronouncing him to be irresponsible for his actions. I was most emphatic in what I said to the Dutch officials, and I was determined upon my return to England to agitate in what I considered to be a public scandal in the illegal incarceration and detention of a British subject, whose brain I considered to have been weakened by excessive indulgence in alcohol.

On the day after my return from Rotterdam I wrote a long letter to the *Times*, and in discussing the commission of lunacy, which the Dutch authorities held over our heads as the only possible way of obtaining the freedom of this man, I said : " This is a costly and long proceeding, and it appears to me a monstrous scandal that an English subject, of whose mental state the opinions are voluminous, should be detained as a criminal in a prison in Holland without being subjected to any public trial, either to enable his friends to clear him, or to establish that the act was committed whilst suffering from mental disorder. The object of my visit to Rotterdam was to report on the case to the Dutch authorities, who, however, declined to interfere until such an inquiry as I have alluded to was held in our own country."

This letter was translated into Dutch, and appeared in the leading papers in Rotterdam, and such was the weight given to it, that within twenty-four hours after the appearance of this letter the gentleman, whom I had recently seen in durance vile, in a miserable condition behind the bars of a Dutch prison, walked into

my study, accompanied by his wife, with a cheerful smile depicted on his countenance.

Some years ago I was seated in my study, when a man came in and took a seat opposite to me. I noticed he seemed rather strange in his manner, and I asked him what his symptoms were. The man, drawing his chair nearer to me and glaring at me, said: "The fact is, doctor, that I have a great desire to kill everyone I meet." He then took his hat off, and I noticed he had got a sort of metallic band round his forehead; he pointed to it and continued: "It is only this which prevents me from carrying out what I desire to do."

I asked him to give me a more descriptive account of his meaning. He replied: "As I walk along the street, I say to myself as I pass anyone, 'I should like to kill you; I do not know why, but I have that feeling.'"

I became very interested in my man, though, according to my custom when anyone calls upon me in the first instance, I never allow him to approach too near me. From the moment a patient enters my study it is necessary for me to have my wits about me. The first thought that always enters my mind is, does this man or woman contemplate doing me any harm? I am always on the *qui vive* for such an emergency. Keeping my eye upon the patient, I said: "I really don't know what you are alluding to." He suddenly jumped up from his chair, and attempted to seize a weapon from his pocket. I seized his arm with one

hand, whilst with the other I rang the hand bell, which was the summons for my man-servant, always waiting outside, to come to my room. I said, still holding my patient, "Show this gentleman out into the street." By that time he appeared to become a little calmer, and, being conducted by the arm to the front door, turned round and said to me, "Good morning, doctor, we shall meet again." I replied, "Good morning." I do not know who the first person he met was when he got outside. I had not the curiosity to watch his movements.

This was a curious case of homicidal mania and homicidal impulses, the latter evincing themselves whilst in my study. He was, like all other homicidal lunatics, cunning, deceptive, and plausible, nothing in his outward appearance indicating insanity; but no doubt there was in his innermost nature a dangerous hankering after blood, which was latent when he came into my study, and developed in the way I have just described.

One day I was summoned to see a lady staying at the Midland Hotel. It appears that she was engaged to marry a late Governor of one of the States of America. She was a widow, and, accompanied by her daughter and the Governor, she had come to Europe previous to returning to America to be married. They had just come from Paris, where she had been buying hats and dresses for her trousseau. Suddenly her mind had become deranged, and she was under the delusion that she was pursued wherever she went by a witch.

Their passage had been taken on board the *Baltic*, a White Star liner, and they were very anxious not to be detained, but to get her back to America as soon as possible for her to receive treatment in her own land.

I first saw her two days before they started, and the delusion with reference to the witch had then taken a firm hold of her. I anticipated, therefore, a certain amount of difficulty in arranging matters for their departure. I engaged a nurse, however, but she did not seem to have any control over her. The only controlling power seemed to be myself, as I sympathised with her with reference to the witch, and she felt rather encouraged in her delusions and therefore trusted me. I felt that unless I encouraged her there would be no chance of their being able to go to America, and anyone opposing her wishes would lose all control over her. I arranged that I should accompany her myself, together with the nurse and the Governor, the following morning, from Euston to Liverpool.

At the last moment she declined to go unless the witch accompanied her. I allowed her to believe that we had packed the witch up safe and sound in one of the trunks, and that we would not leave her on any account behind. We engaged a special carriage, and she was under the impression that the witch was quite safe in the luggage van. We arrived safely at Liverpool and went on board. At the last moment they wanted me to accompany them to America, but this, as I explained to the daughter, was impossible.

Some time after, I had a satisfactory letter from the

Governor, informing me that he was happily married and that his wife was perfectly well, but on their arrival in America it had been found necessary to place her under treatment for a time, as she could not rid herself of the belief that she was bewitched, but that now she had completely recovered from her delusions.

Some years ago, when in Paris, I was asked to a social gathering, where I was introduced to Swami, who appeared to me to be a very singular character. She was apparently a clairvoyant, and professed to be able to look into the future and delineate character correctly. She was very much sought after in Paris, and was to be found in the drawing-rooms of most of the leading psychics living there. I must say that I was impressed by what she told me, though at the same time I was incredulous, not to say suspicious.

A few years afterwards the same Swami was indicted for certain crimes, which sent a wave of horror and disgust over the country, and which obtained for her seven years' penal servitude. She was sent to Aylesbury Prison, where she, no doubt by her personality, created a certain impression on the officials. They called her the "Queen," and she used to preach, not only to the inmates, but also to the officials. She was a big woman of a striking appearance.

Whilst at Aylesbury she was the constant companion of Kitty Byron, who had murdered Reginald Baker, a stockbroker, whose case had been also submitted to me.

As far as I recollect, when I met her in Paris she was very anxious to discuss with me what she termed the "righteous life." She told me that she was a direct disciple of Christ's, and that she was destined to play a prominent part in the history of the world.

I have often thought in my mind since, in reviewing what has taken place and considering it in conjunction with my experience of her in Paris, whether she should have been regarded in the light of one absolutely responsible for her actions. I must say the woman interested me very much, both in her appearance and her conversation.

One day I was seated in my study, when a gentleman came in with a mask on. He said: "Dr Winslow, I have come to consult you on a most terrible question in connection with myself. I am a well-known man, closely related to the highest in the land, and therefore for certain reasons I think it desirable that my identity should not be known to you. I feel that I am in a position to open my heart out to you, tell you the terrible story, and ask your advice concerning it; and I can do this with a much more open mind, conscious of the fact that you are unaware to whom you are speaking."

I must say that I was a little alarmed at my friend and his hideous mask, and I moved my chair back so as not to be in close proximity with him. I replied, putting my hand on a notebook: "In this notebook are contained the names of persons, which, if I divulged them, would cause an enormous amount of sensation in

the world, and would bring misery and ruin to families. I do not ask your name ; I simply ask you to continue your description of your case, when, after careful consideration, I will give you my opinion thereon."

He then unfolded himself to me and gave the most extraordinary experience that I have ever heard of.

After he had finished I then considered what my reply to him would be. It evidently had the desired effect of restoring him to a more tranquil condition of mind. I assured and reassured him that I had heard of similar symptoms before, and that I saw no reason why, so far as he was concerned, matters should not right themselves.

He seemed grateful, shook me by the hand, and placed in it an envelope containing my fee. Rising from his chair he said : " Dr Winslow, turn your head round while I take off this hideous disguise from the face of the man who has had to unfold to you such a dreadful history." I turned my head away. The door opened ; my friend left the house for the outer world again. I did not, however, let him know that through his hideous disguise I was able to trace the identity of the individual.

One evening I went through rather a trying experience, one of a horrible nature, and which might have turned out very serious to me. I was summoned to attend a man suffering from mania incidental to too much indulgence in alcohol. Upon my arrival I found the patient sitting on the sofa, his eyes rolling about in a very restless manner. There was a certain

amount of subdued excitement about him. His wife, as is often the case where the husband is an uncontrollable drunkard, was herself rather weak of purpose, or she would have taken proper steps to have had him taken care of long before I was called in.

On my entering the room he jumped up from the sofa, and, pointing to his wife, exclaimed: "Look at the woman I have brought up! Look at the woman I have nurtured! Look at her now! There she is!" Having completed his remarks to me, he then left the room, evidently with a view of further inspecting the cellar. He returned, his eyes glaring worse than ever, flourishing a large knife in his hand. I persuaded him to make me a present of it, which I kept for some time after among my curios. I saw that his condition was a dangerous one, and that it was unsafe for him to be left alone with his wife; and as it was nearly midnight and no possibility of obtaining help, I decided to remain the night on guard. During the night his craving seemed to increase, until I determined to stop it at all risks and hazards. I knew that I had the knife safe in my possession; it was only a question of one man's strength against another's. His mania, by this time, had become so violent that, knowing as I did the abnormality of this among lunatics, I determined to assert my authority and power by my hypnotic influence in dealing with the case. I took the key of the door away from him by force, so that he could no longer obtain access to the alcohol. He then fell back on

the sofa, and I was enabled, by certain psychic influences, to produce in him a deep, and what appeared to me a calm sleep. I never left the sofa the whole night in case he should have a sudden relapse. At seven o'clock a.m. he woke up, the attack having absolutely subsided. I feel sure that had I not remained with him during the night, murder would have been committed by him. This is an interesting case from the fact of its being one of a class, in which, had something not been done, the consequences would have been serious. I think that judicious and proper steps in similar cases, taken on the part of other doctors called in, might prevent many murders, which are now brought to light, committed by acute alcoholic lunatics.

One of the most painful cases I attended was that of Ascher, the composer of "Alice, where art thou!" He suffered from a form of paralysis which affected his brain. I was at his death-bed, and his poor old father said to me: "You see my son there, a pitiful object. I have seen the whole of the Berlin Opera House rise to him to do him homage. Look at him now." There was no one in the musical world who was so esteemed or thought so highly of as poor Ascher.

A few weeks before he died I set him down to the piano, placing opposite to him his own song, "Alice, where art thou!" He seemed to revive for a moment, and instead of being a poor listless individual his mind seemed to respond for the time being as if a sort of magnetic spell had been thrown over him by the

sight of one of his own compositions. He sat down impatiently ; his poor fingers, half-paralysed, tried to play ; but in the place of the lovely music incidental to that piece, apparently nothing but discord emanated from his fingers ; in fact, he kept touching the wrong notes, but, conscious of the fact that he only produced discordant sounds, he became very excited, and kept shouting out to me, looking round : “ Wait a minute ! Wait a minute ! It will soon be right.” I took him from the piano, much to his displeasure, as he was conscious of the fact that he had not been playing the right notes and was eager to show me what they ought to be. Ascher passed away in my presence ; another instance of a great genius who had no doubt much to thank the attention of the world in general, mistaken kindness—which generally accompanies a musical genius’s career,—for his dissolution at an early age. Whenever I hear that beautiful song, my mind always reverts to the closing hours of poor Ascher.

It does not occur often in the career of a mental expert to give evidence in a commission of lunacy in the country, and to succeed in bringing back the alleged lunatic direct from the asylum with restoration to liberty.

A few years ago I had been instructed to examine a gentleman who was confined as a person of unsound mind in an asylum near Exeter. Accompanied by another physician, I made the necessary examination and forwarded our report to the solicitor engaged in the matter. The question at issue was whether he

was capable of managing himself and his affairs. With regard to the latter point there could be no two opinions, as, from what transpired at the trial, it appeared that he had been spending his money in buying property in a most extravagant way; but whether his condition was such as to warrant his being detained in a lunatic asylum and deprived of his liberty was another question. I had a very strong opinion that this was not so. The inquiry lasted two days. The patient was brought to the court-house every day, accompanied by an attendant. He waited outside, ready to accompany him back to the institution. The same counsel was employed in this case as in the Townshend inquiry, and I had the conduct of the medical part of it. The jury found that he was capable of taking care of himself, but incapable of managing his affairs. He was forthwith discharged from the asylum, and instead of returning to the institution he came back to the hotel with me, and returned to London a free man.

I was very proud at what had taken place, as I felt sure that, if the case had not been presented very strongly on our part, he would still have remained in duress vile. He had received every possible care and kindness from the doctor in whose house he was, who was ever ready and willing to furnish me with any particulars relating to the case. He had no power to discharge him, pending the inquiry which had been applied for. Two other doctors had been retained on the other side, whose opinions were as strongly opposed

to his sanity as ours to his insanity ; and though we all stayed at the same hotel together, we left them in the enjoyment of their own society.

We did not see them after the alleged lunatic had returned to the hotel with us a free man.

During my experience it has frequently been my sad duty to warn friends and relatives as to the nature of a case on which I have been consulted. Sometimes they follow the advice I give them, but at other times they either will not or cannot recognise the gravity of the situation. I have a number of these cases as illustrations of what I now say, but the one I give will suffice.

A few years ago Mrs Louisa Constance Proud came under my observation as out-patient at my hospital. She suffered from depression, and was apprehensive in her statements to me as to what she feared she might be tempted to do. I made a careful examination of her, as I felt the case was one of great importance. Not only did I caution her husband, who brought her to me, but I made a special note of her case at the time, in which I said, " If something is not done at once, I feel sure that serious consequences will ensue." I read this over to the husband. I saw the case in the month of September, and at my suggestion he took her to an asylum, but allowed her to come out at the expiration of three days, notwithstanding my strong opinion in the matter. He then took her to the seaside like an ordinary rational being.

A short time afterwards she killed her daughter, aged sixteen months, by setting fire to the bed in which the

child was sleeping. There is no doubt whatever that the husband was responsible for what happened, for on the day this occurred it appears that his wife was very despondent, and a few days before she kept asking him, why he did not "put her in an asylum and kill the children"! She repeated continuously, "Oh, Jack, Jack, you are a fool! Why do you not put me away? Take some poison and kill the children, and they will be angels, and then we shall have no trouble."

The husband also stated in his evidence: "She had frequently threatened to commit suicide, and about nine months ago cut her throat with a razor."

Being asked by the coroner whether he was satisfied in his own mind that his wife was at times not responsible for her actions, he answered: "I regret to say I am. I have had her confined in an asylum, but I took her out again."

It appears that there was insanity in the family. At the trial the woman was proved to be of unsound mind at the time of the murder. I was asked to give evidence in the case, but unfortunately I was away from London at the time, but my report was handed in, together with the opinion I had originally given and what I had recommended should be done in this matter.

This is an illustration of what serious consequences may happen when relatives, who have to deal with mental cases, act upon their own responsibility, evidently with the hope that the opinion expressed by the medical expert, whom they have consulted, may be erroneous.

LEGAL EXPERIENCES

LEGAL EXPERIENCES

LEGAL CASES

DURING the forty years in which I have been figuring in the law courts, I have been professionally connected with the leading cases which have taken place during that period. It is only my intention, however, to give the principal ones. They are all public property, as they have all been fully reported in the press. Any legal case I have been in of a private nature, which has not received publicity, I have no intention of placing before the world. What has been made public on one occasion can be again reproduced by me. I have given evidence before many judges, living and dead, and have been subjected to examination and cross-examination by many of the legal luminaries, past and present. From some I have received fairplay, respect, and consideration, whilst at the hands of others I have received discourtesy, want of respect, and have often been handled in a way which I consider to have been unwarrantable. It is useless as a rule to appeal to judges for protection from the rebuffs of counsel. They are conscious of the fact that, having been once in the

position of counsel themselves, they would have acted in a similar way. Forty years' experience in the law courts has convinced me that counsel generally have too much latitude. This is my personal experience. Before certain judges, if the counsel has what is called the "ear" of the court, you might as well throw your money into the gutter as attempt to instruct your solicitor to brief anybody in opposition to him. When I reflect on the number of the poor wretches who have received gross injustice at the Old Bailey, I always give a sardonical grin as I pass there and see the figure of Justice with the sword and the scales, which is supposed to be the emblem of the purity of English law.

The public are usually kept so much in the dark as to the way criminal matters are conducted, and the consequence is that material of vital importance is often hushed up in court, that I feel it will be of interest to those who remember certain cases, to which I am now referring, to enter into them in considerable detail. I am thus enabled to produce certain facts which as yet have never come before the world. Medical witnesses in the box, when testifying for the defence, have very often a number of questions put to them which are ruled off as inadmissible. The prosecuting counsel takes every opportunity, should he be of opinion that what the witness is going to testify to is of importance, to raise some sort of objection as to its being irrelevant or inadmissible; he appeals to the judge; the judge upholds him. This has often been so with me. I

never can understand the reason why medical experts are tried to be made either buffoons or perjured witnesses, and not desirous of explaining the real and true nature of the case as it appears to them. I am sorry to say this is so in many trials. The more the vital points are put in evidence, so much the more they are suppressed. If a case appears one of unusual brutality to the public, the defence does not receive a proper hearing. It is often quite ignored, and those witnesses who are called upon for the prisoner are regarded with suspicion. They are considered in the light, very often, of traitors in daring to oppose the powers that be. The suppression and curtailing of evidence raised for the defence is a blot on our judicial criminal trials. It appears to me very unfair that experts for the Treasury should be treated in a different way from those of the defence. I have often left the court after giving an honest professional opinion to the best of my convictions and judgment, being conscious of the fact that justice has not been done, and that the prisoner has not had a fair trial. The ruling of our judges in instructing the jury that if the prisoner knows the "difference between right and wrong," by law he is guilty even though he may entertain delusions, and so long as this distinction exists in his mind he is responsible, often gives rise to an agitation after sentence on the part of the relatives who are aware as to the insanity. After considerable amount of pressure brought to bear on those in authority at the Home Office, sometimes

an inquiry is granted. Medical men nominated by the Government are sent to examine the condemned. No consultation with those doctors nominated by the defence takes place, and often an incomplete history is placed before those doctors at the time. This, to my mind, is not as it should be. Surely, if a man is on the threshold of his fate, the red-tapeism and secrecy surrounding the Treasury officials should be removed for the time being, and both sides should consult together and arguments *pro* and *con* be considered. The examination is a one-sided affair, and it is a blot on our constitution. That the reports issued by doctors otherwise than those nominated by the Treasury are ignored I feel certain, in the majority of instances.

CONDEMNED TO DEATH

Though I have been called upon to examine many prisoners waiting their trial for murder, I have never had any opportunity of being allowed to examine any who have been condemned to death; this for the simple reason that the Government, in cases where no plea of insanity has been raised at the trial, refuse to allow outside interference. They and their medical advisers are alone the judges of whether certain questions raised after conviction are sufficient to justify a reprieve on the ground of insanity. The examination of prisoners made by me, except when in America, has always been conducted either in the

infirmary of the prison or in the medical officer's private room—in each case, however, in his presence. It is rather an appalling feeling to be conscious of the fact that you are shaking hands with someone who in a few days will be launched into eternity, and this feeling is uppermost in one's mind as one interrogates the wretched individual. I cannot recollect one prisoner I have examined, with the exception of a boy who escaped from an institution of the feeble-minded near Hampton Court, who could be said to be objectively insane. I never saw one who was shamming or who wanted to be regarded as insane.

They simply walk from the cell into the doctor's room, sit down like any ordinary individual, answer my questions put to them. I then read these over to them as to their correctness; they sign what I have read. After this my report is sent both to the solicitor who is instructing me and also to the Home Office.

It is my intention to lay before the public some of the facts of cases I have appeared in, which the curtailing of such evidence has induced me to do.

Before a case can be properly adjudicated upon, it is the duty of the court to hear all the evidence of both sides, medical and otherwise, *in extenso*, and not to withhold any from the court from some legal quibble or technical theory raised in the issue. The prisoner should have the benefit of a fair trial. On this point I desire to be emphatic, and I base my assertions on what I have seen and heard in courts of law.

At the present day there are few medical men who care or dare to go through the ordeal in the witness-box. There is nothing to be gained ; you lay yourself open to insult and an imputation of wrong motives ; your time is taken up in hanging about the precincts of the law courts ; and as a rule, with few exceptions, you find that the solicitors have appropriated the fees which you are supposed to have received for your professional services. I speak of what I know to be the case, and what I have myself experienced. I have witnessed a most learned and experienced physician trembling like an aspen leaf under the severe and cruel cross-examination of counsel.

What strikes me, after an experience of forty years in the law courts—and I would again make this most emphatic—is the fact that the evidence called by the Treasury always receives more credence than that called for the defence.

It is difficult to convince the Treasury prosecutors that there are always two sides to a question, and that it does not necessarily follow that the medical expert called for the defence is not in every way giving an honourable, true, unprejudiced professional opinion. The medical expert often leaves the witness-box, having gone through what the French describe as a “ *mauvais quart d’heure* ” of a very unpleasant nature.

The jury are more inclined to believe those experts appearing on behalf of the Treasury, who receive handsome fees, rather than those medical experts who

oppose the Treasury, and who, as a rule, have to fish for their money and get nothing.

One of the first cases I was called upon to testify in, in which the plea of insanity was raised, was that of Robert King, the "Old Kent Road murder."

If ever there was a judicial murder committed, and a man hurled into eternity in an unjustifiable way, it was in this case. It made a great impression upon me at the time, being one of my early cases.

After the crime, which he committed whilst suffering from delusions of a religious nature, and which was apparently quite motiveless, he made a desperate attempt on his own life. He tried to cut his throat, and had the penknife gone but a fraction of an inch further, judging from the writing which was found in his pocket, containing a number of incoherent, nonsensical views on religion, there is no doubt but that the verdict would have been one of "Murder and suicide whilst suffering from temporary insanity." But because the knife failed to do its deadly and intentional duty, the poor wretch was taken to a hospital, and everything was done which surgery could do to patch him up so as to enable him to take his place in the criminal dock of the Old Bailey.

I was requested to examine him in the cell beneath the dock in the Old Bailey at the adjournment for lunch. The examination was a most painful one. In consequence of the aperture in his throat, he had to lie down flat on his back whilst partaking of his food. The man, in my opinion, was a semi-imbecile.

He did not know the difference between right and wrong, which was the test of sanity in the English courts. It was a Treasury prosecution, and for some reason best known to themselves they wanted a conviction and succeeded in obtaining one.

Sir Henry Poland appeared for the Treasury, but, being unable to weaken my cross-examination, just before I left the box addressed me as follows: "Dr Winslow, I presume you get a good fee for coming here to-day." To which I replied, addressing him by name: "A doctor has as much right to his fee as a barrister has to his." "Ah, you think so," he replied. "Yes, I do," and down sat the big luminary of the law.

The wretched man was hanged, and a gross injustice chronicles the British calendar. The impression I had of my first appearance in court was, that a mental expert's position was not a happy one, and after many years' experience I abide by the same conclusion.

I remember many years ago, when my father was giving evidence in a case, a young barrister, evidently new to the business, suddenly jumped up from the well of the court, and addressing my father, remarked to him: "Dr Winslow, give us a definition of this insanity, which you have so frequently alluded to in this case." My father answered: "It is impossible to give one definition of insanity which will include all the varieties of this disastrous and dreadful malady." This did not satisfy the budding Q.C. He thumped his fist on the desk. "I insist on a definition." My father hesitated for a moment, and then, giving vent

to all the longest psychological words he could think of, and which he knew were beyond the comprehension of the learned barrister, completely floored him and was asked to desist, the barrister exclaiming: "Dr Winslow, please do not continue further, for if you do we shall all become examples of that terrible complaint, which you have so eloquently described."

A short time ago I was giving evidence before Mr Justice Sutton in a case of slander. The counsel who cross-examined me, probably with a view of being facetious or funny, raised the question of my professional fee. In this case it was nil. He put his question in a similar way to that put by Sir Henry Poland in the case of the Old Kent Road murder.

My reply was: "The difference between us is as follows: your profession always receive their fees in advance, we doctors rarely receive them at all." In this case it was perfectly true, as also in the Old Kent Road murder and many other cases I could mention. It is a monstrous thing that those professional men, who give up their time to testify in law courts, should not receive their honorarium, whereas the counsel, giving but such a short time to the consideration of the case, decline to go into court unless they have received their fees previous to the commencement of the proceedings, and go in with well-greased palms.

A medical expert, opposing the Treasury, has a great deal to contend with. The Treasury have not only all the money they desire at their back, but the advantage of having the highest legal opinion and

advocacy in the case. The poor wretch struggling against the Treasury has a poor time indeed.

I have come to the conclusion that those cases in which the plea of insanity is raised do not get a fair hearing in England. The suggestion of guilt and responsibility is hammered into the jury by the prosecuting counsel, and those who are convinced that the man is not criminally responsible, and who are giving evidence to that effect, have to take a back seat. It is rather an heroic statement to make, but I do so without the least hesitation, and that is, that I conscientiously believe that I have had right and justice on my side in every case I have been called in to testify as to the irresponsibility of the accused person. I remember giving evidence in the case of *Nunn v. Hemming* at Westminster Hall. An action was brought by a patient who had been confined in Munster House Asylum in the neighbourhood of Fulham. Whilst an inmate there he had made his escape and had been recaptured. His allegation was that, on being taken back to the asylum, he had been drugged with chlorodyne, put into a bath, and subsequently, to use his own expression, he had been "thrown into a padded room." He brought an action against the proprietor of the asylum for this treatment. The reason that I was a witness was that a few years previously he had been a patient in the asylum over which I had exercised my medical supervision. In fact, he used to dine at my table like one of the family, and was always treated in a proper and humane way. The counsel for the prose-

cution, Serjeant Parry, made a great deal out of the comparison between the treatment the patient received at my hands and that which he received at the hands of the other asylum authorities. The constant allusion to my "soothing treatment," and his impressing on the jury the fact that when my patient he was always treated as a visitor, dining at my table, and that I never drugged him with chlorodyne, rather stirred up my poetical spirit. I was very young in those days, and youth must be my excuse, but I sent up to the learned Serjeant the following impromptu verse :—

"If you are asked to treat the poor insane,
To ease their anguish, pacify their brain,
The padded room or bath you must not use,
Or you'll be blamed and also get abuse.
You must not give your patients chlorodyne,
But if excited ask them up to dine ;
And one safe medicine all the rest will beat—
It's Winslow's soothing syrup given neat."

The soothing treatment had inspired me, and I could not resist giving vent to my poetical feelings.

During my career I have testified in commissions of lunacy innumerable, and these have been held before various Masters, and, so far as I can recollect, I have never testified in any case which has not been decided according to my testimony, with one exception. In this case the patient was confined in an asylum in the neighbourhood of London. He was a wealthy man, and whilst in the asylum he was allowed to drive about in his carriage and pair wherever he wished to go, and

whilst there, by his request, I visited him. Being transferred to another institution, his son desired to hold a commission of lunacy on him, and to place his affairs under the protection of the Court of Chancery. The gentleman in question made every possible effort to communicate with me and get me to stop the proceedings if possible. In vain he tried ; he was behind the four walls of a lunatic asylum, and all communication with the outside world was debarred him. One evening there was a theatrical performance given at this asylum, and the patient, being of a theatrical turn of mind, got into conversation with one of the performers, unnoticed by the attendants. He gave him a letter to post to me. This informed me of the fact that he was to be brought to town on a certain day, and that an inquiry was going to be held into his mental condition, without any opportunity being given him of being represented or of defending himself in the matter. In other words, it was to be an *ex-parte* trial. Solicitors had been engaged, counsel had been briefed, witnesses had been summoned on one side ; but he, the interested party, was left out in the cold with no one to represent him. In this letter he requested me to take what steps I thought advisable to protect his interests. The day of the trial had arrived, and, accompanied by a solicitor, whom I had nominated, I was waiting at the door of the court for the patient and his attendants to arrive. The solicitor had already written out an authority, to be signed by the patient, which would legally empower him to represent the

alleged lunatic. On reaching the court I introduced the solicitor to the patient, and after he had signed the document we all went into court. This step was done unknown to the other side, who had got everything ready and had anticipated that the trial would go through undefended. On the case being called, the solicitor rose, and, addressing the Master, requested an adjournment, on the ground that he had only just been instructed. The representatives on the other side were apparently staggered, but they had no alternative but to abide by the ruling of the Master in granting an adjournment of the case. The case was heard in the High Courts of Justice a few months later. It was a good illustration of what often takes place where a wretched man is imprisoned in an asylum and is unable to communicate with the outside world, and is in the hands of those who are desirous of depriving him of his liberty and of the management of his property, without being given the right which every Englishman demands of defending himself.

Though it was thought advisable in the interest of the patient that his property should be protected, nevertheless he had the advantage of a fair and proper trial, in consequence of his being personally represented. This no doubt satisfied him.

As a result of forty years' experience as a witness in many commissions of lunacy held before a jury, I have no hesitation in pronouncing the whole thing a farce.

I was giving evidence before Master Fischer at

Teignmouth in Devonshire. The jury were of the usual intelligent nature found in country villages. They had been summoned to hear evidence, and to decide whether a certain gentleman was of sound or unsound mind and capable of managing himself and his affairs.

I will give one illustration as proof of my justification in regarding commissions of lunacy, as at present conducted by juries, as a farce of the worst description, and I desire in every way to justify this opinion from a remark I overheard made by one of the jury in this case.

I sat immediately under the jury-box, and upon the Master asking the jury if they would like to make a personal examination of the alleged lunatic, one of them remarked to his neighbour, but not in the hearing of the Court, "What do we know about lunatics? We could not tell 'em." This in broad Devonshire. And here was a jury summoned to adjudicate on a matter of which they were in baneful ignorance of anything connected with the subject. It is not for me to suggest anything in place of trial by jury in alleged cases of insanity; but the longer I have lived, and the more experience I have obtained in this subject, proves to my mind conclusively that some other plan ought to be adopted in such cases. This is not only so in commissions of lunacy, but also in murder cases when the plea of insanity has been raised, and in fact every case where the soundness or unsoundness of a person's mind has to be decided.

It is amusing to see the persuasive methods adopted by counsel in addressing these gentlemen, apparently regarding them as intelligent members of the community, instead of, as I have often met them, just the opposite. I have had many opportunities, after the decision of a case, of hearing what the jury have had to say in the matter as to what was passing through their minds during the trial. Of course among twelve men there may be one or two with a fragmentary amount of intelligence. I have generally regarded a country jury in the light of the celebrated Cornish jury with the same amount of brain, one of the members of which, on being asked after the trial, why he did not find the person guilty, replied: "If you hang him to-morrow, it would not bring the old woman to life again, so I gives him the benefit of the doubt!"

Another member of the same jury replied as follows: "All I can say is that he saved two of my children from the small-pox, and putting one and two together I should not go to find him guilty"; the case at issue being that of a doctor who had been tried for the alleged administration of arsenic in a dish of rabbits smothered in onions. It is authenticated, and is often quoted to show the absurdities of complicated cases with scientific issues being left to the judicial opinion of a number of ignorant men.

In cases where guilt or innocence is simply to be decided they are quite as competent to deal with the matter as the most cultured people in the land,

and often much better ; but when an abstruse subject, involving scientific and psychological investigations, occurs, and where the objective and subjective state of the mind has to be dealt with, and where the question of madness or rationality is the one under consideration, then, as I said before, the tribunal to decide this should not be a number of ignorant gabies. At least this is my experience, and after forty years I feel in every way justified in expressing my views.

THE BALHAM MYSTERY : BRAVO CASE

My opinion was asked in 1876 with reference to the case known as the " Balham mystery."

The history of the case is as follows :—Florence Campbell, an accomplished girl, married Captain Ricardo in 1864. Three years after marriage he became addicted to habits of drunkenness, which increased to such an extent as to end in delirium tremens. Subsequently Captain and Mrs Ricardo separated. Captain Ricardo died, and his body being exhumed, antimony was detected. The allegation at the time was that it had been administered by his wife, but this was only slander, as they had not then been under the same roof together for many years. After the separation Captain Ricardo went to Germany, whilst his wife visited Malvern. She there became acquainted with Dr Gully, superintendent of a Malvern hydro, whom she had known

for years. The only obstacle, on his death, to Mrs Ricardo marrying Dr Gully was that he had a wife of his own still living. This state of affairs continued for a few years, when, in consequence of an estrangement with members of her own family, due to her clandestine intrigue with Dr Gully, she determined to give up his society in order to be received into the family circle once more. About this time she made the acquaintance of a young barrister of the name of Bravo, and within six weeks of this, though he knew her past life, he married her.

Four months after the marriage Mr Bravo came home in his usual state of health, and sat down to dinner with his wife and her companion, Mrs Cox, at 6.30. At 10.30 he was seized with a violent attack of vomiting. An alarm was raised that Mr Bravo was ill. He rushed to the door of his room, shouting loudly for hot water and help. Mrs Cox, accompanied by the housemaid, ran upstairs, to find him standing by the window, out of which he had been sick. In a short time he became unconscious, and continued more or less in that condition. It was thought necessary to summon two medical men from London. He had glimpses of rationality between his attacks, and in answer to a question Bravo stated that he had rubbed his gums with laudanum.

The first doctors found him dying of collapse and heart failure. He had moments of consciousness, during which they recognised symptoms of poisoning by some metallic irritant, which, though at first were

nearly sufficient to produce an almost fatal collapse, had not done so, but allowed the patient to rally in great agony, but with his brain unaffected.

The following day Sir William Gull was sent for ; the letter, sent by hand, was as follows :—

“ DEAR SIR,—My husband is dangerously ill. Could you come as soon as possible to see him ? My father, Mr Campbell of Buscot Park, will feel very grateful to you if you could come at once. I need not say how grateful I should be.—Faithfully yours,

“ FLORENCE BRAVO.”

Upon the arrival of Sir William Gull that evening Bravo was pulseless but not insensible, and he asked Sir William Gull to read him the Lord's Prayer, which he did.

Sir William Gull left the house stating that Bravo would not live the night. He could elicit nothing from him as to the nature of what he had taken ; but he made the following statement upon being told that he was dying of poison : “ I took it myself—laudanum.” He died the same day, within sixty hours of his attack. A large amount of antimony was found in the body, and the question was, Who administered this antimony ? Was it taken by the deceased in order to commit suicide ? The coroner's jury gave a verdict that the antimony had been administered with murderous intent by some person or persons unknown, and negatived the suggestion of suicide. To the last Bravo asserted that anything he had taken was administered by himself.

I expressed my firm conviction that Bravo committed suicide during temporary insanity, and that it was not a case of murder ; and I was not alone in my theory. I was present at the trial, and was subsequently consulted in the matter, the whole facts of the case being submitted to me. Bravo was a man of excitable temperament, liable to sudden outbursts of passion without any adequate cause. He was morbidly jealous, and he vented his suspicions at every opportunity on his wife ; his mind became absorbed with the one train of thought, relative to certain events previous to his marriage, to which I have already referred. The public from the outset were determined not to accept the theory of suicide, let the evidence be ever so strong or substantiated by convincing facts. On my part, I was equally determined to make them recognise the contrary, and I did my best, and I think successfully, to accomplish what I intended to convey. One strong reason for his committing suicide was his mental depression at his wife's infidelity, of which they had absolute and abundant proof, and also the taint of hereditary insanity in his family ; but this latter evidence carried no weight at the inquest, and was hardly in any way considered or dealt with. In a case like this, where there was unfortunately so much which is theoretical, I am strongly of opinion that there ought to have been a medical as well as a legal assessor, as the question at issue was whether the matter was one of murder or suicide. In this case I must confess that

even the Treasury were desirous of sifting the matter to the very utmost.

The jury having sat for twenty-three days, the following verdict was given: "That Mr Charles Delauney Turner Bravo did not commit suicide, that he did not meet his death from misadventure, that he was wilfully murdered by the administration of tartar emetic, but that there is not sufficient evidence to fix the guilt upon any person or persons." The father in his evidence stated two most important facts. When interrogated he said: "I can say he was not a man likely to commit suicide"; and again, when expressing his views on his son's ideas respecting suicide, the father said: "I know that he always held a theory that a man who took his own life was a coward." When asked whether there was any evidence of jealousy between husband and wife, he replied in the negative, stating that "they were always most affectionate towards each other."

An open verdict was given in the way I have mentioned, without fixing the guilt upon anyone. By this verdict an indelible stigma was cast upon certain individuals. I did not think at the time that there was any justification for that verdict. One witness who testified at the inquiry stated that after Mr Bravo was seized with his illness he said to her, "I have taken poison for Dr Gully. Do not tell Florence." The mystery was that either Bravo committed suicide or was poisoned by his wife, Mrs Cox, or Dr Gully. Of course, everybody was prejudiced against the wife.

Her past conduct was brought forward ; the ingenuity of her intrigues was raked up against her, and there was not a vestige of mercy or consideration shown her. Her detractors stated that "she dyed her hair," but they did not prove she poisoned her husband. Evidence on her behalf at the trial had no effect, for they were bent on blasting her character, so that nothing bad enough could be said against her. It was a parody of legal proceedings. Everything that could be possibly alleged against the woman was said, her character was blackened, and she was held up to ignominy and scorn ; but in spite of a prolonged public investigation, held in the most unscrupulous way, nothing was adduced against the widow to bring the crime home to her.

With regard to Dr Gully, the fact that the only evidence they had was the purchase of antimony by his coachman two years previously will suffice to show how weak the direct evidence was. It was evidently lost sight of that, supposing a conspiracy had existed between Gully & Co. to murder Bravo, it must have been of very short duration ; and it is not likely that Gully carried antimony about with him, whilst he was in the good books of Mrs Bravo, in order to poison any man who might marry her.

The whole conflict of evidence and deliberate perjury on one side or the other was so terrible that it hid from the light of day the possible theory of suicide and evidence in support of the same, but which subsequently I was able to bring home and prove without a shadow of a doubt.

The opinion that I gave on the case was one of suicide, and that a verdict of wilful murder had been arrived at without one tittle of evidence to justify such a decision. I was convinced of the fact, well known and admitted by all psychologists, that suicidal insanity is an impulsive act, whilst homicide is premeditated. The jury lost sight of this important point in considering their verdict. One curious argument which was urged against the verdict of suicide was that evidence was given in court that Mr Bravo had met some friends the day previous, who reported that, from his general demeanour, conduct, and appearance, he was of sound mind, thus considering the case objectively not subjectively. Such conclusions are worthless; they may convince an ignorant British jury, but they have no weight otherwise. I considered that there was a strong exciting and predisposing cause, as previously mentioned, from the evidence placed before me with reference to the general behaviour and conduct of Bravo upon many occasions, which was not consistent with sanity: his violent fits of temper—impulsive, no doubt,—and his mind absorbed by one predominant thought as to the intrigue still existing between his wife and someone else, were prominent features in the case. A strange fact worthy of comment was the fact that Mrs Bravo after her marriage consulted Dr Gully with regard to certain medical treatment. Unfortunately, the indiscreet way in which he acted, which was quite unnecessary and unusual, was surrounded with suspicions; but having so acted, he must have felt,

however innocent he might have been, that he could not have committed such indiscretions without incurring grave risk and suspicions.

On one hand we have an excitable man, madly jealous, impulsive, unreasonable, and of a highly insane temperament, unable to restrain his feelings. On the other hand, a wife possessed of the power of deception and intrigue, and who might have had a motive for getting rid of Bravo. We have to weigh them equally in the balance. Bravo's death was not accidental, and it was not conceivable that misadventure was responsible for the tragedy. It was either a case of self-destruction or murder.

During the sixty hours he lived after taking the poison he frequently rallied, but he never made any allegation against anyone whom he suspected of administering the poison. It would be contrary to all instincts of human nature that a man should believe himself to be poisoned by either someone he cared for or someone hateful to him, and yet make no charge of incrimination. In his moments of complete sensibility he never made use of the word murder, or gave any verbal intimation that any other than himself was responsible for the abrupt termination of his young life. I know of no instance on record of such a metaphysical anomaly. Our knowledge of human nature forbids its possibility. With all his faults, though conscious in his heart of the knowledge that he was probably passing through his last moments, he was not base enough to bring a charge of murder against

others, for the simple reason that he knew so well that his death could only be laid at his own door. He died commending his wife to the care of his friends and relations. Bravo had taken antimony by his own hand in consequence of insane jealousy, which rankled in his bosom, and I again maintain that there was no justification for the jury returning an open verdict of wilful murder.

The case being surrounded by so many intricacies, which one had to analyse carefully, it is no wonder that there was found a certain class always ready to give an opinion in a case of which they knew nothing, and who pointed the finger of guilt at his wife and her lover as the aiders and abettors, if not the actual perpetrators responsible for the death of Mr Bravo.

THE PENGE MYSTERY: STAUNTON CASE

The first case in which I became what might be called an agitator, or, in other words, in which I was of opinion that justice had miscarried, was in 1877. It was known as the "Penge mystery," where Louis Staunton, Patrick Staunton, Mrs Patrick Staunton, and Alice Rhodes were indicted for the murder of Harriet Staunton, wife of Louis Staunton, at Penge, by starvation. Mr Justice Hawkins was the judge; the Old Bailey was the scene of this sensational drama. I was a spectator of what took place. The facts are shortly these. Harriet Staunton was of weak mind, and it was arranged for her to stay with Patrick

Staunton and his wife, the payment being at the rate of one pound a week. Louis Staunton, the husband of Harriet Staunton, was in the meantime carrying on an intrigue with Alice Rhodes, aged twenty, and the sister of Mrs Patrick Staunton. It was also alleged that both Louis Staunton and Alice Rhodes used to visit the house together, and were parties to the charge of starvation which was brought against the four unhappy persons. Mrs Butterfield, the mother of Harriet Staunton, had been unable to trace her daughter, but, having heard certain rumours, was suspicious. One day, whilst in a very weak state, Harriet Staunton was removed by Patrick and his wife to a lodging at Penge, where she died the following day under circumstances which caused suspicion. A post-mortem examination disclosed evidence of starvation, as stated by the doctor in his death certificate. The body of the deceased woman only weighed five stone instead of nine, and was most emaciated, without any fat ; but there were tubercles found in the brain. This opened my eyes to an important fact elicited during the trial. The allegation was that, to enable Louis Staunton to carry on his intrigues with Alice Rhodes, his brother Patrick and his wife, cognisant of the fact that Harriet was of weak mind, aided and gave their services to bring about what they thought Louis desired. This disclosed a motive which made it so difficult to dispute. In sentencing the prisoners to death on 26th September, Mr Justice Hawkins, who had been unusually severe during the hearing of the case, said as follows : " You

have been found guilty by a jury of your countrymen of a crime so black and hideous that I believe in the records of crime it would be difficult to find a parallel."

The questions the agitators had to decide were as follows :—

1st. What did Harriet Staunton die of ?

2nd. If from any specific disease, might that disease, as found by post-mortem examination, be the result of starvation ?

3rd. Would such disease of itself account for part or all of the emaciation ?

4th. Inasmuch as there were tubercles in the brain, might there not be the same in the intestine, and, if so, is it not a fact that food would not properly assimilate under these conditions ; hence the emaciation found after death ?

These were my questions, and I agitated as a consequence.

The murder created much sensation, and, as is often seen in such matters, it was prejudged previous to the trial, and the moral grounds were allowed to outweigh the real facts of the case.

I was convinced of the innocence of these people, and I also believed that death was due to natural causes. Harriet Staunton suffered from tubercular disease of the brain, and my theory was that inasmuch as there were tubercles found in the brain, so also were there tubercles in the intestines, to such an extent that the food would not properly assimilate.

Immediately after the trial I helped to organise a

preliminary public meeting at the Cannon Street Hotel. This was held on 3rd October, and was influentially supported. We decided at this meeting to prepare five thousand copies of the petition to circulate far and wide for signatures.

In the course of my remarks at the meeting I said that I was able to affirm that often, in the case of a diseased brain, the patient died from exhaustion and inanition, in consequence of the food not affording sufficient nourishment and the non-absorption of it in the system. I criticised the post-mortem examination made by the doctor, in which he had stated that the condition of the lungs and the brain as found after death by him was proof of starvation. The examination, however, not being made until six days after death, I challenged the conclusions arrived at by him, and expressed my opinion that the changes which were found so many days after death were due to post-mortem changes and not to natural causes, and that, had this post-mortem been made, as it ought to have been, within twenty-four hours after death, no such indications would have been found.

I concluded by saying that "all the post-mortem indications in the case of Harriet Staunton pointed to a brain diseased and not to starvation. It would be a disgrace to England and an outrage upon humanity to allow these four poor wretches to be hanged."

A few days after this a great public meeting was

called together by the committee who previously organised the meeting at Cannon Street Hotel to consider what further steps should be taken with regard to the reprieve of the Stauntons and Alice Rhodes.

The following petition was then agreed to :—

“ To the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty.

“ The humble petition of the undersigned, your Majesty’s loyal subjects, showeth that Louis Staunton, Patrick Staunton, Elizabeth Anne Staunton, and Alice Rhodes have been found guilty of the wilful murder of Harriet Staunton, and are now lying under sentence of death ; that your petitioners, having regard to the conflict of medical evidence and opinion as to the cause of death of the said Harriet Staunton, and to the character of the evidence as to the treatment she received during her life, feel a strong conviction that the crime of wilful murder has not been so proven as to remove all doubt ; and they humbly submit that the convicts should likewise receive the benefit of that doubt.”

I was entrusted by the committee to obtain the signatures of the medical profession to the petition in favour of the prisoners, and within a few hours of my organising this petition I was inundated with letters from a number of medical men, all eager to sign ; and with one or two exceptions (as is always found in a case of this kind), it was generally agreed that the symptoms of the deceased and the post-mortem examination proved that she suffered from brain disease of a long standing, and that death arose from natural causes.

My petition was signed by the leading pathologists, coroners, medical inspectors of health, surgeons, and physicians of all the London hospitals. At this meeting there were upwards of 2000 people present, and when the resolution was put to the meeting as to the petition there were only two dissentients.

Mr Justice Hawkins, together with many others, had formed a very strong opinion on the case, and after his expression of opinion on passing sentence there was a great difficulty in obtaining a reprieve. Our efforts, however, succeeded. This was granted on the Saturday evening previous to the execution, which had been fixed for the Monday. Instead of Alice Rhodes walking to the scaffold, she walked into my study herself to thank me for the efforts I had taken to prove her innocence.

This was the first case in which I took a prominent part, and the experience I gained has been very valuable to me in after life, and I was much encouraged by the result. Alice Rhodes was the only one of the four who received a free pardon. The others were sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Nothing could have been otherwise expected after the severe remarks of the judge. Patrick Staunton and his wife, I believe, died in prison. Louis was ultimately reprieved, and called at my house some years ago. A subscription was got up, headed by Sir Edward Clarke, who had eloquently defended them, it being one of the cases which brought this celebrated advocate into notice.

THE DODWELL CASE

In 1878 the Rev. Mr Dodwell, formerly a master of Cheltenham College, was arraigned at the Old Bailey for an assault on Sir George Jessel, the Master of the Rolls, "with intent to murder him" by discharging "a deadly pistol at his lordship." The charge of the attempt to murder was not substantiated, and he was only found guilty of an assault. He refused all assistance from counsel, and defended himself. This case occupied much of my attention, as I was called in to examine him on several occasions. Apparently he had a grievance to the effect that in certain personal litigation connected with the Chancery Division he had not received justice. Notwithstanding that he made many attempts to get his case reheard, he failed in getting another hearing; so a happy thought came to him of buying a shilling toy pistol at a second-hand shop and firing off an empty cartridge in the vicinity of the judge, so that he might be taken up and charged, and consequently public attention would be drawn to his case. This "deadly weapon" for many years formed one of the curios in my study. I should think the inside of it had never seen powder, and the astonishment to my mind was that when the percussion cap was discharged it was not shattered to smithereens. I mention this to show the nature of the wonderful weapon employed. The great injustice to the unfortunate clergyman was the fact that he was found at the trial to be of unsound mind, and he

was sent to Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum without one single medical witness being called to support the theory of insanity. I visited Mr Dodwell on two occasions in Newgate, accompanied by another mental expert, Dr Winn, at the request of both his friends and himself, and the report was sent to the Home Office, the result being that certain questions were asked in the House of Commons with reference to the sanity of Mr Dodwell. It appears that at the time Parliament took the question up the medical officers at Broadmoor, where he had been sent, had issued no report as to his state of mind. As he still lingered on in "durance vile," a sane man apparently, detained in a lunatic asylum, and one who had been sent there on no medical testimony whatever, I was asked to visit him at Broadmoor. I did so, and I again forwarded my report, by request, to the Home Office, and the question was revived in the House.

The press were indignant at the secrecy with which the official reports were kept. The session ended with nothing being done, or the public enlightened in the matter. I think it advisable, perhaps, to give in detail the copies of the reports of Dr Winn and myself in the case.

As I have said at the commencement, the question at issue was whether Mr Dodwell had a grievance in reality, or whether it only existed in his imagination. The case created a *furore* at the time from the fact of the possibility of a man being incarcerated in a criminal lunatic asylum without any medical testi-

mony being called to substantiate the accusation. When I mention that Dr Gibson, the surgeon of Newgate, also supported our views as to the sanity of Mr Dodwell, the importance of the case and the injustice done will appear obvious to all.

The following is a copy of my report forwarded to the Home Office :—

“ I have on two separate occasions, in consultation with Dr Gibson and Dr Winn, had lengthy interviews with the Rev. Mr Dodwell, now in Newgate.

“ *Alleged Grievances.*

“ 1. He described in detail his alleged grievances : his dismissal from the Brighton Industrial Schools, inability to obtain a rehearing of his case, and the treatment he received from the governors of a school in Devonshire to which he had been appointed master.

“ *Actions in Court of Law.*

“ 2. He gave a very lucid description of the course of action pursued by him in courts of justice, and its result ; of his endeavouring to obtain what he considered to be his rights, and his failure in every instance to obtain a proper hearing.

“ *Acutely conscious of his Grievances.*

“ 3. He gave an accurate description of the various petitions he had presented. He appears acutely conscious that he possesses a grievance for which he can obtain no redress. He believes in consequence that his family and himself have been brought to the brink of ruin.

“Inability to earn a Livelihood.

“ 4. He informed me that, having failed in obtaining a rehearing of his case, he had made fruitless attempts to obtain clerical duty. He had applied for such to an agency, but without success. He had also endeavoured to get pupils, but in this he had also failed.

“Proof of non-murderous Intent.

“ 5. The act for which he is now in Newgate had been premeditated for the last six months. As a proof of this he read me an extract from a letter written by him to the Lord Chancellor, in which he stated that it was his intention to break the law in order to obtain a hearing. His first idea was to fire off a pistol in Vice-Chancellor Malin’s court, but he found by so doing he would simply be committed for contempt of court, and the purpose he had in view would remain unaccomplished. He was anxious to impress on me that he never had the intention of committing a murder. To prevent or rebut a charge of so serious a character, he purchased a pistol, and not a revolver, as he only intended to fire once. He also informed me that a few weeks previous to his attempt he read of a man who was injured by the discharge of a pistol containing blank cartridge. This accident would have been avoided had not the pistol been close to the injured man. To avoid any possible injury being incurred by the Master of the Rolls, he, the prisoner, stood at what he considered to be a safe distance from his Lordship before discharging his pistol.

“State of his Affairs One Month previous to Assault.

“ 6. A month previous to the assault he met a friend in the Strand. At that time he considered that he was suffering from gross injustice, and, having failed in

obtaining clerical employment, he had only a few shillings in the world left with which to support a wife and four children. On this occasion he exclaimed: 'I will not go to the workhouse except through the gate of the dock; and if by so doing my case is placed before reflecting people of England and I sink, I must sink!' He is a man apparently of determined purpose, and this seems to have been his character through life. I have carefully inquired into the history of his antecedents, and can detect no evidence of hereditary disease.

" Opinion of Case.

" 7. During the whole of my conversation with him he was calm and collected; there were no symptoms indicative of a morbid impulse. He appeared to be a man driven to desperation and ruin by circumstances. He did not labour under any delusions. He declared that he had only acted unlawfully with a view to securing the attention of his countrymen to the subject of his alleged wrongs. He gave clearly and distinctly an account of his previous history. His memory seemed to be excellent. His conversation, manner, and general demeanour were most rational in every respect; and I was unable to detect any symptoms indicative of mental disorder. I am of opinion, from a careful and anxious consideration of the case, that he is of sound mind, and there is nothing to justify his detention as a criminal lunatic.

" L. S. FORBES WINSLOW,

" M.B.Camb., M.R.C.P.Lond., D.C.L.Oxon., LL.M.Camb.,

" Lecturer on Mental Diseases, Charing Cross Hospital.

" 23 CAVENDISH SQUARE,

" 23rd March 1878."

Dr Winn's Report.

" During a long interview with the Rev. H. J. Dodwell, on Thursday, 20th March, and another on the

21st, I could not discover the slightest indication of insanity. He was neither excited nor depressed, and his manner throughout both visits was calm and self-possessed. His conversation was perfectly coherent, without any inconsequence of words or thoughts. There was not a trace of a delusion, and his memory was never at fault. In all he said he gave unmistakable proof of his being a man of great ability and learning, and having feelings keenly sensitive to the least doubt thrown on his honour or truthfulness. His general health was good, and he stated that he never had had any serious attack of illness, and that there was no hereditary taint of insanity in his family. He gave a clear and logical account of the motives and circumstances which led him to commit a breach of the peace.

“ He stated that six years ago he held the appointment of chaplain to the Industrial Schools at Brighton. From this office he was dismissed in consequence of his having complained of the conduct of some of the officials, thereby giving offence to some members of the Board of Guardians. He demanded a full and fair inquiry into all the circumstances of the case ; and although he was supported by seven clergymen and other members of the Board, his reasonable request was not granted, nor could he get any redress for the grievous wrong and ruinous loss he had sustained. Since that time he had made repeated efforts to get justice done him, in vain. He says that if he can only get his character cleared he would be satisfied. Fifteen months ago he applied to the Court of Chancery, but was told by Vice-Chancellor Malins that he had no jurisdiction in the matter. On asking him what induced him to fire a blank cartridge at the Master of the Rolls, he said it was from no vindictive feeling or murderous intention, but with the hope that it might be the means of bringing his case before the public, being driven to it by extreme poverty, and that, if he

must go to the workhouse, he preferred that it should be through the criminal dock; that he did not fire from sudden impulse—he had for months previously contemplated doing something to force himself on the attention of the public, having on his mind the example of the officer who struck the Duke of Cambridge in order to get himself heard.

“ Mr Gibson, the surgeon of Newgate, informed me that during his imprisonment his conduct has been most exemplary, his manner and habits perfectly rational, and he has never complained of the prison diet.

“ From a careful consideration of all these facts, I have come to the conclusion that the Rev. H. J. Dodwell is not insane.

“ J. M. WINN, M.D., M.R.C.P.,
“ Member of the Medico-Psychological Society, etc.”

Joint Report of Drs L. S. Forbes Winslow and Winn.

“ On the 21st inst., and at the request of the friends of the Rev. Mr Dodwell, and with the special sanction of the Home Secretary, we visited this gentleman, now confined as a criminal lunatic in Broadmoor Asylum.

“ We found him calm, collected, and perfectly rational. He alluded, as he had done on our two previous visits to him in Newgate, to his alleged grievances, and to the motives which induced him to commit a breach of the peace.

“ He admitted that it was an unwise course of action, but contended that he was driven by circumstances to commit the act.

“ We were unable to detect, either from his demeanour or conversation, any symptoms to justify his detention as a criminal lunatic.

“ L. S. FORBES WINSLOW.

“ J. M. WINN.

“ CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.,
“ 24th June 1878.”

The result of this agitation, public and political, which was incidental to the incarceration in a lunatic asylum of an Englishman in whose case no such evidence of insanity had been raised at the time of the trial, and in spite of the opinion of the surgeon of Newgate, where he had been confined at the time, was to obtain an official medical examination on the part of the Treasury. This was in every way *ex parte*—no consultation with the prisoner's medical advisers. A conclusion was doubtless arrived at, as was desired, with an imperfect knowledge of the true history and facts of the case. The secrecy here adopted in the Government examinations stood out in strong evidence. The reports of these medical gentlemen nominated by the Government differed, as I knew would be the case, from the opinion expressed by doctors in favour of Dodwell's sanity.

After our reports had been sent in, Mrs Dodwell, his wife, sent a letter to the Queen, which was answered from the Home Offices :—

“ To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

“ I have taken the great liberty of writing to your Majesty to make an appeal on behalf of my husband, the Rev. Henry John Dodwell, who is detained during your Majesty's pleasure at Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum. I humbly submit to the general opinion that he deserved some punishment for his unwise act ; but the long and happy married life we have lived, his uniform kindness to his children and myself, his calmness and perseverance for five years under the irritating difficulties experienced in endeavouring to obtain redress for the

wrongs that had been done to him, is not to me consistent with his being branded as a lunatic. And as the eminent medical men who have examined him are divided in opinion, I humbly and earnestly pray that your Majesty will give him the benefit of the doubt and liberate him, so that he may return to protect our four children and release me from the helpless position I am in, and save me from my only resource, the workhouse.—I beg to remain, your Majesty's most humble and obedient subject,

“ ELIZA DODWELL,
“ Wife of H. J. Dodwell.

“ 77 GREAT COLLEGE STREET, LONDON, N.W.,
“ *6th March 1879.*

“ To Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Windsor Castle.”

The reply to her letter is as follows :—

“ HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
“ *15th March 1879.*

“ MADAM,—In reply to your application to her Majesty, praying the release of the Rev. Henry John Dodwell from Broadmoor Asylum, I am directed by Mr Secretary Cross to acquaint you that the same has been laid before the Queen, who was not pleased to give any instructions thereon.—I am, madam, your obedient servant,

“ (Signed) A. F. O. LIDDELL.

“ Mrs Dodwell,
“ 77 Great College Street, N.W.”

The case was considered again in the House of Commons, when it was stated that the medical men who had been appointed to visit Mr Dodwell had reported “ that the safety of the public still required that he should be detained at Broadmoor as a dangerous lunatic.” I beg to challenge that opinion. I say that there was nothing in Mr Dodwell's conduct

or career which justified the statement that he was a dangerous lunatic. He had a reason for what he did, and it might be said, therefore, that a man who might break a window in his desire to draw public opinion to his wrongs ought to be included in the same category. This has often taken place.

The facts on which we founded his sanity were as follows :—

1. That he gave a clear and correct account of the grievances which induced him to commit a misdemeanour, having failed in every other attempt to get a hearing in courts of justice.

2. That he did not fire a blank cartridge at the judge from an insane impulse, but had been pre-meditating the act for six months, and was so determined to avoid any possible injury to his lordship that he stood at a safe distance from him before discharging the pistol.

3. All the medical men who saw him, six weeks before he was sent to Broadmoor, found him perfectly coherent in conversation, and they could not discover the least trace of a delusion.

4. From what he said it was evident that he was a highly honourable, truthful, and religious man, with strong reasoning powers and a highly cultivated intellect ; possessing also great determination of will, and feelings keenly sensitive to insult or injury.

5. It has been assumed that Mr Dodwell had a morbid sense of his ill-treatment by the Brighton Guardians. Can a man be said to have a morbid

sense of an injury which has reduced him and his family to beggary ?

Dodwell lingered and died in Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum. He had been driven mad by the environment of the place, and whilst suffering indignities he made an attack on Dr Orange, the medical superintendent. Dodwell was a man of impulse, fiery disposition, inability to restrain his temper, as many of his late pupils at Cheltenham College informed me. He was not insane, and there was no justification for a life-long residence in Broadmoor.

THE MAINWARING CASE

In 1879 Gerald Mainwaring, aged twenty-eight, was charged with the wilful murder of Joseph Moss, a policeman at Derby. The act was committed whilst he was suffering from alcoholic indulgence. I was consulted with reference to the case, and the point raised was, whether criminals were responsible for acts committed whilst under the influence of drink. It is a well-known fact, and laid down in our Code, that "drunkenness aggravates the offence." In the case of Mainwaring his brain had become temporarily affected with alcoholic poisoning, so as to render him in a state of irresponsibility and unconsciousness at the time of the commitment of the act. There was no malice or premeditation. His brain was on the verge of delirium tremens, and no doubt the indulgence and constant debauchery rendered him in a state of

irresponsibility for his actions. It was urged by the prosecution that because he was able to walk comparatively straight when he got out of the cab, he could not have been sufficiently intoxicated to be held irresponsible for his acts. It was urged on his behalf, and in an eloquent way, that the drunkenness might have affected his mind to such an extent as to reduce the crime from murder to manslaughter. The jury thought otherwise. He was condemned to death, but they recommended him to mercy.

The only public interest in this case is the question as to how far a criminal who is intoxicated is responsible for any crime committed whilst in that state. Of course, it is a dangerous dogma to allow a drunken murderer to escape the scaffold ; but each case ought to be considered, if one may use the expression, "on its merits." Mainwaring's crime was motiveless, but the unfortunate part of his history was his association with public-houses, where he used to spend the greater part of his time. This is a typical illustration of the effect drink may have on the brains of those who indulge too freely in it. During my career I have had many patients who have committed crime whilst under its influence. Since the period of which I am now writing crime has increased in the same way as alcohol has. Where drinking exists, crime is also to be found ; and I think I am not far wrong in stating that more than two-thirds of the murders are committed either by uncontrollable drunkards or by absolute ones—in

other words, by people suffering from the influence of drink. I made a statement once whilst discussing this subject, and which after many years' experience I am prepared to emphatically substantiate, to the effect that I have never seen a man in a perfect condition of sobriety go into a public-house, and I am sure I have never seen a man in an absolute state of sobriety come out of one ; the former statement is accounted for from the fact that I am never up early enough to see him go in for his first drink. Not only is drink responsible for a large proportion of crime, but for more than a quarter per cent. of the lunacy in all parts of the world ; and it is a terrible thing to have to state, but I do so without fear of contradiction, that more crime, more drink, and more lunacy are to be found in the City of London than in any other city of the universe. More shame to our authorities ! More shame to our Government ! The terrible social blot is at their door.

THE CASE OF LEFROY : MURDER ON THE BRIGHTON LINE

In 1881 all London were startled by a murder committed on the Brighton line by Percy Lefroy Mapleton. The victim was a Mr Gold, who had been in the habit of travelling every week from Brighton to London on business, with usually a large amount of money in his possession. The murderer adopted the name of Lefroy, a name he

was known by in the theatrical profession. The case was one which caused considerable doubt in my mind as to his responsibility. The day previous to the termination of the trial I was consulted by his relatives as to his mental condition, and by their instructions I attended the trial, which was being held at Maidstone before the late Lord Coleridge. I did so, not as a witness, but as a spectator, with a view of observing the demeanour of the prisoner. The trial commenced in November, and it caused a considerable amount of public excitement, as is always the case in a "train tragedy." The general public, as a rule, for the time being imagine that they might meet a similar fate.

Mr Gold resided at Preston Park, near Brighton, and Lefroy knew perfectly well that the habit of this gentleman was to pay weekly visits to London, and to carry a large amount of money about with him.

Having completed his plans, Lefroy arranged to leave London in the same railway carriage as Mr Gold on the 27th of June. On the arrival of the train at Preston Park, where tickets are collected, Lefroy was found to be the sole occupant of the carriage, with his coat off, his collar missing, and himself besmeared with blood. His explanation of being in this condition was that he himself had been attacked by a man in the train. He was taken forthwith to the hospital and his wounds attended to. There was, however, observed a watch-chain dangling from one of his boots. Upon being interrogated upon this subject, he said that he had put the watch there for safety's sake

when attacked, and that it belonged to him. The number of the watch was 16,261, and made by Griffiths.

Subsequently, at 3.45 the same day, the body of Mr Gold was found in Balcombe Tunnel. On the line near Burgess Hill a collar was found, which was traced as belonging to Lefroy, and in Clayton Tunnel, near to Preston Park, was an umbrella belonging to Gold. There were bullet wounds found on the body. Lefroy was not suspected at the time, but was allowed to return home to Croydon where he lived. A detective called on him shortly afterwards, and took the following statement from him :—

“ I took a first-class ticket in the two o'clock train from London to Brighton. Two other passengers were in the compartment, one younger and one older. On arriving at the first tunnel after passing Croydon I saw a flash and heard a report of firearms. I received a blow on the head from one of the men and became insensible. I recovered consciousness at Preston.”

It was proved that Lefroy had taken a pistol out of pawn, which was the one subsequently found ; and upon investigation it was discovered that the watch which Mr Gold had purchased at Griffiths corresponded with the number of that found on Lefroy.

The case presented itself to me as one of absolute guilt, though in addressing the jury the late Mr Montagu Williams, Lefroy's counsel, said : “ This is no ordinary case of murder, and there is no question

of sanity or insanity." This question was only raised afterwards.

The trial having lasted some days, the late Lord Coleridge, in pronouncing sentence, remarked : " You have been convicted on the clearest evidence of a most ferocious murder, a murder perpetrated on a harmless old man, who had done you no wrong ; he was perhaps unknown to you. You have been rightly convicted, and it is right and just that you should die." To which Lefroy replied : " The day will come when you will know that you have murdered me." I heard the sentence and I heard the reply of Lefroy.

A petition was got up, and I interviewed several people in reference to the case. One of his friends told me that Lefroy " was amiable, kind, even-tempered, and of a lovable disposition, and that he had ever displayed this from a child." On 16th August Lefroy wrote the following letter, which was shown me :—

" Possibly from my past life I may have deserved this awful punishment ; but, after all, my sins have been more omission than commission. My years are but a boy. Annie, dearest, shall I ever see the silver lining of the clouds again ? "

Previous to the trial he had suffered, as was to be expected, from an enormous amount of anxiety.

On 31st October he wrote to a friend as follows :—

" Now that the trial is approaching I feel no fear ; on the contrary, however strange it may appear, I am a happier man than I have been in a good many

epochs of my life. Thank God, my health is quite up to the average, and ready and wishful for the combat."

I was so convinced from the study of the case that Lefroy was not responsible for his actions, that, after another conference with his relations, I decided to agitate in this matter.

Certain documentary evidence was placed in my hands, together with a complete history of the accused. The conclusion I arrived at was that there were sufficient grounds for petitioning the Home Secretary to grant a medical examination of the condemned man. I was informed that I had been appointed to visit Lefroy at the Lewes Gaol, and I immediately telegraphed to the Home Secretary consenting to make the examination, should my request be complied with, in conjunction with a medical Government official appointed by himself. I felt that all England was up in arms against Lefroy, and that public opinion was so great against the plea of irresponsibility that I did not care to take upon myself the sole responsibility of acting as his mental adjudicator in a case of so much public importance and interest. Permission, however, was not granted for me to visit Lefroy. The custom exists in England that, after condemnation, no outside medical interference is permitted, though previous to the trial, had his friends approached me, I should have been able to have examined him and testified in court as to my opinion upon his mental condition.

I obtained a petition signed by upwards of a hundred medical men, asking for a reprieve. One of the principal medical men who signed it was a consulting physician living in Brook Street, whom Lefroy had himself previously consulted. Upon reference to his diary the following entry appeared, attached to the name of the prisoner: "This person is evidently insane."

My medical petition, together with the general petition, was signed by two thousand people.

The history of Lefroy was a peculiar one. He inherited insanity, both on his father's and mother's side, and he commenced his career with anything but a hopeful future. His mother died before he had reached the age of five, while his father suffered from softening of the brain some years previous to his death.

Lefroy was absorbed in theatrical matters, and was abnormally conceited. Very often he used to go behind the scenes, and sometimes got an engagement as super. His natural disposition was described to me as being one of gentleness, abhorring all crime, but ever conscious of his imaginary importance.

I was not able to get any full details of the early career of Lefroy. He was sent, however, later on to Australia, but did not remain there long. During the home voyage he conducted himself in such a strange manner as to necessitate his being placed under absolute restraint. The evidence of the captain and the officers on the ship, which I heard, testified as to this. I always entertained an opinion that, if

his real state of mind had only been recognised by his relations at this period of his career, the terrible calamity would have been averted. I was informed that he had gone into theatrical speculations with an imaginary opera-bouffe, which was supposed to have been written by Offenbach, but which he called *Lucette*. This had no reality beyond his own morbid imagination. This was only one of his many extraordinary statements, and founded on fabrication, which from time to time existed in his own imagination; some people were wont to call them lies, but in my opinion they were delusions, the result of a diseased mind.

I had a letter placed in my hands by his relations, in which he stated that he had come into a property of ten thousand pounds per annum for life, and that he was going in for Parliamentary honours. The letter was a comparatively recent one, and was written in May; within a few weeks of this epistle he committed the murder for which he was ultimately held responsible at the hands of the executioner.

Lefroy was cunning, as most lunatics are, and this quality was observed throughout the whole of his transactions. His conduct was very peculiar after the murder, but the fact that it was apparently premeditated strengthened the case for the prosecution. But it might be as well to state that most murders committed by lunatics are premeditated, and that insanity and cunning go hand in hand. Whilst in prison he made a number of extraordinary

confessions, which proved to be nothing more nor less than a tissue of crazy incoherences. He admitted the commitment of one crime after another, and the murder of a Lieutenant Roper. The explanation given by those opposed to the plea of insanity was that he did this in order to obtain a respite for the moment, to gain time for them to investigate the truth of his statements, with the chance of this adjournment being followed by a reprieve. Information reached me from the precincts of the prison that Lefroy was "raving like a lunatic and foaming at the mouth." This information, I had reason to believe, as is usual in such cases, was suppressed by the authorities from the general public. There is no evidence that any mental expert was called in to examine him after condemnation.

I entertained a very strong opinion that Lefroy was not only insane, but was subject to paroxysms of homicidal impulse. He had some imaginary love affair, without the slightest foundation—it was purely the delusion of a disordered fancy. I worked very hard in this case to induce those in power at the Home Office to grant a medical examination into the mental condition of Lefroy, but without avail. The red-tapeism behind the Office was very prominent in this case. It was a popular murder, if I may use the expression—one in which, from the fact of the murder taking place in a railway train and one to which anyone might be subjected, the public thought that an example should be made. The spoil found on

Lefroy amounted to an old watch belonging to Mr Gold, and some Hungarian sovereigns were also found on him.

The great mistake the family made in this case was not consulting me previous to the trial instead of after it had commenced ; also in not raising the plea of insanity at the time. If there ever was a case in which the plea of irresponsibility should have been raised it was in the case of Lefroy.

Having, as I generally do in these cases, got behind the scenes and investigated everything, I was informed that so great was the prejudice at the Home Office towards Lefroy and against listening to the plea of insanity raised, that the officials connected with the prison, on pain of dismissal, were not allowed to divulge anything that occurred within the precincts of the gaol for twenty-four hours previous to his being hurled into eternity ; this was with special reference to the prisoner's conversation and demeanour.

The case from first to last was a very sensational one, and the attention of London was absorbed in it ; but under no pretence whatever was the public executioner to be deprived of his victim.

After these years, and reviewing the case calmly and deliberately, and taking into consideration the history of the case and all the concomitant facts, I am very strongly of opinion that it would have been to the interests of intelligence, humanity, science, civilisation, Christianity, and justice if a deaf ear had not been turned to the prayer of the unhappy man's

family and medical petitioners, simply begging that the Home Secretary would grant them an inquiry into the mental condition of the youth standing on the precipice of his fate. We asked no more than this, and were refused.

THE OTLEY MURDER

I was summoned in 1888 to examine a man named Taylor, who had committed a double murder at Otley, but from no appreciable reason. He shot his own child, which his wife was carrying in her arms, and subsequently a policeman who came to arrest him. With regard to the murder of the child, this was apparently motiveless, though it may be said that the assassination of the policeman was evidently done with a motive.

I examined the murderer on two occasions, whilst incarcerated in Wakefield Gaol. He suffered from religious insanity, associated with auricular hallucinations which urged him to commit acts over which he had no control.

In the same year I had examined a man named Richardson, who shot several persons at Ramsgate. This was also a motiveless crime. He was arrested and placed in Canterbury Gaol, where I saw him. This trial took place on the 16th of February 1888. The jury found he was of unsound mind and unable to plead. Curiously, the case of Taylor commenced at Leeds the very same day. I wired to the solicitor, Mr

Gledstone, conducting the defence, as to my position in the matter, but informed him that I would come direct from Maidstone to Leeds, and I hoped to arrive in time, Richardson having been tried at Maidstone.

On my arrival in Leeds the same evening I was met at the station by the solicitor and some of the witnesses, who appeared to be in a terrible condition of distress. The case had occupied the whole day, and the jury had come to the conclusion that the prisoner was of "sound mind and able to plead" at the time of the trial.

The other question was, what was his mental condition at the time of the murder? This was to be decided by the same jury on the following day, with the same witnesses, with one exception—myself. Everybody had made up their minds that the man would be convicted. The public regarded the case, especially as far as the assassination of the policeman was concerned, as a terrible one, and one for which no excuse could be given. The next morning arrived, the same witnesses were called, the jury apparently were yawning during the time of their evidence, having heard it all the day before. Immediately I stepped into the box a change came over the spirit of their dreams—they apparently began to listen attentively; and though some junior counsel tried to trip me up, I held my own. Taylor was found to be of unsound mind at the time of the murder. The foreman of the jury and several members of the same told me afterwards that had it not been for my evi-

dence they would have given the same opinion as they had given on the previous day.

I was nearly lynched on my way from the courthouse to the station ; in fact, I was followed by a big crowd and hooted. It was with a certain amount of satisfaction that I found myself in a sound condition comfortably seated in a smoking carriage on the London and North-Western Railway, *en route* for home.

It is a morbid gratification for me to have to record that a short time afterwards Taylor plucked out both his eyes whilst confined in Broadmoor Asylum, and while suffering from the same delusions and hallucinations as those he had when he was placed on his trial at Leeds, and on which I based my opinion and evidence.

Sir Clifford Allbutt, who was one of the leading physicians in the North of England, testified on the day previous to the one on which I had given my evidence ; but even the weight of his testimony did not convince the jury.

I was also retained the same week in a case of murder at Weston-super-Mare. So there was the Ramsgate shooting case in the extreme south-east, the Otley tragedy at Leeds, and the Weston-super-Mare case in Somersetshire. Rather a unique experience to be retained in three murder cases in one week. I think the annals of medical jurisprudence do not chronicle a similar instance to this.

In 1889 I was called upon to examine in St Thomas's Hospital a man named Currah, who had murdered Letine, proprietor of a troupe of acrobats.

Currah had a daughter, Beatrice, who had been engaged by Letine as one of his troupe. Shortly afterwards Beatrice was discharged from the troupe. As a result of this there were various actions for wrongful dismissal and for ill-treatment to the girl on the part of Letine ; in each of these the acrobat came off victorious, and this apparently affected the mind of Currah. One day he waited at the stage door of the Canterbury Theatre of Varieties and stabbed Letine as he came out. I may here say that Beatrice had died, and her death was supposed by Currah, whose mind was affected, to have been accelerated by Letine. He made a dreadful attempt upon his own life after he had stabbed Letine. In consequence of this he was taken to St Thomas's Hospital, where I examined him in conjunction with the house surgeon ; this examination was made in July 1889.

Currah suffered from mental prostration, the result of the tribulation he had passed through, and he became haunted with auricular and visual hallucinations to the effect that he was pursued by the spirit of his dead daughter Beatrice, urging him to kill Letine.

I was summoned to give evidence at the trial, and the man was acquitted on my evidence.

MRS MAYBRICK'S CASE

On 11th May 1889 Mr James Maybrick died in Liverpool under certain suspicious circumstances which apparently justified an investigation. It was

alleged that Mrs Maybrick had systematically mixed arsenic with his food and also in his drinks. He had suffered from bad health for some time, but the acute and baneful symptoms only developed a few weeks before his death.

The trial created an enormous amount of sensation in England. It commenced 31st July 1889 before Mr Justice Stephen. The case was a most obscure one, surrounded by a purely scientific issue, which only those learned in such investigations could in any way comprehend. It will be interesting, therefore, to give the constitution of this learned jury who had been summoned to adjudicate upon an abstruse toxicological question. Mr Timothy Wainwright, plumber, was the foreman ; the others were : one wood-turner, one provision dealer, a glazier, two farmers, a grocer, an ironmonger, a milliner, a baker, and another plumber. With regard to the mental equilibrium of the jury, a letter written by a gentleman living at Southport is rather significant. He wrote : " Until I had read the names of the jury in the Maybrick case I agreed with the verdict ; but being acquainted with three of them, I must say they are not fitted to express an opinion on such an important subject, being men of the poorest education, and I can vouch that one cannot read his own name."

The most direct way of giving the defence, as presented by Mrs Maybrick, will be to give in detail a statement made by her in court on 6th August 1889.

The prisoner, at a sign from Sir Charles Russell,

rose to make her statement. She had some difficulty in beginning, and clung to the front of the dock for several moments, swaying to and fro, endeavouring to restrain her tears. She said she wished to make known something in regard to the charge made against her of the deliberate poisoning of her



Mrs Maybrick before her trial.



Mrs Maybrick during her trial.

husband, the father of her dear children. She went on to say that the use of fly-papers was for the complexion. Her mother knew for years past of her custom in this respect, and she (the prisoner) had followed a prescription she had obtained from a doctor. In April last she had lost the prescription, and thought of replacing it by a substitute of her own, being specially desirous of getting rid of an eruption on the

face before going to a ball on 30th April. Mrs Maybrick went on to explain the soaking of the fly-papers by saying that "scent was used in the soaking, and it was necessary to exclude the air as much as possible, hence the covering over by a plate and two towels." Mrs Maybrick proceeded :—

" My lord, I now wish to say a word about the bottle of beef essence. On Thursday night, 9th May, when Nurse Gore had given my husband the meat juice, I went and sat down by his side. He complained of feeling very sick and very oppressed, and he implored me then again to give him his powder. I declined to give it him, but I was overwrought, terribly anxious, miserably unhappy, and his distress utterly unnerved me. After he had told me the powder would not harm him if I put it in his food, I consented. My lord, I had not one single honest friend in the house. I had no one to consult. I was deposed from my position of mistress and from attendance on my husband, notwithstanding, on the evidence of the nurses, he wished to have me with him and he missed me whenever I went out of the room. For four days before he died I was not allowed even to give him a piece of ice without it being taken out of my hand.

" I took the white powder. I took it in the inner room with the meat juice, and pushing the door I upset the bottle, and in order to make up the quantity of fluid spilled I added a considerable quantity of water. On returning to the room I found my husband asleep, and I placed the bottle on a small table. When

he awoke he had a choking sensation in his throat and vomiting. As he did not ask for the powder, and as I was not anxious to give it him, I removed the bottle from the small table where I had put it, on to the washstand, behind the basin, where he could not see it. There I left it until Mr Michael Maybrick took possession of it on Tuesday, 14th May. After my husband's death, until a few minutes before the terrible charge against me, no one in the house had informed me as to the fact that a post-mortem examination had taken place, or that there was any reason to suppose my husband had died from other than natural causes. It was not until Mrs Briggs alluded to the presence of arsenic in the beef juice that I was made aware of the nature of the powder my husband had asked me to give to him. I then attempted to explain to Mrs Briggs, but the policeman interrupted the conversation and stopped it. In conclusion, my lord, I have to say that from the love of our children, and for the sake of their future, a perfect reconciliation had taken place between us, and that on the day before his death I made a free confession to him of the fearful wrong I did him."

The jury retired to consider their verdict at 3.13 on 7th August 1889. They returned to court at 3.56 with a verdict of "Guilty." When asked if she had anything to say why the sentence should not be carried into effect, Mrs Maybrick replied as follows: "My lord, evidence has been kept back from the jury which, if it had been known, would have altered

their verdict. I am not guilty of this offence." Having said this, Florence Elizabeth Maybrick left the fatal dock.

The opinion in Liverpool was nearly universal as to the acquittal of the lady, and the precincts of the court were thronged with thousands waiting for the issue. An angry murmur which was universal—in fact, it was described on that occasion by one of the newspapers as a "great, angry howl"—went up from the crowd. Mr Justice Stephen, whose attitude throughout the case was antagonistic to Mrs Maybrick, was subjected to the most determined hostile demonstration. At one time it was even considered he might have been lynched. He succeeded in getting to his carriage, and drove off followed by the howling and shrieks of "Shame!" The sentence was given just before four p.m., and it was nearly six before Mrs Maybrick was driven out in the prison van. She was cheered and cheered by thousands of people; in fact, all Liverpool was up in arms at the cruel and unjust verdict. Not a single member of the jury belonged to Liverpool; the foreman came from St Helens, whilst the others resided in the West Derby Hundred of the county. On leaving the court they were also subjected to serious demonstration. Mrs Maybrick, interviewed after the sentence was passed, was firm in her conviction that had it not been for the judge's severe comment and lengthy allusion to her wicked immorality the jury would have acquitted her, but from the nature of the summing-up of the

judge the jury had no alternative but to arrive at the conclusion they did. She held a strong belief that when the court adjourned for lunch, before the judge concluded his address, the jury were all in her favour, and this opinion was held by others as well as by herself. On the following morning Mr Justice Stephen, in order to prevent a repetition of the demonstration against him and the mobbing, was guarded by a hundred and fifty constables on his arrival at the court. The feeling against him in Liverpool was most pronounced, as his charge to the jury was considered to be unjust and prejudiced. The following day, from far and wide came the universal cry that an injustice had been done, and that the verdict must be condemned and Mrs Maybrick saved from a criminal's death.

Immediately after her conviction, becoming convinced that it was a most unjust verdict, I determined to do my very best to agitate in the matter, and to obtain a reprieve for this lady.

On the 9th of August I commenced to agitate in the press on the case, and in a letter of that date I said: "Seldom has a case caused so much public excitement as that of Mrs Maybrick. It is discussed far and wide, and only one opinion appears to exist—that she has been convicted on insufficient evidence. The medical experts for the defence have been apparently ignored. The jury have posed as moralists and ignored the vital issue as to the poisoning by arsenic." I concluded this letter as follows: "It is the duty

of every Englishman to agitate forthwith to save a woman convicted without one tittle of evidence from the hands of the public hangman."

Mr MacDougal and myself were most vehement on the matter, and, having worked together in a similar case known as the "Penge mystery," which created nearly as much excitement as the Maybrick case, we decided to adopt a similar plan here. It was stated at the time that the only chance Mrs Maybrick had of a reprieve was in the Queen's deep aversion to the infliction of capital punishment on a woman. Petitions were at once commenced, not only in Liverpool, but in all parts of the country, to which thousands of signatures were attached, and which were prepared for the then Home Secretary, Mr Matthews. A report was current at the time that the costs of the defence, which amounted to upwards of four thousand pounds, had been paid by Mr Brierley; also that a jury of matrons had been sworn to decide another issue, which might postpone the execution should the efforts to secure a respite prove ineffectual. It was proved, however, that there was no possible ground for either of these rumours. Her mother visited her on the Saturday subsequent to the trial, and found her in a complete state of collapse, mental and bodily. In addition to the special petition to which I have alluded, the Licensed Victuallers drafted one on their own account, the chief clauses of which were that there was no direct evidence of the administration of arsenic by Mrs Maybrick to her husband; that

the case against her was unduly prejudiced by the evidence of motive, and that there was grave doubt whether the circumstantial evidence relied on by the prosecution was weighty enough to justify conviction : that there was a strong body of medical testimony on behalf of the defence ; that death was ascribable to natural causes, and that there was not sufficient evidence relied on by the prosecution that it was due to arsenical poisoning : this together with the fact that, having regard to the conflicting nature of the medical evidence, there was a very widespread doubt as to the propriety of the verdict on general grounds, and that it would be in the highest degree unsafe to permit an irrevocable sentence to be carried out. It was pointed out by one of the correspondents that the term "sick unto death," stated to have been used by Mrs Maybrick with reference to her husband, was a common American phrase daily met with throughout the States, and did not deserve the gravity and importance placed upon it by the judge. The execution was fixed for Tuesday, 27th August, within the precincts of Walton Gaol, Liverpool, at 8 a.m. In the meantime public opinion ran very high. Mr Justice Stephen had returned to London, and had an interview with Mr Matthews of an hour's duration. The evidence was reviewed in considerable detail, and I was led to understand that Mr Matthews was very much impressed by the arguments submitted to him. The judge was reported to have expressed not only his entire concurrence in the verdict, but

also his appreciation of the careful way in which the jury had performed their long and arduous duties. From a careful study of the judge's attitude throughout the case, this is not to be wondered at. In the same persuasive way as he succeeded in convincing the jury, he so convinced the Home Secretary, who became for the moment adamant. Memorial after memorial poured into the Home Office, and one from Liverpool containing over twenty thousand signatures, the signatures of the ladies predominating over the males in numbers. At Cardiff five thousand residents signed the petition. In fact, petitions were got up all over England to the same effect, most of them being worded alike. Thousands and thousands of names became attached, and I do not exaggerate by saying that more petitioners signed the prayer for a reprieve in the case of Mrs Maybrick than has ever been previously known in any other case. One and all proclaimed Mrs Maybrick was innocent, that Mrs Maybrick had not received a fair hearing, that the judge was prejudiced in the case, and that public opinion would prevent an unjust sentence from being carried out. It was apparently a mob agitation based on justice, *versus* a cruel, unjust verdict.

A number of letters from the public, mostly of an indignant character, flooded the newspapers.

On 13th August a gigantic public meeting, convened by Mr Alexander W. M'Dougall, was held in the great hall of the Cannon Street Hotel, City, for the purpose of considering the summing-up of the judge and the

verdict of the jury. The large hall was crowded. The chairman opened the meeting and proposed that a memorial be presented to the Home Secretary praying for a reprieve for Mrs Maybrick.

In addressing the meeting I informed the audience that there were few cases in forensic medicine where such grave doubts occurred as in the present one. I told them that Mr Maybrick had administered to himself in a very short time a number of poisonous drugs ; I asked why no antidotes had been administered by the medical men ? I next drew attention to the apathy of the jury, who during the whole trial had not asked a single question ; and further stated that among the many medical men whom I had canvassed for an opinion I had only received one expression of guilt. On 13th August I wrote a letter to the press agreeing to take charge of any communications or letters which might be sent to me to be attached to the petition.

The petition read as follows : “ The petitioners pray that a reprieve may be granted in Mrs Maybrick’s case in consequence of insufficient evidence, and in the light of scientific knowledge.”

Within a short time thousands of additional signatures were obtained and added to the original petition. Not only did these petitions come in from all parts of the country, but a special memorial was drawn up by the members of the House of Commons, and especially one by Mr M’Donald, the blind member, and Colonel Nolan.

A sub-committee was appointed at this meeting, of

which I was appointed chairman, and a further meeting was held at Cannon Street Hotel on 15th August. I informed the audience of some very important facts relative to the case, one of which was that I had found the actual medical man who had originally prescribed arsenic for Mr Maybrick, and acting under whose advice he had continued to take the same up to the time of his fatal illness.

“DEAR SIR,—I should be obliged by your placing my name on your list as one who believes in Mrs Maybrick’s innocence. A few days ago, while taking my early morning walk along Park Road, I inquired for Wellington Mansions (a house mentioned very often as the residence of Mr Maybrick). I was told it was in a street called North Bank—a rather notorious place. A Liverpool gentleman used to say that he put all his money in North Bank. I went, and the fact brought to my mind the incident of a Liverpool stockbroker whom I came across several times while acting surgeon to the Skin and Cancer Hospital. He called upon me several times. He was suffering from psoriasis of the feet. I prescribed a solution of arsenic, and very distinctly told him that if he did not continue the medicine he might have paralysis.”

The writer of this letter had recognised a picture of Mr Maybrick in the newspapers as being that of the Liverpool man alluded to in this letter.

I stated that I had received that day five hundred telegrams from various persons asking that their names might be placed on the medical or general petition. Many of my medical correspondents had asked why during the illness of Mr Maybrick, if poisoning had

been suspected, no attempt had been made to administer an antidote.

The *Lancet* devoted five columns to a review of the Maybrick case, and, after analysing the medical and other evidence, said as follows: "We can have no desire that the Royal prerogative veto should not be exercised in this case; but as a duty to the living relatives of the deceased, to a painstaking, fearless, and honest jury, and to one of the greatest ornaments of the English Bench, we solemnly assert as an unbiassed opinion that the verdict arrived at at Mrs Maybrick's trial was warranted by the evidence."

This opinion, however, carried but little weight, as subsequently, after they saw I had my petition in hand, they also started a similar one—in fact, were made to eat their own words. On 19th August, when Mr Matthews arrived at the House of Commons, three petitions were presented to him in favour of a reprieve. I believe this is the first instance on record where such an unusual proceeding has taken place. I allude to it to show the interest the public took in the matter. I am not prepared to state the number of signatures which were attached to the various petitions—they could be counted in ten thousands; suffice it to say that my own medical petition, presented in person immediately previous to the reprieve, contained the signatures of 499 medical men, all of whom, with one solitary exception, on scientific grounds opposed the verdict. As to the number affixed to the *Lancet* memorial I never troubled to inquire, especially after

the tone of their leading article to which I have already referred.

Conference after conference took place at the Home Office, but nothing definite was arrived at, and the day for execution drew nigh. The medical opinion in London was unanimous as to the unjustness of the verdict. A final meeting was held at Olympia, and it was fully expected that Mrs Maybrick would be released and present herself on that occasion.

The foreman of the jury, in consequence of various statements and reflections which had been made upon them arriving at their decision in such a rapid manner, granted the following interview in order to justify their conduct, as they thought :—

“ Was it the judge’s summing up which influenced your verdict ? ”

“ It was not the judge’s summing up which influenced us so greatly ; it was the evidence given in the whole case. I see it stated that one of the jurymen told a barrister we considered that the medical evidence for the defence had been bought. That is a very grave statement, and I have thought of writing to each of the jurors individually to ask them if they did say so, for I think such a lie ought to be contradicted. It certainly is a very remarkable statement, and it is not the fact. We considered all the medical evidence on both sides.”

Asked whether the statement volunteered by Mrs Maybrick had not principally influenced the jury in bringing in a verdict of guilty, the foreman replied :

“ It was certainly impossible to say what would have occurred if certain portions of the case had not been submitted.”

“ Possibly you thought that statement broke down the medical evidence for the defence ? ”

“ Well, it was rather a foolish thing. You see that it was very improbable that she put it in the meat juice in powder, because it would not have time to dissolve so. It does not dissolve easily even in water.”

“ You imply from this that she put in a solution, which accounts for the difference in the specific gravity of the drugged bottle or an ordinary bottle ? ”

“ That of course suggests itself. If she spilled it, that was a thing of no consequence, and did not require filling up.”

“ If it was proved that she made a similar statement soon after she was first charged, would that have made any difference in your minds ? ”

“ I could not say. But why did not she call witnesses to prove it ? ”

“ Sir Charles Russell offered to do so, and wanted to do so, but the judge stopped him.”

“ Oh, he offered to call them, did he ? ” This seemed strange to Mr Wainwright, who, however, continued : “ Then Sir Charles Russell should have cross-examined on the point before.”

“ The learned judge, if I remember rightly, did not refer to the box of pills found by Michael Maybrick ? ”

“ The American pills ? He had got these, according to the name on the box, in America four years ago, and

the box was very nearly full ; so he had evidently not taken many of them lately. We considered every point we could, and were very sorry that we could not do otherwise than we did. I am sure everyone on the



Mr Berry (to Dr Forbes Winslow) : " You've always got something to say."

jury sympathised with her. I would have given anything not to have been on the jury, and twice as much to be able honestly to find another verdict. But, being there, we all had to do our duty conscientiously and to the best of our ability."

“ No doubt you did sympathise with her, and the people of Liverpool appear to do so very strongly ? ”

“ So I believe ; but I think in a few days, when the people of the country look at the case fairly and calmly, they will see that we could not have arrived at any other conclusion.”

“ Many people are very sorry for her, despite her terrible offences in another direction, and petitions are being got up for her reprieve.”

“ We knew nothing of what the opinion of the people was, and had nothing to do with it even if we did. But, personally, I would not be at all sorry if she were reprieved.”

The only evidence apparently called forth to prove that Mr Maybrick took arsenic was : first, the purchase of fly-papers ; second, the presence of arsenic in the bottle of meat juice and in the saucepan in which his food was warmed. As to the fly-papers, this was explained by Mrs Maybrick on the ground that she used them as a cosmetic. One of the leading skin specialists asserted that arsenic is commonly used by ladies for the complexion, especially in the United States. This was also corroborated by many others.

I proved that twenty-one irritant poisons were administered within six days before death—such drugs as nux vomica, henbane, jaborandi, cocaine, morphia, and others. With such a combination it is not surprising that symptoms of gastro-enteritis were present. As to the practice of Mr Maybrick of taking repeated doses of arsenic, I have already

shown this to be the case as stated in the doctor's letter who so advised. I also discovered that Fowler's solution of arsenic had been prescribed for him, which would have more than accounted for the morbid appearances found, within a few days of his death. If there ever was a case of wrong and cruel conviction this one stands out prominently in history. In England a Government mistake is not usually admitted or rectified.

It was on the 22nd of August, late in the evening, that the decision of the Home Secretary was made known to the world. The wording of the reprieve was as follows: "The Home Secretary, after the fullest consideration, and after taking the best medical and legal advice that could be obtained, has advised her Majesty to respite the capital sentence of Florence Maybrick, and to commute the punishment to penal servitude for life, inasmuch as, although the evidence tends clearly to the conclusion that the prisoner administered and attempted to administer arsenic to her husband, yet it does not wholly exclude a reasonable doubt whether his death was in fact caused by the administration of arsenic."

The question in the minds of all reasonable people was whether such a decision, which expressed grave doubts as to "whether his death was in fact caused by the administration of arsenic," was sufficient justification for keeping Mrs Maybrick in prison. I think not, and it is a difficult thing to know on what grounds this was done. It is another instance of a

refusal on the part of officials to acknowledge a mistake and rectify the same, as they ought to have done in this case.

It was two o'clock in the morning when Mrs Maybrick received the news of her reprieve. Already Berry, the hangman, had been in the precincts of the prison erecting the scaffold—so I was informed by the Baroness de Roque, Mrs Maybrick's mother. She gave me a pathetic account of what took place in prison that evening.

The final decision had been expected to reach Walton Prison, where Mrs Maybrick was confined, before midnight, and both the governor of the prison and the chaplain had remained up in expectation of a message one way or the other, when it would have been their duty to communicate to her that a reprieve had been granted or that she must prepare for execution.

Midnight had struck, and all hope of receiving a reprieve had been given up. At 1.30 a.m. the bell of the prison sounded loudly, the door was thrown open, and the special messenger entered, the delay having been occasioned by the distance between Walton Prison and Lime Street station, where the messenger had arrived, and the inability to obtain a conveyance. On the arrival of the messenger a few members of the press had been waiting outside eagerly to hear the latest news. The officials, with the exception of the turnkey, had retired to rest, having given up all hope more or less; the latter,

being on night duty, opened the door of the prison and admitted the special messenger bearing the news of Mrs Maybrick's reprieve.

The governor of the prison summoned the chaplain, who had retired for the night, and they at once proceeded to Mrs Maybrick's cell. She was very ill and prostrate in bed, half dozing, half dreaming, ignorant of what her fate might be, conscious of the fact of her innocence, that she had not received a fair trial, and apprehensive that the result might be that she would be launched into eternity within twenty-four hours. Her thoughts waking, her dreams sleeping, were not of a happy nature.

Upon entering the cell, Mrs Maybrick appeared more or less in a state of stupor. She had not moved from the position in which she had been left by the chaplain a short time before. The sound of the turning of the key in her door made her start up. She was half dazed, and was not certain as to whether or not it was a sign for the executioner to come in and bind her. She instinctively realised that something unusual had occurred, of the nature of which she was in ignorance. It glanced through her mind that to be disturbed at such an hour, and to be stared at by two men who entered her cell, was, to say the least, not what she had experienced during her residence in prison; whether it was a message of life or death she was unable to say. The governor, desiring at once to assure her, remarked: "Mrs Maybrick, I have received a communication from

the Home Secretary, which I think it my duty to read to you at once." He did so. She appeared stunned, and at first was unable to realise what had taken place. She then burst into tears, and in a low voice whispered, "I thank you! It is hard to bear!"

Baroness de Roque visited her daughter at twelve o'clock the following day. She found her still in bed, and mentally depressed, quite broken down; the reaction had been too much for her.

The Maybrick Committee met in London the following day, and it was decided that every legitimate means should be taken to get the verdict quashed, in order that Mrs Maybrick might receive a free pardon. This was in consequence of the decision of the Home Secretary, in which he expressed doubts as to the death by arsenic. Agitation after agitation took place, but still no pardon came. Mrs Maybrick lingered in prison for fifteen years after this. I always look upon the Treasury as being, so to speak, the man in possession; when they are in possession of any poor individual, they have the entire reins in their own hands.

Mrs Maybrick was removed from Walton Prison. Mr Brierley departed for America on board the *Scythia*, and left the shore unnoticed save by two relatives. The Baroness de Roque returned to Paris. Mrs Maybrick remained an inmate of her Majesty's prison, an innocent woman wrongly and unjustly condemned; and, in spite of the new evidence which had been

brought forward from time to time, and the opinion as expressed in America and England, she was allowed to serve what really amounted to the full time of her conviction, viz. fifteen years.

During Mrs Maybrick's incarceration in prison many applications were made for me to visit her.

Sir Charles Russell, Lord Chief Justice, sent the Baroness de Roque to my house, asking me to make application to visit Mrs Maybrick.

I heard on good authority that no one was offered the post of Home Secretary, during the life of her late Majesty the Queen, if he was what was termed a Maybrickite ; so convinced was her late Majesty the Queen of the guilt of Mrs Maybrick, that these were the conditions on which the Home Secretary was appointed to that office. I received this information from the mouth of the Baroness de Roque, who heard it from the Lord Chief Justice.

In response to my application to visit Mrs Maybrick I received the ordinary official reply acknowledging the receipt of my letter, and stating that the same would receive consideration. This was subsequently followed by a further letter stating that the authorities were satisfied with the opinion and treatment of the prison surgeon.

The insomnia and nervous prostration to which she was liable whilst in Walton Prison followed her after she had gained her freedom in July 1904.

Considering the trouble I had taken in this matter, and the fact that, had it not been for my exertions,

she would have suffered the full penalty of the law, it was a surprise to me that she left England for Rouen without calling at my house.

On the 23rd of July 1904 I wrote as follows to her mother : " I am delighted to hear of your daughter's release, and trust that her health has not suffered from the cruel incarceration." In this letter I also offered to see her, understanding that she was suffering from mental collapse, the result of her unjust imprisonment. I received a reply from the Baroness de Roque, dated 31st July, from Rouen ; in which she wrote : " We much appreciate your kind efforts on her behalf, but she is prohibited from seeing anyone."

Mrs Maybrick, I believe, is now in America. She has never even thanked me personally, or written to me, for my gigantic efforts made on her behalf. I agitated in what many considered to be an unwholesome case, as I often have done ; but I conscientiously believed that she was innocent, and I spared no time and relaxed no efforts to endeavour to establish what I knew to be the truth. It was a case in which opinions were much divided. Those who considered the case, as I understood her late Majesty the Queen did, from a moral point of view, had no hesitation in pronouncing Mrs Maybrick guilty ; those who had weighed carefully in the balance the *pros* and *cons* as far as the question of arsenical poisoning was concerned, thought otherwise.

The case was surrounded from the very commence-

ment with a certain mystery, which Mrs Maybrick alone is able to solve.

THE CASE OF MRS PEARCEY

In 1890 I was consulted with reference to the mental condition of a woman named Pearcey. She was charged with the murder of Mrs Hogg, who was stunned by her and finally mutilated, and the body, cut into pieces, was placed in a perambulator. The cutting up of the body indicated the brutality of the murder, the head being nearly severed from the trunk. The part of the body found was conveyed to the police station; the other was found in a baby's carriage in St John's Wood. This was a murder of the most revolting description, and she was committed for trial. The actual barbarity shown previous to the murder led many to believe that the act could not have been done by a sane woman, and the suggestion was *prima facie* for investigation as to her mental condition. Her quiet demeanour and behaviour in court created quite a sensation. It was argued that her conduct was inconsistent with that of a murderess, and it was difficult to imagine that anyone who behaved herself so quietly and with so much propriety could have been guilty of such a heinous offence.

No plea of insanity was raised at the time, for reasons best known to those advising, and she was condemned to death. After the verdict I was consulted by her solicitor, and he had all the documents

placed before me relating to the prisoner's history, previous and subsequent to the murder. My written opinion was asked for and forwarded to the authorities.

Of course, when giving an opinion in these cases, it is much more satisfactory to have made a personal examination of the alleged lunatic, but, as I previously stated, this the authorities do not allow after conviction.

With reference to her general comportment at the trial someone interested in the case informed me as follows:—"I had several opportunities of conversations with her solicitor and herself. I think it was difficult for a person of good sense to sit there without being stirred by a profound pity for the wretched young woman, around whom the meshes of the law were being drawn so relentlessly without the faintest hope of mercy. Yet all whom I heard discussing the case were convinced that this young woman had actually been guilty of a premeditated, craftily planned murder of the most ferocious description. Everyone must have pitied the miserable woman, but her crime hardened one's heart, and enabled one to entirely assent to the severe remarks of the judge in pronouncing her sentence."

This was an opinion of one of the public in court, and expressed, no doubt, the view of all the others who were at her trial. The opinion I gave was apparently uncontradicted, that the woman was of a low order of intellect. She was subject to severe

attacks of epilepsy. This was proved to me by the evidence of her friends and relations whom I saw. I also had evidence to the effect that on other occasions after these epileptic seizures manifestations of violence ensued, and absolute loss of memory of what had happened during her paroxysm. From my experience in cases of epilepsy I can in every way endorse this. I also was informed that she had made several attempts at suicide, once by hanging and twice by taking poison, whilst in one of these epileptic trances and labouring under this influence. Previous to the second attack upon her own life she was seized with an epileptic fit, in which she continued for some time. Her mother also suffered from fits before her daughter was born. To my mind this was the cause of the mental weakness in Mrs Pearcey.

On the Sunday previous to the murder she had been complaining very much of headaches, and stated that she felt she was going out of her mind. The brutality of the murder and the violence used strengthened my opinion as to the probability of the crime being committed whilst in a condition of acute, violent epileptic trance, of which I had seen many similar cases.

An application was made for me to examine Mrs Pearcey, but on 17th December I received a reply declining any interference. However, she was examined by certain medical gentlemen attached to the Home Office, who possibly had not the same interest in the case that I had, and, secondly, were not so cognisant of the actual facts, and who

had not been visited by her relations and friends, or knew the history of her case, or perused any documents bearing on it. They were simply sent to form an opinion as to the objective, not the subjective, condition of the prisoner ; and on 20th December a letter was received declining to interfere with the due course of the law.

The public mind, which was at first so prejudiced against the woman, after my efforts had been made and the true facts of the case published in the press, veered round.

One gentleman from Teignmouth wrote as follows :
“ I will be glad to do six months' hard labour in any prison in England for the respite of Mary Eleanor Pearcey, now under sentence of death. I do not know the prisoner, but this comes from a heart of pity.”

The number of people who called at the office of her solicitor, anxious to sign the petition, proved beyond a doubt that they very gravely doubted that the case was one in which the law should be allowed to operate. Public meetings were held in reference to the matter. Medical evidence was also tendered to the solicitor to the effect that Mrs Pearcey had been of weak intellect from birth ; this was evidence which could not have been disputed.

Whilst in prison, from information which reached me, I learnt that she was very listless and heedless of what was going on, being more or less in a condition of mental and physical collapse. One thing I have not

the least doubt about is, that in such cases it is an injustice that those medical men who are cognisant with the facts of the case, and in whose hands documents have been placed, in the same way as is done in obtaining counsel's opinion, should have been prevented from being present at any medical examination in prison conducted by officials nominated by the Treasury. It only shows to me the biassed way in which such matters are conducted, and what applied to Mrs Pearcey's case is equally applicable in a number of similar cases.

The ordinary letters passed between the Home Office and myself of the usual official nature. The authorities were in possession of the wretched woman, and her friends were denied every possibility of having her properly represented at the medical examination, when the question of life and death was at stake.

At the commencement of this agitation the public opinion was dead against Mrs Pearcey, in consequence of the brutal nature of the crime, and it took a short time, even with all the evidence at our disposal, to remove this impression or to get up an agitation in her favour.

One deposition which was sent to the Home Office related to an incident which took place in 1886 ; it was obtained from one of the witnesses who gave evidence at the trial, relating to an attempt she made at suicide, and is as follows :—

“ I spoke sharply to her ; she rushed to a bottle of lotion marked ‘ Poison,’ and drank some. I wrenched

it from her hand, and gave her salt and water. Afterwards she cried bitterly, and went to sleep. When she awoke she complained of a pain in her head. I remonstrated with her about what she had done, and she then stated that she remembered nothing about it, and I had difficulty in convincing her that it had happened." This was not stated at the trial. About three months later, the same deponent stated, they had another disagreement in the rooms which they occupied. "She then rushed upstairs," he continued, "and I followed, and was just in time to prevent her swallowing the contents of a bottle labelled 'Poison.' Again with great difficulty, I produced sickness, which was followed by a very severe fit, and her hands bled from the pressure of the nails upon the palms of her clenched fists. On her recovery she noticed this blood, and had another fit." Subsequently she had, it seems, an attack of hysteria, crying and laughing, which was succeeded by violent pains in the head. Upon her complete recovery the statement is that "she remembered nothing of what had taken place, nor of her attempt to poison herself."

Mrs Pearcey's father died in August 1882, and a few months after this she made the first attempt on her life. She was then fifteen years of age, and appears to have taken the loss of her father to heart very much. She was found one day in the garden suspended by a rope. She had stood on a basket and then kicked it away, and was black in the face.

The full history of her case and all the documents

were submitted to two leading specialists besides myself. We all expressed the same opinion in this case, so I did not stand alone, as I have often done before.

The medical petition, presented to the Home Office, based its plea for mercy on the following grounds :— First, the behaviour and demeanour of the condemned woman, and her protestations of innocence and forgetfulness of the crime charged to her ; secondly, the absence of all corroboration of premeditation ; thirdly, the indisputable fact, as testified by many witnesses, of her mental condition, her liability to epileptic fits, and various attempts at suicide ; and, fourthly, her remarkable hallucinations.

From what I heard, she conducted herself in a quiet, rational manner in prison, as such cases generally do, especially those who suffer from epileptic insanity, when the condition only asserts itself during the epileptic paroxysm or immediately previous or subsequent to it. In other words, there were no objective signs—purely subjective ; and the medical officers attached to the prison dwelt a good deal on the “quietude and tractability of the prisoner’s demeanour.”

Every effort, however, proved unavailing, and on 20th December 1890 a letter was received as follows :—

“SIR,—With reference to the representations and memorials which you have submitted on behalf of Mary Eleanor Pearcey or Wheeler, now under sentence of death in Newgate Prison for murder, I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that after medical inquiry and the most careful consideration of all the circumstances in the case, he regrets that he has been

unable to discover any sufficient grounds to justify him in advising her Majesty to interfere with the due course of the law.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“GODFREY LUSHINGTON.”

In consequence, Mrs Pearcey met her fate in Newgate. She was only the fifth female prisoner who was hanged in Newgate during the fifty years immediately preceding her trial. This is satisfactory to show that there still does exist, to a certain extent, a strong public feeling against any woman being hanged. Previous to Mrs Pearcey's execution in 1890 there was an interval of sixteen years between her execution and the last woman hanged, named Frances Stewart, who was sentenced to death for the murder of her grandchild.

Of course, it was only to be expected that after Mrs Pearcey's death a full confession would be circulated far and wide. This is always done to justify carrying out the last operation of the law.

In this case, however, the result of my agitation had the effect of inducing the Home Office to order a medical examination—an *ex parte* and one-sided one; whereas in the case of Lefroy no opportunity was given to the wretched man to have his mental condition tested.

MURDER BY EPILEPTICS—DRANT AND TREADAWAY

In 1877 I was consulted in two cases in which murder had been committed by epileptics—the Pimlico murder

committed by Drant, and the Chelsea murder committed by Treadaway.

They were both found guilty and sentenced to death, but subsequently reprieved in consequence of the liability to epileptic seizures. It was proved in evidence that Drant at the time he committed the murder was actually in a condition of maniacal excitement and violence, whilst under an actual epileptic paroxysm. Treadaway was twenty years of age, and the eldest of nine children. He murdered a Mr John Collins. One of his sisters suffered from brain fever ; his father was a melancholic ; his aunt an epileptic ; and both his grandparents were of an unstable mental condition. For some time previous to the murder he had suffered from the marked aura incidental to epilepsy, and attacks of giddiness.

This culprit, according to evidence adduced in court and substantiated by many witnesses, was a man in whose family hereditary tendencies to cerebral disease had been manifested in varied and numerous forms, fourteen individuals in three generations having suffered either from depression, eccentricity, insanity, or from epilepsy and paralysis. Treadaway himself, after indulgence in excessive intemperance, became affected with permanent headache, and had sustained during its continuance and for two years repeated seizures of unconsciousness, which he called "fainting fits." The attacks took place while otherwise in sound health, lasted a few minutes, and were marked by a severe shooting and

throbbing pain in the head, vertigo which made him clutch at some support, the sensation of a black cloud coming over him, and finally entire oblivion of what was passing in himself and around. The recovery of his senses did not at once dispel the cephalalgia and mental confusion, but he was able to walk onward, and felt quite well in an hour or two. He was likewise subject to severe pains in the face and the cardiac region, where a cord seemed to be tightly pulled round his chest. Loss of employment induced depression, which was not relieved by the kindness of his family ; and under the pressure of these circumstances he meditated suicide, first by drowning and then by shooting himself, and for that purpose bought a revolver. While conversing with his victim he experienced the first signs of an approaching fit, which had been preceded by headache, etc., and from the moment when the dark cloud seemed to brood over him he lost all knowledge and recollection of his doings, or of the discharge of the pistol bought for his own destruction, until he found himself in the street, and did not fully realise his position until next morning, although he seems then to have taken some precautions in order to conceal his connection with the deed. Most fortunately, he became convulsed while in the dock, and was declared to have had a fit of genuine epilepsy, the last of a series which had occurred during his examination in the police court. As to the perpetration of the homicide by the prisoner there was no doubt, and a sentence

of death was passed. More fortunately still, certain misgivings having arisen, prompted in all probability by the healthy comments of the press, as to the verdict, the Secretary of State directed further examination, in such a manner that execution was stayed, and the epileptic sent not to Broadmoor, but to a penitentiary. Had such a commission exercised their functions previous to the trial, or, what would have been better, had the law required—as it does in France and in one American State—that the accused, in whose favour it was known mental impairment would be pleaded, should be consigned to observation in an asylum, such a painful and discreditable dilemma would have been eschewed. Like some of the parallel lines which run through the history of great events, it is curious to find that in a similar case in America, where a paroxysm took place during the trial, conviction was followed by a deferred sentence, a medical inquiry, and ultimate seclusion in an asylum. This was the first occasion on which a plea of epileptic insanity had been successful.

The sentence was commuted in both cases to penal servitude for life. I did not admit at the time in any way the legality of this decision. It was either one of two things ; the man was responsible and guilty, or he was not guilty on the ground of insanity. If the former, he should have been sent to prison ; if the latter, Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum was the proper place for him.

The subsequent reprieve, as issued from the Home

Office after our medical report, was : “ Dr Crichton-Browne, Dr Forbes Winslow, Mr Erichsen, and others, having shown Edward Treadaway to be subject to epileptic fits, during which he was practically irresponsible for his acts, her Majesty has been advised to respite the capital sentence passed on him to penal servitude for life.”

MRS DYER : THE READING MYSTERY

The Reading mystery in 1896 created much excitement. Mrs Dyer managed a baby-farm near Reading. She was charged with drowning a number of children entrusted to her care. The trial was heard before Mr Justice Hawkins. I once more found myself in the unsatisfactory position of being an expert witness in a case of a most unsavoury nature, and one which, in all probability, had been prejudged, not only by the public, but also by the jury, if they had read anything about the case previous to its hearing. I visited her twice in Holloway Prison. She gave me the impression of a good old carefully attired monthly nurse, but not of the murderess type. It appeared from what I gathered, not only from my examination of her, but from what I heard in court, that she had been confined on several occasions as a person of unsound mind in two asylums, whilst suffering from the very same hallucinations of hearing voices which she had when I saw her in Holloway ; and this I testified to at the Old Bailey.

I was endeavouring to graphically describe to the court what she had told me, "that she had visions of animals and worms all crawling over her, eating her very vitals"; and whilst I was continuing my evidence as to this, suddenly I heard one of the jury say to his next-door neighbour *sotto voce*, but within



Mrs Dyer.

my hearing: "She may perhaps have dreamt this, but it will soon be a reality." I was staggered for the moment, and, had I not been convinced that Mr Justice Hawkins was so prejudiced against the woman, and probably would have said to me, "Dr Winslow, it is no business of yours," or something to that effect, I should have drawn his lordship's attention to what

I considered to be a monstrous remark on the part of any member of the jury to make previous to the hearing of the case. I knew at once it was a foregone conclusion they meant to hang the woman, but it nevertheless seemed to take the sting out of the concluding part of my evidence. I take this opportunity, however, of chronicling the fact.

Mrs Dyer was found guilty, but of sound mind at the time of the murder. It was also stated that on each occasion when she had previously got into a lunatic asylum, it was after another dead child had been found in the river. Of course, I had no evidence to prove this. I was simply called to substantiate my views, based upon my examination of her.

I saw the lunacy certificates on which she had been previously incarcerated; but as in these certificates she had the same delusions which she had when I examined her, the conclusion I arrived at was that, if she was of unsound mind during the time she was confined in the asylum as a lunatic, she was of unsound mind then.

It having come to my knowledge that Mrs Dyer had been examined by a physician appointed by the Treasury on 11th May, I thought it only fair that the wretched woman should have the benefit of someone on her behalf, and on the 13th inst. I wrote as follows to the press: "From a long experience in such cases, I desire to express my strong opinion that the defence should also be represented by its own nominee."

I was nominated, and, though I was instructed by the prisoner's solicitor, I received my fee from the Treasury—rather a unique position.

The following is an extract from the Government expert's report, which was forwarded to me. I entirely disagreed with what was stated. I considered that the defence had a very strong case. The result was apparently a foregone conclusion. Of this I felt certain, but was determined to do my best according to my strong convictions that Mrs Dyer was of unsound mind :—

“ Having to-day, 11th May 1896, seen and examined the above prisoner at Holloway Jail in the presence of Dr Scott, medical officer of the prison, and having seen the newspaper reports of the trial and the various reports as to her life history, and her conduct before and after the trial, also the reports of her family history, I have come to the following conclusion :— That there is no evidence of insanity in her of any kind whatever ; that she has been in several asylums as a patient, but the symptoms were always of a transient nature and such as might be explained by her then circumstances, or (she having been an asylum attendant) might have been simulated.

“ There seems to be no doubt that her mother was insane, and it is likely that she (the prisoner) is of defective power of self-control, and might be induced to do wrong more readily than the majority as a consequence of such hereditary taint. Though the prisoner denies recollection of her acts, yet there is not sufficient evidence of defect of memory to make me think the prisoner is in any way irresponsible for her acts.”

Upon this report being submitted to me, I prepared,

as I always do in these cases, questions which were given to the solicitor to place in the hands of the counsel conducting the defence, for the medical witness to be interrogated on who had issued reports :—

“ *Hints for Cross-examination of Medical Experts.*

“ 1. From your experience in the study of insanity, would you expect that anyone labouring under a monomania of hearing imaginary voices would be insane on the surface ?

“ 2. Have you not frequently known such cases where the patient was perfectly calm and seemingly rational, though entertaining delusions inwardly but not apparent to the outward view ?

“ 3. If you were consulted about a patient who entertained delusions that she heard voices telling her to do certain things, and confessed that she was not able to resist, also that her mother had died in a lunatic asylum, and that she herself had been confined in several, and had made many attempts to commit suicide, would you think that there was a *prima facie* reason for again placing her under restraint should she suffer from these ideas ?

“ 4. If you think so, how does Mrs Dyer’s case differ, in your estimation ?

“ 5. Is it not the rule that cases of homicidal or suicidal monomania are free from outward excitement ?

“ 6. If Mrs Dyer is feigning insanity, would it not be expected that she would have made some efforts to make this visible in some way to the warders or doctors ?

“ 7. Did you form any opinion before you saw the accused, as I gather from your report that you had read the newspapers on the subject, and especially mentioned this ?

“ 8. You also say that her conduct before the trial had guided you : do you mean by this that you think

that she was illegally confined in the various lunatic asylums ?

“ 9. You also mention that her symptoms were of a transient nature when placed in the asylums. Might not similar symptoms, which justified her being placed in consequence of her conduct at Gloucester, have become again suddenly developed so as to deprive her of reason, during which period she might have committed the crime ?

“ 10. You say that she is defective in the power of self-control and might be induced to act accordingly in consequence of the insanity inherited from her mother. By this you seemingly contradict your former opinion. Is not want of self-control a symptom of insanity, and one which, in a case like this, should receive grave consideration, taking into account all the surroundings of the case and the history of the accused ?

“ 11. Would you in such a case, with a history similar to Mrs Dyer, sign a lunacy certificate or advise the friends to place such a one in a lunatic asylum ? ”

Perhaps it would be of interest if I gave the notes I made at the two interviews, on 15th and 19th May, that I had with Mrs Dyer, taken verbatim from my notebook :—

Q. How long have you been here ?

A. Three weeks.

Q. Do you remember coming here ?

A. I do not know how I got here, but I remember coming on a Saturday.

Q. Do you know why you were brought here ?

A. I believe it is because of those children.

Q. What children ?

A. Those children who were found.

Q. Where were they found ?

A. At Reading, I believe.

Q. How many children were there ?

A. Can't tell. I try to think about it. It feels like a dream.

Q. How many asylums have you been in ?

A. Only two, Gloucester and Wells. I can't remember the dates, but I can remember when I left, as it was my son's birthday, 18th February 1894.

Q. Who put you into these asylums ?

A. I do not recollect going, but I know now. The first time I went to Gloucester my daughter took me. I believe it was Mr Beard [Mr Beard, the relieving officer]. I can't tell how long I was there. I do not think I was spoken to officially at my visit.

Q. What had they put you in the asylum for ?

A. I was depressed and low, and I know I did things I ought not to.

Q. What do you mean by that ?

A. I have attempted to destroy myself and tried every way to do so, but they won't permit me.

Q. When did you make the first attempt, and where ?

A. When I was living at Gloucester House, Bristol. I can't remember the year, but I have a letter in my pocket, if you will let me refer to it. It was in June 1894 that I attempted to drown myself.

Q. Were you taken to the hospital ?

A. Yes, at Bristol. My daughter promised to look after me. She did not want me to return home.

Q. How is it that you did not succeed in your attempt to cut your throat ?

A. My daughter was too quick, and snatched the knife away. I cannot remember dates, and I wrote to my daughter at Reading, and I have her reply. I do not know that I ever hurt anyone but myself, and I often hear voices telling me to go and do certain things, and I go and do it.

Q. What have they told you to do ?

A. To kill myself, frequently. I feel I am bound

to do it, and therefore I want to do it. At the asylum at Gloucester they beat and cruelly ill-treated me, and put me in a padded room, and I felt it would be no sin to destroy myself. My knuckle was put out of joint, but at the same time I know I was very troublesome and naughty.

Q. What about the children in the river ?

A. I can't recollect anything about these children, but I hear voices every night, and I do not know what to do.

Q. How are you feeling at the present moment ?

A. I have a headache now, but I am much better of late. Sometimes I remember being at my daughter's ; at other times I feel dazed, and I can't know or understand anything about it.

Q. How is your memory ?

A. I can remember things that happened in my childhood better than recent events. I have lived in Reading. I am the only one of my family living ; all the others are dead. I am not sure what my relations died of, but one sister died of cancer. My mother was in two asylums, the last one being Brislington House. She died there. Her name was Sarah Hogley.

Q. Have you had any trouble during your married life ?

A. My husband was cruel to me, and I worried over his treatment very much. My father left me a good deal of money, but my husband spent it. I left him three times.

At the subsequent examination on 19th May the conversation was as follows. In answer to my question as to whether she had seen me before : " I think I have seen you before," replied Mrs Dyer.

Q. When did you see me ?

A. I think the day before yesterday.

Q. Where did you see me ?

A. Here.

Q. How have you been getting on ?

A. I slept last night, but not the night before.

Q. What kept you awake ?

A. I had a curious sensation, and thought I was going down through the floor, bed and all.

Q. Did anything trouble you, especially last night ?

A. I heard a voice that night. I am only waiting to do the one thing which I know is wicked. May I be allowed to ask you one question ? The other day after you had gone I felt very much worried.

Q. With what ?

A. The voices.

Q. What did the voices say ?

A. I must not tell you all they said. Why is all this fuss made over me ? Everyone knows I have been in an asylum ; my mind always dwells on it, and really I can't help it.

Q. How many times have you been in asylums ?

A. Twice at Gloucester and once at Wells. I was sent back the second time on leave of absence, and I really do not know why. It is only low-spirited I get. I am sure no one could say I ever tried to hurt anyone except myself.

Q. When did you first take it into your head to adopt children ?

A. I am sure I can't tell now.

Q. Did you put an advertisement in the papers as to these ?

A. Yes, I believe I did.

Q. How many children did you have charge of ?

A. I can't tell how many.

Q. When did you first take to this business ?

A. Ten years ago.

Q. Have you continued it ever since ?

A. Yes.

Q. What about the two children found in the river ?

A. I can't recollect anything about it. When I begin to think I get mystified.

Q. What were the names of the children ?

A. I am sure I do not know. I can't tell now.

Q. When did you first hear about what had happened ?

A. On Good Friday or Easter Sunday.

Q. Who told you ?

A. No one. Someone came to my house. It was not a policeman, but I could not say who for certain.

Q. What were you doing at the time ?

A. Getting the dinner ready.

Q. Had you not missed the children ?

A. I could not tell. I never thought about them.

Q. When had you seen them last previous to their being found in the river ?

A. I am sure I do not know when I saw them last.

Q. Now to come back to the asylum. When were you there ?

A. I cannot tell from memory when I went there.

Q. What was the longest stay ?

A. I was not long in either.

Q. Why did they put you in a padded room ?

A. Because I was troublesome in my bath.

Q. When were you last in a lunatic asylum ?

A. It may be two years, more or less.

Q. What do you think about all day ?

A. I can't think of anything ; that is where I am puzzled.

Q. Do you ever see any visions ?

A. Pray do not ask me [looking very terrified at me].

Q. What do you see ?

A. I can't tell you ; that is why I keep awake at night. The sounds I hear and the sights I see are dreadful.

Q. Do you ever mention this to anybody in the prison ?

A. No, I keep it to myself.

Q. Can you give me any idea of what you see ?

A. I see my poor boy Willie and my mother.

Q. Do they ever speak to you ?

A. Frequently. I hear them talking and telling me to come to them. The spirit of my poor boy, Willie, seems to be with me all night. I fancy I could handle his bones, and that I was picking them out of the ground. When my poor boy enlisted and went away I was very ill for three weeks, and when I came to myself I was beating the rats off, who were all gnawing on my body, and the worms were eating me up.

Q. Have you written to your daughter since I last saw you ?

A. I write nearly every day.

As I have said before, a medical expert opposing the Treasury is always placed in a false position. It is my intention, however, in this case, to justify my position in the matter. The public are very eager to condemn any doctor who dares to interfere in what is called a popular case, and in what is supposed to be a revolting murder, which shocks humanity.

Mrs Dyer's daughter, whilst under cross-examination, informed the court that her mother had been in several lunatic asylums between the years 1891 and 1894, and that her grandmother had attempted suicide. Mrs Dyer had been detained for three months in one of the asylums. Evidence was given by Dr Frederick Logan of Bristol, who on 24th December

1893 had been called in to examine the prisoner at Bristol, and found that she was very violent with delusions. She picked up a poker and rushed at him and threatened to break his skull, and had aural hallucinations, the voices telling her to destroy herself. He came to the conclusion that Mrs Dyer was of an unsound mind, and gave a medical certificate to that effect, upon which she was sent to an asylum. He had not seen her since that date. Dr Firth of Bristol stated that in July 1894 Mrs Dyer was admitted into the Bristol General Hospital, of which he was the house surgeon, having attempted to drown herself. Another doctor was called as a witness who had also certified, in 1894, as to her mental condition.

When these doctors had testified, my evidence was to the effect that on the 15th May I had examined the prisoner in Holloway Gaol. Dr Scott of Holloway was also present, and I had a long interview with her. I had not read much about the case before I saw her, and I had not formed any opinion before I went to see her. I asked her a great many questions, and I considered that she was a person of unsound mind, suffering from delusions and hallucinations. She was suffering from melancholia and delusional insanity. There was no excitement, but there was depression and there were delusions. The prisoner made no attempt to feign insanity. I examined her to see whether she was shamming insanity. I came to the conclusion that she was not. She said that very often she got

into a depressed condition, and that voices spoke to her and told her to take her own life, and that she had made several attempts to do that, but had been prevented. She told me she had been in Gloucester Asylum and had been cruelly ill-treated and placed in a padded room, and in consequence of that treatment she thought she had a perfect right to take her own life. I asked her if she had any recollection of the crime. She said she had not; she tried to recollect, but became mystified. I also stated that I examined her again on 19th May, and asked her whether she still heard the voices speaking to her, and she replied, "Yes, every night." She also said that she was visited by the spirit of her mother and her little boy. I went on to detail the statements made by the prisoner with reference to the visions which she said she saw. My opinion was that the prisoner was of unsound mind.

If there ever was a *prima facie* case, notwithstanding the revolting method of the crime, which required careful consideration, it was Mrs Dyer's case. I have no hesitation in saying that she did not have a fair, unprejudiced trial, which has often happened in a good many of the Treasury murder cases that I have been in.

I justify in every way my appearance on her behalf in court from the fact that the statements she told me, whilst I examined her in the prison, were the same as she told the other doctors who certified her in 1893 and 1894; and the conclusion I arrived

at was, that if she was insane then, she was so at the date of my examination and at the trial.

Mr Justice Hawkins was unusually severe in this case. He had evidently made up his mind at an early period. This was so in similar cases; his remarks were generally of great severity, which no doubt influenced the minds of the jury.

It occurs to me that most prison officials, especially surgeons, look more for the objective signs of insanity than for the subjective. In Mrs Dyer's case, to all outward appearances she was of sound mind; it was only when examining the subjective mind that the hallucinations became evident. It was stated by some witnesses for the prosecution that her symptoms were feigned. I take this opportunity of condemning this *in toto*. I have not the least hesitation in saying that had the question of her mental condition been considered apart from the evidence of the history of her crime, no expert would have been found who would have failed to arrive at the conclusion that she was of unsound mind. It seems, however, incredible to me that anyone could have committed the crimes, which were in every way so horrible, and yet be in her sane and sober senses.

Whilst in prison she made several attempts to take her life, and five days before her death she wrote the following letter to an old friend. It will be noticed that there is a reference to her daughter, Mrs Palmer, whom she addresses as Polly :—

“FROM 1909 AMELIA E. DYER,
“H.M. PRISON, NEWGATE,
“*Friday, 5th June 1896.*”

“MY DEAR SIR,—Many thanks for your kind letter, also for the visit your wife paid me yesterday. Yes, I have made a will in favour of my dear child, Polly. I am thankful to say that I have seen my dear child now this morning. God only knows how thankful I was, but oh, Mr —, the parting is more than I can bear. I was glad to see her looking so well, dear child. I am sure God will bless her. She, like myself, could not talk much of business matters. God only knows how grieved I am to know she is suffering for no fault of her own; she did nothing, she knew nothing, neither did Arthur. I am speaking truthfully; the girl is innocent of the charge against her. I only wish it could be managed that she could have the same counsel I had. The home, I believe, is not yet sold up at Reading. It is kind of your wife wishing to take care of my clothes for Polly, but I am afraid Granny is not keeping things together. Each time I saw her at Reading she was wearing my clothes, and as she had her own she need not to wear mine. I have sent Polly my wedding ring and a few other small things I had here; and all I can say is I am truly grateful for all your consideration of me, and let me beg of you do all you can for my dear child Polly; you won't go unrewarded. I wish I could write properly, but I feel I can't, somehow, to-day; indeed, I will be glad to see you to-morrow. Poor Arthur, I have troubled about him a great deal, but I will say what Mrs — told me yesterday have taken a great weight off my mind. Now, my dear sir, all I can now say is you have been a friend to me; the same also to my dear child. I am expecting some letter daily from Willie. Polly and Arthur will see all about that. Kindly write to Arthur. I am

speaking truthfully ; both of them are innocent of any crime. What can I say more ? Only God bless you and yours. Mr Scott will see you are admitted when you come.—I am, yours sincerely,

“ AMELIA DYER.”

Mrs Palmer, Mrs Dyer's daughter, who was in prison in Reading waiting to be tried also for murder, was brought to London to say farewell to her mother. The grand jury had, however, thrown out the bill, and Mrs Dyer heard that her daughter would not be proceeded against, the evening before her execution. The last letter she wrote in prison was to her daughter, in which she said :—

“ My child, my dear child, may God Almighty bless you and keep you. It was a great relief to me to know that you would not be prosecuted. I knew it yesterday. Now, my child, for Willie's and Annie's sake, don't go abroad. You will have a letter from our chaplain. I, myself, can say no more now, only God bless and keep you both.

‘ My hope is built on nothing less
Than Jesus' blood and righteousness.’

“ MOTHER, A. DYER.”

Mrs Dyer also remarked : “ My only wonder is I did not murder all in the house when I have had all these awful temptations on me.”

The execution of Mrs Dyer took place on 10th June 1896. With regard to the public feeling in the matter, a paragraph which appeared in one of the newspapers shows how the case had been regarded. It was as

follows: "Not a voice was raised for her. The utterly despicable character of Mrs Dyer's crime may be judged from the fact that not a single word has been raised by the public or the press on behalf of a commutation of her sentence to penal servitude on the ground that she is a woman. She has gone to the gallows unpitied and hated. For Mrs Dyer no one ever asked for mercy, and no hope has been held out since her plea of insanity failed." This expresses well the usual feeling when a terrible outrage has been committed, and how difficult it is to remove from the public mind that which has been engendered by the atrocity of the crime, and to substitute for it a merciful consideration of the plea of irresponsibility. There was never a shadow of a doubt in anyone's mind but that Mrs Dyer was guilty, and the remarks made by Mr Justice Hawkins, so far as that part was concerned, were justified.

The chief question at issue was whether throughout the chapter Mrs Dyer was a feigner of lunacy, or an absolute lunatic. From the previous history of the case, and from what I myself observed, I have no hesitation in pronouncing Mrs Dyer a lunatic. It is a very easy thing to say that people are shamming insanity. From the very commencement the Treasury were determined to hang the wretched woman, and she therefore met her fate.

There was an interval of five years between the execution of Mrs Dyer and Mrs Pearcey, making an execution of two women in the last half-century.

THE CASE OF MARY ANSELL

I now come to the case of Mary Ansell, who was tried for the murder of her sister, an inmate of Leavesden Asylum, in 1899, by sending her some cake which contained phosphorus. Mary Ansell was eighteen years of age, whilst her sister was twenty-five.

In September she had insured her sister's life for £22, and on the death of her sister Caroline, in the following March, from the effects of the cake, she immediately applied for the insurance money, which was refused. This caused suspicions to be aroused, and in consequence Mary Ansell was arrested and tried. Her sister died at the asylum. She had not only partaken of the cake herself, but handed it over to some of the other inmates of the asylum, who became very ill; but her sister was the only one that died from the effects. The Home Office took the matter up, and a post-mortem examination was made and the presence of phosphorus detected. There was evidently a motive in this case. I approached it with a certain amount of difficulty.

I was instructed to examine her with a view of reporting on her mental condition. I had all the affidavits and statements placed before me, and I came to the conclusion that Mary Ansell was a mental degenerate, and ought not to be held responsible in the eye of the Law.



Mary Ansell.



Mary Ansell's sister.

My report, as forwarded to the Home Office, was as follows :—

“ 1. *Hereditary Insanity.*—Of this there is not the slightest doubt. She is a mental degenerate so often seen in families where insanity exists, as in hers, to any great extent. Such an individual is allowed her freedom, being simply regarded by her family and neighbours as a weak-minded, poor fool, but harmless ; and there being nothing objective in her condition, she is not, like her sister, incarcerated in a lunatic asylum. There are two insane sisters, and insanity inherited both on the father's and mother's side.

“ 2. *Motive.*—There is generally ‘method in madness,’ and often motive is an act of insanity. I think that too much has been laid on the insurance policy. At the time she was contemplating the deed, very possibly some insane idea was passing through her so-called mind.

“ 3. *Behaviour during Trial.*—This is, in my opinion, most important. There was an absence of excitement or emotion during the whole proceedings, and an inability to realise her condition or the gravity of the act. The summing-up of the judge and sentence of death did not in any way affect her. This is most unusual, even in the hardened criminals.

“ 4. *Indications of Insanity.*—Intense passion and love alternating with each other. Frequent attacks of mental vacancy. Talking to herself in an incoherent manner, strange hallucinations, loud fits of laughter for no reason.

“ I am of opinion that if the question of her insanity had been raised at the trial, no jury could have convicted her upon the evidence which might have been adduced. In order for a person to be legally responsible, she would be supposed to know

the difference between right and wrong and the nature and gravity of the act committed by her.

“ That she did not know this difference I have not the slightest doubt. This is confirmed by what the chaplain of the prison has stated, that ‘ she can’t be made to understand what murder is.’ If a person commits a murder and at the time is unable to distinguish between right and wrong, be the crime ever so revolting, by the law of our country that person is not a responsible individual.



The condemned girl's hand.



Mary Ansell's mother.

“ I state without fear of contradiction that Mary Ansell would come under the category of persons unable to so discriminate, and I am of opinion that if the question of her being able to plead had been raised at the commencement of the trial, and the fact had been placed before the jury that she could not distinguish between right and wrong, she would not have stood in the position we find her to-day, regarded as a responsible person with a complete knowledge of her acts, and, as such, to undergo the full penalty of the law.”

Sir Matthew White Ridley was the Home Secretary

at the time, and Mr Justice Mathew was the judge.

A big petition was prepared by the *Daily Mail*. I had evidence placed before me from her school teachers, her neighbours, her employers, the prison chaplain, and others. Her employers said: "We are convinced that this unfortunate creature is mentally deficient and childish, and never seemed to have the least idea of moral responsibility."

The Rev. H. Fowler, chaplain of St Albans Gaol, stated: "I have seen Mary Ansell and talked to her every day, and I cannot say that she comprehends the terrible nature of her position. She grasps the fact that she may be hanged, but she does not seem to comprehend the serious nature of the crime."

The coroner's jury, on which she was committed, found a verdict "that Caroline Ansell died at Leavesden Asylum, 14th March 1899, and that her death was caused by eating a piece of cake on 10th March, containing phosphorus poison, such cake having been received by her through the post on 9th March, and having been sent to her by her sister, Mary Ansell, for the purpose of obtaining the insurance money, payable on the life insurance policy on the life of Caroline Ansell."

Mary Ansell's portrait, together with those of her father, mother, and sisters, were submitted to me. The following is my description of the same:—

"A typical specimen of a mental degenerate of the lowest order. The whole features point to a

condition of irresponsibility. I should think that, in addition to the irresponsibility, there must have been a moral perversion. Our county asylums contain many of these persons similarly afflicted. I should think, judging from the formation of the head and face, that there is absolutely no power of mental concentration or of analysing in her mind the nature of any act she might contemplate committing.

“ Her whole type appears to be between a criminal and a lunatic, but one where the criminal line has been overstepped and the lunatic mind developed. Insanity, passion, and crime are so closely connected, that it is a very difficult matter to know where one begins and the other ends. From the description I have received of the unfortunate girl, I consider this to be a very good likeness, and illustrates the type of degenerates to which she belongs.

“ With regard to Mary Ansell's hand, there is an absence of any marked head-line, and the weak and indistinct finger form and the general indecision of character are to be observed.”

Mary Ansell was a woman of very weak mind. Her appearance was that of an imbecile.

The case created a great stir in Parliament. The jurymen were nearly all unanimous in signing the petition for a reprieve, and the foreman of the jury, Mr Frank Cusworth, took a very prominent part in this agitation.

Much indignation was caused by the announcement that a great public meeting, which was to have been held at Cannon Street Hotel, had been prohibited by the proprietor from taking place. I was summoned to act as chairman, but when I arrived there I was

informed of the prohibition. This was a curious thing, considering meetings with regard to the Staunton case and the Maybrick agitation had both taken place there. A meeting, however, was held outside, and the following resolutions were passed: "That the case of Mary Ansell, now awaiting execution, is one which urgently calls for a second revision of the Home Secretary's decision on the following grounds: 1st, new facts brought to light since the conviction; 2nd, her youth; 3rd, the difference of medical opinion; 4th, her defence at the trial being only half prepared and weakly put before the jury; 5th, the statement of the foreman and other jurymen as to the plea for mercy."

The foreman of the jury was there, and stated that he was led to understand, and that the jury were decidedly of the same opinion, that, whatever the verdict would be, the convict would not be hanged, in consequence of her mental condition.

A crowd gathered, including myself, at the Home Office in favour of a reprieve for Mary Ansell. We were met by an official, who explained that the Home Secretary was not in, but we were told that if a communication was left it would be handed to him. We left, having expressed our determination to petition Parliament. This petition, which was signed by one hundred members of Parliament, was drawn up, I may say, after the Home Secretary had given, so to speak, his final decision—that the law must take its course. Exciting scenes were witnessed in

the lobby of the House of Commons, and a large body of people, headed by the foreman of the jury, came to the House to intercede on behalf of Mary Ansell, so convinced were they of the imbecility of the woman, their object being to make a final effort on her behalf. In a short time one hundred signatures of members were obtained, and ultimately many more followed. This was the text of the petition of the members of Parliament presented to the Home Secretary :—

“ We, the undersigned members of the House of Commons, respectfully suggest to the Right Honourable Sir Matthew White Ridley the desirability of postponing the execution of Mary Ansell for at least a week, to enable further inquiry to be made into her mental condition, seeing that a great diversity of opinion exists on the question.”

This was signed by one hundred Liberal members, but I regret to say that it became a political question, whilst the Conservative members, for some reason best known to themselves, supported their Home Secretary. This petition was handed to the Home Secretary at a late hour in the evening. Shortly after one o'clock the Home Office informed the press “ that the Home Secretary was unable to alter his decision.”

Mary Ansell was hanged on the following morning at St Albans Gaol. To the last the condemned girl did not realise her position until the procession to the scaffold was formed, when she was in a condition of collapse. I do not recollect in the whole course of my

experience such strenuous and influential efforts being made on behalf of any condemned prisoner as in the case of Mary Ansell. One would have thought that the foreman of the jury, evidently regretting the verdict, and taking the prominent part he did in endeavouring to obtain a reprieve, together with the medical opinions and the fact of Parliament taking the matter up, would have been sufficient at least to get a commutation of the sentence for a week to make further inquiries.

THE TRUNK MURDER: DEVEREUX'S CASE

One of the few so-called "trunk tragedies" took place in 1905. I allude to that of Arthur Devereux, accused of poisoning his wife and twins, and secreting their bodies in a trunk, which was placed in a luggage depository. It was called "the trunk poisoning mystery." I am absolutely positive, beyond any shadow of a doubt, that Devereux was an innocent man, and I believe that his solicitor entertained the same opinion. The history of the case is a very simple one. Devereux had been looking out for employment and was unable to find any. Being a chemist by profession, he had in his house a number of drugs. He was very anxious to obtain work, as he had another little boy named Stanley, whom he had to support, and who was then at a boarding-school. He knew how difficult it was for anyone to obtain an appointment as an indoor assistant if a

married man, and therefore he answered an advertisement in a paper entitled the *Chemist and Druggist* for a post as an indoor assistant for an "unmarried man"; he also sent a telegram to the same effect. Unfortunately, this telegram, having been sent the day immediately previous to the bodies of his wife and children being found, was used as strong circumstantial evidence in the eyes of the jury that at the time Devereux sent the telegram he was premeditating committing the crime. The telegram, sent in answer to an advertisement, ran as follows: "Would a widower suit, aged 34, qualified extractor? One child aged six, boy at boarding-school."

Sir Charles Mathews, who represented the Treasury, made much of this. In answer to his question when giving evidence, Devereux replied: "It was a device he had used before to obtain a temporary situation rather than be out of employment." On the day following this telegram, which was sent on 13th January, the bodies of his wife and children were found by him dead—so he alleged.

I might as well mention that Mrs Devereux came of a family of suicides, as also did Devereux. The theory I have always entertained, and which I still entertain, is that the day of the tragedy was washing day, and the wife was occupied in this, and that the children got noisy and troublesome, and in order to quiet them she went to the cupboard and got some drugs; she intended to give them only a small dose to keep them quiet. She unfortunately overdosed them, and as they got into

a condition of narcotism and ultimately coma, and she was unable to waken them, she realised the gravity of the situation, and then the suicidal predisposition



Devereux in Court.

which she had inherited came uppermost in her mind, and she destroyed herself. Devereux came in, and, finding what had happened, was at a loss to know what to do. He also inherited insanity, his mind for the moment became unhinged, and suddenly it reverted

to a similar case which had happened a few years ago, called the "Crossman case." He followed the example of this man, and, putting the bodies in a trunk, he deposited them in a warehouse. Being charged at Harlesden police-station on 14th April, he made the following statement, which was submitted to me by his solicitor :—

" METROPOLITAN POLICE, HARLESDEN STATION,
" 14th April 1905.

" I, Arthur Devereux, hereby declare that one evening towards the end of January or beginning of February last, after having been out for a few hours with my child Stanley, I returned to find my wife and twins lying dead in their beds, evidently, to my mind, having died from poison taken or administered. Rather than face an inquest I decided (with a recent trial fresh in my mind) to conceal the bodies in a trunk which I had in my possession for about two years. This I proceeded to do at once. I missed some poisons (chloroform and morphia) which I always kept in my writing-desk after leaving my last situation, in the event of my wishing to end my own life rather than face starvation. The room smelled strongly of chloroform, so I concluded that my wife had administered it to herself and children ; probably also the morphia. I had had a violent quarrel with her previously to going out ; also many times quite recently and during the last twelve months.

" I make this statement quite voluntarily without any threats having been made or promises held out to me. I wished to make it when first detained at Coventry, but was advised not to do so.

" ARTHUR DEVEREUX.

" Witness, GEORGE COLE, P.S.,
" 14th April 1905."

On the evening of 28th January 1905 Mrs Devereux and her mother, Mrs Gregory, were out shopping. They parted about 11.15, Mrs Devereux going in the direction of Milton Lane. Mrs Devereux was never seen by anyone outside the flat until her body and the bodies of the twins were found in a tin trunk on 13th April at a warehouse in Kensal Rise. At that time the prisoner had obtained employment at a chemist's at Coventry. Circumstantial evidence was so strong as to prove beyond all possible doubt that the trunk had been removed from Devereux's lodgings by a carman on his instructions. The police, who had been in communication with Mrs Gregory since 14th March, as she was unable to find traces of her daughter, ultimately investigated the affair. It appears that on 7th February Devereux removed five boxes, including the trunk which contained the bodies. This latter, which was very heavy, was warehoused. This was found and opened by the police on 13th April, and Devereux was arrested at Coventry on the charge of wilful murder. When charged he made the statement just quoted.

The following was the history of the case submitted to me :—

“*Family History.*—*Grandfather* in 1860 attempted suicide by hanging in consequence of business troubles. He was found suspended, but cut down and life saved.

“*Father* in 1891 attempted suicide by taking poison. He was a chemist. His life was saved by the stomach-pump. He was charged at the Hamersham Petty Sessions with attempting suicide, convicted, bound

over to come up for judgment when required, and given over to the care of his friends.

“*Mother* was Cicely Jenny Louis, a daughter of Major-General Louis. His maternal grandmother, Lady Louis, was mentally afflicted and under the care of two doctors for treatment, but, being well-to-do, was not placed in an asylum.

“*Aunt*.—His mother’s sister, Maud Louis, who lived at Regent’s Park, committed suicide by throwing herself out of a high window. An inquest was held, the verdict being ‘temporary insanity.’

“*Great-uncle*.—Caleb Devereux, his father’s uncle, ten years ago, on 20th May 1895, was certified as a person of unsound mind by Dr Wheeler, the parish doctor of High Wickham. He was sent to Stone Asylum, Aylesbury, and there detained for twelve months. This attack was caused by financial difficulties. He was depressed, and made various attempts on his life.

“*Wife* a very reticent person, at times melancholic, and it is asserted that she threatened to commit suicide.

“*Previous History*.—Born December 1870, married November 1898. Considered to be very fond of his child Stanley. About ten years ago, whilst staying with his brother at Highbury, he disappeared in a strange manner, sleeping in parks, etc. When he returned to his brother’s house his manner was so strange that his brother took him to Dr Swan of Highbury, on whose advice he was sent away to a farm for care and treatment. It appears, so far as I can gather, that he had become irritable and quarrelsome of late, during the last twelve months, with his wife, though previous to this I believe they had lived on good terms.

“*Behaviour of the Prisoner after the date of the Tragedy*.—After the murder there was no apparent change in his condition. He continued cheerful,

warehoused the trunk, wrote business letters, and appeared quite rational. He then moved to the Harrow Road, where he was arrested, and wrote out his own statement, dated 14th April 1905, which was witnessed by George Cole, P.S. At the next hearing of the case at the police court after the first adjournment, he showed utter indifference with regard to his position, and entertained no possible fear of being convicted. This state lasted for about five weeks, and during this time, beyond treating the matter with the greatest amount of levity, laughing and joking, there was nothing of a maniacal tendency to be observed. At the end of this time, however, he commenced to behave in an extraordinary manner, writing a number of strange and incoherent epistles, one being to the press, which he was persuaded not to send. He talked and mumbled to himself, and said he was Jesus Christ, and made a number of erratic statements. After this, whilst in prison, he had exaltation of ideas and began to regard himself as a hero, and frequently stated that his fellow-prisoners should treat him with respect, as being 'the hero of the trunk tragedy.' At this time he was reported to have been absolutely indifferent as to the issue at stake, and had an utter disregard for guilt, laughing incoherently, and failed to realise his position in any way, the very mention of the tragedy producing hilarity in him."

Dr Maudsley's Report.

He was seen and examined by this gentleman on 20th June, and the following was the report sent to me :—

" I have read the depositions and statements in the case of *Rex v. Devereux*, and seen many of the numerous elaborately concocted scrawls which the

prisoner has written in prison, as well as the medical reports of his behaviour there. Neither in the exaggerated absurdities of these scrawls nor in his extravagantly perverse conduct do I find evidence of insanity. Both seem to betray the deliberate use of a cunning intellect to invent nonsense of speech and writing and perverse folly of conduct.

“That insanity, coming on suddenly, should so soon reach a degree of degeneration which, were it genuine, would mean the mental destruction of dementia, is contrary to experience. Moreover, his noisy, dirty, obscene, and viciously perverse doings, energetically and consistently continued, are not such as I have ever observed in any form of insanity, and are inconsistent with the mental imbecility which he apparently feigns.

“The opinion suggested to me by the prisoner’s nonsensical scrawls and doings was confirmed by the interview which I had with him at Brixton Gaol on Tuesday, 20th inst. He refused to answer any question rationally, but giggled, grimaced, and mumbled, humming the words of the question disconnectedly and grinning in an aggressive and insolent manner. There was evidently no incapacity to grasp the meaning of the question, but a consistent determination to turn its words into nonsensical gabble not in the least like the incoherence of true mania. An actual lunatic I should have expected either to take no notice of the question, being self-absorbed in his delirium, or to make it the starting-point of incoherent remarks, or perchance even to give an occasional answer to the point. He, on the contrary, was careful to answer nothing rightly. Two or three extravagant statements which he interpolated into his gabble—that he had lived to the end of the world and before the world began, and had helped God to create it; that he had written all the books in the

world—were made evidently without belief in what he was saying, and are quite inconsistent with the mental disorder which he affects and with the precision and alertness of his bodily movements.

“Twice during the interview he seemed for an instant unconsciously to let the mask fall: once when, Dr Scott abruptly and sharply asking a question, he said, ‘I beg your pardon,’ losing his silly giggle and showing a quite natural and serious look, and again when, being told that he might now leave the room, and not at once understanding what was said, he similarly said, ‘I beg your pardon,’ rising from his chair and walking away with quite a natural expression and carriage.

“There seems to be a history of some mental disorder in his family, which may have affected his mental constitution badly.

“I should attach more importance to his personal history up to the time of his committal than to such possible hereditary influence; and that seems to show that he has always known, as I think he still knows, what he is doing.

“(Sd.) HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D.”

This report of Dr Maudsley, if considered literally, opens up to my mind a serious vista to the effect that evidently a doubt existed in Dr Maudsley’s mind as to the absolute responsibility of Devereux. I especially allude to what he says: “There seems to be a history of some mental disorder in his family, which may have affected his mental constitution badly.”

Permission having been obtained from the Home Office in conformity with the usual custom, for Devereux to be examined by medical experts, accompanied by Dr MacCarthy and Dr Armstrong

I examined him on two occasions, on the 17th and 21st of July, at Brixton Prison. I again did so in the cells at the Old Bailey on the day of his trial.

I think it may be of interest in the furtherance of my contention as to Devereux's innocence, and in justice to the case, to give *in extenso* my report based on the result of my examinations of him. This has only been previously seen by the solicitor acting for the defence and the representatives of the Treasury. And as an additional proof of my contention as to the righteousness of my conclusions I also give Dr MacCarthy's report, who was appointed with me to examine Devereux.

I examined Devereux in Brixton Prison on 17th July, and issued the following report :—

“ This is to certify that; acting on the instructions of Mr Pierron, I visited Arthur Devereux at Brixton Prison, accompanied by Dr MacCarthy and Dr Armstrong, to-day.

“ We had a long interview with him in the presence of Dr Scott. I had previously been supplied with a copy of Dr Maudsley's report of his examination made on 20th June, in which Devereux's condition is described as being one of nonsensical excitement and general incoherency. I found him, to my surprise, in a comparatively quiet and lucid mental state, so far as incoherency and excitement were concerned, though his mind was considerably unhinged. I was informed by Dr Scott that the 'lucid interval' which now exists commenced on Thursday the 13th instant by the disappearance of his insane conduct and delusive conversation.

“ The history of the case as furnished to me shows

that Devereux has conducted himself in a very extraordinary way whilst in prison; that he has been dirty in his habits, noisy, flippant in conversation, restless and talkative. None of these symptoms were apparent at my examination of him to-day. In reply to my question as to why he had conducted himself so badly in prison, he replied that he 'was annoyed because they had stopped his papers, which were paid for.' He accounted for his bad memory by informing me that he had lost his memory from 29th May to 20th June, being unable to recollect anything; and he told me that at that time he slept for days and nights without having anything to eat or drink, and consequently could not recollect anything which had taken place during that interval. I took him seriatim through Dr Maudsley's report, which described his peculiar conduct at the time of his visit, on the 20th June, but he could recollect nothing of what had happened at the interview. He told me that he felt very well and strong, never better in his life. In reply to my question as to what he was going to do when he left prison, he answered, 'Follow my own employment.' I then questioned him as to the charge upon which he was to take his trial. He told me that he adhered to his original statement. He also told me that it was his intention to have taken a bungalow in the country and to take the trunk with him and bury it there in a garden. I questioned him further as to the tragedy, but he was apparently unable to realise the gravity of the situation. In reply to my question he informed me that he read the newspapers. I asked him if he could tell me anything which was going on at the present moment. He hesitated for some time, and then told me as to the appointment of Dr Osler as Regius Professor of Medicine to the University of Oxford. This he gave me as a bit of recent news,

though it took place some months ago. I pressed him further on this subject. He then said he had seen a paragraph in a magazine, but could not say in which, where it was stated that the King was going to abdicate in favour of George V. In the same magazine the coronation of George V. was discussed, and the paraphernalia connected with it, and who was to be invited to the same. In reply to my question he informed me that he was not worrying about anything, and that he slept well.

“ Objective Symptoms observed during Examination.—

- “ Facial muscles slightly puffy and tremulous.
- “ Sensation : diminution of feeling, as indicated by tickling the soles of the feet.
- “ Gait : rather uncertain and unsteady.
- “ Speech : thickness in articulating, slow and hesitating.
- “ Knee-jerk : exaggerated in left knee.
- “ Ear : marked ‘aura hæmatoma,’ viz. the ‘lunatic’s ear,’ most pronounced. This latter is a most important symptom as a diagnosis of the complaint from which he is suffering. I have been informed by Dr Scott that he has only observed this of late, and this symptom was not in evidence at the time of Dr Maudsley’s visit.

*“ Opinion.—*All the symptoms above mentioned are consistent with general paralysis of the insane, a complaint which in its early stages is characterised by frequent lucid intervals.

“ I am of opinion that Arthur Devereux is at the present moment a person of unsound mind, suffering from well-marked and defined symptoms of general paralysis of the insane, the result of heredity as a

predisposing cause and worry as an exciting cause, this complaint being associated with certain objective symptoms of an important character, especially the 'aura hæmatoma,' which is generally seen in such cases, and is one of the most important indications of this malady. When the absence of all feeling, the indifference as to the issue, the exaltation of ideas, together with his behaviour in prison as described by Dr Scott, are taken into consideration, the diagnosis, to my mind, is complete. To this I would add his extraordinary scrawls and words nearly all underlined, so symptomatic of the complaint.

"Dr Maudsley, in the latter part of his report, says as follows:—'There seems to be a history of some mental disorder in his family, which may have affected his mental constitution badly.' This opinion I desire in every way to confirm, but would go even further than Dr Maudsley does, by stating that he is suffering from mental degeneration of an incurable nature, characterised by the symptoms previously mentioned, and associated with a disease which has frequent exacerbations and remissions during its progress—in other words, the patient is sometimes worse and sometimes better.

"From a careful consideration of the case, I am of opinion that Devereux is not in any way feigning lunacy, for at my interview to-day he tried very hard to behave like a rational person; and even if he were considered to be so acting, he could not feign the serious objective symptoms which at the present time exist in him.

"(Signed) FORBES WINSLOW, M.B., D.C.L., LL.D."

I again examined Devereux on 21st July:—

"This is to certify that I made a second examination of Arthur Devereux at Brixton Prison to-day,

in conjunction with Dr MacCarthy, Dr Armstrong, and Dr Scott. Devereux informed me that he felt much better. He told me that a doctor had visited him on the day previous and had said 'that he was much more satisfied with his condition.' I asked him how he had been occupying his time since my last visit. He replied, 'Talking to my fellow-prisoners about their offences, but I have given up reading as it appears to try my eyes so much.' This, he informed me, was not the case until he came into the prison hospital. I asked him whether he could recollect what our conversation was about at my last visit. He replied, 'I told you as to the coronation of George V., but I have found the magazine in which I thought I had read an account of it; but as I could not find it there, it must have been my imagination.' He still adheres to the fact that he must have been in a deep sleep from May 29th to June 20th, during which time his memory was a complete blank. In reply to my question as to whether he had any fears with regard to the issue of the trial, he replied that he had none. I asked him whether he had anything to complain of during his incarceration in the prison. He replied, 'I have no complaint of any description to make, but what I want to know is, what has been the matter with me, as I have been informed that I have been laughing, singing, and feeling quite jolly, but I have no recollection of it.' He was asked whether he remembered, on 14th July, teasing a prisoner and trying to climb up a lamp-post. He said he had some very vague recollections of the fact. He told me that he had a slight relapse yesterday, and that his headache was so excessive he had to sit down. I then referred to a very important point connected with his case. It refers to a telegram he sent two days previous to the tragedy, offering his services for some position, stating that he was a

widower with one child. He told me that he had often written letters describing himself as such, and that he recollected one year ago he had written a letter to a person at Eccles (which letter could be traced), in which he stated that he was a widower. He said he had done so for the simple reason that he thought it would be much easier to obtain a situation should he be deemed to have no special encumbrances. Upon using a very strong electrical current upon him I found that he could feel it in the hands, but hardly at all in the feet. On putting a metallic slab on the ground and placing his right foot on this and passing a very strong current of electricity through the slab, he hardly, if at all, felt the least sensation in the lower extremities. This is what I should expect to find in cases of paralysis of the nature from which I consider he is suffering, and where the loss of sensation is first observed in the lower extremities. Through the courtesy of Dr Scott we were allowed to interview and question one of the warders, who had been frequently in attendance on him. He simply confirmed Dr Scott's statement as to Devereux's loud talking, shouting, and silly conversation, which had occurred periodically since his admission into the prison; also as to his having given prisoners certain nicknames, making grimaces, and turning somersaults. The warder told me that he had never seen Devereux in the least dejected.

“From my experience in the examination of persons alleged to be insane, previous to holding a commission in lunacy, I have always laid much stress on an expression of an opinion given by an attendant who has been constantly with the patient; and so much importance is attached to their evidence that they are generally subpœnaed and examined at these commissions as to any impression they may have arrived at as to the mental state of the individual.

Following out my usual custom, I was about to put a direct question to this warder with regard to the mental condition of Devereux, but as Dr Scott objected to this I did not press the matter.

“ During the whole of my conversation with Devereux there was not the slightest evidence of his feigning insanity ; in fact, his whole desire appeared to be to answer every question to the best of his ability, and with no view of deception.

“ In conclusion, I have not altered my opinion as expressed in my first report, viz. that Devereux is suffering from incipient general paralysis of the insane, though he still remains in the same lucid interval, so far as the excitement is concerned, as he was on the 17th July when I first examined him.

“ (Signed) FORBES WINSLOW, M.B., D.C.L., LL.D.”

In support of the case I think it advisable to also give the reports of Dr MacCarthy instructed on the prisoner's behalf, also *in extenso*.

“ 124 GOWER STREET,
“ BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.
“ July 17th, 1905.

“ *Report as to the mental condition of Arthur Devereux, a prisoner at Brixton Gaol, awaiting trial on a charge of murdering his wife and two children.*

“ I examined the above-named prisoner on 17th inst. at Brixton Gaol, in the presence of Dr Forbes Winslow, Dr Armstrong, and Dr Scott, and questioned him at considerable length on matters relating to himself, the trial, and other matters.

“ I had previously been informed that he was in a bad mental state, and that he was behaving like a lunatic. I found him in a lucid state, evidently one

of these lucid intervals occurring in his complaint, and he conversed with me in a rational manner, excepting one occasion, when he stated he had read in some magazine that preparations were proceeding for the coronation, and, when asked whose coronation he referred to, he replied George the Fifth's, and that Edward the Seventh had abdicated in favour of his son, and that the report referred to the ceremonial to be adopted at the coronation. When further questioned as to what he had read of recent date in the papers he was unable to recollect, and seemed to be losing his memory.

“ He denies that he has behaved in a foolish, noisy, or maniacal manner whilst in gaol, but states that he has no recollection of events which happened from May 29 to June 20, and that he was in a dazed state between these dates, and that he believed that he slept for days and nights without eating or drinking. He had a dim recollection of Dr Maudsley visiting him, but did not recollect anything about his examination by that gentleman.

“ He was also hazy about his last appearance at the Old Bailey, and could dimly remember some warders being present, and looking up a long spiral staircase. Whilst conversing with him I noticed a slurring of articulation, the voice dropping and becoming indistinct. He informed me he did not call in the police when he found his wife and children lying dead because he knew he would be arrested and charged with the murder; that he was very frightened when he discovered the tragedy; and that he put the bodies in the trunk, intending when he got his holidays about July or August to take a secluded cottage and dispose of the remains by burial in the garden.

“ In reply to the question if he suffered from fits, he informed me that he did not suffer from fits him-

self, but that his brother Louis suffered from fits from childhood onwards.

“ I put him through various physical tests.

“ On examining his eyes I found the pupils were rather contracted, that they did not readily respond to the reaction of light after darkness and dilatation of the pupil ; the eyelids were puffy ; and the eyes themselves moved slowly—showing paresis of the muscles of the eye,—and were watery—showing paresis of the orbicular muscles.

“ There was marked loss of sensation, or I should say diminution of sensation, as no shrinking or drawing up of the feet was observed on my roughly tickling the soles. The knee-jerk was increased, especially in the left knee, though I was informed the knee-jerks were absent by Dr Scott. His gait was slow and measured as if he required to concentrate his mind on his walking to ensure steadiness, and he seemed unsteady in turning round. He swayed when asked to put his two heels together and look upwards. His speech was slow and the words slurred over, and an over amount of salivation.

“ There was well-marked aural hæmatoma of both ears, which is almost pathognomonic of his complaint, and I carefully examined both ears with a lens and could not detect the faintest marks of abrasion which would be present if self-induced.

“ I am of opinion the exaggeration of the knee-jerks and the aural hæmatoma are of recent appearance, as the exaggeration of the one had not been evident to Dr Scott previous to our examination, and the aural hæmatoma had not been referred to by Dr Maudsley in his report of June 20th, and if present would surely have been commented on.

“ The prisoner seemed to be in good spirits and not at all affected by his awful situation, and seemed to have lost all sense of responsibility.

“ I heard from Dr Scott that he began to improve in his behaviour on the Wednesday previous to our visit, and regard his present condition of lucidity as one of those intervals of sanity occurring in general paralysis of the insane which appear at increasing periods of time, the duration of the lucid period becoming shorter and shorter, till the attack ends in continuous and drivelling idiocy.

“ I have noticed Devereux's handwriting bears several likenesses to one suffering from general paralysis, especially in his writing being on every available scrap of paper, in the writing being scattered about over the paper, in the frequent and useless underscorings, without any relevancy to importance.

“ I am definitely of opinion that the prisoner, Arthur Devereux, is genuinely insane, and that the malady is not assumed. On reviewing the family history one cannot come to any other conclusion but that his present condition has been greatly affected by heredity, and possibly youthful excesses and indiscretions, and that trouble and worry has been the exciting factor, and that he is now of unsound mind and not responsible for his actions.

“ (Signed) E. F. TALBOT-MACCARTHY,
“ L.R.C.P.L., L.M.R.C.S.”

“ Second Report as to the mental condition of Arthur Devereux, a prisoner at Brixton Gaol, awaiting trial on a charge of having murdered his wife and two children.

“ July 21st, 1905.

“ I further examined Arthur Devereux on this date, in the presence of Dr Forbes Winslow, Dr Armstrong, and the doctor to the prison, Dr Scott.

“ I found Devereux in pretty much the same condition as he was in when I first examined him on the 17th of July, and Dr Scott informed me he had been

conducting himself rationally and intelligently since that time, and that he had been visited by Dr Maudsley the previous day, that being the first time he had seen him in a lucid state.

“ Devereux stated he had felt quite well, with the exception of a headache the previous day, which was severe. He has not been reading lately, as his left eye became very tired and strained, and then the headache came on, and he complains that he has not got the same field of vision with the left eye that he has with the right, and further complained of seeing black spots. I endeavoured to examine his eyes with the ophthalmoscope, but the illumination was insufficient. I expected to find some atrophy of the optic disc which might account for the ocular symptoms complained of.

“ In answer to the question why he had sent a telegram a few days before the tragedy applying for a situation and stating he was a widower with one child, in answer to an advertisement appearing in the *Chemist and Druggist*, he replied that little quarrels occurred between himself and his wife with regard to his mother-in-law, and that he threatened to go away with his child and take a situation ; that about a year before he had answered a similar advertisement in the same paper for a position, representing himself as a widower, and that if the files of the paper were searched the advertisement could be found. He also informed me his wife had also declared she would go away and take a situation.

“ I inquired of him why he was in hospital if he felt quite well, and he said he felt as strong as a lion, and boasted of his strength, which is a common boast with people suffering from general paralysis. He also told me he always feels jolly, and that he has no fear about the result of the trial, but that he feels a bit light-headed at times.

“ Dr Forbes Winslow applied a strong current of electricity with the object of testing Devereux’s sensation. I saw he was strongly affected by the current in the hands, but that in the feet the sensation was so much diminished that it was scarcely apparent.

“ Dr Scott kindly consented to our seeing one of the warders in attendance on Devereux, named Ernest William George, who informed me he had seen a good deal of Devereux since his admission, and that his condition varies very much latterly ; that he was noisy when he first came, talking loudly and shouting ; that he called him ‘ Mr Bodkin,’ and nicknamed the other prisoners ; that he had seen him turn somersaults and make grimaces ; and that the prisoner had struck him. I inquired of the warder if he had ever seen Devereux in a dejected mood, or even thoughtful, and he replied that he never had ; that he was quiet and well-behaved now, and even assisted in keeping the ward clean.

“ I am still of opinion that Devereux is not responsible for his actions, and that he is suffering from general paralysis of the insane. He did not in any way sham insanity, or pretend foolishness in any way, and seemed perfectly straightforward during the whole period of both examinations, as was admitted by Dr Scott.

“ (Signed) E. F. TALBOT-MACARTHY,
“ L.R.C.P.L., L.M.R.C.S.”

Everyone with an open mind, having read what has just been stated, can come to no other conclusion but that the man was innocent, and that his actions, subsequent to the murder, were those of a person temporarily deprived of his reason. It was a Treasury case, and everything was done to convict him, and the medical witnesses had a difficult time. At first the

judge, Mr Justice Ridley, who tried the case, objected to the medical evidence being given, especially as the defence was not one of insanity—that is, he was not considered to be in an unfit state to plead. Ultimately the evidence was admitted, and I stepped into the witness-box, and was rather thankful to leave it again. I was apparently an unwelcome witness, and one always feels it so in such a case. Nothing could remove from the jury's mind the conviction that the telegram sent by Devereux, previously alluded to, was sent with a view to his committing the murder ; and this sealed his fate.

Medical experts in this case were not fairly treated. A great deal of importance was attached to the fact that, unfortunately, having been asked by a member of the press, who saw it reported that I had examined Devereux, I expressed my views on the matter, although I stated in court that “ I was not responsible for what the press put in.”

The poor man was not allowed a loophole to escape. He was doomed from the very moment of his arrest, but I conscientiously believe, from the facts that came to my knowledge, that he was innocent of the crime, and his actions subsequent to the death of his wife and children were those of a lunatic. I made every effort to get a reprieve. One newspaper remarked that “ the persistent efforts made by certain medical witnesses to force on the court that Devereux was innocent approached very nearly to a public scandal.” Even this did not deter me from trying my very best

up to the last to get the man reprieved. It was not a case as to whether he had committed the act whilst in a condition of insanity, but whether he was innocent of the crime, and that the children died unfortunately through an extra dose of some narcotic administered to them by their mother, who committed suicide when she saw what she had done, and that, when Devereux returned home and found what had happened, his reason for the moment left him, and he acted without sound or sane judgment.

Mr Justice Ridley, in summing up, stated that " he wanted to say a word or two about doctors' evidence. A doctor was of great value in giving evidence before a jury as to whether or not a person was insane. From his medical knowledge he was able to assist a jury in coming to a conclusion whether a man was responsible for his actions or not ; but it was for the jury to determine the question—it was the jury who gave the decision, not the doctor. If there was no question of insanity a doctor could not give evidence about what his opinion was as to the conduct of a particular individual—he was no more entitled to do that than anyone else, for the person's conduct must be tried by the jury and by no other. Dr Forbes Winslow was asked what his opinion was about the prisoner's condition on 31st January. That was an improper question, and Dr Forbes Winslow very properly declined to answer it."

What was uppermost in the doctors' minds was not the question of insanity, but that the man was wrongly

accused, and that at the time his mind was unhinged by the aspect of the tragedy as presented to him—that his behaviour was only consistent with one not then responsible for what he did ; because, from the evidence placed before us, we were convinced that no terrible crime was committed by Devereux, but that he was guided by insane stupidity and ignorance in acting as he did after finding the bodies in his room, and in putting them in a trunk instead of forthwith communicating with the police.

The last letter Devereux wrote just previous to his execution, in reply to one written to the prison urging him to confess, is as follows :—

“ REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—

“ *Re exhortation.*

“ As far as the actual charge made against me is concerned I have a perfectly clear conscience, so would reply to your communication, for which I thank you, with a quotation from the Psalms of David, ‘ that the Lord is on my side, therefore shall I fear nothing.’ I have already confessed to the public all there is to confess. May God and man forgive me.—Yours fraternally,

“ ARTHUR DEVEREUX.”

A postscript to this letter was as follows :—

“ My spare time on all holidays and Sundays was spent almost entirely in one of two ways—either looking out for a suitable place for Stanley, or else in the cemetery, communing with the dead. I love to think of them as being in a place of departed spirits. Laurie, the younger and favourite twin, ‘ Mama’s baby ’ as

Stanley called him, on his mother's bosom, clasping his arms around her neck and smiling, while Evelin, 'Granny's baby,' lies at his mother's feet, suppliant and grieved."

They had thus done all that could possibly be done to endeavour to wring a confession out of him, but to the end he remained steadfast to the truth when he said, "I have nothing further to add but what I have already stated." I am convinced more than ever that Devereux was innocent, and that another judicial murder has been committed.

It was a case of great popular interest, and one of the greatest repugnance, surrounded by revolting details, and there was the difficulty with the Treasury, which is often found, to approach the subject with an unbiassed mind.

As the case is of comparatively recent date, and from the fact that it was surrounded by great brutality and devilish cunning should Devereux have been the actual murderer, and as most people, with an imperfect knowledge of the facts, incline to that belief, it has been my desire to endeavour to remove such an impression from the public mind, and to show that there was every justification for the prominent part I played in this most unsavoury drama surrounded by theories and complications. I in no way regret the part I took, acting on the honesty of my convictions that Devereux was innocent and had not received a fair trial or a proper hearing.

The trial commenced on 25th July; it concluded

31st July. The execution took place 15th August. The judge said in passing sentence, "I concur in that verdict; I am convinced by the evidence of your guilt." The jury were thirteen minutes in consultation; hence my statement as to it being a foregone conclusion. I was convinced up to the last that Devereux was innocent, and, understanding that the Home Office were finally considering the question by perusal of certain documents, in case they had lost sight of my original reports, I enclosed the same with the accompanying letter. The answer to this is appended.

"6th August 1905.

"To the Right Honourable the Home Secretary.

"SIR,—

"*Re Arthur Devereux.*

"As I understand that certain depositions have been placed before you for consideration *re* the above, I beg to enclose for your perusal copies of the two original reports I made on the case, and which were forwarded to the solicitor conducting the defence. The opinion I expressed in the witness-box, and which I have always held, was to the effect that Devereux knew the difference between right and wrong, and was therefore legally responsible for his actions. He is, I believe, nevertheless, in the condition as described in my two reports, suffering from incipient mental disease in its early stage. The medical men were consulted not as to the innocence or guilt of the accused, for with this they had nothing to do, but as to whether, in their opinion—in the event of the case being one of murder and suicide by his wife,—the after behaviour of the accused might not be attributed

to an abnormal mental condition, the result of strong hereditary taint, as set forth in my reports and corroborated by the evidence in court. I was asked in court what my opinion was as to the prisoner's mental condition on 31st January. This question I declined to answer, as I had no means of forming an opinion on the matter, and in Mr Justice Ridley's remarks, in summing up, his lordship remarked that I had very properly declined to answer that question.

"I feel it my duty to lay these facts before you for your merciful consideration.—I have the honour to be your obedient Servant,

"(Signed) FORBES WINSLOW, M.B., D.C.L., LL.D.

"P.S.—I also enclose history of case furnished by the solicitor to me."

"WHITEHALL, 11th August 1905.

"SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 6th instant relative to the case of Arthur Devereux, now lying under sentence of death in Pentonville Prison, I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that he has given careful consideration to all the circumstances, and I am to express to you his regret that he has failed to discover any sufficient ground to justify him in advising His Majesty to interfere with the due course of law.—I am, Sir, Your obedient servant,

"C. E. TROUP.

"Forbes Winslow, Esq., M.B."

KLEPTOMANIAC CASES

I have been engaged in a number of kleptomaniac cases, chiefly "shoplifting" by ladies of position. I had a number of these cases in succession, and I was

called in court by the counsel, in one in which I was giving evidence, "the thief's friend." The majority of these were women who have "method in their madness."

One case, that of Mrs Eliza Leutner, which occurred in 1892, impressed itself on my memory, as I took a great deal of trouble but received no remuneration for my pains.

This woman, together with her sister, Julia Salomon, was charged with larceny before Sir Peter Edlin. The two sisters entered Messrs Crisp & Co.'s, in Seven Sisters Road. As each of them was attired in a very large cloak, the attention of one of the shopwalkers was attracted, and having his suspicions aroused, he kept them under observation for about half an hour. He saw them take up a pair of gloves, a night-dress, and various articles from different parts of the shop and secrete them under their cloaks, in consequence of which he had them arrested. It appears that the defendant Leutner had been tried a few months before for taking an umbrella from another shop, and had been acquitted. At this trial the defendant Salomon was called as a witness to her sister's character.

I was informed that there was insanity in the family, and that she had been subject to epileptic fits. Upon my evidence Sir Peter Edlin discharged Leutner on her finding two sureties of £100 to come up for judgment if called upon. This was only on the understanding that the measures suggested by me for her

supervision would be carried out. Her sister, Salomon, was sentenced to ten weeks' imprisonment with hard labour. Leutner was placed by me under certificate as a private patient. I had taken a great deal of trouble in the matter, and, though the husband was a wealthy man of the Jewish persuasion, he showed his gratitude to me for saving the family from ignominious disgrace by not paying me my honorarium.

I wonder I did not learn a lesson by this case not to give evidence in a court of law without having first received my fee, as the lawyers do; but unfortunately I have not done so, and what happened in Leutner's case, so far as my professional fees are concerned, has been repeated in many others.

From my subsequent experience of that woman I am convinced that my opinion was justified. I was so convinced of her insanity that I signed the necessary lunacy certificate in court.

Another case I was engaged in in 1895 was that of Margaret Lemon, who was charged before Mr Loveland-Loveland with stealing property from the shop of John Lewis, drapers, in Oxford Street. The evidence for the prosecution was that the prisoner called at Messrs Lewis's, and raised the suspicions of one of the lady shopwalkers, who watched her and saw her take certain goods and secrete them about her. On being searched she said, "Keep it quiet. I am going to give them to a coachman for his children."

It appeared in the evidence that six years previous to this she had been convicted of shoplifting at Leeds. The same defence of kleptomania was raised, but she was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. There was evidence in this case that the woman's mind might have been unhinged in consequence of the fact that her mother had committed suicide, and the prisoner, who had undergone a severe nervous shock, had become mentally unbalanced in consequence, whilst shortly afterwards her only boy had been run over and taken to a hospital, which had preyed upon her mind and unhinged it.

My opinion as to her mental condition was supported by Dr Walker, the medical officer of Holloway Prison. The evidence was without doubt very strong, but the judge, having adjourned the case, decided otherwise, and sentenced her to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour.

I might mention that, after the first hearing of the case, which was adjourned for one month, I placed her under observation, and her conduct in every way justified the plea of an impaired intellect which was raised by the defence and supported by myself and the surgeon of Holloway Prison.

It is a significant fact in this case that the prison surgeon had himself communicated with the magistrate, giving his opinion as to impairment of intellect.

I have no desire of commenting on this case ; let the facts speak for themselves.

In 1902 a boy named William Horne was brought

to my hospital suffering from a form of moral insanity. His family had not apparently recognised the gravity of the situation. On my advice he was sent to the infirmary, where it was my intention to keep him under observation for fourteen days, instead of which they only kept him three. The medical man connected with the infirmary did not regard him as a person of unsound mind, but in the light of a responsible criminal.

A few months after this he was tried at the Newington Sessions for thieving, and a sentence of six months' hard labour was passed. Horne was seventeen years of age, and his people were most respectable and held in the highest esteem. He was charged with stealing cheques and money from his employers, auctioneers and estate agents at Clapham. In my opinion his behaviour subsequent to his theft did not receive proper recognition on the part of the court who tried him. After he had stolen the things he tore one cheque in half and buried another in the garden. His conduct had been very strange for some time. He ran away from school when a boy, and he was frequently absenting himself from home without his father's knowledge. He had a mania for travelling, which increased during the last two years, and when employed by the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway he was frequently found travelling without a ticket.

He made every effort to obtain money by borrowing. He had been in more than a dozen situations

previous to the one he was in when he was placed on his trial. Not only had he stolen money, but he had also taken things from the rooms of a lodger who was living with his father. Altogether it was a case of moral insanity in its worst form. He used to circulate most extraordinary stories about himself and his family, declaring that he was very ill-treated at home, which had not the least foundation of truth.

He was considered, however, by the court to be of sound mind, and as he was guilty he had to suffer the consequences of his act.

I have come across many judges during my career who are loth to recognise any form of kleptomania. The judge who tried this case, I believe, had several similar ones brought to his notice, but it was a very difficult matter to bring such a case home to him.

This is only one of a class of cases I have had of moral insanity existing among boys. It is a most difficult form of lunacy to realise or to recognise, and most difficult to deal with. The chief feature of such a case is the plausibility of the patient, with a desire to regard himself of sound mind, indignant at any plea of irresponsibility which may be raised on his behalf; he believes in his innocence though guilty, and in every way he opposes any theory to the contrary.

I was engaged in a curious case in 1888—that of a civil engineer living at Great Amwell. He was charged with committing a number of criminal

assaults. Before the trial took place I had examined him in consultation with some other doctors, and it was found advisable to incarcerate him in a private lunatic asylum. A petition was presented to the Court of Chancery to hold an inquiry into his mental condition. It was thought a wise step for the family to take, as evidence was so much against him, and it was also thought a humane step to take in the interests of the prisoner.

The evidence I gave was that I had been instructed by the defendant's family to examine him, and that I found he was suffering from incoherent conversation, indicative of insanity. He rambled and was generally irrational, and his serious position did not appear to trouble him. I was informed by the son that for three years he had been most strange in his behaviour, at times becoming very much excited, whilst at other times he would lead the life of a hermit. His memory was very defective, and he had suffered from great exaltation of ideas, and neglected his professional work. He was brought up for trial, and returned to the asylum at the conclusion of the case.

I was asked some time ago to give an opinion on a gentleman on whom it was proposed to hold a lunacy commission to protect his estate. He had been suffering for some time from mental derangement, and was in the habit of going about the streets all night, looking round him, and bringing home persons indiscriminately, under the delusion that they had been connected with his past history. He went out of doors on one

occasion with a waste-paper basket on his head instead of a hat. His habits were most peculiar—burning his clothes, destroying the furniture and books for no reason. It was difficult to persuade him to go outside the house, and he would sit in a chair in a thick overcoat and a muffler round his neck during the hot weather. He would stand for hours in one position in a room covered with newspapers arranged in a fantastic shape. He was liable to fits of mental excitement, during which he became excited and noisy, and he would rave in a foreign language.

I was called in to examine him and testify at the inquiry that was held before Master Bulwer, who, having heard my evidence, pronounced him as being a "person of unsound mind and incapable of managing himself and his affairs."

A few years ago I came across a number of cases of nervous breakdown, the result of influenza, which was not only responsible for insanity, but many cases of suicide from that cause took place. When the epidemic was raging I was consulted about a rather peculiar case. It was one of impulsive mental breakdown occurring in a gentleman who had recently gone through a severe attack of influenza. He was a professional gentleman with the highest connections, belonging to many learned societies. He was also a member of one of the leading West End clubs.

For some time complaints had been made that certain things belonging to members had been missed

from the club. This had especially taken place in the cloakroom, where the coats were hung up. In order to fix the guilt upon the one responsible for this, a few marked coins were placed in an overcoat in the cloakroom, next to the person's upon whom suspicion had been aroused. From certain actions and certain peculiarities in the demeanour of the patient the finger of guilt had pointed to him. Within half an hour of the marked money being placed in the room the gentleman went to the cloakroom, put on his coat, and left the club.

The hall-porter, who had placed the money in the coat, then discovered that the money had disappeared from the coat in which he had placed it. He went after the member and found him in a restaurant close by. The amount of marked money was a few shillings. He was at once given into custody and searched. The marked money was in his pocket, in addition to five pounds in gold which was his own property, which showed that he was not in want of money at the time.

The police officer who arrested him went afterwards to his house, and there found two pairs of opera-glasses, one box of cigars, seven match-boxes, eleven cigarette-cases, fifteen cigar-cases, seven card-cases, a cigar-holder, and one tobacco-pouch, all of which were identified as being the property of members of the club. The accused was a non-smoker.

In addition to these, a number of old used cheques were found which had passed through the bank and had

been returned to the owner, and consequently were of no value. The manager of the club prosecuted the gentleman with great reluctance, saying that he believed there was no felonious intent. Several witnesses of great repute testified as to his character, but I was the only medical expert called.

I informed the court that, in my opinion, he suffered from melancholia, the result of repeated attacks of "la grippe," acting upon a highly sensitive constitution inherited from his father, and that it was necessary, in my opinion, that he should take a sea voyage and have complete rest. The jury, having heard my evidence, found a verdict of "Not guilty," as the act was committed whilst suffering from temporary insanity and therefore there was no felonious intent.

I examined this gentleman whilst on bail and under remand, pending his trial. Being a well-educated man, he was able to graphically describe his case, which was very peculiar from the fact that, though many cases of temporary insanity have been traced to "la grippe," I have never come across a more complete one of that nature.

My patient, in describing his symptoms, said :—

"I had an attack of influenza four years ago. I suffered very much, and was sent to the south of France for two months. Since then I have had repeated attacks of the same malady. One month before this terrible thing happened I had suffered from great mental depression and anxiety. I imagined that the whole outside world was unreal and was simply a

projection, and that I only existed by its volition, and there seemed to be no joy or delight in anything. I tried to examine and investigate everything. This feeling has really been coming on for the last eighteen months.

“ I am not a smoker, and yet I had this strong desire to examine everything that I came across, and it was this idea which led me to the cloakroom at the club—my desire to so examine things. When I had them in my hand I had a joyful feeling for the moment, but when I arrived upstairs in the smoking-room I realised what I had done, but could not in any way recollect from whom I had obtained the articles. I did not have the mental power to endeavour to find the owner, and therefore took them to my own house.”

THE CLIFTON LUNACY CASE

In 1888 I gave evidence before Mr Justice Field at the Bristol Assizes. The case was known as the “ Clifton lunacy case,” and the action was brought by a lady against two doctors and also against the mother superior of a Roman Catholic convent in Clifton, the allegation being that they had illegally incarcerated her in a lunatic asylum.

I was called in for the prosecution, but I distinctly made it a condition in giving evidence that, so far as the doctors were concerned, I considered that they were justified in every way, but so far as the authorities of the convent were concerned, in what they did

previous to the certification of the lady, I considered that the plaintiff had grounds for her action.

She was the daughter of a clergyman, and had been sent to various Catholic schools. In 1883 she went of her own accord as lady boarder to a convent at Clifton, and remained there for ten months. As she noticed there was certain unpleasantness in the demeanour of the mother superior and the nuns, she decided to leave the convent and take rooms outside. They, however, persuaded her against this, and she consented to remain.

On one occasion, being requested by the nuns to take her meals upstairs, being of a quick and proud temper, she promptly retired to her own room and remained there. She noticed that her food was inferior to that previously supplied to her ; she declined to eat it and put it outside. On one occasion she was so disgusted with her food that she threw it downstairs. Shortly after this the mother superior, accompanied by some nuns, came into the room, seized her by the wrists, and took the key of her room forcibly from her. She became indignant and struck the nurse in the face. Two nuns were placed in charge of her, and she was ultimately locked in her own room. Not long after this a doctor was sent for and arrived on the scene. Upon his having completed his examination he locked the door and another doctor came. The result of this was that she was sent to Brislington House Asylum, where she remained a few months and was then liberated. She considered her treatment to have been in every way unjustifiable, and in fact she was per-

suaded to commence an action against the two doctors and the mother superior. The plaintiff gave evidence in a very lucid way and supported the charge. I considered that she had a good action for false imprisonment and assault against the authorities of the convent, but not against the medical men, who, I thought, were justified in signing the certificates. This opinion was supported by a verdict being given in favour of the doctors.

Mr Justice Field, who at that time was nearly stone deaf, for some reason or other best known to himself was very angry with me. This, no doubt, was because, being more or less an unwilling witness, though not opposed to the doctors, I had to fence with the questions put to me by our counsel, Sir W. Phillimore. One question was, "Do you consider that 'rambling, incoherent conversations, refusal to answer questions, and vague statements of ill-usage' are sufficient to justify the certificate?" My reply was, "Rambling and incoherent conversations are certainly signs of insanity." I was then asked by the judge to answer the whole question as to whether the certificates justified inferences of insanity. I replied that I could not do so without analysing them.

As I previously had a considerable amount of argument with the learned counsel, the judge got very indignant at my audacity in doing so, and I felt for the moment that this irate, deaf old judge was about to commit me for contempt of court, but for what reason I am at a loss to understand. Surely

if a witness does not comprehend the meaning of a question there is sufficient justification in his asking for an explanation of the same.

I had previously met Mr Justice Field at dinner, and he seemed a kind old gentleman ; but the defects of his aural apparatus were so evident to me that it seemed strange that he should still preside in a judicial capacity on the Bench. I say this without any disrespect to the learned judge, but state simply the impression on my mind, which I believe was entertained by many others. I found, however, that a quiet chat I had with Mr Justice Field over a glass of port wine was a different thing from what I experienced when I gave evidence in a case over which he presided.

The opinion I originally gave to the solicitor, and one upheld by the judge, was that there was a distinct action to be tried against the convent authorities previous to the certificate of lunacy being signed. On this point Mr Justice Field, alluding to the locking up of the plaintiff, remarked, " This was no doubt an interference with her liberty, and he would tell the jury that this entitled her to a verdict, unless circumstances justified it."

I had been called in to advise on purely *ex parte* statements, and not on any other evidence, which I was unaware of at the time, and which only came to light subsequent to the trial. It was, however, sufficient to show that the learned judge entertained the same opinion as I originally held.

CASE OF DR STORY: ARSON

Some years ago I gave evidence at the Bedford Assizes in the case of Dr Story, who was formerly a medical practitioner at Leighton Buzzard. He was accused of arson. It appears that he sent his medicine boy out on a message, and then went out himself, having piled a lot of papers and wood in the hall, which he previously ignited. The premises were burnt down, and upon his making a claim to the West of England Insurance Co., investigations were made and the case was brought home to him.

I had previously attended him professionally, and it had been necessary to have an attendant with him on four different occasions. It had been found necessary to certify him as a lunatic, as he was found walking about the house without any clothes on. There was a strong predisposition to insanity in the family. He had three sunstrokes and three attacks of epilepsy; the result of this was that his brain was affected by the smallest amount of alcohol imbibed by him.

Contrary to my advice, his wife took him out of the asylum where I had placed him, and what subsequently happened the friends were alone responsible for. His various attendants who were placed to look after him in his own house had no authority over him. When I examined him at the time of the trial I considered him to be a person of sound mind, but the disease which had previously existed in him was latent

and liable to recur at any moment. In fact, it was not safe to leave him alone even when presumed to be of sound mind. I was pressed for a further opinion. I replied that he was in every way accountable for his actions unless he had been seized with an attack immediately previous to the act for which he was charged. They failed in proving this, however, and the judge sentenced him to five years' penal servitude, the jury giving a strong recommendation to mercy.

I believe he did not continue long in prison, but was drafted on to a lunatic asylum, which in my opinion was the proper place for him, and from which he never ought to have been removed in the first instance after I had advised his wife to place him under proper care. I have always held a very strong opinion that many persons who have suffered from sunstroke have their brains very often so affected as to be unable to resist indulging freely in alcohol. Whilst in this condition they are apt to commit crime, and even murder ; but I consider that drink in these cases, as in that of Dr Story, is the effect, not the cause, of brain mischief ; the brain being weakened by disease prevents them acting like an ordinary individual.

It would have been more humane if the judge in this case had considered these questions and acted accordingly. He should have known that in sentencing Dr Story he was not dealing with an ordinary prisoner, but with one whose mental system had

become disorganised from the effect of sunstroke, followed by epileptic fits.

It is a maxim in the law courts that drink is no excuse for crime ; in other words, it aggravates the offence. I quite agree with this dictum, but at the same time this should not be the ruling when drink becomes the effect of a weakened intellect and is not the direct cause of the mental excitement and irresponsibility of the individual.

MRS CATHCART'S CASE : COMMISSION IN LUNACY

In 1902 I gave evidence in a commission of lunacy held on Mrs Mary Cathcart. This lady, a prominent lady litigant, was well known in the proximity of the Law Courts. In May 1901 it was found necessary to send her to Holloway Prison for contempt of court. Whilst there she threw a piece of paper out of her cell saying, " I have heard whispering, and this paper will be wanted upstairs." A few days afterwards she rang her bell and told the wardress that there was somebody secreted under her bed pricking her feet.

The case came on before Mr Justice Grantham. Evidence was given that she was suffering from chronic mania. She suggested that all her troubles were due to a solicitor whom she had consulted. She had ideas of greatness, and made allegations that many influential people had called upon her. Whilst in Holloway she used to hold imaginary conversations with persons, giving their names, one of

them being Sir Edward Clarke. I had come across her previous to the inquiry. She was a most extraordinary, eccentric-looking individual, and anybody who used to pass her in the corridors of the Law Courts she would turn round and imitate. She did this whilst in prison.

One doctor stated that during his examination he put his finger in his mouth, and she immediately followed his example ; then he stroked his beard, and she, being unable to do this, put her hand under her chin as a makeshift. She always had imaginary grievances, and suffered, no doubt, from the delusions of suspicion and persecution—a well-known form of lunacy, which is characteristic of many of the self litigants, especially of the female gender, who go about the Law Courts eager to get their grievances righted. I think it would be far better if some more of these were safe and sound under lock and key.

She was a woman possessing a large amount of money, and the case occupied a very considerable time.

During my examination I was asked to define the difference between the words eccentric and insanity, to which I replied, " An eccentric person has always been so from birth. Eccentricity cannot be acquired ; in fact, it is innate in one. If anyone who has been in a normal condition suddenly becomes in a state which people call eccentric, that is insanity."

At this trial, beyond having seen Mrs Cathcart in the proximity of the Law Courts, I did not examine her with a view to testify. I was called in as a sort

of mental assessor to give an opinion on the facts as they were elicited in court. The gist of my evidence was, whether I considered anyone who had a grievance with reference to litigation and solicitors was of unsound mind. I replied, "Certainly not." I was very decided in this, inasmuch as I entertained then, and still entertain at the present time, the idea that I have suffered serious loss in a similar way as complained of by Mrs Cathcart. I was then asked whether I considered that all those who heard voices and held conversations with imaginary people should be considered of unsound mind. There was a time in my early professional career when I might have been tempted to answer in the affirmative; but inasmuch as since then I had taken a prominent part in a case where the chief allegation was whether hearing voices constituted insanity, and from the fact that many of the learned judges not only ruled otherwise, but gave well-known examples to show that those who did hear voices were not always of unsound mind, I did not commit myself to answer in the affirmative. I replied, "It was not of itself a sign of insanity. Hallucinations of sight, sound, and smell might arise from some disease of the brain, and yet people possessing this might not be of unsound mind. The lady might have delusions and yet be capable of managing herself and her affairs." I was then asked in general cross-examination, If Mrs Cathcart had kept up a continuous conversation with the voices, would that be a symptom of brain disease? I answered that it might be only

eccentricity. My examination concluded by being asked whether a long period of confinement in her case might not have affected her mind? I replied in the affirmative. As I had not previously examined her I was not required to state whether I considered her as a person of unsound mind or not, being simply retained as a medical assessor.

Mrs Cathcart was found of unsound mind and incapable of managing herself and her affairs.

MARQUIS OF TOWNSHEND : COMMISSION IN LUNACY

In April 1906 I was instructed by the Dowager Marchioness of Townshend to visit her son, who was certified as a single patient, in his house in Brooke Street.

In conformity with that request I did so. I anticipated a certain amount of difficulty in obtaining an interview with him, but this was not the case, and I was at once shown up into a bedroom, where a gentleman was lying in bed with his head encircled in a wet towel. I went up to him and began to interrogate him, imagining it was the Marquis I had the honour of speaking to ; but I found that it was his father-in-law, who was apparently taking an afternoon siesta, not feeling very well.

I came to the conclusion, from the lengthy examination I made of the Marquis, that there was no reason for his being any longer certified and deprived of his liberty as a "single patient." The facts of the case are briefly these :—

Lord Townshend was stated to have been under the influence of a Mr Robins, with whom he had resided at Brighton, and whom he had known some years and had every confidence in. By some it was alleged that he had a sort of hypnotic power over him, and that even after his marriage Lord Townshend had suddenly run away from his wife back to the house of Mr Robins. It was also affirmed that he was parting with his money, and had given Mr Robins control over it. To prevent a continuation of this, it was thought advisable to certify him as "a person of unsound mind." This was accordingly done. His mother, the Dowager Marchioness, considered that this step had been taken with a motive and was in no way justifiable ; hence my instructions to investigate matters, as they then stood in April 1906.

Shortly after this, by my advice, the certificates were cancelled and he was a free agent. Application was then made to the Court of Chancery for a commission of lunacy.

I was requested to go to Calais to visit him, and he then appointed me his medical attendant.

"CALAIS, *April 21st, 1906.*

" This is to appoint Dr Forbes Winslow to act in the capacity of my medical adviser, and at my special request he visited me to-day.

" (Signed) TOWNSHEND."

With regard to Lord Townshend's case, it is satisfactory for me to know that it was through my in-

strumentality that his certificates were cancelled. I worked very hard in the case, and went to Boulogne on several occasions to see him.

It was a great satisfaction for me to feel that no slur was cast upon his mental condition so far as his own controlling power was concerned; and it is also a pleasure to know that, as a proof of the gratitude of the family for the trouble I had taken in the matter, he appointed me his medical adviser.

I think so far as his case was concerned the decision was for the best.

The case commenced on 24th July, and on 22nd July I was sent to Boulogne to try and persuade him to appear before the commission. He declined. On my asking him to place his reasons on paper, he wrote as follows:—

“ I absent myself from the inquiry on the ground that I regard the inquiry, or the very suggestion of such, as an insult. I am, and intend to be throughout my life, the controller of my own body and of my actions and plans. Therefore I refuse to be dictated to or ordered about by any person or persons. If I require a doctor it will be to look into my physical condition, and in such a case I will send for one.

“ TOWNSHEND.

“ BOULOGNE, *July 22nd*, 1906.”

“ This was written by Lord Townshend, in the presence of Dr Forbes Winslow and myself, of his own free will and without any dictation or suggestion.

“ (Signed) WM. HY. WILLIAMS.”

During the whole of the first day of the case Lord Townshend was not represented legally by solicitor or

counsel. I was asked to take notes of the medical witnesses for cross-examination, for anyone who could be found to conduct the case. It was quite *ex parte*, and the official solicitor had it quite his own way and had the field to himself. The solicitor who originally instructed me, having retired before the money was found for his defence, could not have been very pleased on hearing the following morning that Lady St Leven, Lord Townshend's sister, had advanced £1000.

Counsel were instructed by a solicitor who came into the case at the eleventh hour. New doctors were called in. All the previous ones, who had given up so much time to the case, and who were cognisant of every possible item connected with it, were not only not called, but not remunerated for their past services. I had been four times to France. As my name was mentioned so often, previous to the hearing of the case in the press, it is well for me to be able to state the real reason why, though Lord Townshend's medical adviser, I was not called. The solicitor in possession never even had the courtesy to in any way communicate with me. The whole case showed me how easy it was to pick up a case piecemeal, ignoring the experience of others. One K.C. was briefed, and a junior who was the son of the solicitor, who, being a personal friend of the father-in-law, had been nominated by him.

Up to the present my claim remains unpaid. The other medical and legal luminaries received their honorarium.

JACK THE RIPPER

JACK THE RIPPER

DURING the years 1888 and 1889 all England was horrified at the perpetration of a series of terrible crimes committed in the East End of London, which were called at that time "the Whitechapel murders." I became convinced from the very first that they were the work of one man, and he a madman—not a wild-eyed maniac, but an insane monster, possessing both shrewdness, caution, and intelligence, yet alert to the consequence of being captured, and cunning as all lunatics are. I became intensely interested in the field of research before me, and gave my whole heart and soul to the study of the mystery; and as each fresh victim was discovered I strengthened and completed my theories as to the fact that it was a madman who had perpetrated the butcheries. But I became more than a builder of scientific theories—I found myself pursuing clues and searching for facts to prove my scientific deductions. I was at once a medical theorist and a practical detective.

Day after day and night after night I spent in the Whitechapel slums. The detectives knew me, the lodging-house keepers knew me, and at last the poor

creatures of the streets came to know me. In terror they rushed to me with every scrap of information which might to my mind be of value. To me the frightened women looked for hope. In my presence they felt reassured, and welcomed me to their dens and obeyed my commands eagerly, and found the bits of information I wanted.

It is not, therefore, surprising that it was I and not the detectives of Scotland Yard who reasoned out an accurate scientific mental picture of the Whitechapel murderer, and then stamped beyond a doubt, if not the actual identification of the monster himself, nevertheless the ability to capture the same.

To recall the history of the famous Jack-the-Ripper murders in London slums, it should be remembered that there were in all eight victims. This frightful list began at Christmas 1887, and the monster laid down his knife in July 1889, after the eighth victim. There is good reason to believe that the hand of the murderer was stayed by my revelations before I had finished my contemplated crusade.

The following are the dates of the crimes, with the names of the victims, which were perpetrated by that mysterious individual, Jack the Ripper, whom Scotland Yard failed to capture.

In 1887, Christmas week, an unknown woman was found murdered near Osborne and Wentworth Streets, Whitechapel.

On the 7th of August 1888, Martha Turner was stabbed in thirty-nine places, and the body was

found on a landing in the model dwellings known as George Yard Buildings, Commercial Street, Spitalfields.

The 31st of August 1888, Mrs Nicholls was murdered and mutilated in Bucks Row, Whitechapel.

The 8th of September 1888, Annie Chapman was killed and mutilated in Hanbury Street, Whitechapel.

The 30th of September of the same year, Elizabeth Stride was murdered in Bernard Street, Whitechapel. Her throat was cut, but the body was not mutilated. It is assumed that in this case the murderer was disturbed before he had completed his work.

The 30th of September, the same day as Stride's murder, Catherine Eddowes was murdered in Mitre Street, Aldgate. I always thought that, inasmuch as the murderer of Elizabeth Stride was stopped before his work was finished, the mania was so strong in him to mutilate in the way he had been accustomed to, that he ran out and killed the first woman he met after murdering Stride.

November 9th, 1888, the body of Mary Anne Kelly was hacked to pieces in 26 Dorset Street, Spitalfields.

July 17th, 1889, Alice M'Kenzie was murdered in Castle Alley, Whitechapel. In this case also the murderer had been disturbed in his work.

The public had been raised to an abject state of terror, inasmuch as six murders had been committed of the Jack-the-Ripper type during the four months extending from 7th August 1888 to 9th November of the same year.

The panic had quietly subsided, when suddenly

the crime to which I am alluding, of 17th July 1889, was perpetrated, and stirred up public excitement again.

I always entertained the same opinion that one man committed all these crimes. Some argued otherwise against the murders being all committed by one man ; the fact was raised that the force of imitation is very strong in the insane, and that a murder committed in a terrible way often has its imitators. As a proof of what I say, I was visiting a prison some time ago, and in the course of a conversation with the chaplain he informed me that a youth had been executed the previous week, in whom he took much interest in so far as his spiritual welfare was concerned. He had been convinced that the boy was really repentant, and the following Sunday he alluded to the case in the pulpit as an example of repentance at the eleventh hour, and how gratifying the result was to him. The murder was a very revolting one. His sermon was very impressive, but before the week was out one of his congregation committed a murder in a similar way to the one he had alluded to. Some years ago I had brought to my knowledge the fact that a lunatic had jumped from the Duke of York's column, and a few days afterwards others followed his example. One insane person is seen flourishing a knife in the street ; the power of imitation is so great that others follow the example. With the acknowledgment of such facts before the world, a possible allegation in Jack the Ripper's case was that

the first murderer had his imitators. I always disagreed with this, and considered that the crimes were committed by one and the same person ; that he was a homicidal monomaniac of religious views, who laboured under the morbid belief that he had a destiny in the world to fulfil ; and that he had chosen a certain class of society to vent his vengeance on.

Religious homicidal monomania is always of a most obstinate description, and no doubt the desire to wipe out a social blot from the face of the earth, being, so to speak, his destiny, was the cause of the crimes.

An interesting fact about these murders was the influence which the moon apparently appeared to exert upon them. The theory is that lunatics are strongly influenced at the various periods when the moon changes. I have often noticed this myself, and in tracing the dates in which these respective murders were committed one cannot but be impressed by the fact that they were either committed when the new moon rose, or when the moon had entered upon its last quarter. In only one murder was this proved to be incorrect—that is, the murder of 9th November 1888, the one in which I received a letter warning me of what would happen. The murder was just one day beyond its time, and, to accord with the theory I am now stating, the murder should have been committed on the 7th of November ; but I will draw attention to the fact that it was evident that the murder was contemplated about that time, as in the letter I received in October 1888 the writer told me that the

murder would be committed either on the 7th or the 9th. This will establish to a certain extent the theory that lunatics are subject to lunar influences.

Sir Charles Warren was Chief Commissioner of Police at the time, and I am afraid his position was not a very happy one. Every sort of clue was sent to him, and he always had the courtesy to acknowledge those sent to him by me in an official way. From my experience of the police, however, it is not easy to persuade them to accept suggestions from outside sources. As an instance of this, during the time that the Whitechapel scare was on, a man, dressed in a brown pea-jacket and cap, fell on his knees before my daughter and another lady, who were at Brighton. Producing a large bowie-knife, he commenced to sharpen the same. Fortunately, the ladies were able to take refuge in their own house. From the description given to me by those who witnessed the act, I thought I was justified in communicating with the Brighton police ; the result was to cause a " scare at Brighton." But when I made some important statements to the police in London, they treated it with a certain amount of levity. It is this way in dealing with certain important clues which emanate from outside sources that renders our police so imperfect.

One of my ideas at the time was that the police should have been supplanted, and attendants experienced in dealing with lunatics placed about Whitechapel. They would have been in a position, in many

instances, to have noted whether anyone was of unsound mind or not, which certainly the police, inexperienced in such matters, would be unable to detect. This suggestion was also sent by me to Sir Charles Warren, but the usual printed acknowledgment was all I ever heard of it.

Every possible theory had currency. One was that the murder was performed by an escaped gorilla. At one time there was a rumour current that the murderer was a Russian suffering from homicidal insanity, who had been discharged from a lunatic asylum in Paris as cured. So far as my experience goes, homicidal lunatics are never cured; the symptoms are always latent, and are liable to be stirred up at any moment, though they appear perfectly normal to the outside world.

Also, in addition to this, a good many people who had committed crimes were at once associated with the Jack-the-Ripper murders. A man who had recently come from Vienna attended one of the London hospitals, making a statement that he had been robbed of a large sum of money by the women in Leicester Square, and in order to revenge himself he was determined that this class of individuals should be killed. He asked permission to see various operations, but was evidently of unsound mind. The fact was communicated to me, and I immediately put myself into communication with the authorities in London, and also in Paris, as it appeared that he had been first confined in an asylum in Vienna and later

on in Paris. I asked for particulars as to the admission and discharge and other facts relating to his case. At that time I thought perhaps that this might be the individual wanted, and I considered the clue of such importance that I determined to follow it up. I received no answer to my communications whatever from Paris, and I presume the same reticence goes on in Paris as is found in London, where those officially engaged are bound by the sanctity of their oath not to reveal to the outside world what goes on in the precincts of their office, or comes within their knowledge whilst in the performance of their functions.

The theory that Jack the Ripper was suffering from masked epilepsy received a certain amount of credulity. I thought so until after the third murder, and I imagined that Jack the Ripper suffered from this malady, and that, during the seizure, he might perform the most extraordinary and most diabolical actions, and upon his return to consciousness would be in perfect ignorance of what had transpired when the attack was on him, and would conduct himself in an ordinary manner before people.

I have known several of these cases myself: one a lady, who whilst in conversation with other people would become deadly pale, and to the horror of her visitors would pour forth a volley of profane oaths. In a few minutes she would resume her conversation as though nothing had happened.

I have been consulted in many such cases; among those previously mentioned are Drant, Treadaway, and

Pearcey, who were all epileptic maniacs, and who committed murders, the plea being raised that the crime was committed during a masked epileptic condition.

What is always characteristic of this form of insanity is the brutality of the crime and the cunning shown by the murderer ; and yet, should the epileptic be taken red-handed, he would be in ignorance of the fact, so that there was a certain amount of justification for the suggestion.

The butchers came in for a good deal of attention, and it was considered a significant fact that there always existed a slaughterhouse in close proximity to the scene of the murders. Detectives disguised as slaughtermen obtained work in several of these houses in order to keep a sharp eye on what was going on. It was stated that the murderer might be a woman in disguise of a slaughterman.

In fact, the police authorities, from Sir Charles Warren downwards, were engaged in looking for a murderer who might be anything, from a well-dressed man in his brougham to a coster in his donkey-cart. The rich were equally suspected as the poor, the educated and refined man as well as the opposite. The unfortunate man who carried a small brown bag had a bad time, and this bag was good ground-bait for the police to bite at. They were evidently very much at sea ; and in the whole course of my experience of them, and the interviews I had with representatives of Scotland Yard, I came to the conclusion that if the capture of Jack the Ripper was

in the hands of the police it was indeed a forlorn hope.

What appears strange to me is the fact that they did not realise their incompetency, and still more I was astonished that important clues which were placed in their hands were ignored simply on the ground of nothing more or less than that they alone were the persons who should detect the crime and bring the murderer to book. If nothing more was required to show the imperfection of the London police system at the time, the Whitechapel murders stand out in evidence. There seemed to be an absence of coherent system of local government in the Metropolis. The individual members of the police force were left to the guidance of their instincts. The secrecy indulged in by Scotland Yard, and the repugnance to take anyone into their confidence, except directly or indirectly connected with the police force, appears to me to be a blot on our constitution. Surely in this case it would have been far better to have admitted the inability of the police to trace the murderer, and allowed others, who were apparently more able to deal with the matter, to assert themselves.

The police were completely dazed, and, despite the precautions taken and the traps laid, the murderer escaped them all.

To recapitulate: I formed the theory that the first two murders had been committed by an epileptic maniac. I still held to my theory until the

third murder, basing my conclusions upon the fact that in this disease the paroxysms only occur at intervals, and that they leave the person subject to them in full possession of his faculties. He would thus be able to control his diabolical impulse until a safe opportunity presented itself. Moreover, epileptic seizures of this description are frequently accompanied by a form of erotic frenzy, and this would account for the particular class of women which the murderer selected for his victims.

After the fourth murder public opinion became intensely excited over the Whitechapel murders, and little else was talked about for days after each murder.

I determined to throw myself heart and soul into the matter, and wrote a letter to the press in which I set forth my theory that a dangerous homicidal lunatic was prowling about London.

Arrests were made by the score, principally of people of a low class who inhabited the locality where the murders were committed. I, however, refused to believe that the murders were committed by one of the lower classes.

I gave it as my opinion that the murderer was in all probability a man of good position and perhaps living in the West End of London. When the paroxysm which prompted him to his fearful deeds had passed off, he most likely returned to the bosom of his family.

After the fifth and sixth murders, however, I

changed my views. The exact similarity in the method of murder and the horrible evisceration of the body showed too much of a methodical nature ever to belong to a man who committed the deeds in a fit of epileptic furor. Considerable anatomical knowledge was displayed by the murderer, which would seem to indicate that his occupation was that of a butcher or a surgeon.

Taking all these things into consideration, I concluded that the perpetrator was a homicidal lunatic goaded on to his dreadful work by a sense of duty. Religious monomania was evidently closely allied with his homicidal instincts, because his efforts were solely directed against fallen women, whose extermination he probably considered his mission. Many homicidal lunatics consider murder to be their duty. Jack the Ripper possibly imagined that he received his commands from God.

I communicated my ideas to the authorities at Scotland Yard, and expressed my opinion that I would run down the murderer with the co-operation of the police. I explained that lunatics can frequently be caught in their own trap by humouring their ideas. If opposed, however, they bring a devilish cunning to bear which effectually frustrates all efforts to thwart their designs.

I proposed to insert an advertisement in a prominent position in all the papers, reading something like this :
“ A gentleman who is strongly opposed to the presence of fallen women in the streets of London would like

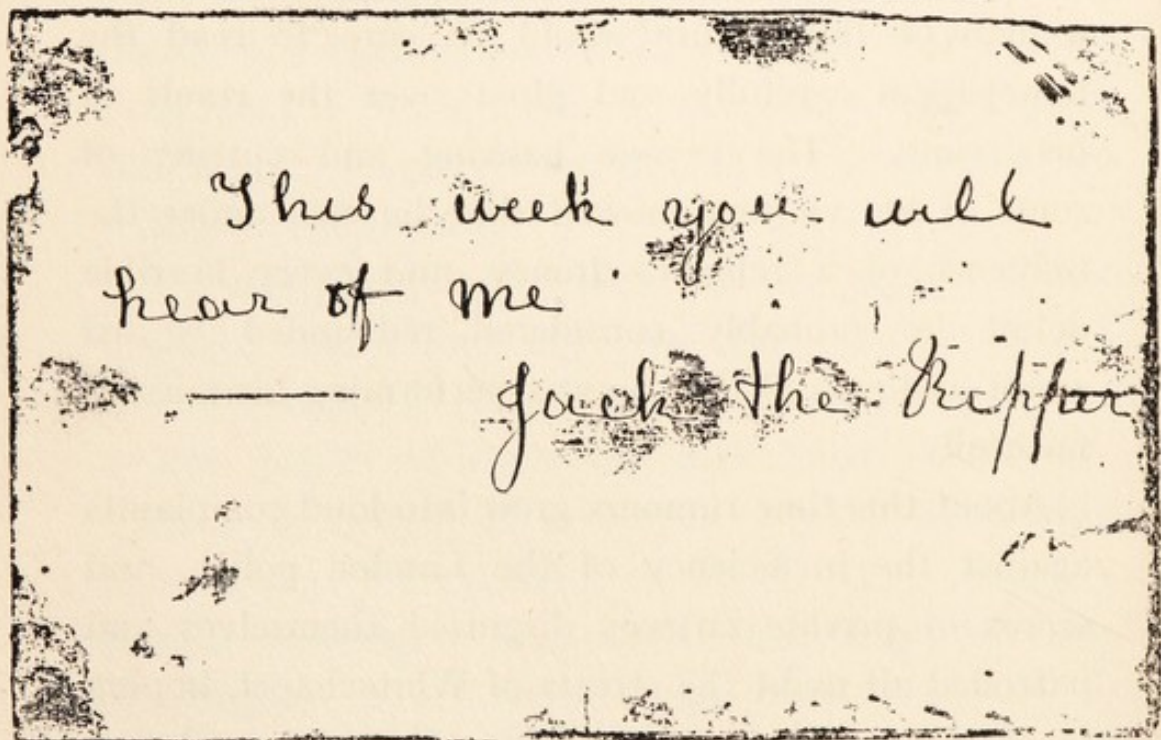
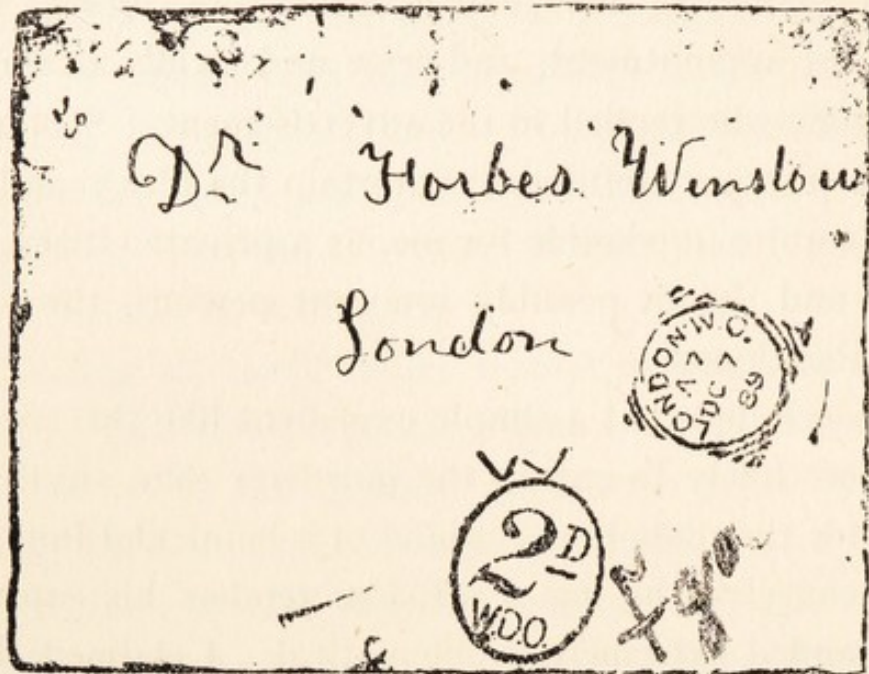
to co-operate with someone with a view to their suppression."

I proposed to have half a dozen detectives at the place of appointment, and seize and rigidly examine everyone who replied to the advertisement. Scotland Yard, however, refused to entertain the idea ; and as it was quite impossible for me, as a private citizen, to seize and detain possibly innocent persons, the idea was abandoned.

I concluded that a simple expedient like this would be more likely to entrap the murderer than anything else, for the diabolical cunning of a homicidal lunatic, who conceives he has a mission, renders his capture red-handed extremely problematical. I claimed that a man of this nature would be sure to read the newspapers carefully and gloat over the result of his crime. The savage hacking and cutting of some of his victims showed that he was under the influence of a religious frenzy, and every horrible detail he probably considered redounded to his credit and proved that he was performing his mission faithfully.

About this time rumours grew into loud complaints against the inefficiency of the London police, and scores of private citizens disguised themselves and patrolled all night the streets of Whitechapel, hoping to catch the murderer. Among them was no less a personage than a director of the Bank of England, who was so obsessed by a special theory of his own that he disguised himself as an ordinary day labourer

and started exploring the common lodging-houses in the East End, clad in heavy boots, a fustian jacket,



with a red handkerchief around his head and a pick-axe in his hand.

During the month of August 1888 a man was seen

whose description, as then given me, corresponded with the man who was found writing on a wall under an archway. The inscription read: "Jack the Ripper will never commit another murder."

On 4th October I received a letter purporting to come from Jack the Ripper, and expressing an insane glee over the hideous work he was carrying out. This letter was in the same handwriting as the writing found under the archway. Another letter was received by me on 19th October, also in the same handwriting, which informed me that the next murder would be committed on 9th November.

November 9th, being Lord Mayor's Day, is generally kept as a holiday, and the usual crowd had assembled to view the procession. While the throng was at its thickest the yells of the newsboys were suddenly heard: "Another Whitechapel murder; horrible mutilation," etc. The murder had been foretold in the letter to me, but no clue could be obtained as to the writer.

The police worked night and day, originated theories, acted upon all sorts of official suggestions, but all without avail, ignoring, however, private clues.

The thought of the fiend silently carving up his victim in the midst of a crowded neighbourhood, reflecting with joy upon the righteousness of his work, when the whole city was engaged in feasting and processions of the Lord Mayor's Day, caused almost a panic in the City. The mutilation of the corpse surpassed in brutality, and presented a more

sickening spectacle than any of the rest. The murder this time was committed in a room on the ground floor, with a window in front by which any passer-by might have seen the mangled body lying upon the bed.

No more murders occurring, the excitement gradually died away, until on 17th July 1889 a woman named Alice M'Kenzie was found mutilated in the usual manner in a dark Whitechapel alley.

The body, when found, showed that the fiend had been disturbed in his work, and the policeman who discovered it blew his whistle, and every constable in the neighbourhood blocked up every opening, thus forming a cordon through which no one was allowed to pass. All contained in the cordon were examined and a house-to-house search was conducted. It was all in vain. The murderer had disappeared as completely as though he had vanished from the earth. Letters had been received by the police in the early part of the year warning them that the murderous work would be resumed in July.

No clues, however, were obtainable from them, and this murder remained shrouded in mystery, like the others.

The long interval between the murder of 9th November 1888 and 17th July 1889 I accounted for by the fact that the lunatic had undoubtedly had a "lucid interval," during which he was quite unconscious of the horrible crimes he had previously committed. After each murder had been carried out

and the lust for blood appeased, the lunatic changed at once from a homicidal religious maniac into a quiet man with a perfect knowledge of what he was doing, oblivious of the past.

This is what rendered his capture so difficult. A man who was afflicted with permanent homicidal mania, and who was always in the same frame of mind as the murderer was when he so wildly and savagely slashed the bodies of his victims, would have been soon found out. Jack the Ripper, however, in his lucid intervals, was a man whom no one would suspect of the fearful crimes he had committed. This is very common among lunatics of this description.

I still held to my theory that the assassin was a well-to-do man suffering from religious mania. Many theories had been started and met with more or less favour. The general opinion was that the murderer was a cattle-butcher visiting the slums of Whitechapel and committing a murder every time his ship came in. On the body of Mary Jane Kelly, who was murdered on 9th November 1888, a woman's hat was found in addition to her own. Everybody then said that the "Ripper" was a woman.

Nothing was proved, however, and the police were still in the dark, though working assiduously.

The first definite clue was obtained on 30th August 1889, when a woman with whom I was in communication (for I had never stopped working on the murders) came to me and said that a man had spoken to her in Worship Street, Finsbury, who wanted her to go down

a court with him. She refused to do so, but, together with some of the neighbours whom she told, followed him, walking a little way behind. They saw him go into a house in Finsbury out of which she had seen him coming some days before.

On the morning after the murder of 17th July she saw him washing blood off his hands in the yard of the house referred to. She particularly remembered the occurrence because of the peculiar look on his face.

When the house was searched the man was gone. Nothing was better known about him except that the description of him given by the other tenants tallied with that given by a lodging-house keeper with whom he lived a year before. This lodging-house keeper called on me several days afterwards and gave me some very important information.

He said that in April 1888 a gentlemanly-looking man called in answer to an advertisement. He engaged a large bed-sitting-room in his house, and said that he was over on business, and might stay a few months or perhaps a year. Before he came there he told them that he had occupied rooms in the neighbourhood of St Paul's Cathedral.

The proprietor and his wife noticed that whenever he went out of doors he wore a different suit of clothes from that which he wore the day before, and would often change them three or four times a day. He had eight or nine suits of clothes and the same number of hats. He kept very late hours, and whenever he returned home his entry was quite noiseless. In his

room were three pairs of rubbers coming high over the ankles, one pair of which he always used when going out at night.

On 7th August, the date of the second murder, the lodging-house keeper was sitting up late with his sister, waiting for his wife to return from the country. She was expected home about 4 a.m., and the two sat up till then. A little before four o'clock the lodger came in, looking as though he had been having rather a rough time. When questioned he said that his watch had been stolen in Bishopsgate, and gave the name of a police station where he had lodged a complaint.

On investigation this proved to be false, as no complaint had been lodged with the police. The next morning, when the maid went to do his room, she called the attention of the proprietress to a large bloodstain on the bed. His shirt was found hanging up in his room with the cuffs recently washed, he having washed them himself. A few days later he left, saying that he was going to Canada, but he evidently did not go, because he was seen getting into a horse car in London in September 1888.

While he was in the lodging-house he was regarded by all as a person of unsound mind. He would frequently suddenly break out into remarks expressing his disgust at the number of fallen women in the streets. He would sometimes talk for hours with the proprietor of the lodging-house, giving his views upon the subject of immorality. During his leisure time

he would often fill up fifty or sixty sheets of foolscap, writing upon religious matters connected with morality. These he would sometimes read to the proprietor, who told me they were very violent in tone and expressed bitter hatred of dissolute women.

At eight o'clock every morning he attended service at St Paul's Cathedral.

All this information I gathered privately, and added to the clues I had already obtained. As soon as I heard the description of the habits of this man, I said instantly: "That's the man."

If I had constructed an imaginary man out of my experience of insane people suffering from homicidal religious mania, his habits would have corresponded almost exactly with those told me by the lodging-house keeper.

The conception that I had formed of the way the whole series of murders had been committed was corroborated almost exactly by the evident propensities of the mysterious lodger. I have said that the murderer was one and the same person; that he had committed the crime suffering from homicidal mania of a religious description, and labouring under the morbid belief that the delusion entertained by him had direct reference to the part of the body removed. That under that delusion, and desiring to directly influence the morality of the world, and imagining that he had a certain destiny to fulfil, he had chosen the immoral class of society to vent his vengeance upon.

As soon as my clue became certain I told the police all I knew, and suggested a plan whereby the lunatic could be captured upon the steps of St Paul's Cathedral.

To my great surprise the police refused to cooperate. The rubber shoes, which I took possession of, were covered with dried human blood. They had been left behind by the murderer in his rapid departure from the lodging-house. In addition to the rubbers there were three pairs of woman's shoes and a quantity of bows, feathers, and flowers, such as are usually worn by women of the lower class. Some of the latter were stained with blood, and were in my possession.

I was severely criticised for informing the *New York Herald*, then published in London, of my clues. The publication of my information, showing how closely hemmed in the murderer was, and how dangerous, if not impossible, any more murders would be, evidently frightened Jack the Ripper.

No more murders were committed after the news of my researches. I think that the maniac most probably left the country for a time. The murderer was described as being of slight build, active, with rather a small head, delicate features, and a wealth of light brown hair. He frequently boasted of his knowledge of anatomy, and said that he had achieved considerable distinction at college. Several months after the publication of my discoveries a young man was arrested for attempted suicide, and when examined by the police surgeon was proved to be hopelessly

insane. He was committed to a Government asylum. The terrible Whitechapel murders were still fresh in people's minds. The asylum authorities noticed that his description tallied with that of Jack the Ripper in my published statements. He suffered from a despondent madness, breaking out at times into violent homicidal mania.

Investigations were at once set on foot, and a theory started that the mysterious lodger, Jack the Ripper, and the unfortunate inmate of the asylum were one and the same man. This man was found to come of a well-to-do and respectable family, and evinced considerable ability in his college career. His speciality was anatomy, and he studied so hard that his mind, never very strong, gave way under the strain. Always of a religious turn of mind, he became afflicted with religious mania. But it was found that he was not Jack the Ripper. Lunatics often act up to the Scriptural maxim, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out." This was Jack the Ripper's idea, and he imagined it was his destiny to wipe a social blot from the face of the earth.

Now that the facts concerning his methods are known much of the speculation concerning the marvellous way in which he escaped arrest is set at rest. He was a young man of quiet appearance and not likely to attract any undue attention, while his constant change of clothing would prevent the remote contingency of anyone becoming familiar with his appearance in Whitechapel. He was extremely active,

and when shod with the noiseless rubbers could make his escape, when another man less adapted for the work would have been caught.

A sane man, however active, would have been captured very soon. Constant experience has convinced me that a lunatic's cunning and quickness of action cannot be equalled by a man in the full possession of his mental faculties.

The peculiarity of my correspondence with Jack the Ripper was that his letters were never stamped. One was written on half a sheet of cheap notepaper ; it was in a round, upright hand, and evidently written by someone who was not accustomed to using the pen. The writing is distinct, with an absence of flourish, but written with deliberation and care. The scrawl is not a hurried one ; the address on the envelope is even more hurriedly written, with less care, than the letter. It bears the postmark of the Western district, whereas the previous letter I received was from the Eastern. There was a smudge upon it which I was always under the impression was blood, and which, by the use of a magnifying glass, proved to be the case.

The other letter I received was signed P. S. R. Lunigi, giving his address as " Poste restante, Charing Cross " ; this is the one in which my correspondent informed me that a murder would take place on the 8th or 9th of November. He requested the reply to be sent to the Charing Cross post-office, giving his address as 22 Hammersmith Road, Chelsea. On

22 Hammele Smith R^a
Chelsea.

Oct 19th 88

Sir

I defy you to find out
who has done the Whitechapel
murder in the Summer not
the last one. You had
better look out for yourself
or else Jack the R may
do you something in your
house before the end of
~~the~~ month now the 5th of Nov there
may be another murder so
look out old ~~as~~ ^{Sir} please look
all all London another ripper open
will take place some one told me
about the 5th or 9 of Poximo not in
Whitechapel but in London
perhaps in Chapham or the
West End. Write to the Post
~~to~~ thank Chamberl. address
to P S R Exigri.

to Oct 19th.

making inquiries, however, I found that no such road existed.

In my opinion, there was no doubt the murderer was the one who, on quitting his lodgings in Finsbury, left behind him a pair of silent rubber shoes, stained with blood, which I had in my possession for a considerable period. The landlord subsequently called upon me and asked me to return them, which I believe he then handed over to the police.

The results of my conclusions were as follows, and they have never been challenged or upset :—

First, that the murders were committed by one man unaided and unassisted, and who suffered from religious monomania, and had lucid intervals during which he was in every way unconscious of what had taken place.

Second, that Jack the Ripper changed his lodgings after each respective murder, and that I had been able to trace him from these.

Third, that the lodging-house keepers, on the next morning after the commitment of each murder, found stains of blood in the house, pieces of ribbon and feathers strewn about the room which had been occupied by their late lodger.

Fourth, that in some of these lodgings he left behind him written scrawls bearing directly on the subject of his supposed mission.

Fifth, that I was in communication with those persons who possessed these writings.

Sixth, that I interviewed the woman at whose

house he lodged on the night of one of the murders, when he was seen to come home at 4 a.m. and wash his hands in the yard.

Seventh, that I made myself thoroughly conversant with his habits in every way. I also knew his haunts, how he spent his Sundays.

Eighth, that I knew that every Sunday at 11 a.m. he went to St Paul's Cathedral.

Ninth, that I also knew that on a certain Sunday he could be arrested there.

Tenth, that having completed my clue, which, on my giving full particulars to one of the chief judges in New York, was described as the most convincing and comprehensive he had ever heard, I endeavoured to once more take the police into my confidence and get their co-operation. They declined.

Eleventh, that I warned the police that unless they assisted me in the capture of Jack the Ripper on a certain Sunday morning, and if they allowed the mysterious red-tapeism and jealousy surrounding Scotland Yard to interfere, I should publish my clue to the world.

Twelfth, that after having given the police this notice, and after they had declined to adopt my suggestions, I published the whole of my carefully worked-out clue, and from that time up to the present no more murders of the Jack-the-Ripper type have been committed.

Some time after I was travelling in a train. There were two strangers engaged in conversation. The

topic of the Whitechapel murders cropped up. One said, not knowing who I was, to his friend, "At all events, if Dr Forbes Winslow did not actually catch Jack the Ripper, he stopped the murders by publishing his clue." I felt I had done this myself, and I should like to have said, "Hear, hear"; but my companions alighted at the next station. I felt that what they said was the general opinion in England expressed by everyone except the Scotland Yard authorities, who would have deemed such an expression of gratitude towards me as unworthy of the great dignity of their office. I should like, in conclusion, to ask them one question, and that is: "If I did not arrest the murderous hand of Jack the Ripper, who did, and what part did they play in the transaction?"

The latest development in connection with Jack the Ripper I received in the shape of a communication on 19th July of the current year. It was in consequence of certain articles of mine which had been appearing in the press on the matter, and with reference to a statement made by Sir Robert Anderson. This letter was signed by a lady, and sent to the Postmaster-General to be forwarded to me. The names are given in full, but I have thought right to suppress the same, though the matter has been handed to the police for further investigations. It seems in every way to corroborate my views on the matter, and may possibly lead to an arrest of the right man. At all events, I consider it to be of sufficient interest to appear here.

“G.P.O., MELBOURNE,
“ 10/6/1910.

“Your challenge is more than justified *re* ‘Jack the Ripper.’ You indeed frightened him away, for he sailed away in a ship called the *Munambidgee*, working his passage to Melbourne, arriving here in the latter part of 1889. He is a native of Melbourne, Victoria, but before his return had been in South Africa for several years. He was educated at the Scotch College here; the late Dr Blair was a great friend of his family, and it was from him he gained his surgical knowledge, the doctor taking him with him to post-mortems. When he arrived in Melbourne he married a Miss ——, who lived only a little over a year, but she died from natural causes; she was only dead a short time when I met him. He told me he had a hard time in London, and he was always buying sensational newspapers. I said to him, ‘Why do you buy those horrid papers? They are only full of police reports of terrible crimes.’ He said, ‘I want to see how things are in London.’ Then he commenced reading the trial of a man named James Canham Reade. This man married and deserted several women, and finally killed one, for which he was hanged. When he had finished reading, I said, ‘What a fearful fellow!’ He said, ‘Yes.’ I then said, ‘What about Jack the Ripper?’ He said, ‘Strange those crimes ceased once I left England.’ I was astounded at his remark, and said, ‘My God! Jack, I believe you did those crimes,’ he having told me about living in that part of London previously. I tried to banish the thought from my mind, as I loved him; but I referred to it many times after, and finally he told me he did do them. I said, ‘Why did you do those crimes?’ He first said, ‘Revenge,’ then said, ‘Research.’ I said, ‘But you never made use of the portions you removed from those

women; what did you do with them?' He said, 'Oh, there are plenty of hungry dogs in London.' I wrote to Scotland Yard telling them all. Sir Robert Anderson answered my letter; but as I had told him all I had to say, I did not write again till last year, but have heard nothing from them. It is my opinion they all bungled this matter up and do not like owning up to it. I even gave him up in Melbourne in 1894. The police examined him; he told them he was in Melbourne in 1890, so they found this was true, and without asking him where he was in 1889 they let him go. He laughed, and said, 'See what fools they are. I am the real man they are searching the earth for, but they take me in one door and let me out of the other.' I even gave one detective a letter of his, but he only laughed at me. I asked him to have the writing compared with that at home signed 'Jack the Ripper,' but he did nothing. Now I have burnt his letters long since, but the monster's name is ——, called Jack by relatives and friends. His brother told me he is in Durban, South Africa, employed by the South African Railway Co. He left here for South Africa about six years ago. Your plan is to get a sample of his writing and compare with yours. If you cannot find him there, cause an advertisement to be put in the papers purporting to come from his brother ——, who has been lost sight of for many years and has never claimed money left by his father to him. Advertise, and Jack will soon answer this, but to some address in London or South Africa. However, get his writing. He was a very good writer. He often used to attend St Paul's here, and I would tell him what a hypocrite he was. I only wish I could see you.

"I am certain as I am writing this he is your man. If only to prove how wrong they were to accuse that poor Irish student, I would be pleased if the charge was sheeted home to the right man, when I think of

the suffering it has caused his people. As to Sir Robert Anderson saying it was a Jew, he must be a dreamer of the dreamiest sort, for he was the man who answered my letter years ago ; but they served me as they served you, with too little consideration, for I am certain we are both right. He always carried an ugly sheath-knife in his belt. When you frightened him away he came straight to Melbourne, and remained here till six years ago. What I regret most is that that poor demented Irish student should suffer for this man's crime. I did not know till this week that anyone was charged with those crimes, or I should have made a great deal more noise than I have done, knowing as I do the real culprit. Since starting this letter I have ascertained his proper address.

“ You ought to have no difficulty in getting a sample of his writing. Go very careful about all inquiries, as he always told me he would never be taken alive, but would kill himself on the first inkling of being captured. That is all I can say at present till I hear further from you. I am sending this letter c/o P.M.G. to insure its safe delivery, as I only got your name and opinions from a newspaper cutting ; but you are quite right.

“ Wishing you success with this, and hoping to hear from you soon.”

The day following the publication of the letter I received from Melbourne I managed to unearth the Irish medical student mentioned in this letter, and who was stated by the solicitor who defended him in 1895 at the police court when charged with stabbing a woman in a court at Whitechapel, to be Jack the Ripper. He said to me :—

“ I swear solemnly that I was wrongly accused

and sentenced by Sir Charles Hall, the Recorder, on 27th March 1895, at the Old Bailey. I was set upon in Whitechapel by a lot of hooligans and robbed. I took out a knife I had in my pocket to protect myself. These hooligans then absconded, having wounded me. The police came down the court; there happened to be a woman also in the court at the same time, and the supposition was I had attacked her. I deny it on my soul that I did anything: the hooligans had done this. A solicitor was asked to defend me at the preliminary proceedings at the police court. He did so, but threw up my case at a later date, leaving me to the tender mercies of an English court of justice, undefended. This solicitor informed the police that I was Jack the Ripper; they made many investigations, and were convinced otherwise. Ever since then this same solicitor has been publishing letters in the press to the same effect; also stating that 'his client' died in prison, but was the veritable Jack the Ripper. Seeing that you had received a letter from Australia, I have been brought to see you, asking you to take up my cause and have me reinstated. I was lately studying for the same profession as yourself, and was an Irish medical student."

I in every way believed in the genuineness of his story, and I took further steps in the matter. I interviewed one who had known this man (whose name was Grant) for some years before he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for "illegally wounding," as stated in the indictment. I saw and examined his credentials, proving that this was the very man who was sentenced, and who was stated by his solicitor, notwithstanding his denial, to be Jack the Ripper, "since dead"; and I decided to

make an application before Mr Marsham at Bow Street to get him righted and to make public what I considered to be a great injustice so far as Grant was concerned.

I wrote a letter to this solicitor informing him that I had unearthed Grant, and asking him to call at my house and I would bring him face to face with his late "client," who was still asserted by him to be Jack the Ripper—he will not be convinced otherwise. He replied he could not come to my house, concluding his letter: "With great respect, I believe your information and conclusions generally to be very incorrect." This made me indignant, and I was determined to prove my point, and succeeded. I attended at Bow Street the next day, with Grant in attendance, and made an application to the presiding magistrate to stop this unjustifiable cruelty in stating that Grant was Jack the Ripper. The magistrate said it was actionable, and, having fully informed him of the circumstances connected with my application, I withdrew.

In order to still further confirm his identification, I accompanied him to Scotland Yard to examine his photograph and to verify the statement which I had been upholding—that the man defended by this solicitor in 1895 was not dead but very much alive, and that his name was William Grant, present with me then in the flesh. The usual red-tapeism still surrounded Scotland Yard. After a great amount of preamble and secrecy, my application to examine

this man's photograph and compare it with the original was taken up to the presence of the Assistant Chief Commissioner of Police. The usual answer—against precedent, and that it was against custom to show a prisoner's photograph unless for extraordinary reasons, but I might make an application in writing. I should have thought that if there was ever an extraordinary reason for so being obliged officially, the application made by me was one. It mattered but little to me, as the man was well known there as W. Grant and addressed as such, and in every way corresponded with the man to whom I have been alluding. No Scotland Yard secrets are given away, but there is a way of reading between the lines, a gift I have often enjoyed and made use of, and on this occasion I did so. "Hullo, Grant! how are you?" asked by an official, sufficed.

That Jack the Ripper is the man in South Africa, who left London after I drove him away by publishing my clue in 1889, I believe; and, to complete this weird account of him, I have every reason to hope I shall be the means of bringing his capture about. On the evening of my application at Bow Street Grant called upon me to tell me that he had just run into the very arms of the solicitor who says he is dead and that he is Jack the Ripper. He rushed over to him saying, "See, I am not dead yet, but very much alive." Grant says the solicitor threw up his arms in amazement and bolted to the other side of the street.

AMERICAN EXPERIENCES

AMERICAN EXPERIENCES

PERHAPS the experiences I went through in America may be described as being unique in their nature. It was in 1895 that I received an invitation from Mr Clark Bell, President of the Medico-Legal Congress, to act as chairman in the branch relating to mental diseases in connection with the International Medico-Legal Congress, which was then being held in New York.

The Atlantic Ocean liner in which I chose to convey myself to the other side of the "herring pond" to comply with this request was the *St Louis* of the American line, a twin vessel to the *St Paul*, which was then making her initial voyage. As always happens on these occasions, every possible berth had been secured by rich Americans, with many of whom I became on friendly terms before the end of the voyage, and who individually handed me their cards with pressing invitations to stay at their various houses as their guest. It might be as well to add here that although I accepted with pleasure most of their invitations, neither any of these rich Americans nor myself have ever met again. I have often pondered

at the astonishment which would have been occasioned had I turned up at their houses with all my luggage, including my Remington and a large tin box of books which always accompanies me on my travels. I presume that friends made on an American liner are similar to those one meets at hotels on the Continent—warm friends for the moment; a friendship, apparently, which would appear to strangers to have been one of lasting duration, which, however, is conspicuous by the fact that when saying good-bye we part never to meet again. I was delighted to find among my fellow-passengers the English team of cricketers sent out by the M.C.C. under the captaincy of Mr F. E. Mitchell, who subsequently became captain of the Cambridge University eleven. Being a cricketer myself, I very soon became on friendly terms with each member of the team. I may say that I took special interest in this eleven, inasmuch as over forty years ago Mr R. A. Fitzgerald, hon. secretary of the M.C.C., had asked me to captain the first team of English cricketers that ever went to America. Unfortunately, my medical studies prevented my accepting his invitation. I verily believe that had I suggested it I should have played in one of the international matches over there in Mr Mitchell's team; but inasmuch as such conduct might have been considered frivolous in the eyes of the Americans on the part of the President of the Lunacy Department of the International Congress, I was content with acting the part of a spectator and not of an active participator

in the game. Nothing of a very momentous nature occurred during the voyage. There were the usual concerts on board, over which Senator Gray, one of the members of the American Senate, acted as chairman, whilst I was elected to the post of vice-chairman. The onerous duty of this post consisted in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman. These entertainments, which were got up periodically during the voyage, helped to kill time and do away with the constant monotony of an ocean voyage. The daily routine on board an Atlantic liner has often been told in far more eloquent words than I can describe. Suffice it to say that the *St Louis* steamed into New York harbour about 10 a.m. on 31st August, the Saturday following its departure from Southampton. I forgot to mention that the usual number of poetical geniuses were on board, who one and all testified, in a verse regardless of metre, the excellency of the *St Louis* and the ability of the captain in managing the ship during the voyage, especially in foggy weather. I was a prominent poet on this occasion, though unfortunately the poetical effort only lives in memory dear, being lost in substance. On arrival at the docks in New York, and my luggage placed in the department lettered "W," and whilst waiting to be submitted to the tender mercies of a Custom-house officer, I had my first experience of the American interviewer, a genus of its own kind. I was honoured, whilst my box was being opened, by cross-questions from both sides by two of these gentlemen, the chief

questions being: Why I had come to America? What I was going to do there? How long I was going to remain? To the first of these questions I was able to reply, but not to the others. The results of this interview were long columns in the evening papers, together with my picture, which, being the only one given of any passenger on board the *St Louis*, was to a certain extent gratifying.

The Custom-house examination having been concluded, and no opportunity given to the officials to pronounce me a smuggler, I handed my luggage over to the tender mercy of one of the numerous carriers and, having been warned previously to avoid all American cabs, I deposited myself in a car. I ultimately alighted at 17th Street, Irving Place, near the Westminster Hotel, which was the house where Charles Dickens used to stay during his many visits to New York. Upon my arrival at the hotel I found other interviewers in waiting for me.

As I have previously stated the sole object of my visit was, so far as I knew when I left England, to preside at this Congress, I was therefore a little surprised at the various adventures I went through and the cases I became engaged in previous to my return to England. Some of these experiences might suffice a man's lifetime. On the third day after my arrival in New York the Congress commenced, and on the day when my department met I was very busy in my capacity as chairman of that section in reading a paper on "Suicide as a Mental Epidemic" and on

“ The Progress of Lunacy.” In my position as chairman I had to lead the discussion on every paper that was read before the section on lunacy. Some of these, however, were rather abstruse, so that there were certain difficulties to contend with ; for when a certain subject is sprung upon one suddenly, it is often difficult, however one may be versed in it, to have it completely at one’s finger-ends, and to be able to deal with all the lights and shades in connection with it. I managed, however, to get through the ordeal to my own satisfaction, and at the end of the sitting I proceeded, mentally tired and weary, to my hotel.

On arriving at the hotel I found a gentleman in the hall whom I had no difficulty in recognising as belonging to the press. I gave him an hour’s interview on Jack the Ripper. At the conclusion of this I felt rather fatigued, what with the interview and the duties involving on me in reference to the Congress. I started to go upstairs to dress for dinner. I had only gone up a few steps when suddenly I heard a voice exclaim : “ Dr Winslow, one word, if you please ! ”

I turned round to face him.

He continued : “ I want to ask your opinion upon a most important subject.”

“ Will you kindly call to-morrow ? ” I replied. “ I am too tired to give any more interviews to-day ; besides, I am just going to dress and to attend the first dinner of the Congress.”

He was not to be shaken off so easily, and replied :

“ Do grant me an interview, Dr Winslow ; it is a subject of vital importance, and one upon which all New York are crazy.”

This to a certain extent excited my curiosity, and I came down into the hall, saying : “ What is the special question that I should enlighten New York upon ? ”

From his manner I gathered it was one, not only of vital importance to mankind in general, but of great international interest, as he seemed so eager to hear what I had to say.

In reply to my remark he answered : “ The important question, which at the present moment is absorbing public interest in New York more than anything else, and which is a most debatable one, is : What is your opinion about ladies riding bicycles ? ”

I must confess I was rather amused, for at that time the elegant exercise of ladies riding bicycles was not universally adopted, as it is at the present moment, in England.

I replied : “ Do ladies ride bicycles in New York ? ” I had not seen any. I continued : “ All I can say on the matter is, that I should not like to see my own daughter riding a bicycle, and that the proper place, in my opinion, for a woman was the nursery. I remember some years ago being present at a dinner, shortly after the time when ladies were first admitted to the medical degrees, and I recollect the following refrain, which was sung at the dinner :

'Some ladies are ambitious now to practise as M.D.,
To grace our Universities by taking our degree ;
But the place in which they're wanted, and where I hope
they'll stay,
Is at home to nurse their babies in a quiet sort of way.'

I am sorry I can give you no further information."
I then went upstairs to dress for dinner.

The following day a long article appeared in the *New York World*, headed

" DR FORBES WINSLOW ON LADIES RIDING
BICYCLES."

The next day there was an article in the opposition journal, the *Herald*, entitled :

" WHAT THE NEW YORK PARSONS THINK OF DR
WINSLOW'S VIEWS."

Three or four days afterwards another article appeared in one of the New York papers giving the views of the lady doctors of Chicago, in which they said : " Dr Winslow is an old woman, and had better go home in the *Valkyrie*."

I suppose this was the greatest condemnation that could be rendered to an Englishman at the time. The *Valkyrie* was a yacht belonging to Lord Dunraven, which had been beaten by the American yacht the *Defender* ; and apparently my destination, according to the lady doctors of Chicago, was to return home also beaten in the yacht.

Scarcely a day passed but one newspaper or the other kept alluding to this subject, which was nothing

more than an imaginary interview. After a few weeks, however, I got rather indignant with its constant repetition. The more I denied it, the more often it was repeated.

Being annoyed I went to the office and asked to see the editor of the *New York World*. I explained the position to him, and he promised to put in a contradiction of the report. I returned to the hotel, and shortly afterwards the same reporter called on me to express his regret for what he had done. He said he had been sent to get "copy" from me, and he had no alternative but to draw on his imagination. I explained the position it had put me in, and, though I did not care in the least, nevertheless it was unpleasant to be misquoted. He asked me to write a letter to the editor to prevent his being discharged from the office, which I did; this letter appeared in the paper.

Some time had passed, and I had forgotten the incident; as my attention was absorbed in the investigations of four homicides and the mental condition of the alleged murderers, the subject of ladies riding bicycles took a back place in my thoughts. A short time afterwards, taking up by chance a paper called the *Evening Telegram*, published at the same office as the *New York World*, I was rather astounded at seeing an article headed:

"WHAT DR WINSLOW THINKS OF LADIES
RIDING BICYLES!"

I felt, therefore, that it was not much good for me to

trouble or further interfere with the publication of my supposed views.

When I went to New York, it was my intention to remain there only one month ; but finding that some of these murder cases in which I was called upon to testify would not come into court for several weeks, and being retained in them, I had no alternative but to remain. Having a certain amount of time on my hands, in addition to writing an article every week on the " progress of women " one way or another in the *New York World*, I decided to write a small book on *Youthful Eccentricity a Precursor of Crime*.

I put myself into communication with a firm of American publishers, Messrs Funk & Wagnall, and on their invitation to grant me an interview and examine my MSS. I went there one day, and was shown into their literary sanctum—in other words, their anteroom, where budding and anxious authors waited the ultimatum of the firm as to whether their productions were to see the light of day or to be consigned to the waste-paper basket.

On the table were a number of journals, evidently of a highly literary nature. My eye fell upon one of these, called *The Literary Digest*, apparently of the same nature as the *Athenæum* or *Saturday Review*. I gave a sigh of relief, and said to myself that here at least I should be able to read something which was not sensational.

I took the paper up, as I felt sure I should have to wait some time before entering the sacred presence of

the publisher. I sat down to enjoy a healthy half-hour's *Digest*. I opened the paper at random, and the first thing that met my gaze was :

“DR WINSLOW ON LADIES RIDING BICYCLES!”

Had it not been for my desire to get my book received by the publisher (which it was), I should have fled in horror from that dreadful, hideous nightmare which was apparently haunting me wherever I went. I have no recollection, however, of coming across this interview again until I returned to London, where I was shown copies of extracts which had appeared in the London papers.

As I have previously stated, after my first interview *re* ladies riding bicycles, I had gone upstairs to dress for dinner, the first dinner of the Congress, where I met many of the members of the medical and legal professions whom I had seen at the session during the day. What made a great impression on my mind was the amount of intoxication existing at that dinner. It was a curious type of alcoholic excitement, characterised by shouting and a tendency to violence and destruction. Previous to the dinner I had regarded these gentlemen from a highly scientific point of view, and looked upon them with a certain amount of awe and reverence ; but the sequel of the dinner rather had a tendency to remove this impression from my mind, though the next day they turned up smiling as if nothing had happened, equally grave and learned. I suppose it was a usual thing

in such festivities in New York. I have never come across the same in England, and it was a revelation to me.

I had only been in New York a few days when one morning about 9 a.m., before I had gone downstairs, a gentleman knocked and entered my room.

“Good morning, Dr Winslow. I am Doctor ——,” then giving his name.

I replied, “Good morning ; I do not recollect you.”

He then told me that he had just made a capital breakfast at the Westminster, and asked me when I dined. I did not at the moment, however, grasp the situation. It appeared that he had been taking his meals at my expense. I had not quite become used to New York customs, so that I was rather inclined to put it down to the habits of the country. On going to the bureau I gave distinct instructions that no one was to be supplied with refreshment or meals at my expense without first obtaining my authority and permission. The same doctor turned up at dinner, only to find me out and the free meals suspended. On the day following my arrival, whether I was regarded as a Rothschild or moneylender it was difficult to exactly say, but I was asked by some of my medical *confrères* to cash their cheques, which I did ; one came back dishonoured. I was also approached to lend money to other members of my profession. This I politely declined. I felt like a stranger in a foreign land, and I considered that if this was one of the duties and privileges of the chairman

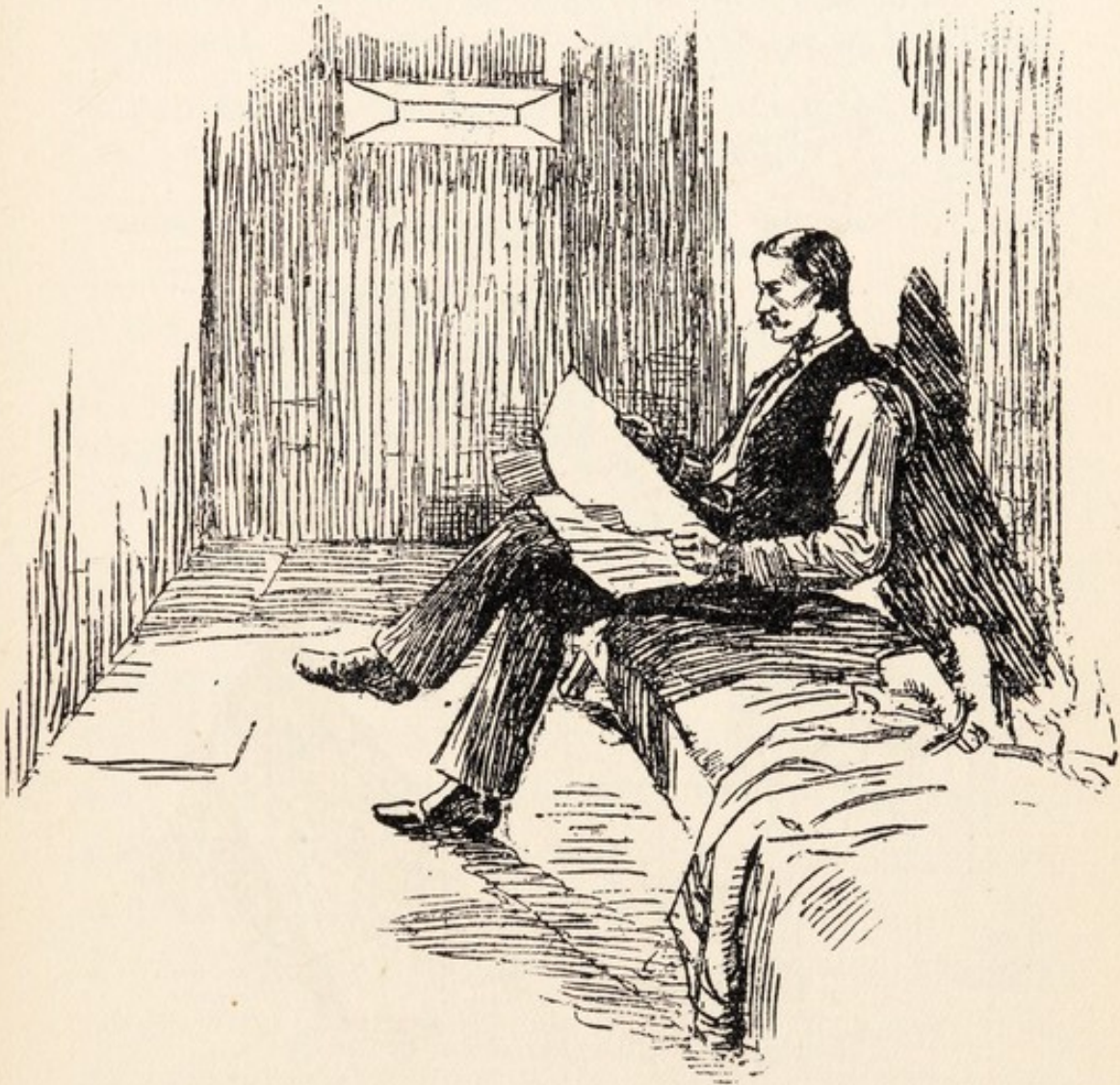
of a department in the Medico-Legal Congress, it was a duty which did not exist in England. One of these borrowers haunted me for days, and I could not shake him off; he evidently was in pecuniary *extremis*.



David Hannigan.

The Congress lasted for about six days. On the second day I was approached and asked to examine David Hannigan, then confined in the Tombs. This was on 9th September. It was a very sensational case. He was charged with murdering a New York

merchant, who had wronged his sister. His sister died, and wherever Hannigan went he was pursued by the spirit of his sister ordering him to kill ; her



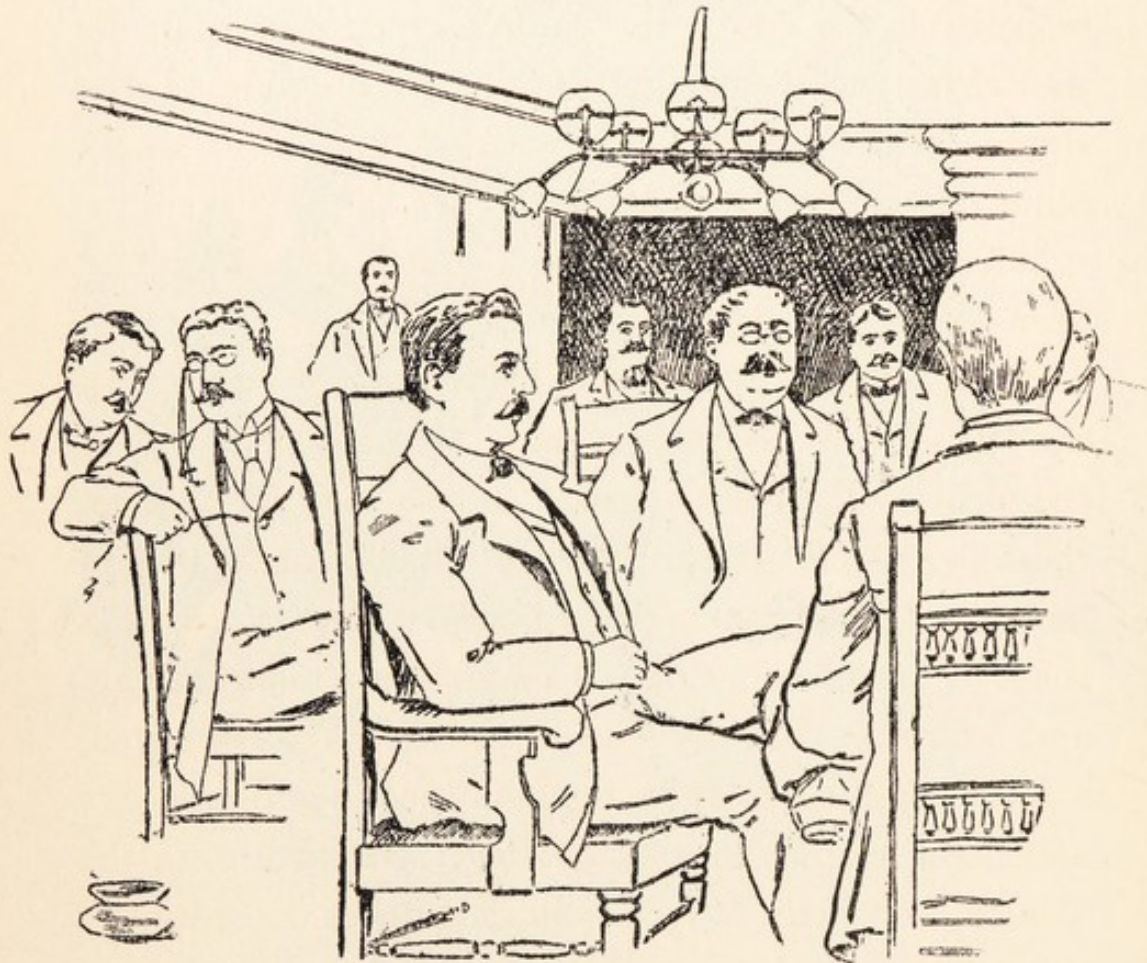
Hannigan awaiting his trial for the murder of Mann.

voice haunted him with one refrain : “ Kill Solomon Mann ! ”—his sister’s betrayer.

The case was very much on the same lines as that of Thaw, and the latter used to base his case upon the defence there raised. It was a case of justification by the unwritten law, and therefore justifiable homi-

cide. It was described by the press as a case which "appealed to the emotions."

I might say here that in America all prosecutions are conducted by the Government authorities on behalf of what is called "the people." The more



Hannigan before the Commission in Lunacy.

convictions they get the more likely the District Attorney and the Assistant District Attorney, who conduct these prosecutions, are of getting promotions. It is not a question of innocence or guilt in America. Everyone who is innocent is tried to be proved guilty in consequence of this reward they look for. Criminal trials in America are therefore very difficult matters to

get proper justice or investigations upon. Our defence was that, at the time of the murder or "slaying," as they call it out there, Hannigan was so unnerved by what he had gone through that his mind was subject to hallucinations, and he could not be held responsible for his actions. We contended that he was therefore of unsound mind at the time of the slaying, but at the present moment he was of sound mind and able to plead.

When I arrived at New York, much discussion had been going on in reference to this case. The prosecutors for the people had been working hard with the one idea of obtaining a conviction. They engaged the principal lunacy experts in the city to support them. The fact that I had examined Hannigan and had given an opinion prejudicial to their view took them by surprise and stirred them up with indignation, and, knowing that my stay in New York was limited, a plan appealed to their imagination—namely, to try and make Hannigan insane when I visited him in the Tombs, and then, having held a commission of lunacy upon him, put him in the lunatic asylum and thus gain time to get me out of the country, and then bring him out of the asylum, try him for murder, prove his responsibility at the time of the slaying, and hand him over for electrocution. They found their match in me, however. We had a commission in lunacy, at which I testified, and fought and beat them with their own weapons. This was held on 11th October 1895. The object of the commission was, as I said, to prove him

of unsound mind at this time. I visited Hannigan on 9th October in the Tombs, in conjunction with Mr Ellgood, an English barrister-at-law whom I met at New York ; and, knowing how important it is in England in similar inquiries to get something in writing from the alleged lunatic, Hannigan of his own free will wrote as follows :—

“ DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES AND
“ CORRECTION, NEW YORK,
“ *October 9th, 1895.*

“ I, the undersigned, feel as if I am in my sound mind, and realise I am placed in a very serious position, about to go on trial for the murder of Solomon Mann, and write these lines without any dictation from any other person.

“ DAVID F. HANNIGAN.

“ Dr WINSLOW.

“ E. ELLGOOD, Barrister-at-Law.”

I gave evidence at this inquiry, and was associated with two other doctors ; and notwithstanding the prodigious efforts made by the prosecution to prove Hannigan a lunatic, I registered my first success in New York by obtaining a verdict of an opposite nature. At this inquiry there were three commissioners appointed. They made a special examination of Hannigan privately, and a thorough investigation into his mental condition. Every question put by them he answered in an intelligent manner, and after having done so he was conveyed back to the Tombs. The commissioners stated that, in their opinion, he was of sound mind.

Department of
Public Charities and Correction,

Office of City Prison, Corner of Franklin and Centre Streets.

HENRY H. PORTER, Pres't
ROBERT J. WRIGHT,
JOHN P. FAURE.

Commissioners.

JOHN FALLON,
Warden

New York, Oct 9 189 ✓

I the undersigned do feel
as if I am in my sound
mind and realize I am
placed in a very serious
position about to go on
trial for the ~~act~~ murder of
Solomon Mann. I write
these lines without any
dictation from any other
person

Daria F. Hannigan.

Wm. H. H. H.

John W. Winston

W. H. H.

Darius F. Hannigan

Hannigan's Statement.

Now for the great ordeal! On 24th October Hannigan was placed on his trial, and proceedings were commenced to empanel the jury. It took some days before the jury were selected. The election of a jury in America is peculiar. Each one has to be submitted to a thorough cross-examination on what is called the "witness-stand," which corresponds to our witness-box. The object of both prosecutors and defenders is to try to prove collusion of some of the jury with friends of either party; if it can be proved that one of the jury has read anything of the case, it is enough to exclude him. On this occasion two hundred jurymen were summoned.

Previous to the commencement of the case, one of the papers wrote:—

"The trial promises to be of exceeding interest. Coroner O'Hanlon will give his opinion as to the cause of death. For the defence, Lawyer Charles W. Brooke will, it is said, admit the killing, but will claim that it was done by Hannigan while insane. Dr Forbes Winslow, the English alienist, who has made several examinations of Hannigan, will testify for the defence. Several other insanity experts will follow Dr Winslow. The Assistant Attorney, M'Intyre, will place Dr Robert Safford Newton, the leading alienist in this country, on the stand to combat Dr Winslow's evidence."

I have no intention of discussing this case in full. It lasted for six weeks, and was associated with many tragic events. Hannigan's father, who had been watching the case so eagerly on his son's behalf, died

in court. Hannigan, when the trial commenced, was in a sound mental condition, but when it concluded his reason had left him, driven mad by the ordeal.

Charles W. Brooke, the eminent lawyer, who defended Hannigan, and who considered the case to be one of emotions, expressed his views, believing Hannigan to have been irresponsible at the time of the murder, as follows :—

“ During my long career at the Bar I do not recall a single case that has appealed so to my own emotions as that of David F. Hannigan, whom I am now defending. The entire surroundings of this trial are deeply affecting and impressive, and everyone in the court-room, including the presiding judge and the prosecuting officers themselves, has been moved by the pathetic incidents connected with the tragedy. It was the hand of destiny that brought Solomon Mann to his death in the late afternoon of last May 23. David Hannigan was simply the hand of vengeance. He had no will in the matter; Fate seems to have sent forth her fiat that Solomon Mann must die for the wrongs committed towards Loretta Hannigan.

“ Hannigan had no intention of killing Mann on that day. A score of incidents brought the tragedy about. Had any one of these incidents been missing, Solomon Mann would not have died on that day. The circumstances are so extraordinary, they are fascinating.

“ Hannigan left home in the early morning without a weapon and without a thought of taking Mann's life that day. He was engaged in doing plumbing work for the Health Department. He went to the Criminal Court Building for instructions. In crossing Chambers Street he passed a gun-shop. He owned

no pistol, since his revolver was taken away from him when he attempted to shoot Mann on the day of the inquest as to his sister's death. He stepped in and bought a revolver. Possessing the weapon, he did not go to seek Mann. He went on about his work, carrying the deadly firearm with him. Toward evening he remembered he had promised to do some plumbing work at Forty-third Street and Sixth Avenue. He took a Sixth Avenue car to go there. His attention was attracted at Forty-second Street by the passing of a parade down Fifth Avenue. He got off the car to look at the parade, and came face to face with Solomon Mann. If the Knights of Pythias had not paraded that day, Solomon Mann would have been alive on the 24th of May, for David Hannigan would have gone on to Forty-third Street to do his work.

“Who can say that a superhuman power did not select David Hannigan as the instrument of its vengeance? If so, is there any human law that would punish him for his irresponsible act? God knows, the poor fellow to-day needs consolation rather than punishment.”

The verdict, given on 25th November, after I had left New York, was that the murder was committed by Hannigan whilst in an insane state of mind. On the conclusion of the verdict the accused was committed to the Hudson River Insane Asylum at Poughkeepsie.

In addition to Hannigan, several of the jury themselves collapsed, and were also taken off to asylums.

The case was most sensational and painful, and no mercy was shown to the witnesses or experts by the prosecution. I was a day and a half on the witness-stand; and as a final bomb, when I was getting into



Hannigan's trial : Scene in court.

rather an exhausted condition, a hypothetical question of 10,000 words was fired at me.

My appearance in court created a considerable amount of jealousy among the profession over there, but this made no impression upon me, notwithstanding the great latitude given to the counsel and the numerous innuendos and statements they were allowed to make uncontradicted by the presiding judge, who on this occasion was Judge Ingraham. I had gone through the most disagreeable experience I had ever been subjected to. My cross-examination only concluded at six o'clock in the evening; and as my departure from New York had been arranged for the following day, if my cross-examination had been extended beyond that evening I should have had to forfeit my passage.

I was in a state of exhaustion when I left the witness-stand, and on my way out of court Mr Brooke, the leading lawyer for Hannigan's defence—since dead, I am sorry to say,—came to me and shook me by the hand, exclaiming, "Dr Winslow, they have not singed a hair of your head!"

My reply was, "I did not intend they should."

The trial continued several weeks after I had left New York, but I had all the particulars and details sent me. There is only one comment I would make, with reference to the evidence of Dr Newton, the pompous New York physician engaged to refute my evidence. On being asked by the counsel how he had formed his opinion on Hannigan's sanity at the

time, he replied, "By his pulse." He was asked how he felt his pulse; his reply was, "When I shook hands with him I passed my thumb over it." It is just as well that such wisdom should be chronicled among my reminiscences.

As to Hannigan's ultimate future, he completely



Hannigan's father.

regained his reason, and is now in enjoyment, I believe, of a *mens sana in corpore sano*.

The family were very grateful to me, as I stood to my guns manfully, with a determination that I would not leave New York until I had testified in the case.

Though the various advocates engaged for the people or for the defendants are at daggers drawn

when engaged in court, they have what I might call lucid intervals when not professionally in antagonism. As soon as the court rises they all rush to some refreshment bar and fraternise with each other as if they were the best of friends. I had a curious experience. One of the leading advocates engaged in the defence of Hannigan was unfortunately a dipsomaniac. He knew this too well. He was powerless to combat with the misfortune. After the case had commenced an application was made for an adjournment on some plea, the real reason being to gain time so that the advocate should recover from his alcoholic bout, in order to be able to properly grapple with the case.

In America there are no counsel as opposed to solicitors. The latter conducts the case in court and takes up the same position as the counsel do in England. This is as it should be in our own country. It is only reasonable that, after a solicitor has been working up the case for months, and has every point at his finger-ends, he should be able to do justice to his client's case more than a barrister who has been briefed at some enormous fee at the last moment with an imperfect knowledge of the case that is painful often to witness. Not so in America. The solicitor has grasped every small detail, and the defendant has the benefit of his experience in dealing with the case. The solicitor may have the assistance of an advocate, but their duties are identical during the progress of the case.

I was in no way favourably impressed by the delay

in American courts of justice. In England this is bad enough ; in America it is much worse. In England there is a prospect of the case being heard after a certain amount of preliminary inquiry, during which the pockets of the solicitors grow fat, and the one cry is " Costs ! costs ! " " Something on account ! " But in America the hearing of it may not be reached for years.

Every possible excuse is made for adjournments. I used to spend much of my time, when in New York, in the Tombs. I had copious opportunities of studying criminology in all its phases. There was a gallery there called the " Homicide Gallery." In this were wretches waiting for their trial for murder, walking up and down the corridors like caged lions. Many had lingered there for years in suspense ; they may possibly be there now. I found the majority of these agreeable companions. It was a difficult thing for me to realise that they were real criminals. I was convinced that many were not responsible at the time. Amongst them was the hardened criminal, a well-known type of offender. I had a sort of season ticket to the Tombs ; in other words, permission to go in whenever I liked to examine the prisoners. There is no red-tapeism out there ; there is no Home Office or Treasury, one supporting the other. Justice is looked for in America, though the way to arrive at it is tardy, but they may get it in the end ; whilst justice is often difficult to obtain in England. We look for it in vain, and are often misjudged. Solicitors

and counsel get fat, but in the meantime the wretched client, who is entitled to justice, on the other hand is often ruined. I think any member of the legal profession would be the last to advise his nearest and best friend to engage in litigation with all its terrible sequels, such as worry, publicity, financial extortion. He would say, "Submit to be wronged, but on no consideration go to law." This opinion of mine is based upon sad experience.

A few days after the Hannigan case commenced I was seated in court listening to the proceedings, when a newspaper man came up to me and said :

"Dr Winslow, this is a picture sketched in court to-day, by our artist, of Holmes the Philadelphian murderer, alleged to have murdered women and hidden their bodies in subterranean passages. We want you to work up a thousand-words article for our journal to-morrow morning, and to give an opinion, based on the formation of his cranium, as to whether he is a responsible person or not."

The sketch was handed to me. At that time I had been so absorbed in the case I was engaged in that I had no time to study the Philadelphian murderer. I promised that I would do what I could, and took the picture back with me to the Westminster Hotel, and carefully studied the peculiarities in the formation of the cranium, from which I could deduce my facts. I had seven different positions of his head to guide me.

H. H. Holmes, who was considered to be the greatest criminal of the century, was tried and con-

victed in Philadelphia of murder. For some time he had invented a scheme for insuring a number of people, and then for murdering those he had insured. It was proved in evidence that he had slain at least twelve human beings. His victims included people of all ages and of both sexes—helpless children, young women, old women and men,—all, in fact, who stood between him and the wealth he anticipated he would possess by their death. He was a most plausible individual, like most insurance brokers. His manners were very enticing, and so alluring that he succeeded in obtaining many dupes to insure their lives in his favour. After the policy had been issued, Holmes deliberately murdered these unfortunate individuals, collected the policies, and pocketed the proceeds. His operations were not confined to one city alone; his worst crimes emanated from Chicago. He erected there on the southern part of the city a building known as Holmes' Castle. He was the architect, and planned the rooms with one object in view—that of murder. It was tunnelled with secret passages, and fitted with furnaces and acid tanks, in which the bodies could be disposed of and destroyed. When Holmes was arrested it was found that in the cellar the bodies of four people were secreted, but the police were unable to say how many more were cremated in the various furnaces.

The way in which many of these people insured their lives was in what is known as "graveyard insurances," and he had collected a fortune of many

thousand dollars from this. Upon his arrest, and after his scheme had been found out, three women came forward, each declaring herself to be his lawful wedded wife ; but how many other wives he may have done away with it is difficult to say.

Nine names were handed to me of women who had been destroyed by him, and the assumption was that they had been killed, from the fact that they had been known to have had transactions with him.

Two sisters, named Williams, inherited fifty thousand dollars' worth of property. Holmes induced one of the girls to act as his typist, and at a later date the other sister went to live in the Chicago castle. This was the last ever heard or seen of these two girls. Another girl employed as his typist also met with the same fate. The man in appearance was very mild and lovable. He had perfect manners, like all arch-swindlers, and was the last person one would have deemed capable of such enormities. He was five feet seven in height, and weighed eleven stone.

Outwardly he was not an unattractive man, but inwardly, apparently, he appeared to be a perfect Don Juan. In his early life he taught in a school in his native town. The actual murder which was brought home to him was that of a man named Pitezel, whose body was found in an upper story of a house in Philadelphia. He had apparently been killed by an explosion of benzine. A contract had been entered into between this man and Holmes to perpetrate a swindle. Pitezel was to insure his own life, with

the understanding that a dummy corpse would be produced at the proper time and palmed off as that of Pitezel. Holmes was too shrewd for this, and did not go to this trouble, but having got the policy in his own possession, which his victim gave him under the impression that he was going to share the spoil, Holmes killed Pitezel in order to obtain the money. After having done this, Holmes informed the wife of his victim, who did not know what had taken place, that her husband would have to remain in hiding for some time, and that it would be necessary for her to go to Philadelphia to identify the remains of the dummy. Instead of going herself she sent her daughter, who recognised the body of her father. Holmes, dreading that this information would lead to his arrest, killed her, and also took possession of the other two children and destroyed them.

He then informed the mother that they must have been kidnapped, and induced her to travel all over the country with him to find her children. The culminating point was when he tried to kill their mother with dynamite. The murder of this man Pitezel was the one upon which Holmes was tried and convicted.

With regard to the sketch of Holmes which was handed to me containing various positions, it was shown to him, and this hard-hearted criminal remarked: "I like this picture better than any I have seen. The others were not strong enough. You have got my nose and mouth, but I did not think I looked so stern."

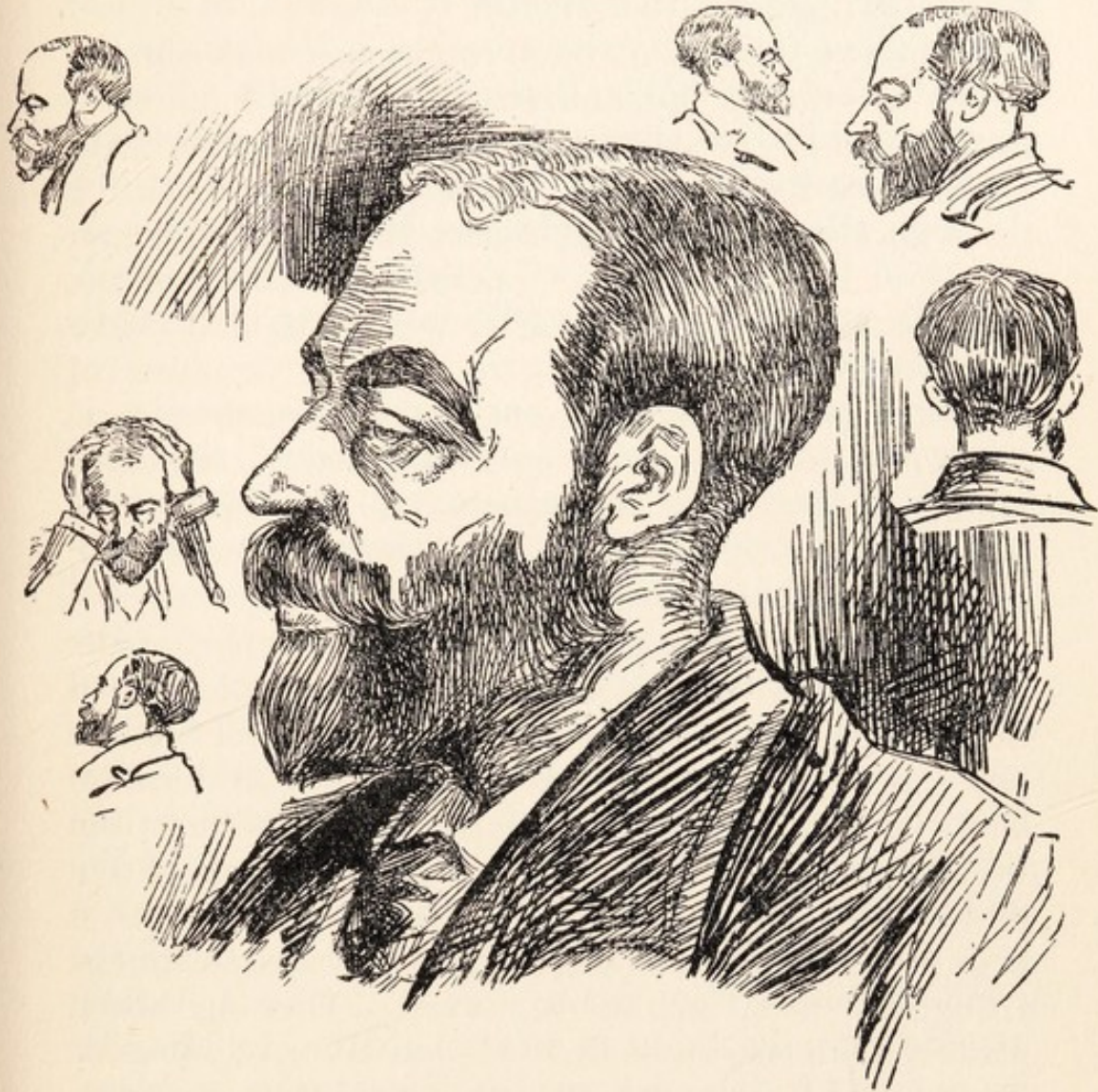
The following was my description of Holmes's cranium :—

“ There is such a distinct connection between the study of criminology and lunacy that it is often a difficult thing to decide, especially when there are certain features present in the craniums of both. I remember, many years ago, during the Franco-German war, I collected a series of photographs taken of the leading ‘ petroleuses ’ in Paris, and I also had a like series of photographs taken of the same number of lunatics whose maladies were chronic in their nature. The similarity between the two divisions, the criminals on the one side and the lunatics on the other, was very remarkable, not only in the shape of the cranium, but in the general facial expression.

“ It is an admitted fact that the two halves of the skull are rarely, if ever, symmetrical. This is well marked in Holmes, as far as I can judge from the position of the head. The unsymmetrical form of the two sides of the skull exists in murderers from premeditation to the extent of 32 per cent. From an examination of the form of the head, I notice a condition which I designate as vertex-steepness, rising up from before backward. This has been observed among criminals to the extent of 56 per cent. The frontal diameter on the top of the crown is apparently broad, and more so than that of the forehead, and the highest protuberance of the two parietal bones lies in such an oblique horizontal line that one end of it lies before and the other behind the ear. This form of skull is rarely seen except in the case of habitual criminals.

“ What I especially notice, as a brief summary of Holmes's skull, is the brachycephalia, the flatness of the occiput and the want of prominence of the protuberance to a marked degree. Now, let us consider

the importance of these cranial irregularities, and what inference we can deduce from our knowledge



*I like this picture better
than any I've seen. The others were
not strong enough you'd get my
nose and mouth but I don't think I
look so stern*
H. H. Holmes

H. H. Holmes : Some sketches of his head, and his letter concerning them.

of these anatomical abnormalities. There is no doubt but that psychical functions are located in the brain. Murder is a complicated psychical function. Some-

times it is committed from an overpowering sensitiveness, such as inflicting death from an excessive sense of honour. At another time it is allied to an ethical weakness or imbecility, because the materials for the formation of the nobler feelings, especially of compassion and justice, are wanting. In robber-murderers there is an excess of the feeling of strength, which develops the sensation of pleasure in their own power, a certain horrible feeling of delight in contrasting it with the weakness and the deficient feeling of strength in other people.

“ Besides, according to our experience, murder is connected with a defect of intelligence, which is unable to foresee the consequences of the deed to the perpetrator ; while in other cases there is the satisfaction in the cunning of a premeditated plan corresponding with a pressing impulse toward the act. The factors of such an act are therefore composed of intellectual, motor, and sensory impulses, both positive and negative, or, in strict language of cerebral-pathology, of impulses which find their expression in the function of the anterior lobe for intelligence, of the middle lobe for the motor part, and of the posterior part for the sensory. Now, as these parts of the cranium are badly developed, we may naturally assume that the brain is prevented from fulfilling its proper part in the performance of its duties, and consequently the mental powers became deranged.

“ The conclusions to be arrived at from a careful consideration of Holmes’s head appear to me to be as follows :—Complete want of all moral power and control. Acts of an impulsive character, which would lead him to commit certain crimes, heedless of all consequences that must ensue. An acute, cunning nature, much prone to deception, a deficiency in the power of reflection, restless plotting without considering the consequences. The anatomical state

of his brain leads me to the notion that the condition was innate in him—born to commit a crime, unable to resist doing so. In ordinary murderers, and I should think in Holmes's case, criminal covetousness was the first and chief desire, the impulse to obtain possession of what was not lawfully his. Covetousness, ethical weakness of mind, pleasure in the imaginary or actual power of obtaining what he desires, are the factors in Holmes's case.

“ The pathological indications, if one can use such an expression, to the visible eye denote, to my mind, covetousness, ethical weakness of mind, pleasure in the actual obtaining of or in the desire so to obtain large sums of money in an artful fashion. His countenance denotes a violence of temperament. The continuance of a strongly excited feeling of power, and of the pleasure in exercising strength over relative weakness of intellect and of ethical development, form the psychological basis of Holmes's case, as depicted in the portrait shown to me.

“ The knowledge of the complicated nature of the psychology of such criminals is very important. When we see anyone with a fierce temperament and an arrogant consciousness of strength like that seen in Holmes, we ask ourselves the question whether, if placed under different circumstances and in different positions, the more serious traits of his character would have shown themselves. The answer appears to me to be as follows : If he had been properly and morally educated he might have become a useful member of society. Of this I have not the slightest doubt, but I am clearly of opinion that one with the bad abnormal formation of the cranium, the peculiarities of which I have described, would never, unless he had been properly taken care of, become anything else than he unfortunately is at the present moment.

“ He appears a typical example of the habitual

criminal. Set him free, and he will continue to commit crime. As to whether the man can be considered quite a responsible agent, I am not prepared to argue ; but, as I said at the commencement of this article, the cranial anatomy is so similar in many criminals and lunatics, that in such a grave case as the one under consideration I would hesitate to express any positive opinion with the present imperfect facts before me."

As soon as I had completed my examination of Holmes's cranium and written my report concerning the same, which I considered by no means an easy task, I was just on the way to post the same when another reporter attached to the same journal handed me a picture of Durrant, a medical student, the San Franciscan murderer, convicted of the murder of Miss Blanche Lamont. This sketch contained seven different aspects of his physiognomy. He said, " We want the same length article to appear side by side with the one of Holmes in to-morrow's journal." I felt overwhelmed by my task. It takes a good deal to puzzle me, however, and I at once set to work, and having completed my heavy task, I took them forthwith to the office of the paper. They appeared the following morning, both of them as now produced here.

Early in 1895 all San Francisco was shocked by finding the remains of a young girl, terribly mutilated, in the library of a Baptist church. The murdered lady, Miss Minnie Williams, was killed within sight of the altar. The body was found by a number of ladies who were decorating the church with flowers

preparatory for Easter. The awful crime came as a terrible shock to the city, but before they had time to recover themselves another body was found in the



William Henry Theodore Durrant.

belfry of the same church. This was that of Miss Blanche Lamont, who ten days previous to the murder of Williams had disappeared, and her body was only discovered the morning after the murder of Miss Williams. The body of the ill-fated girl was found

high up in the wind-swept belfry. The ruthless assassin had enticed the two innocent girls to enter the church (where they worshipped) with him. Durrant was considered to be a model young man, and as assistant superintendent of the Sunday School he was regarded as a good and righteous individual in every way. As he attended the same church as the two murdered girls, he was able to get into their confidence ; besides which, he was in the confidence of the pastor of the church, and was well known and esteemed by the congregation. It was powerful circumstantial evidence, from which there could be no dispute, which forged a chain of guilt around him and rendered his arrest in every way justifiable.

His defence was an *alibi* ; but in spite of his denials, many witnesses were called who swore that they saw the monster and Miss Blanche Lamont on several occasions together, driving about in cars near the school in which she was a pupil, and the last that was seen of the poor girl alive was by a witness who was watching from a window near the church, and saw the prisoner lead the girl into the sanctuary by a side door, from which she never returned alive. In fact, Durrant was the last man seen with her, and within an hour after having entered the church with his victim he was seen coming out from the direction of the belfry by the organist. He was in his shirt-sleeves, his hair disarranged, with an excited appearance on his face, and pale and sick. Upon being interrogated as to his extraordinary appearance he

explained that he had been overcome by the gas whilst fixing the burners in the dome of the church. But in spite of his denial the circumstantial evidence was so strong as to convict him of the murder of the two girls.

“ Here we have a different formation of cranium and brain from that met with in Holmes. The whole features and development of the skull point to a condition of irresponsibility. There is an immense development of the frontal protuberance, which gives to the skull a strange and uncanny appearance. There seems to have been a complete moral perversion existing in the subject under discussion, the intellectual powers at the same time being apparently unimpaired. He appears to have attended his hospital studies and medical classes without causing any special suspicion as to his condition, which, to my mind, must have been developing for some time. There is indomitable determination on the face, and the appearance of the eyes conveys to me the same impression. His conduct originally at the inquest was not that of a responsible individual. He seemed, instead of being engrossed in what was going on about him, to be recognising his various friends and greeting them in a most familiar manner. His utter indifference and callousness throughout the primary proceedings and subsequent ones point to a mental condition far from normal. From a study of his physiognomy I should say that he is a youth of a determined character, and one of a class frequently met with, whose parents and friends have been loth to recognise him as being of unsound mind until some crime has been committed which brings his real condition before the world. In Durrant there is a diseased perversion of the moral powers, and the consciousness of right and wrong appears to have been lost. His whole inward

state seems to have undergone a change, and, like all such moral cases of insanity, to be quite dead to the calls of social affection, of honour, or of duty, to all of which he might, had he received proper disciplinary training, have become a different person.

“ His conversation and, as I have said, his general behaviour were not of that nature to especially attract attention ; but if a strict scrutiny had been made into his actions by anyone skilled to deal with such cases, there is no doubt but that his notions of right and wrong would have been found much perverted, and that his own social position, if viewed through a medium, would give a false colour to the whole aspect.

“ The absence of all feeling of shame and reproach is often met with in cases similar to Durrant's, especially when there is moral insanity existing in the individual. Crime and insanity often associate together. Many of the dreadful tragedies which disturb society are the result of such association. They may be the natural manifestations of disease engendered by or associated with dissolute habits, brutal appetites, and violent passions, as is often the case. There is a class of persons—in which category I would place Durrant—who cannot, in the ordinary sense of the word, be regarded as criminally responsible ; but they would, to the outward world, be regarded as being mentally sound. This class consists, I might say, chiefly of youths between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five, who combine an ordinary education and intelligence, yet nevertheless, under certain favourable circumstances, commit acts which outrage decorum and virtue. These are inconsistent with the knowledge and position of the perpetrator, and are subversive of the best interest of the individual and of the community, and which, although voluntary, deliberate, and avowed, evidently flow from perverted affection and debased propensities,

and which, temporarily at least, obscure, if they do not suspend, the influence of the judgment, moral sense, and selfish considerations.

“The frenzy of feebleness in the common phases of insanity are readily recognised. It is difficult, however, to trace in the recklessness of the spendthrift, in the excesses of the voluptuary, in the callousness of the murderer, the fruits of sufficient disease as to admit of the acceptance of the words ‘moral irresponsibility,’ yet to all experienced in the subject it is known to largely exist. That derangement does affect the sentiments is shown when the whole mind is involved in general mania and the dictates of conscience are as absurd as those of reason; but while history abounds in illustrations of this form of disease, it has only recently been suggested that the emotions and passions might be subject to special disease, and might be affected independently of the intellect, while all the other faculties remained apparently active and unimpaired.

“Of such a type is Durrant, I have but little doubt in my own mind. If we were to examine into his history more closely we should in all probability find that previous to the crime his character and disposition had undergone great alteration, and also in his gradual mental degeneration. The form of mental disorder from which, in my opinion, Durrant is suffering may occur suddenly or may become irresistible, or the passion may have been nursed for some time until it obtains a dominion over everything else. His facial expression, contour of skull, physiognomy, and general conditions lead me to regard this youth as one not altogether to be regarded as a responsible individual.”

On 13th September I was requested to examine and report on the case of Mrs Fleming, charged with matricide. It appeared that her mother, Mrs

Bliss, came to stay with her, and after dinner, not feeling very well, she went upstairs, and was seized with symptoms of irritant poisoning, from which she



Mrs Fleming.

never recovered, ultimately dying from its effects ; the allegation being that Mrs Fleming poisoned her mother with antimony, disguised in Clam chow soup. Mrs Fleming by the death of her mother inherited a large fortune, and suspicions being aroused led to

her arrest, incarceration in prison, trial, and subsequent acquittal. I may say that the case created an enormous amount of sensation in New York, as everybody considered her guilty. Unfortunately they always prejudge cases in America, which interferes with the proper trial. After my interview with her, on the following day it was prominently stated by the press that I doubted her guilt, and that in my opinion she did not act like a criminal. The following is my official report, which described the exact position I took in the matter, and upon which her subsequent acquittal was based. She offered me a fee of £6000 to return to America and defend her ; but there was no occasion for this, as those defending her made use of my written report, which had its desired effect without summoning the author of that report to New York.

As the case was one of such extraordinary interest, I think it best to give the whole of my report *in extenso* as handed to the authorities :—

“ I visited Mrs Fleming at the Tombs on Friday, 13th September 1895. She received me very pleasantly and agreeably, and in a very cheerful manner. She did not in any way know the object of my visit, and chatted on in ordinary conversation. I naturally conversed with her upon the death of her mother, but she informed me that she had in no way formed a conclusion on the subject, and was at a loss to comprehend or explain it. She told me that she had always been on good and affectionate terms, and that on the Wednesday previous to the death her mother had dined with her at her hotel, and appeared in her usual bright spirits.

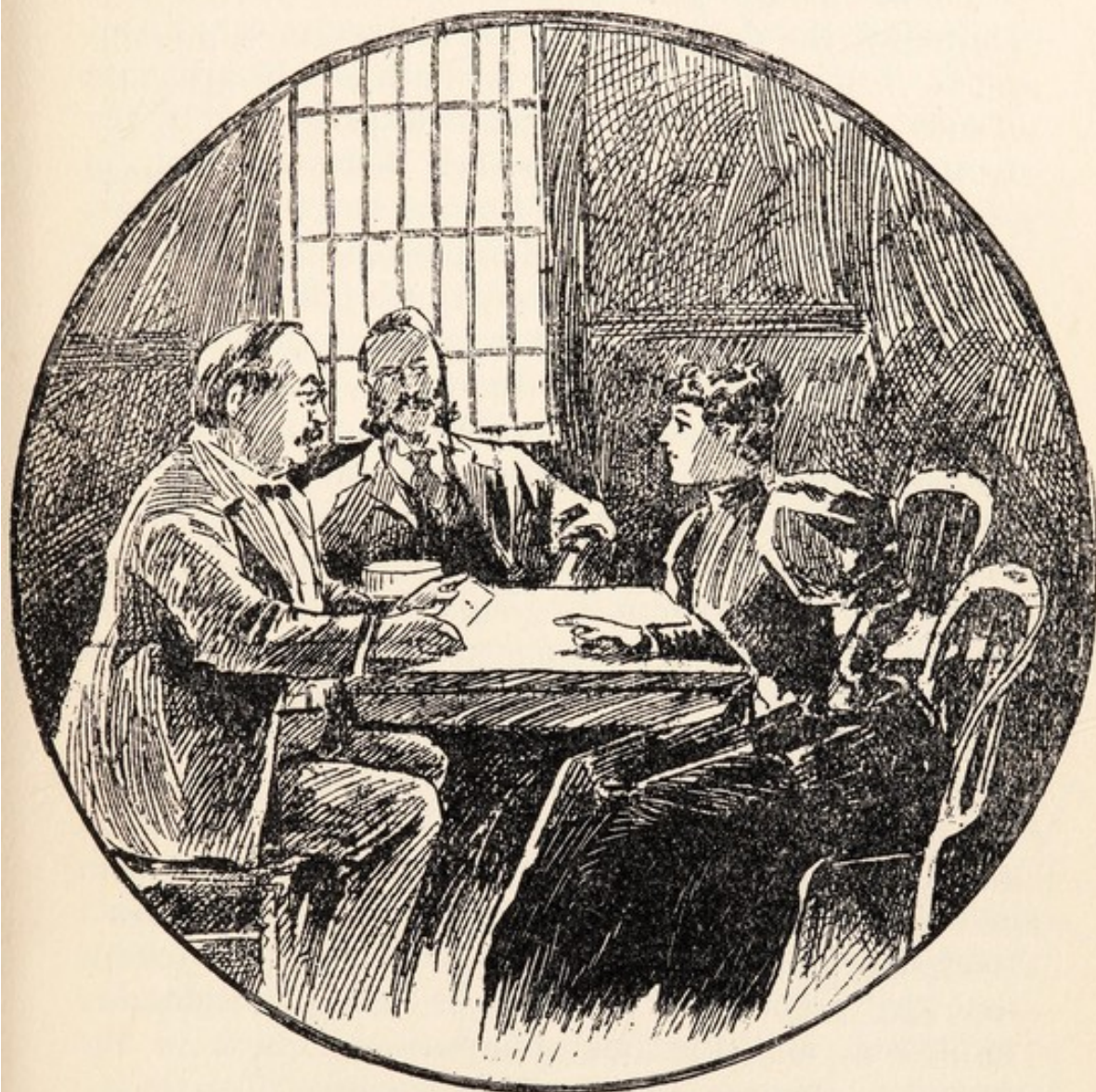
“ At that visit, as I understood from the conversation I had with Mrs Fleming, Mrs Bliss was complaining of not feeling well, having a rather severe abdominal pain. This was apparently a common symptom, from which she had periodically suffered, and which had caused the daughter considerable anxiety ; and at this visit she felt unusually anxious, and urged upon her mother the desirability of seeing a doctor forthwith.

“ In addition to the abdominal pain there was considerable distension of that organ. Her mother, in reply to her repeated desire that she should see a doctor, replied, ‘ Oh, well, it will be all right.’

“ Mrs Fleming informed me that in addition to the symptoms stated her mother often complained of a weakness of the heart and a sort of throbbing sensation around that organ. She did not hear anything further of her mother until told of her death by Mr Bliss. She told me that upon being so informed she went immediately to her mother’s house, and on reaching the flat found a man who had been sent to arrest her by the police. In reply to my question, she replied : ‘ Had I known that my poor mother was ailing I would have summoned the first medical authority in the world to attend upon her. Of course, I did not know who the strange man was, and I remarked to the nurse, ‘ What is this man doing ? ’ The man replied that he was in charge.

“ During the whole of my conversation with Mrs Fleming she was quite composed, looked me directly in the face, there was no appearance or indication of any mental derangement and she comported herself as one innocent of the charge made against her. Certainly, if she had been guilty, she could not have realised her position or the gravity of the act. Neither do I think that her manner was at all assumed, but quite natural. I think it would be impossible for a

guilty person, and one mentally responsible, to have comported herself in the manner Mrs Fleming did during the whole of my interview and examination.



Mrs Fleming consults her lawyers in Tombs Prison.

“ I formed a strong opinion as to the innocence of the lady. Whatever might have been the actual cause of her mother’s death, it was certainly not, in my opinion, to be laid to the charge of her daughter.

“ There is no possible doubt but that the mother suffered from gastrodynia, associated with severe gastric symptoms, the abdominal distension and

'throbbing' at the heart being characteristic indications of that malady. Dr Bullman, I believe, entertained this view when first called in. His first visit was made at half-past six o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, the day following the dinner at Mrs Fleming's. A mixture containing bismuth and bicarbonate of soda, with other similar drugs, was prescribed by the doctor, such medicinal remedies being common in cases of chronic gastritis, and, so far as I could gather, no antidote was administered or poison suspected. At his next visit he found her very much relieved.

"Of course, it is a most important thing to discriminate between what is known as acute gastritis and poisoning by antimony. The symptoms are very similar, both having indications of an inflammatory character. In cases of acute gastritis due to an irritant poison there is a feeling of increasing burning at the pit of the stomach. This is much aggravated by pressure, and there is a distressing feeling of nausea and terrible retching. In addition to this there is the fact that the pulse is accelerated, and also the breathing. Great thirst is present, and everything taken by the mouth is at once vomited. Extreme prostration sets in quickly, and death usually takes place from exhaustion. Now, apparently we have a distinct remission in the symptoms, as Dr Bullman after his first visit pronounced Mrs Bliss as having considerably improved, and the final relapse was quick in the extreme. He was summoned at eleven o'clock on the evening of her death, but before his arrival she had expired. Now, it appeared strange to me that there should have been such a marked improvement in the condition of the deceased, even of a temporary nature. This is by no means usual in the case of an irritant poison, the symptoms gradually increasing in their severity without any amelioration.

"That Mrs Bliss had been a sufferer from gastritis

in one form or another there did not seem to be the slightest doubt. There have been so many fatal mistakes made in alleged cases of poisoning by antimony in my country, that I was led to regard the matter as one complicated and difficult to bring home to the individual.

“ The ordinary criminal would not, in my opinion, have behaved in the same way as Mrs Fleming did. It sometimes happens that after a crime has been committed the criminal is never penetrated by a feeling of guilt or of repentance in any way whatever. In such cases, especially in females, I should consider with the gravest doubts the probability of their sanity. The hardened and responsible female criminal is a *rara avis* at the present time. In such cases there may be a deficiency in the feeling of moral guilt, though they may dread the consequence of the crime.

“ Murder by such persons is connected with a defect of intellect, which renders it unable to foresee the consequences of the deed to the perpetrator. One important factor of crime is its hereditary character. There is substantial proof of this. It is like insanity and sometimes skips one generation and appears in the next. So far as I could gather from information I received, Mrs Fleming came of a stock which bears an unimpeachable history, and thus an important fact to my mind was removed.

“ In order to study the psychology of criminals it is necessary to pay periodical visits to some of the great prisons when an opportunity arises of studying crime. The peculiarity of many is the entire absence of all shame or repentance, and there is a harshness in tone and a bravado in manner which demonstrate that they do not realise the depth of degradation to which they have sunk from their own misdeeds. Among these are to be found, as a contrast, those who may be perfectly innocent, waiting their trial. Criminals as a class should

be regarded as imperfect men or women, whose minds, from a deficient and imperfect education generally, have led them to follow blindly their strong inclinations.

“Criminals may be divided into : first, those who possess hereditary tendencies—as I have previously said, this is very common ; second, ill-balanced organisations, which are easily influenced by evil associates ; third, adolescents, who have, with good or bad tendencies, been subject to neglect and poverty. It is a curious thing to examine carefully into the history of a family in which crime exists as hereditary. There will be lights and shades of various nature, and gradations of the malady will be easily perceptible.

“In order to convict anyone of the administration of poison a great many things have to be carefully considered. The history of the accused and the motive must be made evident. This must be a strong one, and in these cases is an important factor. Circumstantial evidence plays but a secondary part in such inquiries.

“Now, Mrs Fleming did not in any way suggest to me the ordinary criminal. A consideration of crime is deeply important to the ordinary moralist. The incentives to crime are many. I have examined a great many persons waiting their trials on the charge of murder. In each one there have been certain indications which, to my mind, convey an important impression as to their innocence or guilt. In the case of Mrs Fleming I could not realise that the cheerful demeanour, and other features in her case observed by me at the time of the examination, were compatible with those of a murderess. In many such cases the consciousness of crime is the first step to repentance. Silence and solitude in the prison cell will often induce reflection and tend to this result. Like all potent and powerful remedies solitude reacts frequently upon the guilty conscience.

“ The degradation and shame act upon the mind of the individual, and often there is an impossibility to keep up even a semblance of innocence. The human mind is never in a state of absolute repose ; its natural tendency is one of great activity. In seclusion impulses from within and without disturb its equanimity ; our appetites and desires, our affections and passions, our hopes and fears, are constant sources of emotion resembling the natural springs and under-currents which unceasingly agitate the surface of a lake.

“ These impulses originate in the mind itself ; they are emanations, strictly speaking, from within, giving rise to a succession of thoughts and feelings variously modified, according to the peculiar idiosyncrasy of each individual. Such feelings excited in one of a highly-strung neurotic temperament are difficult to suppress. The lights and shadows of guilt which must flit across the mind while in the prison solitude excite or depress the energies of the nervous system, rendering it impossible to bear up physically or otherwise against the terrible mental strain going on within the human economy.

“ To establish the presumption of poisoning there ought to be, if possible, direct proof. The whole of the danger in such cases, both to the community and the profession, lies in the tendency of the medical man to attach overwhelming importance to certain morbid indications which might be accounted for by natural causes. He must be guided by his own judgment, and consider carefully what salient facts can be brought forward which may further the view of death from unusual causes.

“ The physician must not act the detective in such cases. The public, as a rule, are ill-informed as to what testimony it is proposed to establish in the question of poisoning. In most cases the symptoms

of felonious poisoning are impossible to be detected from those of natural causes. In some cases, where death has taken place from the effects of a poison that has unmistakably its own individual morbid symptoms, the cause of death may be shrewdly predicated by an intelligent individual. In some cases on record, and especially that of Dr Smethurst, tried for the murder of Miss Banks in 1859, death was attributed in the first place to arsenic—not, however, on the symptoms evinced, but on the chemical analysis, and to the fact that arsenic was stated to have been found in the possession of the accused. Had the chemical evidence remained unaltered or unchallenged by those representing the accused, he would have been executed. But it happened to transpire that the accused had never had any arsenic in his possession, and that the poison had crept in with the test of the analyst.

“ Thus in every case of poisoning by antimony, arsenic, or similar irritants, there is always a likelihood of the very poison being used in conducting the analysis which may inadvertently find its way into the very substance being thus analysed, and may itself be the only possible toxicological proof of the existence of a poisonous drug, the finding of which may be conclusive to those desiring a conviction.

“ Also in the vessels used to conduct the examination the reactions given may be due to the composition of the vessels themselves. I mention all this to show, in trying to fix guilt by poisoning on any person, how easy it is, unwittingly, to mislead the court. I say, therefore, that, standing alone, chemical analysis is of itself insufficient to decide anyone's fate.

“ In the case of Dr Smethurst, to which I have just alluded, the analyses of the toxicologists materially differed. One detected antimony, another arsenic, while a third could not decide which of these existed. After the trial was concluded this analyst wrote a long

letter explaining that the poison found was mercury. A fourth, who gave a decided opinion at the trial that arsenic had been administered, apparently repented of what he had said and acknowledged that death might have taken place from natural causes ; and still a fifth expert stated that a mineral poison of some sort or other had been administered, but he could not name which. He ultimately altered his view, alleging that death was due to the performance of some illegal operation upon the woman. Here is an extraordinary difference of opinion between the leading toxicological experts of Great Britain. The accused obtained an acquittal. So much for toxicological experts' testimony.

“ I am absolutely opposed to secrecy in such matters. A case of poisoning is before the world ; let the public know what poison it is proposed to try the accused on as having been administered ; and, as I have said, before a conviction can be sustained it is not sufficient to state that death has ensued from an irritant poison, but from what poison and by whom administered. I asked in Mrs Fleming's case : Might not the attack of sub-acute gastritis from which the deceased suffered periodically, and from which she was suffering at the time, have culminated in an attack of acute gastritis which would have given rise to all the morbid appearances found in the body after death ? ”

This was the report I issued as a result of my examination.

Mrs Fleming's statement to the officials was as follows : “ I did not poison my mother. Her death was the greatest loss to me. What motive could I have had ? ” To which the State replied : “ You did poison your mother. We can prove that poison killed her. We shall bring proofs against you with the most

convincing item, namely, a motive. You were poor. Your mother's death meant that you would get more than 80,000 dollars from the City Chamberlain."

The New York journals gave long descriptive accounts, as they always do in similar cases, of Mrs Fleming's personal appearance. After a long description of the formation of her ears, nose, mouth, eyelashes, colour of hair, and other minute details, which I fail to see were relevant to the matter, they summarise as follows: "There is but little in Mrs Fleming's appearance to act as guide to the criminological theorist, but it must be remembered that no man or woman could escape should the rules by which scientists pretend to detect criminal or degenerate traits be applied wholesale."

According to the Lombrosian theory, the fact that Mrs Fleming possessed a narrowness of face, sloping forehead, extreme development of chin, which according to Lombroso marks more than 33 per cent. of criminals among women, was not in her favour. Some of the statements issued by the New York press in this case, had they appeared in England, would have amounted more or less to contempt of court, but there is no such thing as contempt of court in America.

I paid several visits to Mrs Fleming whilst in the Tombs, and instead of finding her an agitated, weary-looking individual, I found her cheerful and pleasant, though her eyes looked dull and heavy—from crying, no doubt, when left in the solitary cell; she also

complained to me of headache. She took an interest in everything going on in the world, and she had heard of my efforts in the Maybrick case. She told me she was looking forward with pleasure to reading an account of it in the Sunday edition of the *New York World*. During my conversation with her I tried my best to distract her thoughts from the death of her mother. For a time I succeeded, but her mind suddenly reverted to the subject; she said: "How hard men are to women! I wonder why they are so hard on them? Women are not hard on men. But I am glad I came here. I have been treated very kindly, and I have learnt a great deal about what other people suffer. It is a good thing to know what others suffer—don't you think so? I have seen a great deal of suffering here." I was absolutely positive that the death of Mrs Bliss could not be laid to the hands of her daughter. After each of my periodical visits to her, during my stay in New York, I was more and more convinced of the unjustness of the charge. The result of the case in every way proved the correctness of my conclusions.

Whilst staying in the Westminster Hotel in New York I came across a quaint individual, David Gardner Thompson, a New Yorker of the old type. Mr Thompson had resided for ten years in an apartment-house connected with the Westminster Hotel. His friends were few and far between. He had picked up an occasional one in the lobby of the hotel. He kept himself as a rule to himself; he was quiet and

reticent. In his rooms the furniture was of remarkable beauty, and arranged with great taste. The room contained many valuable things. He was known to belong to a famous old family, and was spoken of as a millionaire. In the morning he was always very quiet, but towards evening he became rather loquacious, and was a victim of alcoholic inspiration. He seemed to enjoy having conversations with me in the morning ; he was a well-informed man, and our conversation extended generally over a wide range of subjects, chiefly pertaining to literature and science. Mr Thompson had reached his sixty-third year. It might be mentioned that he had expended close upon 70,000 dollars in furnishing his suite of rooms. The bedstead was of pure marble, the parlour was furnished in ivory. In his sitting-room was a genuine Raphael. In various parts of the room were various statuettes—one of Agamemnon valued at 10,000 dollars ; and a watch, set in large diamonds, which was valued at 10,000 dollars. Mr Thompson had let into his walls in one of the rooms a small steel safe ; this contained a number of valuable securities and other personal property. In addition to this he possessed a large amount of real estate.

One evening Mr Thompson, as was his wont, was seated round a table with some of the other visitors belonging to the hotel, and evidently a heated discussion had been going on concerning the question of the immortality of the soul after death. The clock had struck twelve when Mr Thompson rose from the

table to retire to his room. He had his hand on the handle of the door as I entered the hall.

“ Oh ! ” exclaimed Mr Thompson, “ here is Dr Winslow. We will ask him the question. You doctors are all very well in your way, but none of you have yet discovered how to bring a man to life again after he is dead, so that we might learn the great secret. But never mind !—good night ! ” He opened the door, and, looking round, repeated the well-known refrain of an American ditty incidental to the Civil War—

“ John Brown’s body lies mouldering in the ground,
As we all go marching along ”—

when he bade us good night. The conversation had evidently been on death, and, considering most of the gentlemen seated round the table were more or less in a state of conviviality, no doubt the opinions would have been interesting to have recorded.

Early next morning I was summoned to the apartment-house occupied by Mr Thompson, the messenger stating that he was found dead in his bath. I went to his room forthwith, and found him half dressed in an empty bath, with his head down and his feet raised. I was called upon by the New York coroner to assist him in making a post-mortem examination and to testify as to the cause of his death. This was any one of three things : he had been murdered and robbed ; he had fallen into the bath in a condition of semi-intoxication and dislocated his neck ; or he had

been attempting to get into bed, and, having half undressed himself, some artery in the brain gave way, causing sickness; immediately rushing to the bathroom, the artery further emptied itself, and caused instant death. From the fact that his bed was partly occupied I was led to the latter conclusion, and so testified at the coroner's inquest, the verdict being given according to my theory.

About a week afterwards we were all seated round the same table—the chair occupied by Mr Thompson being vacant,—discussing his memory, when suddenly a man burst in saying: “Oh, Doctor Winslow, I congratulate you!”

“Do you? On what?” I asked.

“Have you not heard the news?”

I confessed I had not.

“Mr Thompson took a great fancy to you, and left to Dr Freeman and yourself 80,000 dollars.”

I must say I was a bit surprised at this, but my surprise was doubly increased when another man rushed in shortly afterwards and repeated the same statement. I began to think there was some truth in it.

I had a terribly restless night. I was never very good in turning English money into foreign, or foreign money into English, but I tried my best to find out how much English money 80,000 dollars represented.

I went to sleep towards early morning, having completed my calculations—only to wake up to find the whole thing a fabrication.

I was asked one day by the editor of the *New York World* if I would like to go to see his office. I called, and was shown into the editor's room.

He informed me, pointing to a pigeon-hole lettered "W," that it contained my obituary notice already written; and also said that, during the whole of his experience, no Englishman, as far as he could recollect, had ever received a more public reception or welcome than had been bestowed upon myself. I felt to a certain extent flattered, as the observation was quite unexpected and uncalled for.

There was a well-known reformer, Dr Parkhurst, a prominent man in New York at the time of my visit. His opinion carried a considerable amount of weight among some, whilst others regarded it of slight importance. He interfered with everything which was not exactly to his own way of thinking. He was an agitator, like myself, but as a consequence he had been the means of obtaining the suppression of many terrible dens of iniquity and vice, which existed to a large extent in New York.

As an agitator he apparently found his rival in me, as I had been interviewed on every possible and impossible subject during the time I had been in New York, and consequently for the moment Dr Parkhurst's guns had been silenced.

After I had been in the city for about a week, the following paragraph appeared in one of the New York journals: "There are two persons at present residing in New York, evidently rivals in the way of talking—

Dr Parkhurst and Dr Forbes Winslow. I do not know who talks the most, but we should give the palm to the latter. We wonder how they are getting on in England without Dr Winslow. We imagine that the Prince of Wales can now hear the wind whistle through his whiskers at last."

Whilst in New York I came across an English friend of mine, a bit of a crank in his way. He always carried in his pocket samples of food, containing flour for bread, and a loaf of bread made out of the same, which he was always anxious for me to analyse and taste. Wherever I met him the same thing occurred—out came his loaf of bread. I did not know what his idea was in reference to the matter, but he had evidently some strange notions concerning it. What he was doing in New York I had not the slightest idea, or what was his profession. He called upon me the day after my arrival in New York, and was very anxious to discuss the loaf of bread. He went to Staten Island, where the cricket match England *v.* New York was going on ; and whilst the team were indulging in their lunch, out came the sample of flour in the one hand and the loaf in the other—he evidently wished them to taste his bread instead of the bread provided.

When the cricketers left New York I went to see them off, and on the boat too was the same old crank with his loaf of bread. I could not shake him off, try as I would ; he was always there with his famous loaf. The last that I saw of him was when the

City of New York left the quay on my return to England. The crank was there on the quay as usual, waving his bread and flour-packet at me as a sort of *au revoir* or "Please remember me." He gave me his photograph, and whenever I look at it I think of his loaf.

During my stay in New York I came across a number of interesting acquaintances, some of whom I have met again on their visit to England. I had heard a great deal of American millionaires, and it was with a certain satisfaction that I accepted an invitation to dine with one of them at his house in Brooklyn. I expected a magnificent repast, but I was to a certain extent disappointed, and I have often wondered whether the millionaire's hospitality which I experienced was typical of dinners given by such. On my going into the dining-room I was rather astonished at not seeing any wine on the table. This did not matter to me, as during my stay in New York I was content to partake of ginger ale, being more or less a total abstainer. We had commenced dinner, when my host was evidently struck by a happy idea. He jumped up from the table and, looking at me, said: "Dr Winslow, we know that Englishmen are fond of claret, so we have got you a bottle." I must confess I was rather amused, for, had I not been an abstainer, I should have expected at least champagne, hock, port, and everything which money could buy; therefore an eighteen-penny bottle of claret was rather staggering. I replied, mentioning him by

name: "I am much obliged for your kindness, but I never drink claret."

I mention this little incident to show that it does not follow that, when dining with a New York millionaire, one's expectations are always realised, for a more miserable or wretched dinner I have never sat down to in my life, and I made up my mind that I would think twice before accepting another invitation of a millionaire's.

What struck me about many of the people I met was that they made profuse promises as to what they were going to do one way or the other, but these promises were never fulfilled.

On the second day of my arrival in New York I had two interesting visitors. One was a lady, a Mrs Bell, who was apparently interested in Mrs Maybrick's case. She made me a present of her photograph, attired in a bloomer costume, and she told me she was the instigator of this custom among women in New York. The other visitor was a representative of the press. He said to me: "Dr Winslow, I represent a journal in New York, and I have been asked to follow you about wherever you go and chronicle your daily movements." I thanked him for his kindness, but at the same time I informed him that I could take care of myself.

Evidently I was being watched, for one evening I was anxious to see a piece at one of the theatres, and, as all the seats had been booked, I decided to go into the gallery, thinking that nobody knew me

and that it did not matter. The following day a paragraph appeared in one of the papers: "Dr Winslow was seen in the gallery last evening"—mentioning the theatre by name.

The weather was very close in New York, and Dr Shepherd of Brooklyn was very anxious for me to take a Turkish bath in an establishment he had opened. I consented to do this, and was much gratified; but the inevitable paragraph appeared in the papers the next morning. "Dr Winslow had a Turkish bath yesterday."

Whatever I did, or wherever I went, I was watched and all my actions reported, though I failed to see how such events could interest the general public.

Of course, whilst in New York I visited all the great hospitals and asylums, and I formed an opinion that they were as well managed as any in our own country, if not better.

A curious fact, which impressed itself on my mind, was that all the medical officers connected with asylums had to wear an official uniform. No one is eligible to act in that capacity unless he is a naturalised American subject, whilst all institutions are under the control of the Government.

The "sanatariums," as they are called, are a sort of private asylum, in which are confined not only lunatics, but borderland cases, and those suffering from general nervousness. There are no private asylums in America which are carried on in a precisely similar way to those

in England—in other words, exclusively for persons of unsound mind.

I was elected an honorary member of most of the leading clubs in New York. I lunched with a friend on one occasion at what is supposed to be the millionaires' restaurant in New York, "Delmonico's"; but in my opinion it is inferior to Lyon's Popular in London.

I was taken to several spiritualistic *séances*, but only on the distinct understanding that I would not jump up and make a speech in the middle. A wealthy man, Mr Newton, living in New York, was head of the Spiritualists there. Unfortunately, he was killed a short time after I left America, being run over by a tramcar. He was an enthusiast so far as Spiritualism was concerned, and did a great deal to bring it to the notice and recognition of the public.

I recollect one afternoon going to the Carnegie Hall, where these meetings were held, to witness what was stated to be spiritualistic writing on a typewriter.

A typewriting machine was placed in a cabinet, with a medium who was blindfolded and his hands tied. A piece of paper, foolscap size, was fixed in the machine, at the bottom of which was Mr Newton's signature; this was done to prevent the possibility of any deception or fraud. The cabinet was then closed. After a short time we heard the tick-ticking incidental to a typing machine; shortly afterwards the cabinet was opened and certain spiritualistic messages appeared on the foolscap paper, much to the astonishment of many of the audience.

I said to the lady who accompanied me, "Oh, please let me get up and tell them how it is done!" But she pulled me down by the coat-tails and prevented me, which was perhaps just as well.

The explanation which occurred to me was as follows:—Mr Newton, a poor kind old gentleman, who was quite unsuspecting, had been asked to sign a blank sheet of foolscap paper on the day previous to its being used at the meeting, it being pointed out to him that if he signed all suspicions would be removed; and no doubt at the same time he was asked to sign one or two more for future experiments. What happened was this, that previous to the blank paper being put in the machine the message had been written already on one of the other sheets. It was clear to me that the audience had not grasped the facts of the case as they presented themselves to me. Inside the pocket of the medium was a small electric battery, which, by pressing a small button, caused the ticking noise to emanate from it, similar to that of a typewriter. I realised the situation at once, and had it not been for my lady friend I should have exposed the whole fraud before the audience in Carnegie Hall.

It is a great pity that in America they make a financial business of Spiritualism, as it prevents any real investigations being made, and increases the incredulity of many. I went to nearly every spiritualistic meeting in New York, as I was very anxious to become a convert; but so far as America

is concerned, I never saw anything that I could not account for, and the fact, no doubt, of paying a dollar for each admission to the *séances* induced those who were responsible for them to give those who paid their money's worth.

Spiritualism in America is a different thing from Spiritualism in England. Boston is the great centre of all Spiritualists in America ; many of them are conscientious, hard workers and honest believers, and there is a very large circle of them ; on the other hand, there are a still larger number of charlatans, who make capital out of imposition and fraud, which they impose on a certain class of society. I have met the same in England.

As a rule, I generally got fatigued at the close of the day ; considering the amount of work which I was usually called upon to perform, it was hardly to be expected that in the evening my brain would be in a condition to be further exercised. But one evening, when invited to dine at the Union League Club to meet some American authorities, I had to answer a series of abstruse psychological questions which were fired at me from all sides continuously till the conclusion of the dinner. This not only interfered with my temper, but brought on an acute attack of dyspepsia the following morning. As soon as I had finished a discussion with one guest, another would commence ; and so this went on during dinner, until I took refuge in my hotel.

I left New York on 13th November, as I have said

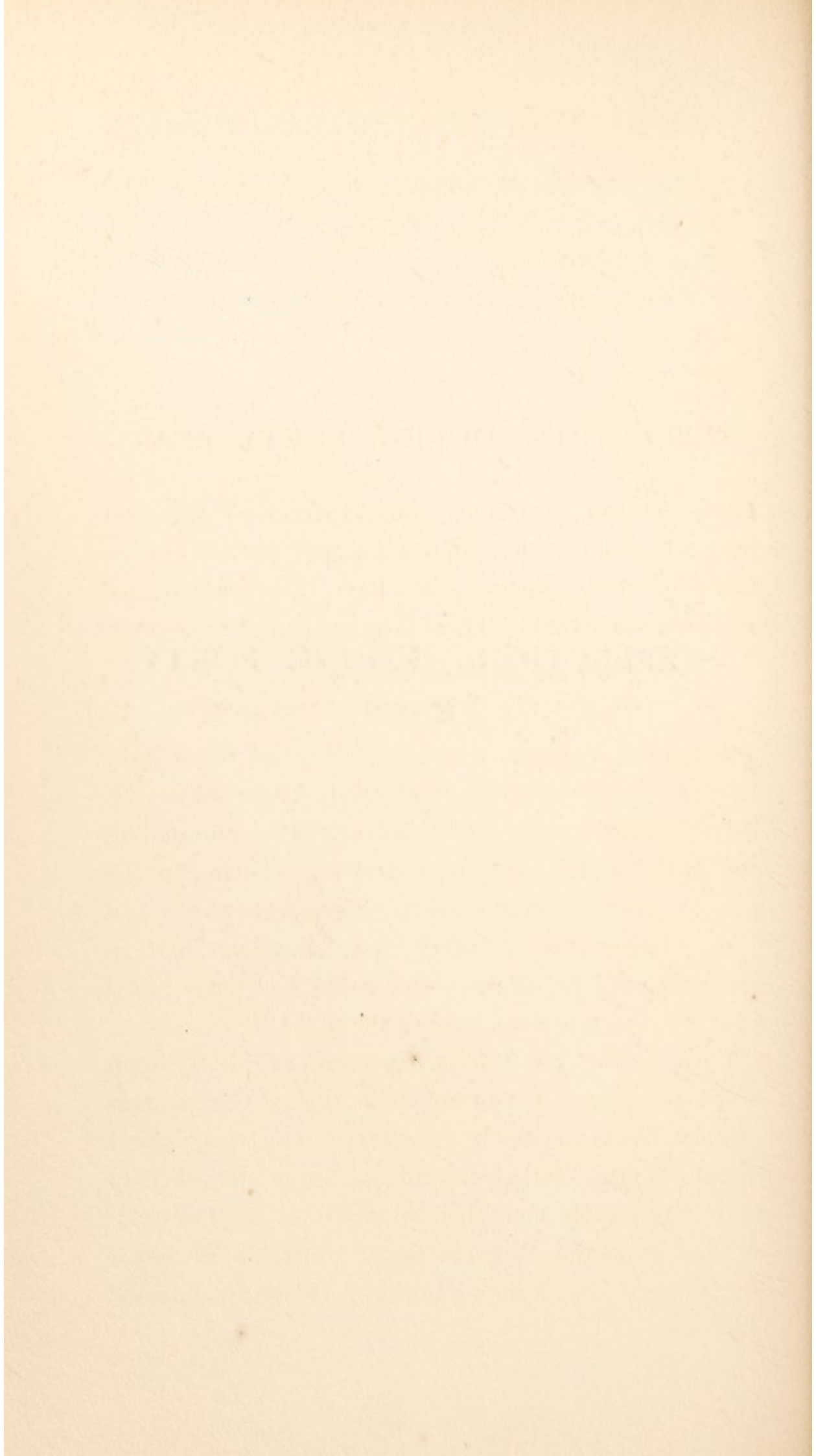
previously, the day after I had concluded my cross-examination in the Hannigan case, in the *City of New York*. It was the same ship in which Sir Henry Irving and Ellen Terry had often crossed.

The doctor attached to the ship was an Irishman, who had become a naturalised American subject, as this ship was bound to carry at least forty American subjects. He presided at the table at which I sat, and I had the seat of honour on his right. The conclusion I arrived at was that it was a great temptation for anybody connected with the American liners to take stimulants in excess, and I was not surprised when eight or nine years later the same doctor called at my house, looking rather out-at-elbows. He had become a victim to alcoholic excess, lost his position, arrived in England penniless, and asked me if I would pay his fare to get back to Southampton, where he thought he might be able to find some work. I might mention that Southampton is the port where the American liners start from. It was very sad indeed to see one, whom I had known in better circumstances, fallen so low, from the active young man in the uniform of an officer on a ship to a degraded, penniless, out-of-employment, alcoholic degenerate. I gave him what he asked for, and I have never heard of or seen him since.

There was nothing special to chronicle on my voyage back to England. I was not sorry when, at 7.30 a.m. on 21st November, I left Southampton for London.

I often think of my experiences in America and the kind friends I met there; and the desire of many of them to give me a welcome to their country, where I can claim, through family ties and relationship, a close kinship.

REFLECTIONS DURING FORTY
YEARS



REFLECTIONS DURING FORTY YEARS

It seems but yesterday since I received my first medical qualification and saw my first patient on the following day. Forty years have, however, passed and gone since then. There is an old song I remember:

“Where are the friends of my youth,
Oh, where are those cherished ones gone?”

I answer, “Alas! where?” Most of them have gone to join the great majority. Some have left behind them records which will never be eliminated, and will live for ever in posterity; whereas in the case of others a small earthly grave, perhaps marked with a tombstone to signify that they ever had an existence, will be all that the world has been called upon to remember concerning them.

I see before me the portly form of Sir William Fergusson, Surgeon to the Queen, one of the greatest surgical lights of the last century. He was a great friend of my father's, and we were all socially acquainted with the other members of his family.

Then poor old William Rose, Emeritus Professor of Surgery of King's College Hospital, himself

Fergusson's favourite house surgeon and assistant. It was only a year ago I spent a very happy time with him at his château at Boulogne, assisting him in the removal of a cerebral tumour from the head of a resident. Rose was a friend of mine of forty years, but he had sadly changed. He was sorely wronged and misjudged during the last few years of his life. I fought his battles for him and earned his thanks and gratitude. Rose used to tell a very characteristic story of his connection with Fergusson. The latter had performed an operation, and left Rose to complete the work incidental to it. He said that he had a special appointment, but would be back shortly, asking Rose to wait. On Fergusson's return, Rose asked if he had finished his business, to which Fergusson in broad Scotch exclaimed, "Eh, mon, I cashed the cheque all right." There had been a doubt existing in Fergusson's mind as to this before the operation was completed, whilst the man was still under the anæsthetic and before a possible dissolution as a result of the operation, when all cheques would have been null and void; and therefore he wanted to make himself sure on this point, probably from past experience.

I gave Rose his first fee; at least, he told me so, and also how acceptable it was at the time.

Sir G. E. Paget, Fergusson's rival at the time, I also frequently met. I shall never forget taking one of my boys to see him, who had injured his ankle-joint. Paget said, "I don't want to see the joint;

I know the nature of the complaint." I might say that Fergusson had been attending the boy up to the day of his death. Sir Thomas Smith, of "Bart's," wanted to amputate. I declined with thanks. My opinion proved correct.

Sir Erasmus Wilson, of Cleopatra Needle fame, was an intimate friend of both my father and myself. I recollect when he was President of the Medical Society I had charge of the musical arrangements at the annual dinner. It was just about the time when Cleopatra's Needle had been brought to London (1877) that I sang a topical verse apropos of this, much to his approval.

Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson was a staunch friend of mine, and he supported me in more ways than one in fighting that popular questions should receive their proper recognition. He was, like myself, one who had the courage of his opinions, and was not afraid to come forward in the open, as was seen in his views on "Hygeia," which were freely circulated and quoted far and wide. Richardson was one of the pioneers of the tricycle, and he had a dummy one in his room on which he used often to exercise himself. It was all very well in its way, but a poor apology for the real thing.

Talking of Benjamin Ward Richardson reminds me of an incident of an amusing nature. He was presiding at the annual Shakespearean banquet of the Urban Club. I had received an invitation to attend the same, and during dinner Richardson sent a note to

me to propose the toast of "Success to the Fine Arts." I was a little bewildered, as I was not in a position, from an imperfect knowledge of the subject, to do justice to the toast. I looked round the festive board, and, beyond seeing the illustrious George Cruikshanks, I failed to recognise any distinguished persons who might have been said to have earned immortal fame in the Fine Arts. Most of the guests were of a literary turn of mind, the dinner being of that type, and not of an artistic nature. I had noticed that immediately opposite to me was a very irascible, peevish, old gentleman, with very long hair, who had gone through many a battle with an unfortunate waiter during the repast. He was evidently of foreign extraction. I had been on friendly terms with my neighbour, and I asked him if he could enlighten me as to any especially distinguished guests in the Fine Art line. He whispered that the irate old gentleman opposite me was, as I understood him to say, a very illustrious German painter of a name something like Herr Golopsky. This seemed to be sufficient for my purpose. I arose to address the company when named by the toast-master. I said in the course of my speech, that "in an assembly like the present, when we could boast of the presence of the illustrious George Cruikshanks as representing English Fine Art, and the world-renowned Herr Golopsky as representing Continental painting, whose pictures adorned most of the foreign galleries, that no words of mine were necessary to further dilate on the subject——" when I was suddenly

stopped by my friend opposite, who, rising, said in very broken English, but in a subdued, angry tone of voice: "I am not a painter; I am a sculptor!" I made up my mind that never again would I consent to propose a toast on a subject of which I was in perfect ignorance.

I was once asked at a public dinner to propose "The House of Commons." This was another matter of which I knew absolutely nothing. I said that I thought the reason why the toast had devolved itself upon me was the fact that I was an unbiassed orator, inasmuch as I had never read a political speech in my life, neither had I ever heard one delivered. My father had been offered two safe seats many years ago; but so far as I was concerned, I have never in any way mixed myself up with or taken the slightest interest in politics of any description. I have always regarded politics as simply a question of self-glorification on the part of members. If my life depended upon it I could not tell you the difference between a Liberal and a Conservative; and I am sure I do not care—it matters not to me. All that I can say is, that Parliament seems to be made up of one continuous quarrel and duel between two parties, to the exclusion of everything else of vital and public importance. This is how I should define Parliament.

The Right Hon. Robert Farquharson, late M.P. for West Aberdeenshire, who was an intimate friend of my family for many years, and when he was attached to the Coldstream Guards, as surgeon, used to

spend a great deal of his time at our house, once told me, in discussing the question of medical men entering Parliament, that if a doctor chose to do this he must at once give up his medical career, as the two were incompatible ; and so, I should think, hence the undesirability of any of my own profession wasting their time by dabbling in its intricacies, its absurdities, and its jealousies.

Then I remember old Dr J. M. Winn, a valiant fighter for what was right and good. He was a great opposer of the materialistic school, and fought a great battle against the views of Professor Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and others. Dr Winn was apparently so obsessed by the very mention of the name of Professor Tyndall, with whom he was in bitter antagonism so far as his materialistic views were concerned, that I am reminded of a rather amusing incident relating to this. One day I had called Dr Winn into consultation with reference to a young Cambridge student of the same name as Tyndall, but spelt in a different manner. Dr Winn had examined the young man in my study whilst I was occupied in the drawing-room in discussing the case with the father of the patient. Suddenly Dr Winn burst into the drawing-room exclaiming, " I have given Tyndall such a doing he will never recover from ; I have floored him without any shadow of a doubt." I was dreadfully perplexed and horrified at this, as the father of my patient naturally imagined that his own son had been " floored," and it was with difficulty I quieted Dr

Winn and convinced the father that the gentleman "floored" was not really his own son, but a distinguished professor of the same name with whom Dr Winn was in antagonism.

In 1877 he was requested by the Victoria Institute, which is a society only second to the Royal, to read a paper on "Materialistic Physiology." His mind was completely absorbed in this matter for weeks and weeks before the lecture was to be delivered. He used to call upon me at all hours and read me extracts of his paper. On one occasion he remarked to me, "Ah! at 2 a.m. I had a brain wave. I got up and I wrote as follows: 'But it is not by club phrases, sophistical arguments, and *ad captandum* rhetoric that this new system can be circulated, and it may be held that ere long materialistic physiology will be sent to that limbo which already engulfed so many systems of false philosophy.'" Dr Winn condemned all the present school of free-thinkers, which I in every way agreed with, and I do not think that anyone could have been more energetic and emphatic than he was during the latter part of his life in agitating on this subject.

The eventful night arrived for the lecture. I think that if I had been called upon to deliver the same address I should have experienced no difficulty in so doing; this was from the fact that I had heard it and discussed it so often with Dr Winn that I was nearly word-perfect.

Dr Winn had requested me to go on in advance to the hall to see that all the necessary arrangements

were satisfactory, and I awaited his arrival in the vestibule. I shall never forget that night. It snowed heavily, but, notwithstanding the condition of the outside elements, guests continued to arrive, eager to hear the views of Dr Winn in opposition to the materialistic theology, if such an expression can be used. Some of the guests were conspicuous by their long hair, which in those days was a mark of highly scientific origin, and was a passport into any scientific discussion. Some of these long-haired gentlemen, as they arrived on the scene, shook off the snow from their hoary locks and outer garments. One old professor, whom I never thought would have turned out on such a night, exclaimed with a shiver: "Oh, what a dreadful night! If it had not been for the great interest I have anticipated in hearing Dr Winn's paper, I should never have ventured out." This was a weird old man with sallow cheeks and prominent malar-bones.

Eight o'clock struck, the time for the lecture, but alas! Dr Winn had not put in an appearance; when suddenly Dr Winn rushed upstairs, throwing his hands about in a frantic state, and, seeing me, gave vent to his feelings, exclaiming: "Oh, for the fruit of my brain! Oh, for the work of my lifetime! I have left my lecture in a hansom cab, and, what added insult to injury, I ran after the wrong cabman by mistake and stopped him, and he demanded his fare." By this time he had regained his breath, and I told him that this was a most terrible calamity, and

that so many people had come, not only at great inconvenience to themselves, but with the danger of pneumonia staring them in the face, to listen to his lecture. Indeed, I said I thought I saw some already with one foot in the grave.

“What shall I do?” replied poor Dr Winn.

“Never mind,” I said; “I will stand by you. You tell them exactly all you remember of your paper, and what you forget I shall no doubt supply.” I had entered my name down among the visitors at the meeting, and as soon as he got through his task—which he did in a very able manner, though leaving out some of the most important and salient facts which I made a mental note of—I was called upon to address the meeting. It seemed rather an unkind thing to do, but I could not let the opportunity slip of expressing my astonishment to the meeting that so eloquent an address should not have contained certain facts, which I then began to place before them, but which were originally in Dr Winn’s paper. After the meeting—which passed off very well, a learned discussion having taken place on the subject—Dr Winn and myself left the hall together. He was more than satisfied with the result of his efforts, and also thankful to me for having drawn the attention of the meeting to the important part of his address, which he had forgotten. The original paper turned up ultimately at the lost-property office in Scotland Yard, and was published by me *in extenso* in the *Psychological Journal* in 1877, of which I was then the editor.

Dr Winn lived till over ninety, and was the oldest member of the Royal College of Physicians. He was certainly a staunch fighter against the materialistic doctrine of the day, then more prevalent than it is at the present time.

In 1877, on the application of Mr Dillwyn, M.P., a Lunacy Committee was granted to inquire into the working of the Lunacy Law of 1845, then existing.

I gave evidence before this Committee, consisting of fifteen members ; and the result was the issue of a voluminous report of 582 pages, containing 11,645 different questions and answers of sixty-three different witnesses. I had seen an advance copy, which enabled me to publish an article in the *Psychological Journal* entitled "Ex nihilo nihil fit."

Amongst the witnesses were motley groups of Lunacy Commissioners, ex-lunatics, titled nonentities, and other people of equal importance. Every imaginable form of complaint was ventilated, and many extravagant theories were raised, whilst plenty of opportunities were given for those who had a grievance to air the same.

It was the only Parliamentary Committee I have ever attended, and I was not very much impressed by the sanctity of its surroundings. The result of this wonderful inquiry led to absolutely nothing ; much public money was expended in printing and much time wasted in attendance at the same ; for it was not until thirteen years afterwards that the new Lunacy Act of 1890 was passed by Parliament.

It was like all Parliamentary Committees : it was called together in order to stop public agitation and the mouths of those who felt that they had a public grievance, either in imagination or reality. The Parliamentary Committee was appointed with a view of staying the hands of the agitators. I spent many afternoons of amusement listening to the witnesses and observing the lamentable ignorance of the members who formed the Select Committee.

Some distinguished witnesses were heard, amongst whom I would include Sir James Crichton-Browne and Mr Charles Palmer Percival, secretary to the Commissioners in Lunacy, by whom some sense, discrimination, and direct wisdom were brought to bear on the subject.

After having given my evidence and listened to the evidence of others, I arrived at one conclusion—that the whole thing was a farce from beginning to end ; and since then every justification for my conclusion has been arrived at.

In 1897 I met a great personality in Lombroso. I had been summoned to Milan to see a lady suffering from a form of mental disease called “ folie de doute.” I decided, as I was so near, to ask Lombroso to see the patient in consultation with myself. I accompanied the patient to Turin. Lombroso was a wonderful man. I dined with him, and had the benefit of several conferences with him. He had a magnificent museum of criminology, which he was much interested in describing to me. He was the first scientist to bring

to my knowledge the wonderful power of suggestion in combating nervous disorders. He allowed me to dedicate my work, then in the press, *Mad Humanity*, to him. He acknowledged the dedication in the following words :

“ J’accepte avec une grande satisfaction, de lier mon nom au vôtre, bien connu depuis un siècle par vous et par celui de votre père, qui premier a inspiré mes pas dans la psychiatrie et dans la pathologie, ou vous avez laissé des traces si profondes.

“ (Signé) CESARE LOMBROSO.

“ 9 Mars 1898.”

On his last visit to England he was staying in the Isle of Wight, and asked me to be his guest whilst there. On his return to Italy he brought out his latest work, which he did not live to complete. There was very much in common between Lombroso and myself ; we were both students of crime. His works on *Criminal Man* and *Criminal Woman* are standard books.

He presented me with a copy of his private Atlas on Criminology, which I value very much. He had a wonderful personality. He was a kind-hearted man, though he was dreaded by students when undergoing examinations for their degrees at the University of Turin, in consequence of his manner not being properly understood, which frightened the timid examinee ; but behind his brusque demeanour was a capacious, kind heart, and a mind open to conviction.

He would say to the student with a small and badly formed head : “ You have mistaken your calling ;

you are a degenerate." To another he would say: "From the formation of your head, you are an epileptic." Whilst to a third he would remark: "From your general aspect, demeanour, and sly appearance, you are a moral pervert." Unless the students agreed with all Lombroso said, they were sure to be plucked. One doctor of medicine at Turin, who had gone through the ordeal, told me about this.

My reflections during forty years of my literary labour cause me a certain amount of wonderment how I could have gone through so much. In addition to being the author of many articles bearing on my own speciality, which have been published in many of the leading magazines in England and America, I have granted interviews on every subject of public interest in which my opinion would carry weight. I am not alone in this, however, I am glad to say, for other medical authorities have done the same. I always have contended that if anyone has a special knowledge of a subject of public interest, there is no reason why it should be kept to himself. I do not agree with discussing medical subjects in the lay papers. The interest of such cannot be one for the public. Psychological matters however are different. I have kept a tabulated list of my various interviews which gives me plenty of scope for reflection.

During forty years I have published the following works:—*Manual of Lunacy, Mad Humanity, Eccentricity of Youth leading to Crime, Fasting and Feeding, Aids to Insanity, Uncontrollable Drunkenness, Hand-*

book for the Attendants on the Insane, A Lunacy Chart, Spiritualistic Madness. This latter was published in my early days, and I had a hard battle to fight in consequence of my views. Lombroso and myself both entertained the same opinion as to Spiritualism. We both changed our views, however. I also wrote a *Codified Epitome of the Lunacy Laws in England*, which was published in French for one of their standard legal works. My father was editor of the *Journal of Psychological Medicine* for sixteen years, having started it in 1848. I was editor of the same for eight years from 1875. My most recent book is *The Suggestive Power of Hypnotism*.

I knew the Earl of Shaftesbury very well, and it was in 1884, by his request, that a deputation of the School Board waited upon me to ask me if I would move a resolution on the over-pressure going on in the elementary schools. I had been writing a good deal on the subject and making investigations, and it was no doubt in consequence of this that I was requested to move the resolution. The meeting was held at Exeter Hall on 24th March, and five thousand people were present. It was of interest to me from the fact that it was the last meeting at which Lord Shaftesbury presided. My resolution was: "That in the opinion of this meeting a serious amount of over-pressure, injurious to the health and education of the people, exists in the public elementary schools of the country, and demands the continued and serious attention of her Majesty's Government; and

that this meeting, while cordially recognising the earnest efforts of Mr Mundella, the Vice-President of the Council, to remedy the evil complained of, believes that the recent changes in the Education Code may alleviate but will not remove this over-pressure."

My resolution was seconded by Mr Stanley Leighton, M.P., and was carried unanimously. It was then forwarded to the Prime Minister and the President of the Council. Dr James Crichton-Browne (as he then was) was authorised to investigate the facts as stated by myself and others, and to consider the whole question of over-pressure; and his report was so exhaustive and so conclusive that, as a result, he received a knighthood; and there was never one in my opinion more richly deserved—or bestowed upon a more worthy recipient.

Among some of the principal barristers, now dead and gone, I might mention Serjeant Parry (who was the Charles Russell of his day), Ballantine, Edwin James, Montagu Williams, and Douglas Straight; all of these I knew intimately. I shall never forget an important consultation which took place between Serjeant Ballantine, my father, and myself, with reference to the examination of a witness moving in high circles of society, in a divorce case of a lady of title, which at the time created a great deal of excitement in London. The question was whether Serjeant Ballantine should cross-examine the said witness or leave him alone. The conference took

place at Evans's Supper-rooms in Covent Garden, which in those days was often the meeting-place for personalities to assemble. Ballantine decided he would ask no questions. I attended the court the following day, and he carried out faithfully the arrangements agreed upon.

With regard to Edwin James, he had the largest practice in London. He was imprudent, however, and, being disbarred, left England for America, where he enjoyed a good practice, returning to England subsequently.

The first case I ever heard him cross-examine in was a commission in lunacy in which my uncle was the Master. Some timid medical man had been quavering under his cross-examination, when Edwin James asked him how it was he had made an affidavit that he had retired from practice. The doctor replied in a trembling voice, "This was a mistake." Edwin James, equal to the occasion answered: "Now, doctor, it is one of two things: either you have retired from practice or practice has retired from you. Which is it?"

Nearly every important and sensational case of interest, during the epoch in which Edwin James reigned supreme in the law courts, he figured in. Poor Edwin James! I can see him now, calling upon me in London a few years before he died, a dejected and unhappy man. His wife had taken a bonnet-shop in Bond Street, and he had become a sort of private detective, and had called to consult me upon

a certain lunacy matter in which he was interested. The only thing which reminded me of the great advocate of yore was an old snuff-box, which he still carried with him, and which he used continually whilst in my presence.

Montagu Williams had a great criminal practice. I recollect one celebrated case, in which a Wiltshire magistrate was prosecuted for sending a postcard to a lady of title, addressed to her husband, who was a member of the Turf Club. The defence was that he had so narcotised his brain by taking a large quantity of zoedone as to render him irresponsible. This was an anti-alcoholic drink, which came into existence at the time. I remember a consultation was arranged between Sir John Holker, Montagu Williams, and myself, as to the way of procedure. I was convinced that the man was suffering from temporary insanity caused by this fluid which he had taken, and that the best thing to do would be to plead guilty and then put in a plea of temporary insanity. Montagu Williams argued that it could not be done. I said otherwise, and gave cases to illustrate what I was saying. My plan was adopted, and a verdict according to my testimony followed, and he was handed over to his friends. I was associated with another doctor at the time in this case, who was rather a theorist and localiser of cerebral centres. He told me that he was going to explain to the jury the part of the brain which was affected by zoedone. I advised him to abstain from this as the question before the court

would be whether he was of sound or unsound mind at the time he committed the libel. I am not at all certain whether my *confrère* was given the opportunity of airing his views as to the action of zoedone on the brain centres before the jury ; but I think not.

I cannot allow these reminiscences to close without chronicling my affectionate reflections with reference to my late revered father.

My father received the great distinction of the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. I believe he was the only English physician of his day who had that honour. It is the highest distinction that can be obtained by anybody. Besides this he had many other offers of still further distinction, which he declined. He was thus honoured for his investigations and researches in psychological medicine, which placed him on the top of the pinnacle of fame of any medical man of his time in that speciality.

My father, following in the steps of Pinel and the Tukes of York, was, with the late Dr Conolly, one of the first to systematise a gentle, persuasive, and loving treatment of the insane, who had hitherto been regarded in the light of wild beasts to be curbed and restrained by bolts, bars, and keepers' whips, rather than as human beings, fallen indeed from their high estate, but amenable to tenderness and judicious kindness.

He it was who created the science of psychology,

and gave to it a local habitation and a name, at least so far as this country is concerned. He was the first physician who urged the plea of insanity in criminal cases; a plea which has outlived the assaults of popular prejudice and ignorance, and which is now accepted as valid in the courts of law. He likewise contributed largely to the literature of his country, his *magnum opus*, *The Obscure Diseases of the Brain and Mind*, being one of the scientific classics of the English language.

These achievements, combined with his successful ministry to the "mind diseased," and his unvarying kindness, generosity, and deep religious feeling, have earned for him a world-wide reputation—a reputation which, I confidently predict, will shine with purer and clearer lustre as time allows of full justice being done to the great work he has accomplished.

He wrote the first book on suicide published in the English language; the object of this work was the abolition of the verdict of *felo-de-se*. It was at the trial of Macnaughten (1845) for the murder of Mr Drummond, who was shot in mistake for Robert Peel, in which my father may be said to have made his first success in a law court. He was in attendance in court as a spectator, and was asked by the judge to enter the witness-box. Previous to this he had been writing a number of articles on insanity in criminal cases. The case was stopped after his evidence, and from that date he became an authority in all criminal-lunacy cases.

With regard to the subject which I have often alluded to in my book, where a popular case has not received proper recognition from the jury, and where the Treasury are eager for a conviction; and as a consequence the prisoner has not obtained a proper hearing, the same was in existence in his days.

Talking about the evidence of a medical expert using his best endeavours on behalf of a poor, wretched man on his trial, whom he believes to be irresponsible, he says:—

“ A man commits a murder. He is tried for the crime. The plea of insanity is raised in his defence, upon what is conceived to be sound evidence of the existence of mental derangement at the time of the murder. The attempt thus made to protect the criminal immediately rouses public indignation. Such an excuse is not in many instances listened to, and the unfortunate medical witnesses who have been called upon to exercise an important and often thankless duty, in support of the plea, are exposed, for giving an honest expression of opinion, to the most unmeasured ridicule and vituperation. In defending the memory of the suicide from the disgrace that would accompany a verdict of *felo-de-se* the evidence of the medical man proving insanity is regarded with great respect, and treated with profound deference; but in his efforts to save a lunatic from the agonies of a painful death upon the scaffold, on evidence that was adduced before the previously mentioned court, the expert is exposed to unmitigated abuse. Instead of being considered as an angel of mercy engaged in the exercise of a holy and righteous mission, he is viewed with suspicion, and often treated with contumely as if he were attempting to *sacrifice* instead of to *save* human life.

“ Again, the attempt to prove sanity and mental capacity at a commission in lunacy, with the object of preserving intact the liberty of the subject, and establishing his right to an unfettered management of his property, is applauded to the very echo ; but any endeavour to excuse, on the plea of insanity, the crime of some unhappy wretch alleged to be an irresponsible lunatic, in order to rescue him from penal servitude or from the hands of the executioner, is denounced in unqualified language as a most monstrous, unjustifiable, and iniquitous interference with the course of justice. The excuse of insanity will not, in many cases, under these circumstances, be tolerated by a portion of the press. The public mind is violently shocked at the commission of a horrible and brutal murder. The act is viewed as one of great and barbarous atrocity, apart altogether from its concomitant extenuating medico-psychological considerations. The cry is raised for vengeance ! The shout is, ‘ An eye for an eye ! a tooth for a tooth ! blood for blood ! ’ —forgetting, in the paroxysm of indignant emotion and frenzy of excited feeling engendered by the contemplation of a dreadful violation of the majesty of the law, that *justice* must be tempered with that divine *mercy* which sanctifies and enshrines

‘ The throned monarch better than his crown,
And is the attribute of God himself.’ ”

I was associated with my father for many years before his death, as I have previously mentioned. His works live after him. It was in March in the year 1874 that he succumbed to Bright’s disease at Brighton, having earned for himself an imperishable memorial in the love and gratitude of his countrymen, having acted up to the spirit of those memorable words with

which he concludes his great work: "The spirit of love, tender sympathy, Christian benevolence, unwearied kindness, and warm affection should influence every thought, look, and action of those engaged in the responsible treatment of the insane. It is the special province of the psychological physician to

'Fetter strong madness in a silken thread,
Charm ache with air, and agony with words.'

What a holy, honourable, and sacred occupation is that in which he has the privilege of being engaged! Angelic spirits might well envy him the ennobling and exalted pleasures incidental to his mission of benevolence and love."

It was always my father's wish to establish a hospital for mental disorders where the poor could be treated as out-patients, to give them an opportunity of recovering without the necessity of being placed in lunatic asylums. I was determined to carry out this plan, and in 1890, unaided, I established a hospital in London. It is called "The British Hospital for Mental Disorders," Forbes Winslow Memorial, at which there have been 60,000 attendances already registered; thus showing the need of it. Four physicians are attached to it. Of course, it has been the means of creating a certain amount of professional jealousy, but at the same time I let those scowl and sneer as they like, I care not. The fact remains the same, that the hospital has done and is doing an enormous amount of good. It is well to do something in the world, so

that when you leave it you may feel that your efforts have not been in vain. Let those who sneer attempt to do likewise before they dare to sit in judgment upon others.

I remember shortly before my father died he said to me, "Thank God, I can lay my head on my pillow and say that I have not been in any way instrumental in hurling a fellow-creature into eternity." In other words, what he meant to imply was that, should he have been called upon to testify in a case in which his opinion was adverse to a prisoner charged with murder, and consequently responsible for his acts, he would ask permission to withdraw from the case. He would not let it be said that the death of any human being could be placed indirectly at his door. I am pleased to be able to say the same has existed so far as I am concerned.

There are a certain number of hard-hearted people in the world who would condemn anyone to death, and the next hour would go and enjoy themselves as if nothing had happened. Of course many cruel crimes have been committed, but in every case where the sanity of the individual has been in question, in which I have been called in, there always has been, in my opinion, a loop-hole to enable the authorities to temper justice with mercy. I could be more emphatic and more personal, did I care, on this subject. So far as I am concerned, I have never feared anybody in the whole world, and I am sure I never shall. It is the independent position I have taken up which

leads me to be able to chronicle my forty years' experiences without any apprehension or dread, and with the consciousness that it is the personal experience of one who, through life, has had the courage of his opinions and convictions, and who has acted according to these principles.

On comparing the human race during the past forty years I have no hesitation in stating that it has degenerated and is still progressing in a downward direction. It is not difficult to account for this. The youths of the present age are much more insipid than formerly, less manly, and insufficiently developed. Cigarette-smoking in excess has a good deal to do with this, whilst also alcoholic indulgence has much increased of late. Many of these aborted youths are the progeny of parents who are, on the one side or the other, addicted to this, or are the victims of secret drug-drinking. Just as alcoholic excess is the cause of more than twenty-five per cent. of the insanity in the whole world, so must it be the absolute cause for the degeneration in many of those whose parents have become so addicted. Where are the manly broad-shouldered youths who could be seen forty years ago? They are few and far between. They have been displaced by a narrow, limp, badly formed, weak young man, slouching along the street with that cursed cigarette never out of his mouth. Let us compare, as an example, the pavilion of Lords in 1870 on a great match day with what is seen to-day. The ordinary healthy, fine-looking youth, smoking

his pipe in the enjoyment of perfect health, has been displaced by the puny, half-developed, degenerate youth, weak in mind as well as weak in body. A pipe in the morning and one at night used to suffice ; now the cigarette, poisonous in its nature, is never out of the mouth.

We are gradually approaching, with the decadence of youth, a near proximity to a nation of madmen. By comparing the lunacy statistics of 1869 with those of 1909, ^{forty} decades having intervened. The statistics being so taken, my reflections are sad indeed. A terrible but real curse is in store, and an insane world is looked forward to by me with a certainty in the not far distant future.

In 1869, out of a population of 22,223,299 there were 53,177 registered lunatics in England and Wales, there being one lunatic in every 418 of the total population ; whereas, in 1909, out of a population of 35,756,615, the number of registered lunatics was 128,787, making on an average one lunatic in every 278 of the population. So that in forty years an enormous increase in lunacy is seen. Every year this increase progresses, and by a simple arithmetical calculation it can be shown the exact year when there will be more insane persons in the world than sane.

Surely a dreadful future for nations still unborn to have to cope with. These are facts, and sad to reflect upon. They must be accepted ; they cannot in any way be challenged. In addition to

alcoholic excess, and cigarette-smoking, I place the marriage of degenerate youths, of whom the world is full, as also among the principal causes. Strong athletes are few and far between nowadays. Let the present race grasp these facts. Let them analyse these, and they will find I am not far wrong in what I state. And yet it is sad for me to reflect that, notwithstanding all the advances made in the treatment of the insane in the past forty years, nevertheless circumstances which ought to be controlled, and which amount to actual suicide, are causing an increase, not a decrease, in lunacy.

This book would not be complete without some sort of reference to the Lord Chancellor, under whose jurisdiction all lunatics are placed, and to whom is issued the annual report of the Commissioners in Lunacy, as being the official year-book of the Commissioners, who owe their actual position to the said Lord Chancellor, and who apparently is supposed to exert his personal jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the condition of the insane in England and Wales.

Though it is graphically immortalised in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* what the varied duties of a Lord Chancellor are, it has not, so far as I can recollect, been therein stated that he is the legal guardian of all persons of unsound mind. He has the nomination of every appointment connected with the care and supervision of lunatics. I allude to the official appointments of Masters in Lunacy, Commissioners in Lunacy, and

Lord Chancellor's Visitors of Lunatics. The power of his name and his authority reign supreme, and he is mentioned in official documents, though of course he is probably in ignorance of the actual case of any one person who is confined under his jurisdiction. Lord Lyndhurst, a near relation of my family, who died in 1863, was four times Lord Chancellor. He was a distinguished man, and kind to his relations. My father's brother, who became his secretary, obtained the appointment of Master in Lunacy, and other members of the same family also participated in his generosity. Lord Halsbury, as plain Mr Hardinge Giffard, was a great friend of my father, and I also knew him intimately, though my best acquaintance with him was when I used to wince under his severe cross-examination. The present Lord Chancellor, Lord Loreburn, I knew well as Bobby Reid. He used to keep wicket for Oxford University, and many matches in the early seventies I have played with him for the Incogniti Cricket Club, of which I held the best bowling analysis at the time. I always regarded Bobby Reid with a certain amount of awe and reverence, whether from the fact that he used to look severely at me for my repeated wides, or whether I always considered him as one beyond the comprehension of my mental capacity, I cannot say. However, I always was under an impression, which has now been realised, that in the person of the great wicket-keeper of that time was one destined to become great in whatever calling he

entered into. The justification of my impressions has come true.

The late King, when Prince of Wales, had a narrow escape from assassination at the hands of a madman named Sipido at the Brussels station. Luckily, no harm came of the escapade. Facts were brought to my knowledge, and I issued a report to the authorities which showed clearly and convincingly that Sipido was a lunatic. He was not treated as a criminal, as a consequence, but as a lunatic. He was detained for some years and liberated about two years ago. I was subsequently in personal communication with his late Majesty on this matter, as to the inadvisability of this proceeding, and as a consequence, after personal interviews at the Home Office and Foreign Office, representations were made on my advice as to the safe-keeping of Sipido, and the danger of allowing a homicidal lunatic from being at large. I understand that the report furnished by me to the English authorities was sent to Belgium. I considered that, as the general opinion is that homicidal insanity is never curable in England, and those who have suffered from such are generally taken care of for their natural lives, the same might be said in Sipido's case. I believe my advice was followed out, so that steps were taken to prevent a repetition of Sipido's dastardly attack, which was made in 1899.

My task is now completed. There are certain matters upon which my pen has been burning to

write; my discretion perhaps prevents this. It partly refers to the unchristianity existing among a certain number of nonentities in the world, who are always ready to pronounce judgment on matters with an imperfect knowledge of the truth. It is not a case of "Audi alteram partem" with many. Let them pass along, let them pass by; I care not. "Judge not, that ye be not judged," I would remark to them.

A public personage is always liable to misconception. This especially refers to those who have tried to do their duty, surrounded by difficulty at times. Jealousies will arise, and then the so-called "would-be judges," themselves so pure, so immaculate, will often step in and, casting their eyes up to Heaven, will shrug their shoulders. In this jealous and unjust world of ours, deficient in Christian sympathy, everyone has to try to hold his own, conscious of the fact that "to err is human, to forgive divine!" I would impress this very much on many of those whom I know, who may be reading what I am now saying, and who will find the cap fits. I speak with the absolute power of my own knowledge and convictions, and from what I know to be a fact. What I have just said, I regret to say, especially refers to some members of my own profession. I desire to be most emphatic upon this matter. Before anyone dares to judge another, let him make himself master of the situation and not be prejudiced by only hearing one side.

Misfortune, the result of non-compliance with the Lunacy Act, is apt to occur with those who dabble in its intricacies. If a man commits an irregularity in an unfortunate non-compliance with any Parliamentary Act, he must bear the consequences of his imprudence. It ought not to be in the hands of anyone to show favour, or to decide who is to be proceeded against or who is to be left alone.

The Lunacy Act of 1845 was so obscure and incomprehensible that it was impossible to construe its real meaning. The interpretation of certain sections contained in it came before various judges on a memorable occasion, in which I was concerned. One gave one opinion, another a different one, whilst a third varied from the two others ; in fact, the density of the Act was of such a nature that no one was safe who was in any way called upon to put its enactments into operation. I was a victim to this, and as a consequence the Act of 1890 was passed, the one which at the present time is in existence. This is nearly as dense and confusing as the other, and, as I said once when discussing the matter publicly, " It is generally stated that a coach-and-four can be driven through any Act of Parliament, but I affirm that the whole Coaching Club could be driven through the present Lunacy Act." I am not far wrong, as in a recent case, in which I was interested, both the counsel for the prosecution and defence openly stated in court that they did not know the meaning of a certain section, which could be construed in two different ways, provided stops were

inserted in the section. The presiding judge, now gone to join the majority, confessed that, *mirabile dictu*, even he was puzzled as to its meaning. I mention this simply to illustrate how obscure is the present Lunacy Law, which is supposed not only to look after the interests of those alleged to be insane, but also to protect those who have to put its sections into operation.

At the present time the same chaos exists among asylum committees and those officials who are called upon to carry out the provisions of the Act. One body overrules the other, and no one apparently knows anything about its real construction.

A technical breach of the Lunacy Act is liable to be made every day by those engaged in lunacy responsibilities. One escapes with a warning, whilst another, especially should he be a big gun, has to answer for anything he may have unconsciously and unwittingly done. He is generally misjudged, and is prosecuted with all the rigour of the law and with all the force and power of money behind a Treasury prosecution. This is not justice. The lesser luminaries get off with a caution. It matters not, however. Jealousy is a green-eyed monster, and it "is cruel as the grave; the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame."

I now put down my pen—at least, retire with my bat to the pavilion of criticism, conscious of the fact that I have striven to do my best, and also with the knowledge that there is nothing in my professional

career that I in any way regret. I have endeavoured to do my duty, and I am thankful that, with all the anxiety, trouble, unjust persecution, and at times misjudgment, that I have passed through, I am nevertheless able to register a good old score of sixty-six, not out.



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